

TWO MORAL INTERLUDES:
THE PRIDE OF LIFE AND WISDOM

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INTRODUCTION

THE MORALITY PLAYS

The surviving morality plays, or moral interludes, as they were generally known to their contemporaries, comprise a group of five texts from the late fourteenth to the early sixteenth centuries: *The Pride of Life*, *The Castle of Perseverance*, *Mankind*, *Wisdom*, and *Everyman*. Each of these plays deals allegorically with the life of man and his struggle against sin, and their structure is for the most part based on a sequence of temptation, fall, and redemption. Scholars have been hesitant to call this group of plays a genre, since each play differs from the others in substantial ways. *The Castle of Perseverance*, for example, describes the whole ontology of man, opening before his birth and ending after his death with his judgment before the throne of God. *Everyman*, in contrast, deals only with the final journey towards death. The group of plays is held together, however, by their consistent use of allegorical figures, by their use (in most cases) of a central representative human figure (variously called Mankind, Everyman, or Humanum Genus), and by their personification of the forces of good and evil which act upon him. Some of the plays (*Mankind*, *Wisdom*) require considerable theatrical resources and skill, sufficient to imply that they may have been intended for professional performance; *The Castle of Perseverance*, on the other hand, with its large cast of thirty-six players, must have been written for nonprofessional players or for a mixed group of professionals and nonprofessionals.¹

The background to these plays lies in part in the allegorization of both good and evil which found its earliest expression in the *Psychomachia* of the late fourth-century poet Aurelius Clemens Prudentius. This poem describes a battle for the soul of man in which seven evil characteristics (Idolatry, Lust, Wrath, Pride, Indulgence, Greed, Discord) are pitted against seven virtues (Faith, Chastity, Patience, Humility, Sobriety, Good Works, Concord). Since the battle takes place within the mind of man, there is no representative human figure. Prudentius' allegorical mode was immensely popular throughout the Middle Ages, and became one of the primary models for the allegorization of human characteristics, leading eventually to such texts as the *Roman de la Rose* of Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, as well as Robert Grosseteste's *Chateau d'Amour*. The second impetus behind the morality plays can be seen in the canon *Omnis utriusque sexus* of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), which confirmed and elaborated earlier legislation and tradition requiring annual confession of all Christians, thus laying the ground for one of the most extensive educational programs in the history of the world. Faced with the necessity not only of educating the priesthood in the technical aspects and methodology of confession and penance but also of explaining to the laity the taxonomy

¹ For the possibility of mixed professional and nonprofessional casts for large plays, see Johnston, "Parish Playmaking," pp. 326–27.

of sins, allegory — the personification of individual sins, virtues, personal characteristics, or abstract qualities — was quickly adopted as an effective tool.

It is easy, however, to overestimate the importance of both these influences. The *Psychomachia* provided only the most general model of an allegorical battle, while the nature of sin as presented in these plays was both well-known and orthodox, so the plays' purpose is less educational than, as Pamela M. King describes it, "to confirm and to celebrate rather than to argue."² From the late fifteenth century, the form and structure of the morality play was adapted in a variety of new directions, giving rise to a genre now most commonly known as the "Tudor interlude."³ Where the morality play takes as its subject the whole moral life of man, the Tudor interludes focus on specific aspects of this life: e.g., the political (Skelton's *Magnyfycence*, Bale's *King Johan*), educational (*Wyt and Science*), or social (*Youth, Hick Scorer*).

The frequent use in the morality plays of a "Vice" figure distinguished from the allegorized sins, such as Backbiter in *The Castle of Perseverance*, Mischief and the three Worldlings in *Mankind*, and Lucifer in *Wisdom*, has been seen as influencing Shakespeare's Falstaff and Iago as well as Marlowe's Mephistopheles.⁴ Indeed, for many years this possible influence on the canonical plays of the Elizabethan theater represented the sole interest in the morality plays. Those days are now past, and performances of all of these plays (with the exception of the fragmentary *Pride of Life*) have shown them to be highly effective vehicles for moral thought based on a keen understanding of the potential of allegory as a technique for the concrete representation of abstract ideas.

THE PRIDE OF LIFE

Although the date of the play now known as *The Pride of Life* has not been established with certainty, there is no question that it is the earliest of the surviving morality plays. The text of the play was written on one side of a parchment account roll from the Priory of the Holy Trinity in Dublin, where it appears on the back of the accounts for 30 June 1343 to 5 January 1344. Since the play is fitted into the blank spaces around the accounts, this would provide an earliest possible date for its composition. For reasons which will shortly become apparent, it is difficult to date the play with any precision, and a date as late as the "first half of the fifteenth century" has been proposed.⁵ This is perhaps a bit extreme, and a date towards the end of the fourteenth century seems more likely.

The text of the play is incomplete and it seems certain that a second leaf containing the missing portion of the play was lost at some time in its history. The whole surviving portion of the manuscript was destroyed in June 1922, when the Four Courts building in Dublin, in which the manuscript had been placed along with others belonging to the canons of Christ Church, Dublin, was blown up. Fortunately, a transcription had been made of the play in 1891 by James Mills, deputy keeper of the Public Records. Mills published his transcription, along with a photographic facsimile of part of the roll, made by a zinc-based photographic method. This photograph and Mills' transcription are now the only surviving records of the original text. The photograph is not terribly clear, but it does allow a comparison between the manu-

² King, "Morality Plays," p. 243.

³ See especially Craik, *Tudor Interlude*.

⁴ See B. Spivack, *Shakespeare and the Allegory of Evil*, and Bevington, *From 'Mankind' to Marlowe*.

⁵ Davis, *Non-Cycle Plays and Fragments*, p. lxxxv.

script and Mills' transcription, indicating clearly that his text is quite accurate — an important point, given the very sloppy way in which the original had been written. The text (as it survived in 1891) was written in eight blocks in blank spaces on the roll, these eight parts comprising lines 1–38, 39–126, 127–60, 161–96, 197–234, 235–326, 327–416, and 415–502. Some text appears to have been lost in the breaks between lines 126–27 and 326–27, and lines 415–16 were written twice, in each of the last two sections. Whatever text would have followed line 502 was lost before Mills transcribed it.

Fortunately, like many other medieval plays, *The Pride of Life* begins with a set of banns, a versified advertisement preceding the play proper.⁶ In some cases, like *The Castle of Perseverance*, the banns were intended to precede the play by some days, perhaps as much as a week; in *The Pride of Life* they provide an introduction immediately preceding the play itself. These banns (lines 1–112) summarize the action of the play, and from them it is possible to reconstruct the action of the missing text, although only in a general way, and with many questions left unanswered.

Although the outline of the action follows the typical structure of sin and redemption, there are many differences between *The Pride of Life* and the morality plays of the fifteenth century. The central character is a king, rather than a clearly representative human figure. He is identified in the play as “Rex Vivus” — “King Life” or “The King of Life” — an epithet which may indicate that he is in fact intended to represent mankind as a whole.⁷ Unusually among the morality plays (*Mankind* is the only other example), *The Pride of Life* is concerned with only one of the Seven Deadly Sins. Rex Vivus' sin is pride, and his royal status may have been chosen as appropriate to a prideful character. Nor does his temptation and fall into sin form a part of the action of the play; Rex Vivus is already full of pride at the opening of the play, delighting in the kind of bombast familiar from the biblical plays in such characters as Herod and Pilate. The king proclaims to the audience:

King ic am, kinde of kingis ikorre,	<i>descended from famous kings</i>
Al the worlde wide to welde at my wil;	<i>control</i>
Nas ther never no man of woman iborre	<i>born</i>
Ogein me withstonde that I nold him spille. (lines 121–24)	<i>Against; could not; destroy</i>

This stanza sets up the action of the play, for it is not “man of woman iborre” whom the king is to meet in battle but Death himself, as his pride (and his reliance on his two bodyguards, Health and Strength) leads him to challenge Death to a fight. There is no overt personification of pride, since the king has already fallen into the sin; virtue is represented by his wife, the queen, and the bishop, both of whom attempt to talk him out of his foolhardy challenge. The king's messenger, Mirth, seems positioned to occupy the position of a tempter figure or Vice, such as are found in many of the later moralities, but temptation is not a part of the play's action, and Mirth acts as no more than a messenger.

⁶ Banns are also found preceding *The Castle of Perseverance*, the Chester plays, and the N-Town plays. Banns are also seen in other contexts; the reciting of banns was a required preliminary announcement of an impending marriage, and one example survives of banns advertising the arrival of a touring doctor, listing the ailments he is prepared to cure. See Voigts, “Fifteenth-Century English Banns.”

⁷ On the kingship of every individual see Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, Book 8.

The queen points out to Rex Vivus that Death overcomes all men, but he ignores her advice to fear God, supported in his pride by Health, Strength, and Mirth. Summoned by the queen, the bishop delivers a homily on the sorry state of the world (derived from a well-known poem, "The Abuses of the Age"), warning the king to think on his end. The king reacts in anger, and the surviving text comes to an abrupt end as Mirth is sent off to issue a challenge to Death. From this point on we must rely on the banns to fill in the rest of the play. Death kills Rex Vivus, whose sin of pride is thus repaid, and his soul is taken off by "the fendis" (line 96). The king's soul appears to be saved, however, as the banns explain the intercession of the Virgin, whose prayers will be taken into account as the soul is weighed in judgment. The banns do not indicate whether the Virgin does in fact intercede on the king's behalf as a part of the play, whether she or the fiends appear on stage, whether her intercession is successful, or whether her intervention is motivated by the prayers of the queen and the bishop. It seems quite likely that all of these elements combined to provide a dramatic conclusion to the play, though the state of the text does not allow us to be certain.

The play is clearly intended for "place and scaffold" staging, with the bulk of the action taking place on the scaffolds. At least two of these seem to be required, one each for the king and the bishop; other scaffolds (for Heaven and Hell, perhaps, or for Death) have been suggested, but are not necessary on the basis of the text as we have it. The king's scaffold at least would also need a curtained booth of some kind, since he asks his bodyguard Strength to "draw the cord," and the following stage direction indicates that he is enclosed in a curtained structure ("*clauso tentorio*"). Some of the action would have taken place in the "place" or "platea," the undifferentiated space at ground level between the scaffolds through which Mirth would move to issue the challenge to Death.⁸ Control over the "place" must be constantly negotiated with the audience, who may very well be in the way of movement, and Mirth's explanation to them of his errand at the close of the surviving portion of the play is just such a speech of spatial negotiation. Mirth's lines are mirrored in both the morality plays and some of the biblical plays (notably the N-Town plays) when characters tell the audience to get out of the way. Clearly many more occasions in which a character must lay claim to a space are not directly reflected in the lines, but would have depended on the specific occasion and the distribution of audience. Such a situation is also implied by Jean Fouquet's miniature of *The Martyrdom of St. Apollonia*, where spectators are seated on many of the acting areas which are not at the moment in use.⁹

WISDOM

With the exception of *Everyman*, which survives only in printed sources, *Wisdom* (also known as *Mind, Will, and Understanding*) is the only one of the morality plays to come down to us in more than one copy. A complete manuscript of the play is found in the Macro Manuscript, named after an eighteenth-century owner, the Rev. Cox Macro, and now in the Folger Library, Washington, DC. The manuscript also contains *The Castle of Perseverance* and *Mankind*. A second copy of the first 752 lines of *Wisdom* also survives in MS Digby 133, now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Milla Cozart Riggio has established the very great likelihood that

⁸ This assumes that Norman Davis' expansion of the incomplete stage direction at line 470 ("Et eat pla<team.>") is correct (*Non-Cycle Plays and Fragments*, p. 104).

⁹ A good reproduction of the miniature can be found in *Hours of Etienne Chevalier*, plate 45.

the Macro text of the play was copied from the Digby manuscript, though the possibility that both were copied from a now-lost text cannot be ruled out.¹⁰

The play differs from the other moralities in its characters, its structure, and its theological content. The central human figure is represented here not by one character but by nine — Anima, the human soul; her five attendant senses; and her three human faculties of Mind, Will, and Understanding. The play is structured around the marriage of Anima to Wisdom, who is explicitly presented as an avatar of Christ, and around Lucifer's efforts to destroy this marriage through the seduction of her human faculties. Within this overarching structure, the action of the play proceeds in four sections; although this division is not indicated in the manuscripts, it seems clear enough that at least one editor has printed the play divided into four scenes.¹¹ The first of these scenes explains (in a format clearly derived from the late medieval sermon) the relationship between Wisdom and Anima. This relationship is also presented visually through the very elaborate costuming described in the play's expansive stage directions. The description of Anima dressed in white (indicative of her purity) with a black over-mantle (symbolizing original sin), as well as her status as potential bride to Christ, are derived primarily from the writings of the German theologian Heinrich Suso, whose *Orologium Sapientiae* was translated into English earlier in the fifteenth century as *The Seuene Poyntes of Trewe Loue and Euerlastyng Wisdom*, of which relevant passages are printed in Appendix 1.

The second "section" of the play involves Lucifer's very successful seduction of the three faculties or Mightes: Mind, Will, and Understanding. The three Mightes appear to be presented as cloistered monks, and Lucifer's argument is designed to convince them of the superiority of the active life in the world over the contemplative life of the cloister. Much of Lucifer's argument is derived from Walter Hilton's *Epistle on the Mixed Life*, the relevant passages of which are also printed in Appendix 1. Lucifer adopts Hilton's point (following Ecclesiastes 3:1) that all things have their appropriate times. He subtly twists Hilton's statement that we must sometimes act with Martha in governing the household with work, and sometimes with Mary in setting aside the business of the world to worship God; he also uses Hilton's description of Christ's life as a combination of the active and the contemplative modes.

The third part of the play demonstrates in the most flamboyant manner the fallen state of the three Mightes, who have changed their monastic habits for the dress of fashionable gallants. They have each changed their names, and they call in their followers for a series of masque dances, accompanied onstage by minstrels. Each group is dressed in the livery of its master, described in stage directions as explicit as those for Wisdom and Anima's costumes. Mind has become Maintenance (a complex idea involving the purchase of followers' support; the closest modern equivalent would be "graft"); he is followed by Indignation, Sturdiness, Malice, Rashness, Wretchedness, and Discord. Their livery is comprised of several images of force — red beards, lions rampant on their badges, and a weapon in the hands of each; their dance music is played aggressively on trumpets. Understanding has become Perjury, and his followers (Wrong, Slight, Doubleness, Falsehood, Rapine, and Deceit) are dressed as jurors. As he introduces them, Understanding notes that the "jurors in one hood bear two faces," which likely implies that they wear two-faced masks. They are accompanied by a bagpipe.

¹⁰ Riggio, *Play of Wisdom*, pp. 6–18.

¹¹ Eccles, *Macro Plays*.

Will's metamorphosis into Lechery appears to involve some serious gender-bending: his followers are six women, three of them disguised as (male) gallants, the other three dressed as women. Their dance is accompanied by a hornpipe. This third dance breaks down into a fight among the three faculties indicating the level of discord into which they have fallen. The fight is settled by Will, and the three discuss their next moves — Understanding/Perjury and Mind/Maintenance will haunt the law courts and the government in order to take bribes, while Will/Lechery intends to head for the nearest brothel. As they plot their strategies in language which suggests substantial understanding of the law on the part of the audience, Wisdom returns to rebuke them for their fall. They pay little attention until Anima reappears, "fouler than a fiend," with a pack of "small boys" dressed as devils who run out from under her mantle. The three Might's repent their sins and the devils are driven from the stage. Anima, Mind, Will, and Understanding leave the stage to seek mercy, as Anima sings a penitential passage from the Lamentations of Jeremiah. Wisdom, alone on stage, presents a sermon to the audience on the subject of the nine things which most please God, a text well-known in both Latin and English versions, sometimes attributed to Richard Rolle (a closely related Latin version is printed in Appendix 1).

Anima returns, accompanied by her full retinue of faculties and senses, all of them costumed as in the opening of the play with the addition of crowns. She describes her faults, both in her "inward wits" (the three faculties) and her "outward wits" (her five senses), pointing out that since her own contrition is not sufficient for redemption, she must now ask Wisdom for God's grace. His reply, the most dramatic moment of the play, describes the pain of Anima's fall as equal to that of the Crucifixion, which pain has now been remedied through Anima's penance and the gift of grace. In passages again based on Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection* (see Appendix 1), the three Might's indicate their own participation in Anima's redemption, and she closes the play, concluding that human perfection can only be achieved through the avoidance of sin and the renewal of grace.

Unusually among the morality plays, *Wisdom* raises significant issues of gender. Anima herself is clearly feminine, and is presented as a bride of Christ; her attributes, however, include not only her five interior senses, represented by the five (female) virgins, but also her three clearly masculine might's or powers, Mind, Will, and Understanding. To a certain extent, these mixed-gender attributes can be seen to reflect the gender ambiguity inherent in Christian theology, especially as it is seen in the Canticles — a major source for the play. The extreme cross-dressing of the third masque dance, however, presents gender ambiguities in a manner which can be seen as highly subversive. An important question raised in recent discussions of the play is the extent to which this subversive quality extends to gender roles elsewhere in the play.¹²

No performance history for the play survives, though it is evident from the extensive stage directions, as well as the marginal directions at lines 685 and 785, that the play was intended for performance. Some limited information can, however, be gleaned from the playtext and its manuscript concerning its performance. First, the large cast of actors, singers, and dancers, as well as the very elaborate costuming described by the stage directions, indicate sponsorship by a very wealthy person or institution. A monk by the name of Hyngham wrote two lines of verse at the end of the play as the owner of the book, and he has been identified as Thomas

¹² See, especially, C. Spivack, "Feminine vs. Masculine," pp. 137–44; Clark, Kraus, and Sheingorn, "Se in what stat thou doyst indwell," pp. 43–57; and Nisse, *Defining Acts*, pp. 125–47.

Hengham, a member of the monastic community at the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, Norfolk, in the 1470s. Bury was a notably wealthy house, and was visited by royalty on numerous occasions. The playtext itself also provides some useful information: the discussion of the advantages of the mixed life over the contemplative life which forms the basis of Lucifer's seduction of the three Mightes implies an audience for whom the theological status of the mixed life would be of interest. This need not have necessarily been a monastic audience; ownership of books on the subject shows that thoughtful members of the laity were also interested in the topic.¹³ The lives of vice which the three Mightes adopt after their seduction are strongly rooted in the world of the London law courts, and an understanding of this part of the play would require some competency in the law on the part of the audience, as well as an understanding of the most significant law-and-order problems of the period. Again, this does not necessarily imply an audience of lawyers, since training in the law was seen as an appropriate preliminary to the administration of an estate, and in the litigious society of the late fifteenth century knowledge of the law was widespread among the gentry. Monks and lawyers may well have been among the spectators for *Wisdom*, but the primary requirement for the audience would be a substantial degree of education. A mixed audience at the abbey of Bury St. Edmund's would certainly be a possibility, but a wealthy secular household would also be a likely venue for the play's performance, and households in the vicinity of Bury which might have housed the play would include those of John Morton, bishop of Ely, the Howard dukes of Norfolk, or the de la Pole dukes of Suffolk.¹⁴

THE TEXT

The manuscript texts have been lightly modernized to normalize the scribe's inconsistent use of u/w and i/j. Some consistency has also been introduced in the spelling of ambiguous words, so the second person singular pronoun always appears as "thee" and the definite article as "the"; "of" and "off" are likewise regularized, and all roman numerals are spelled out. Clear scribal errors are corrected without comment, and passages in the damaged portions of *The Pride of Life* which have been reconstructed conjecturally are indicated by square brackets. Most of these conjectures derive from the suggestions made by Norman Davis in his EETS edition of the play. Latin words and phrases in the text are translated in the notes.

¹³ On the play's connections with the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, see especially Riggio, "Staging of *Wisdom*," and Gibson, "Play of *Wisdom*," both in Riggio, "*Wisdom*" *Symposium*, as well as Gibson's *Theater of Devotion*, pp. 108–26.

¹⁴ Morton was suggested as a possible patron for the play by Milton McC. Gatch, "Mysticism and Satire," pp. 342–62; the Howards and de la Poles were proposed by Alexandra F. Johnston, "*Wisdom* and the Records"; *Wisdom* as household drama is discussed by Suzanne Westfall, *Patrons and Performance*.

MANUSCRIPTS

THE PRIDE OF LIFE

Indexed as item 2741 in Boffey and Edwards, eds., *New Index of Middle English Verse*:

- Dublin, Christ Church Cathedral, now destroyed; “partly available in facsimile in J. Mills, (Dublin, 1891).”

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WISDOM

Indexed as item 1440 in Boffey and Edwards, eds., *New Index of Middle English Verse*:

- Folger MS V.a.354 (the Macro manuscript) *NIMEV*: Folger Shakespeare Library 5031
- Bodleian Library MS Digby 133

Editions and facsimiles:

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THE PRIDE OF LIFE (REX VIVUS)

PROLOCUTOR	Pees, and herkynt hal ifer, [Ric] and por, yong and hold, Men and wemen that bet her, Bot lerit and leut, stout and bold.	<i>listen all together</i> <i>old</i> <i>who are here</i> <i>Both educated; uneducated (lewd); strong</i>
5	Lordinges and ladiis that beth hende, Herkenith al with mylde mode [How ou]re gam schal gyn and ende. Lorde us wel spede that sched his blode!	<i>at hand</i> <i>kindly disposition</i> <i>play; begin</i>
10	Now stondith stil and beth hende, [And ter]yith al for the weder, [And] ye schal or ye hennis wende Be glad that ye com hidir.	<i>be attentive</i> <i>stay (tarry); because of the weather</i> <i>before you go hence</i> <i>here</i>
15	Here ye schullin here spelle Of mirth and eke of kare; Herkenith and I wol you telle [How this our gam] schal fare.	<i>shall hear a story</i> <i>also</i> <i>play; go</i>
20	[Of the Kyng of] Lif I wol you telle; [He stondith] first biffore [All men that beth] of flessch and fel [And of woman i]bore.	<i>skin</i> <i>born</i>
25	[He is, forsoth, ful] stronge to stond, [And is] bycomin of kinge, [Giveth] lawis in eche a londe, [And nis] dradd of no thinge.	<i>truly</i> <i>born of a royal line</i> <i>afraid</i>
30	[In] pride and likinge his lif he ledith, Lordlich he lokith with eye; [Prin]ce and dukis, he seith, him dredith, [He] dredith no deth for to deye.	<i>pleasure</i> <i>Commandingly</i> <i>fear him</i> <i>fears</i>
30	[He] hath a lady lovelich al at likinge, Ne may he of no mirth mene ne misse;	<i>pleasure</i> <i>complain about</i>

- He seith in swetnise he wol set his likinge
And bringe his bale boun into blisse. *sorrow quickly to*
- Knytis he hat cumlic *handsome*
In bred and in leint; *breadth; height*
35 Not I nevir non suc *I have never known such*
Of stotey ney of strynt. *bravery nor of strength*
- Wat helpit to yilp mucil of his mit *complain bitterly; power*
Or bost to mucil of his blys? *too much*
[For] sorou may sit on is sit *his seat*
40 [And] myrt[h m]ay he not miss. *lack*
- [Here ek is the] ladi of lond, *also*
[The fa]inist a lord for to led; *most beautiful*
[Glad] may he be for to stond
[And b]ehold that blisful bled. *lovely creature*
- 45 [Tha]t ladi is lettrit in lor *educated; wisdom*
As cumli becomit for a quen, *fittingly*
And munit hir mac evirmor, *reminds; husband always*
As a dar for dred him to ten. *she dares; anger*
- Ho bid him bewar or he smert, *She; before; dies*
50 [F]or in his lond Det wol alend; *Death; come*
[As] ho lovit him gostlic in hert *loves; profoundly*
[Ho b]it him bewar of his hend. *bids; ending*
- [Ho] begynit to charp of char *speak; care*
Thes wordis wytout lesing: *falsehood*
55 “Det dot not spar *Death does*
Knytis, cayser, ne kyng. *emperor*
- Nou lord, lev thi likynd *leave; pleasure*
Wyc bryngit the soul gret bal.” *Which; pain*
This answer ho had of the kyng; *she*
60 “Ye, this a wommanis tal.” *idle speech*
- The kyng hit ne toke not to hert
For hit was a womanis spec *speech*
[And y]et hit mad him to smert *feel pain*
[W]an him mit help no lec. *When; might; doctor*
- 65 [The] quen yit can hir undirstond *further*
Wat help thar mit be, *might*
And sent aftir the bicop of the lond *bishop*
For he chout mor than he. *knew more than she*

- 70 He cham and precit al that he couthe,
And warnit him hal of his hind;
[H]it savrit not in the kyngis mout,
Bot hom he bad him wynd.
*came; preached; could
thoroughly; end
It does not taste good in the king's mouth
home; commanded; to go*
- 75 Wan the bicop is tham wend
Fram that kene stryf
[To Det a me]ssenger than send
[Hat] the Kyng of Lif.
*gone
bitter
Death; then sent
Has*
- 80 [For he] him wold do undirstond
[That al] he may del and dit:
[He] wold cum into his owin lond
On him to kyt his mit.
*would cause him to understand
control; govern
[Death] should come
Upon him to show his power*
- Deth comith, he dremith a dredfful dreme —
Welle aghte al carye;
And slow fader and moder and then heme:
He ne wold none sparye.
*ought all to be afraid
slew; then [his] uncle
spare*
- 85 Sone after hit befel that Deth and Life
Beth togeder itaken;
And ginnith and strivith a sterne strife
The King of Life to wrake.
*Happen to come together
begin; fierce struggle
ruin*
- 90 With him drivith adoun to grounde,
He dredith nothing his knightis;
And delith him depe dethis wounde
And kith on him his mightis.
*vigorously [Death] drives him
[Death] fears not at all
manifests*
- 95 Qwhen the body is doun ibroght
The soule sorow awakith;
The bodyis pride is dere aboght,
The soule the fendis takith.
*body's pride is dearly bought
devils seize*
- 100 And throgh priere of Oure Lady mylde
The soule and body schul dispyte;
Scho wol prey her son so mylde,
Godenisse scho wol qwyte.
*prayer
part ways (be in dispute)
reward*
- The cors that nere knewe of care,
No more then stone in weye,
Schal wit of sorow and sore care
And thrawe betwene ham tweye.
*body; never experienced grief
than a stone in the road
know
suffer between the two of them*
- 105 The soule theron schal be weye
That the fendis have ikaghte;
*weighed
devils; caught*

And Oure Lady schal therfor preye
So that with her he schal be lafte.

[the soul] shall remain

Nou beith in pes and beith hende,
110 And distourbith noght oure place,
For this oure game schal gin and ende
Throgh Jhesu Cristis swete grace.

*rest in peace and be attentive
stage
play; begin*

Rex Vivus incipiet sic dicendum:

The King of Life begins, speaking thus

[REX] Pes, now, ye princis of powere so prowde,
Ye kingis, ye kempis, ye knightis ikorne,
115 Ye barons bolde, that beith me obowte;
[Sem] schal yu my sawe, swaynis isworne.¹

*KING
warriors; chosen
who attend me*

Squieris stoute, stondit now stille,
And lestenith to my hestis, I hote yu now her,
Or I schal wurch yu wo with werkis of wil
120 And doun schal ye drive, be ye never so dere.

*orders; command; here
punish you with firm measures
[be] driven; courageous*

King ic am, kinde of kingis ikorre,
Al the worlde wide to welde at my wil;
Nas ther never no man of woman iborre
Ogein me withstonde that I nold him spille.

*descended from famous kings
control
born
Against; could not; destroy*

125 Lordis of lond beith at my ledinge,
Al men schal abow in hal and in bowr;
.....

*command
bow down in hall; private apartment*

[REGINA] Baldli thou art mi bot,
Tristili and ful treu;
Of al mi rast thou art rot,
130 I nil chong fer no new.

*QUEEN; Assuredly; protector
Faithfully
comfort; root
will not change for*

REX Al in wel ic am biwent,
May no grisful thing me grou;
Likyng is wyt me bilent,
Alyng is it mi behou.

*gone
terrible; grieve
Pleasure; come to me
Altogether; benefit*

135 Strent and Hel, knytis kete,
[Douti], derrist in ded,
Lok that for no thing ye let
Smartli to me sped.

*Strength and Health, bold knights
Brave, boldest in deed
nothing hinder you
Quickly to attend me*

¹ My speech shall [be] pleasing [to] you, [my] sworn retainers

Bringit wyt you brit brondis,
 140 Helmis brit and schen;
 For ic am lord ofir al londis
 And that is wel isen.

bright swords
Helmets; shining
very clear

PRIMUS MILES, FORTITUDO

FIRST SOLDIER, STRENGTH
may trust [me]

Lord, in truthe thou mit trist
 Fethfuli to stond
 145 Thou mit liv as thee list,
 For wonschildis thu fond.

please
defenders; have found

Ic am Strent, stif and strong,
 Nevar is suc non,
 In al this world brod and long,
 150 Imad of blod and bon.

Strength, steadfast
such a one
Made

Hav no dout of no thing
 That evir may befal;
 Ic am Streynt thi derling
 Flour of knitis al.

Flower; knights

SECUNDUS MILES, SANITAS

SECOND SOLDIER, HEALTH
wears
reasonable
Health

155 King of Lif, that berist the croun,
 As hit is skil and righte
 I am Hele icom to toun,
 Thi kind curteyse knighte.

Thou art lord of lim and life,
 160 And king withouten ende;
 Stif and strong and sterne in strif,
 In londe qwher thou wende.

body
Steadfast; unwavering
where; go

Thou nast no nede to sike sore
 For no thing on lyve;
 165 Thou schal lyve evermore:
 Qwho dar with thee strive?

have not any need; sigh
Who

REX Strive? Nay, to me qwho is so gode?
 Hit were bot folye;
 Ther is no man that me dur bode
 170 Any vileynye.

[compared] to me who
dares threaten me with

Qwherof schuld I drede
 Qwhen I am King of Life?
 Ful evil schuld he spede
 To me that wroght strive.

offers strife

175 I schal lyve evermo
 And croun ber as kynge;
 I ne may never wit of wo,
 I lyve at my likinge.

*wear
 know any woe
 for my pleasure*

REGINA Sire, thou saist as thee liste,
 180 Thou livist at thi wille;
 Bot somthing thou miste,
 And therfor hold thee stille.

*wish
 according to your
 omitted*

Thinke, thou haddist beginninge
 Qwhen thou were ibore;
 185 And bot thou mak god endinge
 Thi sowle is forlore.

*born
 unless
 lost*

Love God and Holy Chirche,
 And have of him som eye;
 Fonde his werkis for to wurch
 190 And thinke that thou schal deye.

*them; fear
 Try; do
 be mindful*

REX Douce dam, qwhi seistou so?
 Thou spekis noght as the sleye.
 I schal lyve evermo
 For bothe two thin eye.

*Sweet lady; say you
 wise
 your two eyes*

195 Woldistou that I were dede
 That thou might have a new?
 Hore, the devil gird off thi hede
 Bot that worde schal thee rewe!

*Do you wish I were dead
 [So] you; new [husband]
 Whore; strike off
 regret*

REGINA Dede, sire? Nay, God wote my wil,
 200 That ne kepte I noghte;
 Hit wolde like me full ille
 Were hit thareto broghte.

*knows
 That [thought]
 please
 brought to pass*

[Yet] thogh thou be kinge
 Nede schalt have ende;
 205 Deth overcomith al thinge
 How-so-ever we wende.

*Necessity; come at last
 go*

REX Ye, dam, thou hast wordis fale,
 Hit comith thee of kinde;
 This nis bot women tale,
 210 And that I wol thee finde.

*many words
 naturally
 nothing but women's talk
 show*

I ne schal never deye
 For I am King of Life;

- Deth is undir myne eye
And therfor leve thi strife. *in awe of me
arguing*
- 215 Thou dost bot mak myn hert sore,
For hit nel noght helpe; *will not*
I prey thee spek of him no more.
Qwhat wolte of him yelpe? *brag*
- REGINA** Yilpe, sire? Ney, so mot I the; *Brag; thrive*
220 I sigge hit noght therfore, *said*
Bot kinde techith bothe thee and me,
First qwhen we were bore, *nature*
- For doute of Dethis maistri,
To wepe and make sorowe; *fear; power*
- 225 Holy writ and prophecye *scripture*
Therof I take to borowe. *as evidence*
- Therfor, qwhile ye have mighte
And the worlde at wille,
I rede ye serve God Almightie *advise*
- 230 Bothe loude and stille.
- This world is bot fantasye
And ful of trechurye;
Gode sire, for youre curteysye
Take this for no folye.
- 235 For, God wot the sothe, *truth*
I ne sey hit for no fabil; *fiction*
Deth wol smyte to thee,
In feith loke thou be stabil. *steadfast*
- REX** Qwhat prechistou of Dethis might *do you preach*
240 And of his maistrie? *power*
He ne durst onis with me fight
For his bothe eye. *dares not once
both his eyes*
- Streinth and Hele, qwhat say ye,
My kinde korin knightis? *gracious chosen*
- 245 Schal Deth be lord over me
And reve me of mightis? *deprive*
- I MILES** Mi lord, so brouke I my bronde, *as I wield my sword*
God that me forbede
That Deth schold do thee wronge
- 250 Qwhile I am in thi thede. *country*

	I wol withstonde him with strife And make his sidis blede, And tel him that thou art King of Life And lorde of londe and lede.	<i>people</i>
II MILES	May I him onis mete	<i>once</i>
256	With this longe launce, In felde other in strete, I wol him give mischaunce.	<i>or bad luck</i>
REX	Ye, thes be knightis of curteisye	
260	And doghti men of dede; Of Deth ne of his maistrie Ne have I no drede.	<i>brave power</i>
	Qwher is Mirth my messenger, Swifte so lefe on lynde?	<i>as a leaf on the lime tree</i>
265	He is a nobil bachelere That rennis bi the wynde.	<i>young man runs like</i>
	Mirth and solas he can make And ren so the ro; Lightly lepe ovre the lake	<i>comfort run like the roe deer stream</i>
270	Qwher-so-ever he go.	
	Com and her my talente Anone and hy the blyve: Qwher any man, as thou has wente, Dorst with me to strive?	<i>desire Quickly and hurry immediately Whether; wherever you have gone Dares</i>
NUNCIUS	King of Lif and lord of londe,	MESSENGER
276	As thou sittis on thi se And florresschist with thi bright bronde, To thee I sit on kne.	<i>seat sword I kneel</i>
	I am Mirth, wel thou wost,	<i>know</i>
280	Thi mery messagere; That wostou wel, withoute bost, Ther nas never my pere	<i>you know equal</i>
	Doghtely to done a dede That ye have for to done,	<i>Bravely; do</i>
285	Hen to Berewik upon Twede And com ogein ful sone;	<i>From here</i>
	Ther is nothing thee iliche In al this worlde wide	<i>equal</i>

Of gold and silver and robis riche
 290 And hei hors on to ryde. *tall*

I have ben bothe fer and nere
 In bataile and in strife;
 Ocke ther was never thy pere, *But; peer*
 For thou art King of Life.

REX Aha! Solas, now thou seist so, *Comfort*
 296 Thou miriest me in my mode; *make merry; mind*
 Thou schal, boy, ar thou hennis go *before; hence*
 Be avaunsyd, bi the Rode. *promoted; Cross*

Thou schal have for thi gode wil
 300 To thin avauncement, *As your promotion*
 The castel of Gailispire on the Hil,
 And the erldom of Kente.

Draw the cord, Sire Streynth, *curtain string*
 Rest I wol now take;
 305 On erth in brede ne leynth
 Ne was nere yet my make. *never; equal*

*Et tunc clauso tentorio dicet Regina secrete nuncio:*¹

REGINA Messenger, I pray thee nowe
 For thi curteysye,
 Go to the bisschop, for thi prow, *profit*
 310 And byd him hydir to hye. *hurry*

Bid him be ware before,
 Sey him that he most preche;
 My lord the King is ney lore *almost lost*
 Bot he wol be his leche. *Unless*

315 Sey him that he wol leve noght *believe*
 That ever he schal deye;
 He is in siche errour broghte *such*
 Of God stont him non eye. *he has; fear*

NUNCIUS Madam, I make no taryng
 320 With softe wordis mo;
 For I am Solas, I most singe *Comfort; must*
 Overal qwher I go. *Everywhere*

¹ Then, having closed the curtain, the Queen speaks privately with the messenger

Et cantat.

And he sings

Sire Bisschop, thou sittist on thi se
With thi mitir on thi hevede;
325 My lady the Qwen preyith thee
Hit schold noght be bilevyd.

seat
miter; head
neglected

.....

EPISCOPUS The world is now, so wo-lo-wo,
In suc bal ibound
That dred of God is al ago
330 And treut is go to ground.

BISHOP; alas
such evil
gone
truth; laid low

Med is mad a demisman,
Streyint betit the law;
Geyl is mad a cepman
And truyt is don of dau.

Bribery; judge
Strength overcomes
Deceit; merchant
truth is put to death

335 Wyt is now al trecri,
Othis fals and gret;
Low is nou al lecuri
And corteysi is let.

treachery
Oaths
Law; lechery
hindered

340 Play is now vileni,
Cildrin bet onlerit,
Halliday is glotuny —
This lawis bet irerit.

villainy
are uneducated
Holy days
These; are established

345 Slet men bet bleynd
And lokit al amis;
He bicomit onkynd
And that is reut, iwis.

Wise; blinded
see everything
They; unnatural
pity; truly

350 Frend may no man find
Of fremit ne of sib;
The ded bet out of mind,
Gret sorw it is to lib.

Unrelated nor related
are
live

Thes ricmen bet reuthyles,
The por got to ground,
And fals men bet schamles,
The sot ic hav ifound.

pitiless
are destroyed
are
truth I

355 It is wrong the ric knyht
Al that the por dot;

do

	Far that is sen day and nit Wosa wol sig sot.	<i>Far and wide; seen Whoso will speak truth</i>
360	Paraventur men halt me a fol To sig that sot tal; Thai farit as fisis in a pol — The gret eteit the smal.	<i>Perhaps; consider speak that true tale live like fish eat</i>
365	Ricmen spart for no thing To do the por wrong; Thai thingit not on hir ending Ne on Det that is so strong.	<i>spare think Nor on Death</i>
370	Nothir thai lovit God ne dredit Nother him no his lawis; Touart hel fast him spedit Ageins har ending-daws.	<i>Neither nor Towards hell; hasten Before their last days</i>
	Bot God of his godnis Gif ham gras to amend, Into the delful derknys The got wytout hend.	<i>Gives them grace terrible Which lasts</i>
375	Ther is dred and sorow And wo wytoutin wel; No man may othir borow Be ther nevir so fel.	<i>without rescue many</i>
380	Ther ne fallit no maynpris, Ne supersidias; Thay he be kyng or iustis, He passit not the pas.	<i>be available; bail (see note) Though; judge passage (death's door)</i>
385	Lord, that for his manhed And also for his god, That for lov and not for dred Deit oppon the Rod,	<i>goodness Died; Cross</i>
390	Gif ou gras or lif to led That be your soulis to bot; God of Hevin for his godhed Lev that hit so mot. Amen.	<i>Give you grace For your souls' salvation Permit; may be so</i>
	<i>Tunc dicet regi:</i>	<i>Then he says to the king</i>
	Schir Kyng, thing uppon thin end And how that thou schalt dey,	<i>Sir; think</i>

	Wat wey that thou schalt wend Bot thou be bisey.	<i>go</i> <i>Unless; take care</i>
395	And eke that thou art lenust man, And haddist begynning, And evirmor hav thout opon Thi dredful ending.	<i>also; very frail</i> <i>thought</i> <i>fearful</i>
400	Thou schalt thing thanne — And mac thee evir yar — That Det is not the man For nothing thee wil spar.	<i>think (remember)</i> <i>make yourself; ready</i> <i>Death; your servant</i> <i>will spare you</i>
405	Thou schalt do dedis of rit And lernen Cristis lor, And lib in hevin-lit To savy thi soul fro sor.	<i>justice</i> <i>wisdom</i> <i>live; heaven's light</i> <i>save; pain</i>
REX	Wat! Bissop, byssop babler, Schold Y of Det hav dred? Thou art bot a chagler — 410 Go hom thi wey, I red.	<i>What</i> <i>Should I fear Death</i> <i>windbag (jangler)</i> <i>advise</i>
	Wat! com thou therfor hidir Wit Deth me to afer? That thou and he bot togidir Into the se scot wer.	<i>frighten</i> <i>both together</i> <i>sea thrown</i>
415	Go hom, God gif thee sorow, Thou wreist me in my mod. War woltou prec tomorou? Thou nost ner, bi the Rod!	<i>give</i> <i>anger; mind</i> <i>Where will you preach</i> <i>don't know at all; Cross</i>
420	Troust thou I wold be ded In mi yyng lif? Thou lisst, screu, bolhed; Evil mot thou thrive.	<i>Believe</i> <i>young</i> <i>lie, villain, idiot</i>
425	Wat schold I do at churg, wat? Schir bisop, wostou er? Nay, churc nis no wyl cat, Hit wol abid ther.	<i>church</i> <i>do you know</i> <i>wild</i> <i>stay</i>
430	I wool let car away, And go on mi pleyng. To hontyng and to othir play For al thi long prechyng.	<i>worry (care) [go] away</i> <i>concentrate on</i> <i>long-winded</i>

- I am yyng, as thou mit se,
 And hav no ned to char *be worried*
 The wyle the Quen and [mi me]iné *While; retinue*
 About me bet yar. *are ready*
- EPISCOPUS** Thynk, Schir Kyng, one othir trist — *Believe; otherwise*
 436 That tyng misst son. *will fail soon*
 Thot thou lev now as the list, *Though; live; you please*
 Det wol cum rit son, *very soon*
- And give thee dethis wounde
 440 For thin outrage; *presumption*
 Within a litil stounde *short time*
 Then artou but a page. *servant*
- Qwhen thou art graven on grene, *buried*
 Ther metis fleys and molde, *come together flies and mold*
 445 Then helpith litil, I wene, *believe*
 Thi gay croun of golde.
- Sire Kyng, have goday,
 Crist I you betече. *commend you to*
- REX** Fare wel, bisschop, thi way,
 450 And lerne bet to preche. *better*
- Hic adde.* *Here he leaves*
- Now, mafay, hit schal be sene, *by my faith*
 I trow, yit to-daye,
 Qwher Deth me durst tene *dares trouble*
 And mete in the waye.
- 455 Qwher artou, my messagere,
 Solas bi thi name?
 Loke that thou go fer and nere,
 As thou wolt have no blame,
- My banis for to crye *proclamation; shout*
 460 By dayis and bi nighte;
 And loke that thou aspye, *find out*
 Ye, bi al thi mighte,
- Of Deth and of his maistrye *power*
 Qwher he durst com in sighte, *Whether he dares*
 465 Ogeynis me and my meyné *Against; retinue*
 With force and armis to fighte.

	Loke that thou go both est and west And com ogeyne anone.	<i>again</i>
	NUNCIUS Lorde, to wende I am prest,	<i>go; ready</i>
470	Lo, now I am gone.	
	<i>Et eat pla[team]</i>	<i>He goes into (or through) the place</i>
	Pes and listenith to my sawe, Bothe yonge and olde; As ye wol noght ben aslawe Be ye neuer so bolde.	<i>my words</i> <i>If you would; slain</i>
475	I am a messenger isente From the Kyng of Life; That ye schal fulfil his talente On peyne of lym and lif.	<i>desire</i>
	His hestis to hold and his lawe	<i>orders; uphold</i>
480	Uche a man on honde; Lest ye be henge and todraw, Or kast in hard bonde.	<i>Each; here</i> <i>hanged and disembowelled</i> <i>bondage</i>
	Ye wittin wel that he is king And lord of al londis,	<i>know</i>
485	Kepere and maister of al thing Within se and sondis.	<i>From coast to coast</i>
	I am sente for to enquer Oboute ferre and nere, Yif any man dar werre arere	<i>ask</i> <i>If; dare raise war</i>
490	Agein suche a bachelere.	<i>young man</i>
	To wrother hele he was ibore That wold with hym stryve; Be him sikir he is ilore As here in this lyve,	<i>misfortune</i> <i>certain; lost</i>
495	Thegh hit wer the King of Deth And he so hardy were; Bot he ne hath might ne meth The King of Lif to afere;	<i>Although</i> <i>power nor ability</i> <i>frighten</i>
	Be he so hardy or so wode	<i>insane</i>
500	In his londe to aryve,	<i>arrive</i>

He wol se his herte-blode
And he with hym stryve.

see his own life-blood
If

If . . .

NOTES TO THE PRIDE OF LIFE

ABBREVIATIONS: *CT*: Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*; *MED*: *Middle English Dictionary*; *OED*: *Oxford English Dictionary*; *s.d.*: stage direction; **Whiting**: Whiting, *Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases*.

- 4 Although the fragmentary manuscript of the play survived to modern times among the archives of the Augustinian priory of the Holy Trinity, the fact that the playwright invites both the “lered” and the “lewed” to enjoy the play would argue strongly in favor of a public performance, rather than a cloistered audience. Alan J. Fletcher has shown that the priory was involved in other modes of public performance as well (*Drama, Performance, and Polity*, p. 84).
- 10 The reference to the weather would seem to imply an outdoor performance.
- 15–112 It is common for medieval drama to present a summary of a play (or cycle), called the banns, before the action begins. The banns were often used as an advertisement, not unlike a modern movie trailer, to generate interest in the play and to announce the performance. Banns were also shouted to spread official news, as in line 459 (“My banis for to crye”). See Introduction, p. 3, and note to line 503.
- 60 *a wommanis tal.* Coldeway’s gloss, “an old wive’s tale,” has merit, providing an early example of that idiom. *OED* cites Marlowe’s *Faust* V.133 as the earliest instance of the gendered saying.
- 69 *couthē.* I have followed Norman Davis’ gloss here (“could”), though Coldeway’s “knew” works well too, especially given the sense of *chout* in line 68.
- 73 *tham.* MS *yam.* Holthausen, following Bradl, reads *ham.* Davis and Coldeway: *than.*
- 97 The banns do not make it clear if the Virgin Mary’s prayers and the king’s subsequent redemption actually formed a part of the play, but to make sense of the argument it would seem that they must have done so.
- 98 There are many dialogue poems consisting of a debate between the body and the soul, both in Middle English and in other European vernaculars. It is not clear in the banns whether this description is intended to describe such a debate on stage or simply to indicate that it is the body’s pride (line 95) by which the soul is damned (line 96).
- 98, 100 Holthausen transposes these two lines; Coldeway follows the transposition, the sense of lines 97–100 thus being: “Through the prayers of Our Lady mild / She would repay all goodness; / She will pray to her son so mild, / [That] the soul and

- body shall part ways.” Davis glosses “dispyte” as “dispute, contend,” but “part ways” gets better at the sense, since the next two stanzas present just such a severance as the body learns the pains of death (lines 101–04) while Mary would reclaim the soul from the fiends so that it might abide (lines 105–08).
- 110 “Place” here likely has the specific sense of the Latin “platea” (see also line 470 s.d.), the neutral space on the ground which must be constantly renegotiated between actors and audience. The line’s meaning then would be: “Don’t interfere with our playing area.”
- 126 This is the first break between sections of text in the manuscript in which text has been lost; the faulty rhyme scheme shows that at least two lines of the stanza have disappeared between the blocks of text, as well as the following speech heading.
- 135 *knytis*. MS: *kyntes*.
- 213 *undir myne eye*. *Rex* evokes courtly conventions whereby all in the king’s presence bow to his authority. Death is viewed here as a member of the court and thus stands in awe of the king’s purview.
- 263 The king’s messenger is variously called “Mirth” (Pleasure) and “Solas” (Comfort). He is the king’s principal servant, while the two soldiers, Strength and Health, represent the king’s protection. Mirth represents the king’s primary interests in life, pleasure and creature comforts.
- 285 *Berewik upon Twede*. A town in the far northeast of England, just south of the Scottish border. Mirth will travel great distances in his king’s service.
- 301 Many suggestions have been made for the identity of “Gailispire on the Hill,” most of them in England. Fletcher has shown that the reference is very likely to Giltspur, in the northern part of County Wicklow, not far south of Dublin. In the eighteenth century it was known as Gilsper or Gillspur Hill, and the Augustinian canons of Dublin owned land in the area (*Drama, Performance, and Polity*, pp. 84–86).
- 302 The earldom of Kent reverted to the crown in 1407, and it is possible that this line could imply a date for the play prior to this, when the title was still in private hands; or after, if *Rex Vivus* is the king of England, as he again has Kent to give as a reward.
- 303 The king asks Strength to draw the cord which pulls a curtain across a space on the stage, likely an inner room or booth. In its simplest form, this would have been the back part of the stage, separated from the front by the curtain and cord to which he refers. It might well have contained a couch or bed on which the king can take his rest (as in line 304).
- 322, s.d. There is no indication of what song Mirth might sing, but any popular tavern song of a secular nature would be appropriate, and the decision might well have been left to the actor. Unfortunately, this is exactly the type of song that is least likely to survive, and no appropriate songs from the later fourteenth century have come down to us. See Appendix 2 for a suggestion.

- 326 This is the second place where a break between two text blocks also seems to indicate a loss of some text. It might be quite a substantial loss here, since Mirth the messenger needs to explain his errand to the bishop.
- 327–90 The bishop’s complaint is derived from a well-known poem usually called “The Abuses of the Age.” Two representative versions are printed in Appendix 1.
- 332 *Streyint*. The bishop’s complaint is not likely a reference to the first soldier, also called “Strength” (line 143 s.n.), but to brute force.
- 343 *Slet*. The manuscript reads “Slot,” which could be an error either for “slet,” an unusual word meaning “crafty” or “wise” (cognate with modern English “sleight”), or for “sot,” which would be an orthographic variant of “soth” (“true”).
- 362 *gret eteit the smal*. Proverbial; see Whiting G 444. Compare F 232 (“great fish eat the small”) and D 146 (“mickle feer heve the little”).
- 380 A writ of “supersedeas” suspends a court’s proceedings, generally in favor of a participant’s involvement in a case in a higher court. The legal terminology reminds all that they have an irrevocable date with death.
- 390 s.d. In the missing lines (see note to line 326), the bishop must have returned to the king, who has emerged from behind the curtain (line 303). The sermon is likely for the king as well as the audience.
- 401–02 *Det is not the man . . . wil spar*. Coldeway glosses: Death is not “the kind of man / Who will spare you anything.”
- 442 *Then artou but a page*. The bishop suggests the king’s power is useless against death, that the king is as powerless against death as a page is to the king.
- 456 *Solas*. There is only one messenger, alternately named Mirth (lines 263 and 279), later called Solas (lines 295, 321, and 456). This is not a second messenger.
- 502 I have followed Davis and Coldeway in placing a period at the end of this line despite the fact that the manuscript simply breaks off here.
- 503 The banns give some indication of the rest of the play, though their description of the action is not entirely clear. Mirth delivers his message to Death, who accepts the king’s challenge. In the following battle — defined in the banns as a battle between Life and Death — the King of Life is killed, and his soul is seized by devils. The soul prays to the Virgin Mary for deliverance. The banns do not indicate whether the king’s soul is a speaking character, nor whether the soul’s prayers to Mary are successful (though the action of the rest of the play would suggest that they are). It is also not clear whether Mary herself appears at the end of the play; although the playwright notes that she “will pray to her son” (line 99) and “will reward goodness” (line 100), the banns do not specify that these are actions which take place as part of the play.



WISDOM

Fyrst enterlyde Wysdome in a Ryche purpull clothe of golde, wyth a mantyll of the same ermynnyde wythin, havynge about his neke a ryall hood furred wyth Ermyn, upon hys hede a cheveler [wig] wyth browys [eye-brows], a berde of golde of Sypres [Cyprus] Curlyde, a Ryche Imperyall Crown therupon, sett wyth precyus stonys and perlys. In his leyfte honde, a balle of golde wyth a cros theruppon, and in hys Ryght honde a Regall schepter [scepter], thus seyng:

WYDSOM	<p>Yff ye wyll wet the propyrté Ande the resun of my nayme imperyall, I am clepyde of hem that in erthe be Everlastynge Wysdom, to my noble egalle, 5 Wyche name accordyt best in especyall, And most to me ys convenient. Allethow eche persone of the Trinyté be wysdom eternall, And all thre on everlastynge wysdome togedyr present,</p>	<p><i>If; know the meaning significance called by those equal to my nobility suits me best appropriate Although; is in; [are] present</i></p>
	<p>Nevertheles, forasmoche as wysdom ys propyrlly 10 Applyede to the Sune be resune, And also yt fallyt to hym specyally Bycause of hys hye generacyon, Therfor the belovyde Sone hathe this sygnyficacyon, Custummaly Wysdom, now Gode, now man, 15 Spous of the chyrche and very patrone, Wyffe of eche chose soule — thus Wysdom begane.</p>	<p><i>Attributed; Son; reason belongs birth Customarily true chosen</i></p>

Here entrethe Anima as a mayde, in a wyght [white] clothe of gold gyedly purfyled [handsomely bordered] with menyver [fur], a mantyll of blake theruppeon, a cheveler [wig] lyke to Wysdom, wyth a ryche chappelet [coronet] lasyde [fastened] behynde [at the back] hangynge down wyth to [two] knottys of golde and syde tasselys, knelynge down to Wysdom, thus seyng:

[ANIMA]	<p>“<i>Hanc amavi et exquisivi</i>” — Fro my yougthe thys have I soute, To have to my spouse most specyally 20 For a lover of your schappe am I wroute. Above all hele and bewty that ever was sought, I have lovyde Wysdom as for my lyght, For alle goodnes wyth hym ys broughte. In wysdom I was made all bewty bryghte!</p>	<p><i>[SOUL] Her have I loved and sought (Wisdom 8:2) From; sought appearance; created health</i></p>
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- 25 Of your name the hye felycyté
 No creature knowyt full exposycyon. *has full understanding*
- WYSDAM** “*Sapiencia specialior est sole.*”¹
 I am foundon lyghte wythout comparyson, *created*
 Of sterrys above all the dysposicyon, *display*
- 30 Forsothe of lyght the very bryghtnes, *Truly*
 Meroure of the dyvyne domynacyon, *Mirror*
 And the image of hys goodnes.
- Wysdom ys better than all worldly precyosnes,
 And all that may dysyryde be
- 35 Ys not in comparyschon to my lyknes. *nothing*
 The lengthe of the yerys in my ryght syde be,
 Ande in my lefte syde ryches, joy, and prosperyté.
 Lo, this ys the worthynes of my name!
- ANIMA** A, soveren Wysdom! Yff your benygnyté *If; kindness*
 40 Wolde speke of love, that wer a game! *pleasure*
- WYSDOM** Of my love to speke, yt ys myrable. *wonderful*
 Beholde now, Soull, wyth joyfull mynde,
 How lovely I am, how amyable
 To be halsyde and kyssyde of mankynde. *embraced*
- 45 To all clene soullys I am full hende *ready at hand*
 And ever present wer that they be. *where*
 I love my lovers wythoutyn ende
 That ther love have stedfast in me.
- The prerogatyff of my love ys so grett
- 50 That wo tastyt therof the lest droppe sure *who tastes*
 All lustys and lykynys worldly shall lett; *desires; leave*
 They shall seme to hym fylthe and ordure. *garbage*
 They that of the hevy burthen of synne hathe cure, *[need of] cure*
 My love dyschargethe and purifyethe clene.
- 55 It strengtheth the mynde, the soull makyt pure, *strengthens*
 And gevyt wysdom to hem that perfyghte bene. *gives*
 Wo takyt me to spouse may veryly wene, *Who; understand*
 Yff above all thyng ye love me specyally,
 That rest and tranquyllyté he shall sene, *see*
- 60 And dey in sekyrnes of joy perpetuall. *die; certainty*
- The hey worthynes of my love *high*
 Angell nor man can tell playnly;
 Yt may be felt from experyens above, *spiritual experience*
 But not spoke ne tolde as yt ys veryly. *spoken of; truly*

¹ *Wisdom is more splendid than the sun* (Wisdom 7:29)

- 65 The godly love no creature can specyfy.
 What wrech is that lovyth not this love,
 That lovyt hys lovers ever so tendyrly,
 That hys syght from them never can remove? *describe*
- ANIMA** O worthy spouse and soveren father,
 70 O swet amyke, our joy, our blys! *beloved*
 To your love wo dothe repeyer, *who; turn*
 All felycyté yn that creature ys.
 Wat may I geve you ageyn for this,
 O Creator, lover of your creature?
- 75 Though be our freelté we do amys, *because of our frailty*
 Your grett mercy ever sparyth reddure. *punishment*
- A, soveren Wysdom, *sanctus sanctorum!* *holy of holies*
 Wat may I geve to your most plesaunce? *What; greatest pleasure*
- WYSDOM** “*Fili, prebe michi cor tuum!*” *Son, give me your heart (Proverbs 23:26)*
- 80 I aske not ellys of all thi substance;
 Thy clene hert, thi meke obeysance, *obedience*
 Geve me that and I am contente. *Give*
- ANIMA** A, soveren joy, my hertys affyance! *greatest*
 The fervoure of my love to you I present, *display*
- 85 That mekyt my herte, your love so fervent. *makes meek*
 Teche me the scolys of your dyvynyté. *doctrines*
- WYSDOM** Dysyer not to savour in cunnynge to excellent, *too complex*
 But drede and conforme your wyll to me,
 For yt ys the heelfull dyscyplyne that in wysdam may be, *healthy*
- 90 The drede of God, that ys begynnynge —
 The wedys of synne yt makyt to flee, *weeds; causes*
 And swete vertuus herbys in the soull sprynge. *grow*
- ANIMA** O endles Wysdom, how may I have knowynge
 Of thi Godhede incomprehensyble?
- WYSDOM** By knowynge of yoursylff ye may have felynge *some sense*
 96 Wat Gode ys in your soule sensyble. *[Of] what*
 The more knowynge of your selff passyble, *[which is] possible*
 The more veryly ye shall God knowe. *truly*
- ANIMA** O soveren Auctoure most credyble, *Creator*
 100 Your lessun I attende as I owe, *ought*
- I that represent here the soull of man.
 Wat ys a soull, wyll ye declare?
- WYSDOM** Yt ys the ymage of Gode that all began,
 And not only ymage, but hys lyknes ye are.
- 105 Of all creaturys the fayrest ye ware *were*
 Into the tyme of Adamys offence. *Until*

ANIMA Lord, sythe we, thy soulis, yet nowt wer ther, *since*
 Wy of the fyrst man bye we the violence? *Why; pay for*

WYSDOM For every creature that hath ben or shall
 110 Was in natur of the fyrst man, Adame,
 Of hym takynge the fylthe of synne orygynall,
 For of hym all creaturys cam.
 Than by hym of reson ye have blame, *Then because of him reasonably*
 And be made the brondys of helle. *firebrands*
 115 Wen ye be bore fyrst of your dame, *When; born; mother*
 Ye may in no wyse in hevyn dwell,

For ye be dysvyguryde be hys synne, *disfigured by*
 Ande dammyde to derknes from Godys syghte.

ANIMA How dothe grace than ageyn begynne?
 120 Wat reformythe the soull to hys fyrste lyght?
WYSDOM Wysdam, that was Gode and man ryght,
 Made a fulle sethe to the Fadyr of hevyn *atonement*
 By the dredfull dethe to hym was dyght, *[which] was ordained*
 Of wyche dethe spronge the sacramentys sevyn,

125 Wyche sacramentys all synne wasche away.
 Fyrst baptem clensythe synne orygynall, *baptism*
 And reformyt the soull in feythe verray *true*
 To the gloryus lyknes of Gode eternall
 Ande makyt yt as fayer and as celestyall
 130 As yt never dyffoulyde had be, *defiled; been*
 Ande ys Crystys own specyall, *intimate*
 Hys restynge place, hys plesant see. *seat*

ANIMA In a soule watt thyngys be,
 By wyche he hathe his very knowynge? *true knowledge*

WYSDOM Tweyn partyes. The on, sensualityt, *Two parts; sense*
 136 Wyche ys clepyde the flechly felynge. *called; fleshly*
 The fyve outewarde wyttys to hym be servynge; *senses*
 Wan they be not reulyde ordynatly, *ruled properly*
 The sensualityt than, wythoute lesynge, *falsehood*
 140 Ys made the ymage of synne then of his foly. *because of*

The other parte, that ys clepyde resone,
 Ande that ys the ymage of Gode propyrly,
 For by that the soull of Gode hath cognycyon, *knowledge*
 And be that hym servyt and lovevyt duly. *because of that; loves*
 145 Be the neyther parte of reson he knowyt dyscretly *By; lower; individually*
 All erthely thyngys, how they shall be usyde, *ought to be*
 What suffysyth to hys myghtys bodely, *bodily needs*
 Ande wat nedyt not to be refusyde.

Thes tweyn do signyfye
 150 Your dysgysynge and your aray, *costume*
 Blake and wyght, foull and fayer, vereyly, *white; truly*
 Every soull here — this ys no nay; *undeniable*
 Blake, by sterynge of synne that cummyth all day, *stirring*
 Wyche felynge cummythe of sensualityté,
 155 And wyght, be knowenge of reson veray *true*
 Of the blyssyede infenyt Deyté. *infinite*

Thus a soule ys both foulle and fayer:
 Foull as a best, be felynge of synne, *beast*
 Fayer as angell, of hevyn the ayer, *heir*
 160 By knowynge of Gode by hys reson wythin.
ANIMA Than may I sey thus and begynne
 With fyve prudent vyrgyns of my reme — *realm*
 Thow be the fyve wyttys of my soull wythinne — *Those; senses*
 “*Nigra sum sed formosa, filia Jerusalem.*”¹

*Her enteryd fyve vyrgynes wyth kertyllys [overskirts] and mantelys wyth chevelers [wigs] and chapelettys [coronets], and syng: “Nigra sum sed formosa, filia Jerusalem, sicut tabernacula cedar et sicut pelles Salomonis.”*²

ANIMA The daughters of Jerusalem me not lak, *[find] no flaw in me*
 166 For this dyrke schadow I bere of humanyté *Because of; dark*
 That, as the tabernacull of Cedar wythout, yt ys blake,
 Ande wythine as the skyn of Salamone, full of bewty.
 “*Quod fusca sum, nolite considerare me,*
 170 *Quia decoloravit me sol Jovis.*”³
WISDOM Thus all the soullys that in this lyff be
 Stondynge in grace, be lyke to thys.

A, *quinque prudentes* — your wyttys fyve — *five prudent ones*
 Kepe you clene, and ye shall never deface, *be disfigured*
 175 Ye Goddys ymage never shall ryve, *tear apart*
 For the clene soull ys Godys restynge place.
 Thre myghtys every Cresten soull has, *powers*
 Wyche bethe applyede to the Trinyté. *are associated with*
MYNDE All thre here, lo, byfor your face:
 180 Mynde,
WYLL Wyll,

¹ *I am black, but beautiful O ye daughters of Jerusalem* (Canticles 1:4)

² “*Nigra . . . Salomonis*”: *I am black, but beautiful, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, as the tents of Cedar, as the curtains of Solomon* (Canticles 1:4)

³ Lines 169–70: *Because I am dark, look not upon me, / For the sun of Jove has discolored me* (Compare Canticles 1:5)

UNDYRSTONDYNGE And Undyrstondyng, we thre!

- WYSDAM** Ye thre declare than thys,
 Your sygnyfycacyon and your propyrté. *meaning; nature*
- MENDE** I am Mynde, that in the soule ys
 The veray fygure of the Deyté. *true*
- 185 Wen in myselff I have mynde and se *When*
 The benefyttys of Gode and hys worthynes,
 How holl I was mayde, how fayere, how fre, *whole; noble*
 How gloryus, how jentyll to hys lyknes,
- Thys insyght bryngyt to my mynde
 190 Wat grates I ough to God ageyn, *What gratitude I owe*
 That thus hathe ordenyde wythout ende
 Me in hys blys ever for to regne. *reign*
 Than myn insufficyens ys to me peyn, *inadequacy*
 That I have not werof to yelde my dett, *nothing; pay my debt*
- 195 Thynkyng myselff creature most veyne. *vain*
 Than for sorow my bren I knett. *brows I knit*
- Wen in my mynde I brynge togedyr *When*
 The yerys and dayes of my synfullnes,
 The unstabullnes of my mynde hedyr and thedyr,
 200 My oreble fallynge and freellnes, *horrible failure and frailty*
 Myselff ryght nought than I confes; *[to be] utterly worthless*
 For by myselff I may not ryse
 Wythout specyall grace of Godys goodnes.
 Thus, mynde makyt me myselff to dyspyse.
- 205 I seke and fynde nowere comforte,
 But only in Gode, my Creature; *Creator*
 Than onto hym I do resorte *unto*
 Ande say, "Have mynde of me, my Saviour!" *Be mindful*
 Thus mynde to mynde bryngyth that favoure;
- 210 Thus, by mynde of me, Gode I kan know. *by my own mind*
 Goode mynde, of Gode yt ys the fygure,
 Ande thys mynde to have, all Crysten ow. *ought*
- WYLL** And I of the soull am the wyll.
 Of the Godhede lyknes and a fygure;
 215 Wyth goode wyll no man may spyll, *be lost*
 Nor wythout goode wyll of blys be sure.
 Wat soule wyll gret mede recure, *What; obtain a great reward*
 He must grett wyll have in thought or dede,
 Vertuusly sett wyth consyens pure,
 220 For in wyll stondyt only mannys dede. *in will alone stands man's deed*

- Wyll for dede oft ys take;
 Therfor the wyll must weell be dysposyde.
 Than ther begynnyt all grace to wake,
 Yff wyth synne yt be not anosyde.
 225 Therfor the wyll must be wele apposyde,
 Or that yt to the mevyng geve consent;
 The lybrary of reson must be unclosyde,
 Ande aftyr hys domys to take entent.
- Our wyll in Gode must be only sett,
 230 And for Gode to do wyllfully;
 Wan gode wyll resythe, God ys in us knett,
 Ande he performyt the dede veryly.
 Of hym cummyth all wyll sett perfyghtly,
 For of ourselff we have ryght nought
 235 But syne, wrechydnes, and foly.
 He ys begynner and gronde of wyll and thought.
- Than this goode wyll seyde before
 Ys behovefulle to yche creature,
 Iff he cast hym to restore
 240 The soule that he hath take of cure,
 Wyche of God ys the fygure,
 As longe as the fygure ys kept fayer,
 Ande ordenyde ever to endure
 In blys, of wyche ys he the veray hayer.
- UNDYRSTONDYNGE** The thyrd parte of the soule ys undyrstondyng.
 246 For by understondyng I beholde wat Gode ys
 In hymselff, begynnyng wythout begynnyng,
 Ande ende wythout ende, that shall never mys.
 Incomprehensyble in hymselff he ys;
 250 Hys werkys in me I kan not comprehende,
 How shulde I holly hym than, that wrought all this?
 Thus, by knowyng of me, to knowyng of Gode I assende.
- I know in angelys he ys desyderable,
 For hym to beholde thei dysyer sovereignly;
 255 In hys seyntyng, most dylectable,
 For in hymm thei joy assyduly;
 In creaturys hys werkys ben most wondyrly,
 For all ys made by hys myght,
 By hys wysdom governyde most sovereignly,
 260 And his benygnyté inspyryt all soulls wyth lyght.
- Of all creaturys he ys lovyde sovereignly,
 For he ys Gode of yche creature,

deed; understood
be well-disposed [in virtue]

harmd
examined
Before; action

judgments; advice

When; rises; entwined
truly

nothing at all
sin
basis

mentioned
appropriate to each
intends
taken into his care

heir

what

fail

worship
ascend

among; desirable
above all else

assiduously
wonderful

kindness

beloved
each

- And they be his peple that ever shall reynge,
 In wom he dwellyt as his tempull sure.
 265 Wan I of thys knowynge make reporture,
 Ande se the love he hathe for me wrought,
 Yt bryngyt me to love that Prynce most pure,
 For, for love, that Lorde made man of nought.
- Thys ys that love wyche ys clepyde charyté;
 270 For Gode ys charyté, as autors tellys,
 Ande woo ys in charyté, in Gode dwellyt he,
 Ande Gode, that is charyté, in hym dwellys.
 Thus, undyrstondynge of Gode compellys
 To cum to charyté — than have hys lyknes, lo!
 275 Blyssyde ys that soull that this speche spellys:
*"Et qui creavit me requievit in tabernaculo meo."*¹
- WYSDOM** Lo, thes thre myghtys in on soule be:
 Mynde, Wyll, and Undyrstondynge.
 By Mynde, of Gode the Fadyr knowyng have ye;
 280 By Undyrstondynge, of Gode the Sone ye have knowynge;
 By Wyll, wyche turnyt into love brennyng,
 Gode the Holy Gost, that clepyde ys Love,
 Not thre Godys, but on Gode in beyng.
 Thus eche clene soule ys symylytude of Gode above.
- 285 By Mynde, feythe in the Father have we;
 Hoppe in our Lorde Jhesu by Undyrstondynge;
 Ande be Wyll, in the Holy Gost, charyté.
 Lo, thes thre pryncypall vertus of you thre sprynge.
 Thys the clene soule stondyth as a kynge;
 290 Ande above all this ye have free wyll.
 Of that be ware befor all thyng,
 For yff that perverte, all this dothe spyll.
- Ye have thre enmyes, of hem beware:
 The Worlde, the Flesche, and the Fende.
 295 Your fyve wyttys from hem ye spare,
 That the sensualtyé they brynge not to mynde.
 Nothyng shulde offende Gode in no kynde,
 Ande yff ther do, se that the nether parte of resone
 In no wys therto lende;
 300 Than the over parte shall have fre domynacyon.

*reign**whom**When; declaration**see**authors**who**compels [us]**utters**each**one**pure; image**Hope**Thus the pure**careful**go astray; perish**Devil**senses; protect**manner**see; lower**participate**Then the higher; full control*

¹ *And he who created me rested in my tabernacle* (Ecclesiasticus 24:11–12)

Wan suggestyon to the Mynde doth apere,
 Undyrstondynge, delyght not ye therin!
 Consent not, Wyll, yll lessons to lere!
 Ande than suche steryngys by no syn;
 305 Thei do but purge the soule wer ys such contraversye.
 Thus in me, Wysdom, your werkys begynne;
 Fyght, and ye shall have the crown of glory,
 That ys everlastynge joy to be parteners therinne!

When
 evil; learn
 impulses be
 where

ANIMA Soveren Lorde, I am bounde to thee!

310 Wan I was nought, thou made me thus gloryus,
 Wan I perysschede thorow synne, thou savyde me,
 Wen I was in grett perell, thou kept me, Cristus,
 Wen I erryde, thou reducyde me, Jhesus,
 Wen I was ignorant, thou taut me truthe,
 315 Wen I synnyde, thou corecte me thus,
 Wen I was hevy, thou comfortede me by ruthe.

When
 wandered; led me back
 corrected
 sad; with pity

Wan I stonde in grace, thou holdyste me that tyde,
 Wen I fall, thou reysyst me myghtyly,
 Wen I go wyll, thou art my gyde,
 320 Wen I cum, thou receyvyste me most lovyntly.
 Thou hast anoyntyde me with the oyll of mercy,
 Thy benefyttys, Lorde, be innumerable.
 Werfor, laude endeles to thee I crye,
 Recomendynge me to thin endles powre durable.

lifted me up
 go astray
 lovingly
 praise
 everlasting

Here in the goynge out, the fyve wyttys [senses] synge: "Tota pulcra es, et cetera,"¹ they goyng befor, Anima next, and her folowynge, Wysdom, and after hym, Mynde, Wyll, and Undyrstondynge, all thre in wight [white] cloth of golde, cheveleryde [wigged] and crestyde [crowned] in sute [in the same manner]. And after the songe, entreth Lucyfer in a devellys aray wythout, and wythin as a prowde galonte [fashionable man], seynge thus on thys wyse:

LUCYFER Out, harow, I rore!

326 For envy I lore.
 My place to restore,
 God hath made man!
 All cum thei not thore,
 330 Woode and they wore,
 I shall tempte hem so sorre,
 For I am he that syn begane!

frown (lour)
 If they do not all come there
 Mad; were
 them most sorely

I was a angell of lyghte,
 Lucyfeer I hyght,
 was called

¹ You are completely beautiful, etc. (Canticles 4:7)

- 335 Presumynge in Goddys syght,
 Werfor I am lowest in hell!
 In reformynge of my place ys dyght
 Man, whom I have in most dyspyght,
 Ever castynge me wyth hem for to fyght,
 340 In that hevylny place he shulde not dwell.
- placed*
hold in greatest contempt
devoting myself
[So that] in
- I am as wyly now as than,
 The knowynge that I hade, yet I can;
 I know all compleccyons of man,
 Werto he ys most dysposyde.
 345 Ande therin I tempte hym ay-whan;
 I marre hys myndys to ther wan,
 That whoo ys hym that God hym began!
 Many a holy man wyth me ys mosyde!
- crafty*
knowledge; still
inclined
whenever
confuse; weakness
woe; created
deceived
- Of Gode, man ys the fygure,
 350 Hys symylytude, hys pycoure,
 Gloryosest of ony creature
 That ever was wrought.
 Wyche I wyll dysvygure
 Be my fals conjecture!
 355 Yff he tende my reporture,
 I shall brynge hym to nought!
- image*
disfigure
By; trickery
If; listens to my speech
- In the Soule ben thre partyes, iwys:
 Mynde, Wyll, Undyrstondynge of blys —
 Fygure of the Godhede — I know wele thys!
 360 And the flesche of man that ys so changeable,
 That wyll I tempte, as I gees;
 Thou that I pervert, synne noon is
 But yff the Soule consent to mys,
 For in the Wyll of the Soule the dedys ben damnable.
- parts, indeed*
intend
Though; pervert [it], [it] is no sin
Unless; sin
deeds
- 365 To the Mynde of the Soule I shall mak suggestyun,
 Ande brynge hys Undyrstondynge to dylectacyon,
 So that hys Wyll make confymacyon.
 Than am I sekyr inowe
 That dede shall sew of damnacyon!
 370 Than of the Soull the Devll hath dominacyon.
 I wyll go make hys examynacyon,
 To all the devlls of helle I make a vowe!
- pleasure*
certain enough
result in
- But, for to tempte man in my lyknes,
 Yt wolde brynge hym to grett feerfullnes!
 375 I wyll change me into bryghtnes,
 And so hym to begyle.

Sen I shall schew hym perfyghtnes,
 And vertu, prove yt wykkydnes.¹
 Thus undyr colors, all thynges perverse. *[I will] pervert all things under false pretenses*
 380 I shall never rest tyll the Soule I defyle!

Her Lucyfer devoydyth, and cummyth in ageyn as a goodly galont. exits; gallant

MYNDE My mynde ys ever on Jhesu
 That enduyde us wyth vertu; *endowed*
 Hys doctrine to sue *follow*
 Ever I purpose. *intend*
UNDYRSTONDYNGE My undyrstondynges ys in trew, *the true God*
 386 That wyth feyth us dyd renew.
 Hys laws to pursew
 Ys swetter to me than savoure of the rose.

WYLL And my wyll ys hys wyll, veraly, *truly*
 390 That made us hys creaturys so specyally,
 Yeldynges unto hym laude and glory
 For his goodnes.

LUCYFER Ye fonnyde fathers, founders of foly, *foolish*
*Vt quid hic statis tota die ociosi?*²
 395 Ye wyll perysche or ye yt aspye;
 The Devyll hath acumberyde you expres! *before; notice overwhelmed you surely*

Mynde, Mynde, ser, have in mynde thys!
MYNDE He ys not ydyll that wyth Gode ys.
LUCYFER No, ser, I prove well yis! *yes*
 400 Thys ys my suggestyun:
 All thynges hat dew tymes — *things have appropriate*
 Prayer, fastynges, labour — all thes;
 Wan tyme ys not kept, that dede is amys. *When; action is wrong*
 The more pleynerly to your informacyon. *obviously for*

[To a member of the audience.]

405 Here ys a man that lyvyt wordly, *lives worldly*
 Hathe wyffe, chylderne, and servantys besy, *busy*
 And other chargys that I not specyfye!
 Ys yt leeffull to this man *I will not lawful*
 To leve hys labour usyde truly?³
 410 Hys chargys perysche, that Gode gaff duly, *[To let] his dependents*

¹ Lines 377–78: *I shall make it appear to him that perfection is sin, / And prove virtue to be wickedness*

² *Why do you stand the whole day here in idleness?* (Matthew 20:6)

³ *To abandon the job that properly belongs to him*

- Ande geve hym to preyer and es of body?
 Woso do thus, wyth God ys not than! *comfort*
Whoever does
- Mertha plesyde Gode grettly thore. *there*
- MYNDE** Ye, but Maria plesyde hymm moche more!
- LUCYFER** Yet the lest hade blys for evermore — *lesser*
- 416 Ys not this anow? *enough*
- MYNDE** Contemplatyff lyff ys sett befor. *higher*
- LUCYFER** I may not beleve that in my lore, *learning*
 For God hymselff, wan he was man borre, *when; born as man*
- 420 Wat lyff lede he? Answer thou now!
- Was he ever in contemplacyon?
- MYNDE** I suppos not, be my relacyon. *by what I can say*
- LUCYFER** And all hys lyff was informacyon *instruction*
 Ande example to man!
- 425 Sumtyme wyth synners he had conversacyon,
 Sumtyme with holy also comunycacyon, *holy [men]*
 Sumtyme he laboryde, preyde; sumtyme tribulacyon. *the mixed life*
 Thys was *vita mixta*, that Gode here began,
- And that lyff shulde ye here sewe. *follow*
- MYNDE** I kan not beleve thys ys trewe.
- LUCYFER** Contemplatyff lyff for to sewe, *follow*
- 432 Yt ys grett drede, and se cause why: *very difficult; see the reason*
 They must fast, wake, and prey ever new, *continually*
 Use harde lyvyng, and goynge wyth dyscyplyne dew, *appropriate*
- 435 Kepe sylence, wepe, and surphettys eschewe; *excess*
 Ande yff they fayll of thys, they offende Gode hyghly.
- Wan they have wastyde be feyntnes,
 Than febyll ther wyttys and fallyn to fondnes, *[become] feeble; foolishness*
 Sum into dyspeyer and sum into madnes. *despair*
- 440 Wet yt well, God ys not plesyde wyth thys! *Know*
 Leve, leve such syngler besynes! *curious behavior*
 Be in the worlde! Use thyngys nesesse! *necessary*
 The comyn ys best expres. *ordinary; certainly*
- 444 Who clymyt hye, hys fall gret ys! *climbs*
- MYNDE** Truly, me seme ye have reson. *it seems to me*
- LUCYFER** Aplye you then to this conclusyun. *Consider*
- MYNDE** I kan make no replicacyon, *reply*
 Your resons be grete!
- I kan not forgett this informacyon.
- LUCYFER** Thynke theruppon, yt ys your salvacyon!
- 451 Now, and Undyrstondyng wolde have delectacyon, *if; pleasure*
 All syngler devocyons he wolde lett. *special; leave*

- Your fyve wyttys abrode lett sprede! *senses*
 Se how comly to man ys precyus wede; *fine clothing*
 455 Wat worschype yt ys to be manfull in dede. *What honor*
 That bryngyt in dominacyon! *leads to*
 Of the symple, what profyght yt to tak hede? *to pay attention*
 Beholde how ryches dystroyt nede!
 It makyt man fayer, hym wele for to fede *himself; feed*
 460 And of lust and lykyng commyth generacyon! *from desire; pleasure; procreation*
- Undyrstondyng, tender ye this informacyon? *value*
UNDYRSTONDYNGE In thys I fele in manere of dylectacyon! *a sort of pleasure*
LUCYFER A ha, ser! Then ther make a pawsacyon! *pause*
 Se and beholde the worlde aboute!
- 465 Lytyll thyng suffysyt to salvacyon.
 All maner synnys dystroyt contryscyon, *All kinds of; contrition*
 They that dyspeyer mercy have grett compunccon! *anxiety*
 Gode plesyde best wyth goode wyll, no dowte! *is pleased*
- Therfor, Wyll, I rede you inclyne. *advise you to listen*
 470 Leve your stodyes, thow ben dyvyn — *studies, those that are*
 Your prayers, your penance, of ipocryttys the syne — *hypocrites the sign*
 Ande lede a comun lyff!
- What synne ys in met? In ale? In wyn? *food*
 Wat synne ys in ryches? In clothyng fyne?
 475 All thyng Gode ordenyde to man to inclyne. *accept*
 Leve your nyse chastyté, and take a wyff! *foolish*
- Better ys fayer frut than foull pollucyon! *fruit*
 What seyth sensualité to this conclusyon?
- WYLL** As the fyve wyttys gyff informacyon, *senses*
 480 Yt semyth your resons be goode.
LUCYFER The Wyll of the Soule hathe fre dominacyon,
 Dyspute not to moche in this wyth reson,
 Yet the nethyr parte to this taketh sum instruccyon, *lower*
 And so shulde the over parte, but he were woode. *higher; unless; insane*
- WYLL** Me seme, as ye sey, in body and soule, *It seems to me*
 486 Man may be in the worlde, and be ryght goode.
LUCYFER Ya, ser, by Sent Powle! *St. Paul*
 But trust not thes prechors, for they be not goode,
 For they flatere and lye as they wore wood — *were mad*
 490 Ther ys a wolffe in a lombys skyn! *lamb's*
WYLL Ya, I woll no more row ageyn the floode. *against*
 I woll sett my soule on a mery pynne! *mood*
- LUCYFER** Be my trouthe, than do ye wyslye!
 Gode lovyt a clene soull and a mery! *loves*

- 495 Acorde you thre togedyr by, *Agree*
 And ye may not mysfare.
- MYNDE** To this suggestyon agre we!
- UNDYRSTONDYNGE** Delyght therin I have truly!
- WYLL** And I consent therto frelye!
- LUCYFER** A, ser! All mery than, away care!
- 501 Go in the worlde, se that aboute! *look around*
 Geet goode frely, cast no doute! *goods*
 To the ryche ye se men lowly lought! *see; bow down low*
 Geve to your body that ys nede, *necessary*
- 505 Ande ever be mery! Let revell route! *run riot*
- MYNDE** Ya, ellys I beschrew my snoute! *curse*
- UNDYRSTONDYNGE** And yff I care, cache I the goute! *may I catch*
- WYLL** And yff I spare, the Devyll me spede!
- LUCYFER** Go your wey than, and do wysly.
- 510 Change that syde aray! *long garment*
- MYNDE** I yt defye!
- UNDYRSTONDYNGE** We woll be fresche, and it hap *La plu joly!* *The most beautiful*
 Farwell, penance!
- MYNDE** To worschyppys I wyll my mynde aplye! *riches*
- UNDYRSTONDYNGE** Myn undyrstondyng in worschyppys and glory! *riches*
- WYLL** And I in lustys of lechery,
- 515 As was sumtyme gyse of Fraunce! *custom*
 Wyth “Wy, wyppye! *Why, quickly*
 Farwell,” quod I, “the Devyll ys uppe!”
- Exient.* *They leave*
- LUCYFER** Of my dysyere now have I summe!
- Wer onys brought into custume, *Were it once; habit*
- 520 Then farwell, consyens, he wer clumme *[iff] he were silent*
 I shulde have all my wyll!
- Resone I have made both deff and dumme,
- Grace ys out and put arome, *at a distance*
- Wethyr I wyll have, he shall cum, *Wherever I want him*
- 525 So, at the last, I shall hym spyll! *destroy*
- I shall now stere his mynde *direct*
 To that syne made me a fende,
 Pryde, wyche ys ageyn kynde, *against nature*
 And of synnys hede. *chief*
- 530 So to covetyse he shall wende, *turn*
 For that enduryth to the last ende,
 And onto lechery, and I may hymm rende! *if I may lead him*
 Than am I seker the Soule ys dede! *certain*

- That Soule Gode made incomparable,
 535 To hys lyknes most amyable,
 I shall make yt most reprovabale, *reprehensible*
 Evyn lyke to a fende of hell.
 At hys deth I shall apere informable, *with information*
 Schewynge hym all hys synnys abhomynable,
 540 Prevynge his Soule dampnable, *Proving*
 So wyth dyspeyer I shall hym quell. *destroy*
- Wyll clennes ys in mankyn, *While innocence*
 Verely, the Soule God ys wythin, *Truly*
 Ande wen yt ys in dedly synne, *when*
 545 Yt ys veryly the Develys place. *truly*
 Thus by colours and false gynne *deceit; strategy*
 Many a soule to hell I wynn;
 Wyde to go, I may not blyne, *Far; cease*
 Wyth this fals boy — God gyff hym evell grace!
- Her he takyt a schrewede boy wyth hym and goth hys wey, cryenge.* *mischievous*
- MYNDE** Lo, me here in a newe aray! *garment*
 551 Wyppe, wyrre, care away! *Quick, hurry*
 Farwell, perfeccyon!
 Me semyt myselff most lykly, ay! *handsome, yes*
 It ys but honest, no pryde, no nay. *the truth; denying*
 555 I wyll be freshest by my fay, *faith*
 For that acordyt wyth my complexccyon. *suits; temperament*
- UNDYRSTONDYNGE** Ande have here me as fresche as you! *here is*
 All mery, mery and glade now!
 I have get goode, God wott how! *goods; knows*
 560 For joy I sprynge, I sckyppe!
 Goode makyt on mery, to God a vowe! *Goods; one*
 Farewell, consyens, I know not you!
 I am at eas, hade I inowe. *would be; if I had enough*
 Truthe on syde I lett hym slyppe. *let it slip aside*
- WYLL** Lo, here on as jolye as ye! *one*
 566 I am so lykyng, me seme I fle! *happy, it seems to me I fly*
 I have atastyde lust! Farwell, chastité! *tasted*
 My hert ys evermore lyght!
 I am full of felycyté!
 570 My delyght ys all in bewté.
 Ther ys no joy but that in me.
 A woman me semyth a hevynly syght! *seems to me*

- MYNDE** Ande thes ben my synglere solace:
 Kynde, fortune, and grace. *particular pleasures*
Nature
- 575 Kynde, nobley of kynrede me gevyn hase,
 Ande that makyt me soleyn. *nobility of kindred*
haughty
 Fortune in worldys worschyppe me doth lace; *wrap*
 Grace gevyt curryus eloquens, and that mase *subtle; causes*
 That alle oncunynge I dysdeyn! *ignorance*
- UNDYRSTONDYNGE** And my joy ys especyall
- 581 To hurde uppe ryches for fer to fall, *hoard; fear of a*
 To se yt, to handyll it, to tell yt all — *count*
 And streightly to spare! *frugally; save*
 To be holde ryche and reyll *considered*
- 585 I bost, I avaunt wer I shall. *brag wherever I want*
 Ryches makyt a man equall
 To hem sumtyme hys sovereyngys were. *those who once were his superiors*
- WYLL** To me ys joy most laudable
- Fresche dysgysynge to seme amyable, *clothing; friendly*
- 590 Spekyng wordys delectable
 Perteynyng onto love!
 It ys joy of joys inestymable
 To halse, to kys the affyable; *embrace; lover*
 A lover ys son perceyvable *soon apparent*
- 595 Be the smylng on me wan yt doth remove! *when it arouses passion*
- MYNDE** To avaunte thus, me semeth no schame, *boast; it seems to me*
 For galontys now be in most fame. *gallants*
 Curtely personys men hem proclame. *Courtly*
 Moche we be sett bye! *We are highly regarded*
- UNDYRSTONDYNGE** The ryche covetouse, wo dare blame *who*
- 601 Off govell and symony thow he bere the name? *usury; accusation*
 To be fals, men report yt game! *call it sport*
 Yt ys clepyde wysdom! "Ware that," quod Ser Wyly! *called; Beware of; Wily*
- WYLL** Ande of lechory to make avaunte,
- 605 Men fors it no more than drynke ataunt. *consider; in excess*
 Thes thyngys be now so conversant, *common*
 We seme yt no schame. *We consider it*
- MYNDE** Curious aray I wyll ever hante! *Elaborate clothing; use*
- UNDYRSTONDYNGE** Ande I falsnes, to be passante! *stylish*
- WYLL** Ande I in lust my flesche to daunte! *satisfy*
- 611 No man dyspyes thes — they be but game! *despises; sport*
- MYNDE** I rejoyes of thes, now let us synge!
- UNDYRSTONDYNGE** Ande yff I spar, evell joy me wrynge! *refrain; hurt*

WYLL	Have at, quod I! Lo, howe I sprynge!	<i>Go on; dance</i>
615	Lust makyth me wondyr wylde!	<i>wonderfully</i>
MYNDE	A tenour to you bothe I brynge.	
UNDYRSTONDYNGE	And I a mene for ony kynge!	<i>middle part [good enough] for</i>
WYLL	And but a trebull I outwrynge,	<i>unless an upper part I squeeze out</i>
619	The Devell hym spede that myrth exyled!	
	<i>Et content.</i>	<i>And they sing</i>
MYNDE	How be this trow ye nowe?	<i>think</i>
UNDYRSTONDYNGE	At the best, to God a vowe!	<i>Terrific</i>
WYLL	As mery as the byrde on bow,	<i>bough</i>
623	I take no thought!	<i>I haven't a care</i>
MYNDE	The welfare of this worlde ys in us, I avowe!	
UNDYRSTONDYNGE	Lett eche man tell hys condycyons howe.	<i>reasons</i>
WYLL	Begynne ye, ande have at yow!	<i>Go ahead</i>
	For I am aschamyde of ryght nought.	<i>nothing at all</i>
MYNDE	Thys ys a cause of my worschyppe:	<i>the reason for</i>
	I serve myghty lordeschyppe,	
630	Ande am in grett tenderschyppe;	<i>stewardship</i>
	Therfor moche folke me dredys.	<i>many people fear me</i>
	Men sew to my frendeschyppe	<i>seek</i>
	For meyntnace of her shendeschyppe.	<i>support; shameful behavior</i>
	I support hem by lordeschyppe	
635	For, to get good, this a grett spede ys!	<i>goods; very successful</i>
UNDYRSTONDYNGE	And I use joroury,	<i>bear false witness</i>
	Enbrace questys of perjury,	<i>jury of inquiry</i>
	Choppe and chonge with symonye,	<i>Bargain and trade</i>
	And take large gefytys!	<i>bribes</i>
640	Be the cause never so try,	<i>certain</i>
	I preve yt fals — I swere, I lye! —	
	Wyth a quest of myn affye.	<i>jury I have bought</i>
	The redy wey this now to thryfte ys!	<i>prosperity</i>
WYLL	And wat trow ye be me?	<i>what do you think of</i>
645	More than I take, spende I threys thre!	
	Sumtyme I geff, sumtyme they me,	<i>[give] to me</i>
	Ande am ever fresche and gay!	
	Few placys now ther be	
	But onclennes we shall ther see.	<i>lechery</i>
650	It ys holde but a nysyté,	<i>trivial thing</i>
	Lust ys now cumun as the way!	<i>common</i>

MYNDE	Law procedyth not for meynntnace.	<i>because of bribery</i>
UNDYRSTONDYNGE	Trouthe recurythe not for habundance. ¹	
WYLL	And lust ys in so grett usance,	<i>usage</i>
655	We fors yt nought.	<i>regard</i>
MYNDE	In us the worlde hath most affyance.	<i>reliance</i>
UNDYRSTONDYNGE	Non thre be in so grett aqueynttance.	<i>so well known</i>
WYLL	Few ther be outhe of our allyance;	<i>out</i>
659	Wyll the worlde ys thus, take we no thought!	<i>While; we have no care</i>
MYNDE	Thought? Nay, therageyn stryve I!	<i>against that</i>
UNDYRSTONDYNGE	We have that nedyt us, so thryve I!	<i>what we need</i>
WYLL	And yff that I care, never wyve I!	<i>I'll never marry</i>
663	Lett hem care that hathe for to sewe!	<i>who need to sue</i>
MYNDE	Wo lordschyppe shall sew must yt bye!	<i>Who; sue; pay for</i>
UNDYRSTONDYNGE	Wo wyll have law must have monye!	<i>Who</i>
WYLL	Ther povert ys the malewrye,	<i>poverty; misfortune</i>
	Thow right be, he shall never renewe.	<i>Though his cause be right; recover</i>
MYNDE	Wronge ys born upe boldly,	<i>supported</i>
	Thow all the worlde know yt opynly;	
670	Mayntnace ys now so myghty,	<i>Unjust Support</i>
	Ande all is for mede!	<i>bribery</i>
UNDYRSTONDYNGE	The lawe ys so coloryde falsly	<i>perverted</i>
	By sleyttys and by perjury,	<i>tricks</i>
	Brybys be so gredy,	
675	That to the pore trouth is take ryght non hede!	
WYLL	Wo gett or loose, ye be ay wynnande!	<i>Who; always winning</i>
	Mayntnace and perjury now stande:	<i>Unjust Support</i>
	Thei wer never so moche reynande	<i>in control</i>
	Seth Gode was bore!	<i>Since; born</i>
MYNDE	Ande lechery was never more usande	<i>being practiced</i>
681	Of lernyde and lewyde in this lande!	<i>By; uneducated</i>
UNDYRSTONDYNGE	So we thre be now in hande!	<i>agreement</i>
WYLL	Ya, and most usyde everywere!	
MYNDE	Now wyll we thre do make a dance	
685	Of thow that longe to our retenance,	<i>those; belong; retinues</i>
	Cummynge in by contenance,	<i>with masks</i>
	This were a dysporte!	
UNDYRSTONDYNGE	Therto I geve acordance	
	Of thow that ben of myn affyance.	<i>those; company</i>
WYLL	Let se betyme, ye, Meyntnace!	<i>Let's see immediately</i>
691	Clepe in fyrst your resorte!	<i>Call; retinue</i>

¹ Truth does not collect damage because of wealth

Here entur six dysgysed in the sute [livery] of Mynde, wyth rede berdys, and lyouns rampaunt on here crestys [badges], and yche a warder [staff] in hys honde; her [their] mynstrallys, trumpes [trumpets]. Eche answeere for hys name.

- MYNDE** Let se, cum in Indignacyon and Sturdynes! *Stubbornness*
 Males also, and Hastynes! *Malice; Rashness*
 Wreche and Dyscorde expres! *Vengeance; for certain*
 695 And the sevente am I, Mayntennance! *Unjust Support*
 Seven ys a numbyr of discorde and inperfyghtnes; *imperfection*
 Lo, here ys a yomandrye wyth loveday to dres! *yeomanry to decorate (dress) a loveday*
 Ande the Devle hade swore yt, they wolde ber up falsnes, *If; commanded*
 Ande maynten yt at the best. This ys the Devllys dance!
- 700 Ande here menstrellys be convenient, *appropriate*
 For trumpys shulde blow to the jugement! *trumpets; at a*
 Off batell also yt ys on instrumente, *an*
 Gevynge comfort to fyght. *in a fight*
 Therfor they be expedyente *useful*
 705 To thes meny of Mayntement. *this retinue of Unjust Support*
 Blow! Lett see Madam Regent,
 Ande daunce, ye laddys, your hertys be lyght!

[They dance.]

- Lo, that other spare, thes meny wyll spende! *that which others save, this retinue*
- UNDYRSTONDYNGE** Ya, wo ys hym shall hem offende! *woe*
WYLL Wo wyll not to hem condescende, *Who*
 711 He shall have threttys! *threats*
MYNDE They spyll that law wolde amende! *destroy those whom*
UNDYRSTONDYNGE Yit Mayntnace no man dare reprehende.
WYLL Thes meny thre synnys comprehende: *This retinue; comprises*
 715 Pryde, Invy, and Wrathe in hys hestys! *Envy; demands*
- UNDYRSTONDYNGE** Now wyll I than begyn my traces. *my dance*
 Jorour in on hooode beer to facys: *one; bears two*
 Fayer speche and falsehede in on space ys! *one*
 Is it not rute? *a pity*
 720 The quest of Holborn cum into this placys, *inquest (jury)*
 Ageyn the ryght ever ther rechase ys; *Against; judicial review*
 Of wom they holde not, harde hys grace ys. *Whomever they rule against*
 Many a tyme have dammyde truthe. *they have condemned*

Here entrethe six jorours in a sute [matching livery], gownyde, wyth hodys [hoods] about her nekys, hattys of Meyntenance therupon, vyseryde [masked] diversly; here [their] mynstrell, a bagpye.

UNDYRSTONDYNGE Let se, fyrst Wronge and Sleyght!
 725 Dobullnes and Falsnes, schew your myght! *Duplicity*
 Now Raveyn and Dyscheyt! *Plunder and Deceit*
 Now holde you here togydyr!
 This menys consyens ys so streytt *retinue's; limited*
 That they report as mede yevyt beyght! *they report being bought as earnings*
 730 Here ys the quest of Holborn, an evyll endyrecte. *a crooked (dishonest) evil*
 They daunce all the londe, hydyr and thedyr!
 And I, Perjury, your founder!
 Now dance on, us all! The worlde doth on us wondyr! *all of us*

[*They dance.*]

734 Lo, here ys a meyné love wellfare! *retinue [that] loves*
MYNDE Ye, they spende that tru men spare! *that which; save*
WYLL Have they a brybe, have they no care
 Wo hath wronge or ryght! *Who*
MYNDE They fors not to swere and starre. *think nothing of*
WYLL Though all be false, les and mare.
UNDYRSTONDYNGE Wyche wey to the woode wyll the hare?
 741 They knewe, and they at rest sett als tyghte! *know; sit tight [and wait]*
 Some seme hem wyse *seem to them*
 For the fadyr of us, Covetyse. *Covetousness*

WYLL Now Meyntnauce and Perjury *Unjust Support*
 745 Hathe schewyde the trace of ther cumpeny, *dance*
 Ye shall se a sprynge of Lechery, *dance*
 That to me attende!
 Here forme ys of the stewys clene rebaldry! *Their; brothel's pure*
 They wene sey soth wen that they lye! *think they tell the truth*
 750 Of the comyn they synge, eche wyke by and by! *Regularly; each week continually*
 They may sey wyth tenker, I trow, 'Lat amende!' *tinker; Get it fixed*

Here entreth six women in sut [matching liveries], thre dysgysyde as galontes [gallants] and thre as matrones, wyth wondyrfull vysurs [masks] conregent [similar]; here [their] mynstrell, an hornepype.

WYLL Cum slepers, Rekleshede and Idyllnes, *Carelessness*
 All in, all — Surfet and Gredynes, *Every one in*
 For the flesche, Spousebreche and Mastres, *Adultery; Mistress*
 755 Wyth jentyll Fornycacyon.
 Your mynstrell a hornepype mete *appropriate*
 That foull ys in hymselff but to the erys swete. *ears*
 Thre fortherers of love: "Hem shrew I!" quod Bete. *I curse him*
 759 Thys dance of this damesellys ys thorow this regyn. *these; region*

[*They dance.*]

MYNDE	Ye may not endure wythout my meyntenance.	<i>support</i>
UNDYRSTONDYNGE	That ys bought wyth a brybe of our substance.	
WYLL	Whow, breydest thou us of thin aqueyntance?	<i>Whoa, reproach</i>
	I sett thee at nought!	
MYNDE	On that worde I woll tak vengeaunce!	
765	Wer vycys be gederyde, ever ys sum myschance.	<i>Where; assembled</i>
	Hurle hens thes harlottys! Here gyse ys of France.	<i>Throw out; Their manner</i>
	They shall abey bytterly, by hym that all wrought!	<i>suffer</i>
UNDYRSTONDYNGE	Ill spede thee ande thou spare!	<i>if you delay</i>
	Thi longe body bare	
770	To bett I not spare.	<i>To beat I will</i>
	Have thee ageyn!	<i>Have at</i>
WYLL	Holde me not! Let me go! Ware!	<i>Beware</i>
	I dyngge, I dasche! Ther, go ther!	<i>beat; strike</i>
	Dompe devys, can ye not dare?	<i>Dumb show; shut up</i>
775	I tell yow, outwarde, on and tweyn!	<i>forward, one and two</i>
	<i>Exient.</i>	<i>They [the dancers] leave</i>
MYNDE	Now I schrew yow thus dansaunde!	<i>curse; dancing</i>
UNDERSTONDYNGE	Ye, and evyll be thou thryvande!	<i>may you thrive evilly</i>
WYLL	No more let us be stryvande.	<i>fighting</i>
779	Nowe all at on!	<i>as one</i>
MYNDE	Here was a meny onthryvande!	<i>a useless retinue</i>
UNDYRSTONDYNGE	To the Devll be they dryvande.	<i>going</i>
WYLL	He that ys yll wyvande,	<i>badly married</i>
	Wo hys hym, by the bon!	<i>Woe is; bone</i>
MYNDE	Leve then this dalyance	<i>playing</i>
785	Ande set we a ordenance	<i>plot</i>
	Off better chevesaunce	<i>profit</i>
	How we may thryve.	
UNDYRSTONDYNGE	At Westmyster, wythout varyance,	<i>Westminster; question</i>
	The nex terme shall me sore avaunce,	<i>next [law] period; greatly advance</i>
790	For retornys, for enbraces, for recordaunce.	<i>writ payments; bribery; false testimony</i>
	Lyghtlyer to get goode kan no man on lyve!	<i>More easily; goods</i>
MYNDE	Ande at the parvyse I wyll be	<i>church door</i>
	A Powlys betwyn to ande thre,	<i>At St. Paul's; two</i>
	Wyth a meny folowyngge me,	<i>retinue</i>
795	Entret, juge-partyngge, and to-supporte.	<i>jury-bribery (judge-bribery); illegal support</i>
WYLL	Ande ever the latter, the lever me.	<i>the better for</i>
	Wen I com lat to the cyté	<i>When; late [at night]</i>
	I walke all lanys and weys to myn affynyte.	<i>street; with my companions</i>
799	And I spede no ther, to the stews I resort.	<i>If I succeed not; brothels</i>

- MYNDE** Ther gettys thou nouhte, but spendys. *nothing*
WYLL Yis, sumtyme I take amendys *finer*
 Of hem that nought offendys, *have done nothing wrong*
 I engrose upe here purs. *take possession of*
MYNDE And I arest ther no drede ys, *fear*
 805 Preve forfett ther no mede ys, *Take forfeit; reward*
 Ande take to me that nede ys. *necessary*
 I reke not thow they curs. *care not though*
- UNDYRSTONDYNGE** Thow they curs, nether the wers I fare. *Though*
 Thys day I endyght them I herde of never are. *indict those I've never heard of before*
 810 To-morow I wyll aquyt them, yff nede were.
 Thys lede I my lyff. *Thus*
WYLL Ye, but of us thre I have lest care. *least*
 Met and drynke and ease, I aske no mare, *Food*
 And a praty wench, to se here bare! *pretty; see her*
 815 I reke but lytyll be sche mayde or wyffe. *I don't care*
- MYNDE** Thys on a soper *[I'll put] this [coin]; supper*
 I wyll be seen rycher,
 Set a noble wyth goode chere *Put forth*
 Redyly to spende.
- UNDYRSTONDYNGE** And I tweyn, be this feer, *two [nobles]; company*
 821 To moque at a goode dyner. *enjoy ourselves*
 I hoope of a goode yer,
 For ever I trost Gode wyll send.
- WYLL** And best we have wyne,
 825 Ande a cosyn of myn
 Wyth us for to dyne.
 Thre nobles wyll I spende frely. *Three gold coins*
- MYNDE** We shall acorde well and fyne.
UNDYRSTONDYNGE Nay, I wyll not passe schylyngys nyne. *spend more than*
WYLL No, thou was never but a swyn. *anything but*
 831 I woll be holdyn jentyll, by Sent Audre of Ely! *considered noble, by St. Audrey*
- Ande now in my mynde I have
 My cosyn Jenet N., so Gode me save. *(see note)*
 Sche mornyth wyth a chorle, a very knave, *suffers; churl, a true*
 835 And never kan be mery.
 I pley me ther wen I lyst rave; *want to*
 Than the chorle wyll here dysprave. *Then the churl; slander her*
 How myght make hym thys to lawe, *How I can take him to court over this*
 I wolde onys have hym in the wyrry. *then; by the throat*
- MYNDE** For thys I kan a remedye: *know*
 841 I shall rebuk hym thus so dyspytuusly *insultingly*

That of hys lyff he shall wery
 And quak for very fere.
 Ande yff he wyll not leve therby,
 845 On hys bodye he shall abyе *stop*
 Tyll he leve that jelousy. *pay for it*
 Nay, suche chorlys I kan lere! *churls; teach*

UNDYRSTONDYNGE Nay, I kan better hym quytte: *repay*
 Arest hym fyrst to pes for fyght, *keep the peace for fighting*
 850 Than in another schere hym endyght, *county indict him*
 He ne shall wete by wom ne howe! *whom nor*
 Have hym in the Marschalsi seyn aryght, *appear in the Knight-Marshal's court*
 Than to the Amralté, for they wyll byght, *Lord Admiral's court; be severe*
 A *prevenire facias* than have as tyght, *A writ of praemunire facias; tightly*
 855 Ande thou shalt hurle hym so that he shall have inow. *harass; enough*

WYLL: Wat and thes wrongys be espyede? *What if; noticed*
UNDYRSTONDYNGE Wyth the crose and the pyll I shall wrye yt, *heads and tails; conceal*
 That ther shall never man dyscrey yt *So that; perceive*
 859 That may me appeyere. *So that I might have to appear before the court*
MYNDE Ther ys no craft but we may trye it.
UNDYRSTONDYNGE Mede stoppyt, be yt never so allyede. *Bribery stops [the law]; well-connected*
WYLL Wyth you tweyn wo ys replyede, *whoever you reply to*
 863 He may sey he hathe a schrewde seyer. *clever lawyer*

MYNDE Thou woldyst have wondyr of sleightys that be. *at the tricks*
UNDYRSTONDYNGE Thys make sume ryche and summe never thé. *prosper*
WYLL They must nedys grett goodys gett thee!
 Now go we to the wyne!
MYNDE In treuthe I grante, have at wyth thee!
UNDYRSTONDYNGE Ande for a peny or to, I wyll not fle.
WYLL Mery, mery, all mery than be we!
 871 Who that us tarythe, curs have he and myn! *delays*

[Enter Wisdom.]

WYSDOM O thou Mynde, remembyr thee!
 Turne thi weys, thou gost amyse.
 Se what thi ende ys, thou myght not fle.
 875 Dethe to every creature certen ys.
 They that lyve well, they shall have blys;
 Thay that endyn yll, they goo to hell!
 I am Wysdom, sent to tell you thys.
 Se in what stat thou doyst indwell. *See; you dwell in*

MYNDE To my mynde yt cummyth from farre *It seems to me*
 881 That doutles man shall dey!

- Ande thes weys we go, we erre. *If*
 Undyrstondynge, wat do ye sey? *what*
- UNDYRSTONDYNGE** I sey, man, holde forthe thi wey! *stay on your path*
 885 The lyff we lede ys sekyr ynowe. *secure enough*
 I wyll no undyrstondynge shall lett my pley. *hinder*
 Wyll, frende, how seyst thou?
- WYLL** I wyll not thynke theron, to Gode a vowe!
 We be yit but tender of age.
 890 Schulde we leve this lyve? Ya, whowe? *life; how*
 We may amende wen we be sage. *change when; aged*
- WYSDOM** Thus many on unabylthe hym to grace; *one makes himself unfit for*
 They wyll not loke, but slumber and wynke. *sleep*
 They take not drede before ther face,
 895 Howe horryble ther synnys stynke. *When; the edge of the pit*
 Wen they be on the pyttys brynke,
 Than shall they trybull and quake for drede. *consider*
 Yit Mynde, I sey, you bethynke
 In what perell ye be now! Take hede!
- 900 Se howe ye have dysvyguryde your soule!
 Beholde yourselff; loke veryly in mynde! *truly into your mind*
- Here Anima apperythe in the most horrybull wyse [manner], foulere than a fende.*
- MYNDE** Out! I tremble for drede, by Sent Powle! *St. Paul*
 Thys ys fouler than ony fend. *any*
- WYSDOM** Wy art thou creature so onkynde, *Why; unnatural*
 905 Thus to defoule Godys own place
 That was made so gloryus wythout ende?
 Thou hast made the Devylls rechace. *called up the Devil*
 As many dedly synnys as ye have usyde,
 So many devllys in your soule be.
 910 Beholde wat ys therin reclusyde! *what; hidden*
 Alas, man, of thi Soule have pyté!
- Here rennyt out from undyr the horrybyll mantyll of the Soull six small boys in the lyknes of devylls and so retorne ageyn.*
- WYSDAM** What have I do? Why lovyste thou not me? *done*
 Why cherysyste thi enmye? Why hatyst thou thi frende? *do you cherish your enemy*
 Myght I have don ony more for thee? *any*
 915 But love may brynge drede to mynde.
- Thou hast made thee a bronde of hell *firebrand*
 Whom I made the ymage of lyght.
 Yff the Devll myght, he wolde thee qwell *destroy*

- But that mercy expellyt hys myght.
 920 Wy doyst thou, Soule, me all dyspyght?
 Why gevyst thou myn enmy that I have wrought?
 Why werkyst thou hys consell; by myn settys lyght?
 Why hatyst thou vertu? Why lovyst that ys nought?
- Unless; drives away*
Why; injure
give; that which
pay no attention to mine
that which is nothing
- MYNDE** A, lorde, now I brynge to mynde
 925 My horryble synnys and myn offens,
 I se how I have defoulyde the noble kynde
 That was lyke to thee by intellygens.
 Undyrstondynge, I schew to your presens
 Our lyff wyche that ys most synfull.
 930 Sek you remedye, do your dylygens
 To clense the Soull wyche ys this foull.
- see; defiled; nature*
because of
life
Seek
so foul
- UNDYRSTONDYNGE** By you, Mynde, I have very knowenge
 That grettly Gode we have offendyde;
 Endles peyn worthyi be our dysyrvyng
 935 Wyche be ourselff never may be amendyde
 Wythout Gode, in whom all ys comprehendyde.
 Therfor to hym let us resort —
 He lefte up them that be descendyde.
 He ys resurreccyon and lyve; to hem, Wyll, resort!
- true knowledge*
by ourselves
lifts; have fallen
life
- WYLL** My wyll was full gove to syne,
 941 By wyche the Soule ys so abhomynable.
 I wyll retorne to Gode and new begynne
 Ande in hym gronde my wyll stable,
 That of hys mercy he wyll me able
 945 To have the giffte of hys specyall grace,
 How hys seke Soule may be recurable
 At the jugment before hys face.
- given*
ground
enable
gift
sick; curable
- ANIMA** Than wyth you thre the Soule dothe crye,
 “Mercy, Gode!” Why change I nowte,
 950 I that thus horryble in synne lye,
 Sythe Mynde, Wyll, and Undyrstondynge be brought
 To have knowynge they ill wrought?
 What ys that shall make me clene?
 Put yt, Lorde, into my thowte!
 955 Thi olde mercy let me remene.
- not at all*
Since
did ill
remember
- WYSDOM** Thow the soule mynde take
 Ande undyrstondynge of hys synnys allwey,
 Beynge in wyll, yt forsake,
 Yit thes do not only synnys away,
 960 But very contrycyon, who that have may,
- Although*
forsake it (sin)
alone [take]
true

That ys purger and clenser of synne.
 A tere of the ey, wyth sorow veray,
 That rubbyt and waschyt the Soule wythin.

*tear; eye; true
scrubs and washes*

All the penance that may be wrought,
 965 Ne all the preyer that seyde be kan,
 Wythout sorowe of hert relesyt nought.
 That in especyall reformyth man
 Ande makyt hym as clene as when he begane.
 Go seke this medsyne, Soull. That beseke
 970 Wyth veray feythe, and be ye sekyr than
 The vengeaunce of Gode ys made full meke.

*remits nothing
in particular*

*seek; medicine
true; certain*

By Undyrstondyng have very contrycyon,
 Wyth Mynde of your synne confessyon make,
 Wyth Wyll yeldyng du satysfacyon.
 975 Than your soule be clene, I undyrtake.
ANIMA I wepe for sorowe, Lorde! I begyn awake,
 I that this longe hath slumberyde in syne.

*true
yielding
will be; promise*

Hic recedunt demones.

Here the demons exit

WYSDOM Lo, how contrycyon avoydyth the devllys blake!
 Dedly synne ys non you wythin!

drives out

980 For Gode ye have offendyde hyghly
 Ande your modyr, Holy Chyrche so mylde,
 Therfor Gode ye must aske mercy,
 By Holy Chyrch to be reconsylyde,
 Trustyng verely ye shall never be revylyde
 985 Yff ye have your charter of pardon by confessyon.
 Now have ye forgeffnes that were filyde.
 Go prey your modyr Chyrche of her proteccyon.

[of] God

truly; reviled

defiled

ANIMA O Fadyr of mercy ande of comfort,
 Wyth wepyng ey and hert contryte
 990 To our modyr, Holy Chyrche, I wyll resort,
 My lyff pleyn schewenge to here syght.
 Wyth Mynde, Undyrstondyng, and Wyll ryght,
 Wyche of my Soull the partyes be,
 To the domys of the Chyrche we shall us dyght,
 995 Wyth veray contricyon thus compleynnyng we.

eye

My life openly displayed

*parts
judgement; put
lamenting*

*Here they go out, and in the goynge the Soule syngyth in the most lamentabull wyse [manner],
 wyth drawte notys [long drawn-out notes] as yt ys songyn in the passyon wyke [Easter Week]:*

ANIMA *Magna velud mare contricio, contricio tua: quis consoletur tui?
Plorans ploravit in nocte, et lacrimae ejus in maxillis ejus.*¹

- WYSDOM** Thus seth Gode mankynde tyll *sailh; to*
 The nyne poyntys ples hym all other before.
 1000 “Gyff a peny in thy lyve wyth goode wyll
 To the pore, and that plesythe Gode more
 Than mouyntenys into golde tramposyde wore *mountains; converted*
 Ande aftyr thy dethe for thee dysposyde.” *spent for your sake*
 Ande all the goodys thou hast in store
 1005 Shulde not profyght so moche wan thi body ys closyde. *when; buried*
- The secunde poynt, Gode sethe thus,
 “Wepe on tere for my love hertyly, *one*
 Or for the passyon of me, Jhesus,
 Ande that plesyt me more specyally
 1010 Than yff thou wepte for thi frendys or goodys worldly
 As moche water as the se conteynys.” *sea*
 Lo, contrycyon ys a soveren remedy *supreme*
 That dystroythe synnys, that relessyt peynys. *sets [the soul] free from pains*
- The thyrde, Gode sethe, “Suffyr pacyenly for my love *patiently*
 1015 Of thi neybure a worde of repreve, *neighbor; reproof*
 Ande that to mercy mor dothe me move
 Than thou dyscyplynyde thi body wyth peynys greve *grievous pains*
 Wyth as many roddys as myght grow or thryve
 In the space of a days jornyé.” *journey*
 1020 Lo, who suffyryth most for Gode ys most leve, *dear*
 Slandyr, repreve, ony adversyté. *any*
- The fourte, Gode sethe, “Wake on ouyr for the love of me, *Keep a vigil one hour*
 And that to me ys more plesaunce
 Than yff thou sent twelve kyngys free *noble*
 1025 To my sepulkyr wyth grett puysschaunce *force*
 For my dethe to take vengeaunce.”
 Lo, wakyngye ys a holy thyngye. *keeping vigil*
 Ther yt ys hade wyth goode usance, *done properly*
 Many gracys of yt doth spryngye.
- 1030 The fyfte, Gode sethe, “Have pyté and compassyon
 Of thi neybur wyche ys seke and nedy,
 And that to me ys more dylectacyon
 Than thou fastyde forty yer by and by *continually*

¹ Lines 996–997: *Greater than the sea is your breach, your contrition; what can comfort you? / She weeps sore in the night, and her tears are on her cheeks* (Lamentations 2:13 and 1:2)

- Thre days in the weke, as streytly *strictly*
 1035 As thou cowdys in water and brede.” *could*
 Lo, pyté God plesyth grettly,
 Ande yt ys a vertu soveren, as clerkys rede. *supreme*
- The sixte, Gode seth on this wyse,
 “Refreyn thy speche for my reverens, *Restrain*
 1040 Lett not thy tonge thy eveyn-Crysten dyspyse, *fellow-Christians slander*
 Ande than plesyst thou more myn excellens
 Than yff thou laberyde wyth grett dylygens
 Upon thy nakyde feet and bare
 Tyll the blode folwude for peyn and vyolens *flowed*
 1045 Ande aftyr eche stepe yt sene were.” *visible*
- The sevente, Cryst seth in this maner,
 “Thy neybur to evyll ne sterre not thou, *incite*
 But all thyng torne into vertu chere, *virtuous behavior*
 And than more plesyst thou me now
 1050 Then yf a thousande tymys thou renne thorow *run through*
 A busche of thornys that scharpe were
 Tyll thi nakyde body were all rough
 Ande evyn rent to the bonys bare.” *torn*
- The eyghte, Gode sethe this man till, *to man*
 1055 “Oftyn pray and aske of me,
 And that plesythe me more onto my wyll
 Than yf my modyr and all sentys preyde for thee.”
- The nynte, God sethe, “Love me soverently, *above all else*
 Ande that to me more plesant ys
 1060 Than yf thou went upon a pyler of tre *wooden pillar*
 That wer sett full of scharpe prykkys *spikes*
 So that thou cut thi flesche into the smale partys.” *little pieces*
 Lo, Gode ys plesyde more wyth the dedys of charyté
 Than all the peynys man may suffer iwys. *pains; indeed*
 1065 Remembyr thes poyntys, man, in thi felycité!

Here entrethe Anima, wyth the Fyve Wyttyss [Senses] goynge before, Mynde on the on [one] syde and Undyrstondynge on the other syde and Wyll folowyng, all in here fyrst clothynge, her chapplettys [coronets] and crestys [badges], and all havynge on crownys, syngynge in here [their] commynge in: “Quid retribuam Domino pro omnibus que retribuit mihi? Calicem salutaris accipiam et nomen Domini invocabo.”¹

¹ Line 1065, s.d.: *What can I render to the Lord for all that he has given me? I will take the cup of salvation and call upon the name of the Lord* (Psalm 115:12–13)

- ANIMA** O meke Jhesu, to thee I crye!
 O swet Jhesu, my delectacyon! *delight*
 O Jhesu, the sune of Vyrgyne Marye, *son*
 Full of mercy and compassyon!
- 1070 My soule ys waschede by thy passyon
 Fro the synnys cummynge by sensualyté. *From*
 A, be thee I have a new resurreccyon. *through thee*
 The lyght of grace I fele in me. *feel*
- In tweyn myghtes of my soule I thee offendyde: *two powers*
 1075 The on by my inwarde wyttys, thow ben gostly; *one; those which are spiritual*
 The other by my outwarde wyttys comprehendyde,
 Tho be the fyve wyttys bodyly, *Those; senses*
 Wyth the wyche tweyn myghtys mercy I crye. *two powers*
 My modyr, Holy Chyrche, hath gove me grace, *given*
- 1080 Whom ye fyrst toke to your mercy,
 Yet of myselff I may not satysfye my trespas. *on my own*
- Magna est misericordia tua!* *Your mercy is great*
 Wyth full feyth of foryevenes to thee, Lorde, I come. *forgiveness*
- WYSDOM** *Vulnerasti cor meum, soror mea, sponsa,*
 1085 *In uno ictu oculorum tuorum.*¹
- Ye have wondyde my hert, syster, spouse dere, *wounded*
 In the tweyn syghtys of your ey, *two glances*
 By the recognycyon ye have clere, *acknowledgment; clearly*
 Ande by the hye love ye have godly.
- 1090 It perrysschyt my hert to here you crye, *destroys*
 Now ye have forsake synne and be contryte.
 Ye were never so leve to me verelye. *dear; truly*
 Now be ye reformyde to your bewtys bryght. *returned; beauty*
- Ande ther your fyve wyttys offendyde has, *senses; have*
 1095 Ande to mak asythe be impotent, *atonement are*
 My fyve wyttys, that never dyde trespas *senses*
 Hathe made asythe to the Father suffycient. *atonement*
 Wyth my syght I se the people vyolent, *see*
 I herde hem vengeaunce onto me call,
- 1100 I smelte the stench of caren here present, *carrion*
 I tastyde the drynke mengylde wyth gall. *mixed*
- By touchynge I felte peyns smerte, *sharp*
 My handys sprede abrode to halse thi swyre, *embrace thy neck*

¹ Lines 1084–85: *You have ravished my heart, my sister, my spouse, / With one glance of your eyes* (Canticles 4:9)

- My fete naylyde to abyde wyth thee, swet herte,
 1105 My hert clovyn for thi love most dere. *split*
 Myn hede bowhede down to kys thee here,
 My body full of holys as a dovehous. *as full of holes*
 In thys ye be reformyde, Soule, my plesere, *restored*
 Ande now ye be the very temple of Jhesus.
- 1110 Fyrst ye were reformyde by baptyme of ygnorans *restored by baptism*
 And clensyde from the synnys orygynall.
 Ande now ye be reformyde by the sakyrment of penance *restored*
 Ande clensyde from the synnys actuall.
 Now ye be fayrest, Crystys own specyall!
- 1115 Dysfygure you never to the lyknes of the fende! *Do not disfigure yourself*
 Now ye have receyvyde the crownys victoryall *crowns of victory*
 To regne in blys wythoutyn ende.
- MYNDE** Have mynde, Soule, wat Gode hath do, *what; done*
 Reformyde you in feyth veryly. *Restored; truly*
- 1120 *Nolite conformari huic seculo*
*Sed reformamini in novitate spiritus sensus vestri:*¹
 Conforme you not to this pompyus glory *ostentatious*
 But reforme in gostly felynge. *spiritual*
 Ye that were dammyde by synn endelesly,
- 1125 Mercy hathe reformyde you ande crownyde as a kynge.
- UNDYRSTONDYNGE** Take understondyng, Soule, now ye
 Wyth contynuall hope in Godys behest.
Renovamini spiritu mentis vestre
*Et induite novum hominem, qui secundum Deum creatus est:*²
- 1130 Ye be reformyde in felynge, not only as a best, *beast*
 But also in the over parte of your reasun, *higher*
 Be wyche ye have lyknes of Gode mest *most*
 Ande of that mercyfull very cognycyon. *true knowledge*
- WYLL** Now the Soule yn charyté reformyde ys,
 1135 Wyche charyté ys Gode verely. *truly*
Exspoliantem veterem hominem cum actibus suis:
*Et induite novum qui renovatur in agnitionem dei.*³
 Spoyll you of your olde synnys and foly *Divest yourself*

¹ Lines 1120–21: *Be not conformed to this world, / But be transformed by the renewing of your spiritual senses* (Romans 12:2)

² Lines 1128–29: *Be renewed in the spirit of your mind, / And put on the new man, created in God's likeness* (Ephesians 4:23–24)

³ Lines 1136–37: *I would put away the old man with his deeds, / And clothe yourself like a new man in the knowledge of God* (Colossians 3:9)

- Ande be renuyde in Godys knowynge ageyn,
 1140 That enduyde wyth grace so specyally,
 Conservynge in peyn, ever in blys for to reyn. *restored; knowledge
That is endowed
reign*
- ANIMA** Then wyth you thre I may sey this
 Of Our Lorde, soveren person, Jhesus:
Suavis est Dominus universis,
 1145 *Et miserationes ejus super omnia opera ejus.*¹
 O thou hye soveren Wysdam, my joy, Cristus,
 Hevyn, erthe, and eche creature
 Yelde you reverens, for grace pleyntuus *plentiful*
 Ye geff to mann, ever to induyr. *give; last*
- 1150 Now wyth Sent Powle we may sey thus *St. Paul*
 That be reformyde thorow feyth in Jhesum,
 We have peas and acorde betwyx Gode and us, *peace*
*Justificati ex fide pacem habemus ad Deum.*²
 Now to Salamonys conclusyon I com: *Solomon's*
 1155 *Timor Domini inicium sapiencie.*³
[WISDOM] *Vobis qui timetis Deum*
*Orietur sol justicie.*⁴
- The tru son of ryghtusnes,
 Wyche that ys Our Lorde Jhesu,
 1160 Shall sprynge in hem that drede hys meknes.
 Nowe ye mut every soule renewe *must*
 In grace, and vycys to eschew. *vices*
 Ande so to ende wyth perfeccyon,
 That the doctryne of Wysdom we may sew: *follow*
 1165 *Sapientia Patris*, graunt that for hys passyon! *The Wisdom of the Father*
 AMEN!

¹ Lines 1144–45: *The Lord is good to all, / And his tender mercies are over all his works* (Psalm 144:9)

² *Being justified by faith, we have peace with God* (Romans 5:1)

³ *The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom* (Proverbs 1:7).

⁴ Lines 1156–57: *To you who fear the Lord / Shall the sun of righteousness arise* (Malachias 4:2)

NOTES TO WISDOM

ABBREVIATIONS: **CA:** Gower, *Confessio Amantis*; **CT:** Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*; **D:** Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Digby 133; **MED:** *Middle English Dictionary*; **M:** Macro Manuscript, Washington DC; **OED:** *Oxford English Dictionary*; **s.d.:** stage direction; **Tilley:** Tilley, *Dictionary of Proverbs in England*; **Whiting:** Whiting, *Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases*.

- 1, s.d. Wisdom's elaborate costume is composed almost entirely of elements whose use was restricted to royalty by sumptuary laws, and the orb and scepter which he holds confirm his identification as a regal figure. Contemporary art would also identify Wisdom as Christ in majesty, an equation for which there is ample scriptural tradition (see, for example, Isaías 11:1–2, 1 Corinthians 1:24, or Luke 11:49). Wisdom's description of the Crucifixion at the end of the play (lines 1096–1107) confirms his identification with Christ.
- 16, s.d. *chappelet*. M: *chappetelot*, Eccles' emendation. Anima's costume is symbolic of the dual nature of man's soul, at once divine and sinful. Her furred white garment, representing the soul's eternal and divine nature, is covered with a black mantle indicating its fallen state; a coronet or small crown indicates her nobility.
- 17 *Hanc amavi et exquisivi*. The passage is from the Wisdom of Solomon, one of the "deuterocanonical" books of the Bible, which differ from the "canonical" books in that they do not occur in the Hebrew Bible. Anima cites the first line of the passage in Latin, but her speech continues to translate the text: "Hanc amavi et exquisivi a iuventute mea, et quaesivi sponsam mihi adsumere et amator factus sum formae illius" [Her have I loved, and have sought her out from my youth, and have desired to take for my spouse, and I became a lover of her beauty]. The playwright is clearly not concerned by the (unequivocally) female Anima speaking a passage directed in its scriptural source to a female lover.
- 25 *Of*. M: *Off*. Here, as elsewhere, I have transcribed *ff* as *f* to avoid confusion between the *of/off* prepositions.
- 63–64 This sentiment echoes the spiritual belief of St. Bonaventure in *The Mind's Road to God*, as well as in the anonymous *Cloud of Unknowing*, wherein God is only knowable through experience, and that experience cannot be put into words.
- 103–06 Wisdom describes the creation of man in God's image as it appears in Genesis 1:27 and following, prior to Adam's offence, as described in Genesis 3:6–19.
- 111 The "original sin" of which Wisdom speaks describes the fallen state of man following Adam and Eve's expulsion from the Garden of Eden. Although all

- men and women have not individually committed the sin of Adam and Eve, their sin and expulsion is directly responsible for man's fallen state. As Paul explained the doctrine, "For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous" (Romans 5:19).
- 124 *the sacramentys sevyn*. Although Wisdom refers to the seven sacraments, he only specifically mentions baptism. The others are eucharist, confession, confirmation, marriage, ordination of priests, and extreme unction (also called anointing of the sick).
- 134 Although the character of Anima is clearly feminine and is portrayed as the bride of Wisdom/Christ, the sources (especially those in Latin) are ambiguous about the soul's gender, and occasional masculine pronouns slip into the text, especially when the soul is presented in its regal capacity. See also lines 147 and, especially, 289 and 1125. "He" sometimes, however, designates either male or female (e.g., *Pride of Life*, line 68).
- 178 The association of the soul's three faculties with the Trinity derives from St. Augustine's treatise *De Trinitate* (Book xv, chapter 23), in which Mind, Understanding, and Will are associated respectively with the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.
- 183–212 Mind is showing off here with elaborate word-play on his name. He is mindful of the frailty of his mind, but it is his mind which leads him to God, whom he asks to be mindful of him.
- 269–74 The equation of God and charity (divine love) is a commonplace of medieval theology. Although repeated by virtually all writers, the most frequently cited source for the idea is St. Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*, though the initial source is likely such passages as "Deus caritas est" (God is love) in 1 John 4.8.
- 276 The "tabernacle" is the human body which has been created in God's image ("lyknes," line 274). God "rests" in man as an indication of the divine nature of his soul.
- 294 The traditional three enemies of Mankind, the World, the Flesh, and the Devil, appear in several other plays as well, notably in the Digby play of Mary Magdalene and *The Castle of Perseverance*. Though the idea — a sort of evil parallel to the Trinity — was widespread, it may derive ultimately from the *Meditations* attributed to St. Bernard of Clairvaux, Chapter 12, "De tribus inimicis hominis, carne, mundo, et diabolo" ("On the Three Enemies of Man, the Flesh, the World, and the Devil"). See also Wenzel, "Three Enemies of Man."
- 321 The story of the oil of mercy is apocryphal, and its primary source is the Gospel of Nichodemus, which also tells the story of the Harrowing of Hell. According to the apocryphal account, immediately following the expulsion from the Garden of Eden, Adam is given a promise that at the end of his life he would receive the oil of mercy. At the age of 130, Adam asks his third son Seth, an obedient son born long after the killing of Abel, to go to Paradise for the promised oil of mercy. Seth travels to Paradise, where the archangel Michael allows him a vision of Paradise. Incorporated into the vision is the image of a child, whom Michael identifies as the coming Christ, who is the promised oil of

- mercy. For the full text, see Kim, *Gospel of Nichodemus*, pp. 37–38 (Latin); or James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 126–28 (English translation).
- 324, s.d. Lucifer is “disguised”: his devil’s costume “without” covers a gallant’s flamboyant clothing “within,” so that his costume change at line 408 simply involves removing the devil’s attire. The description here suggests that the gallant’s dress may be at least partially visible beneath the devil costume. Beside this stage direction a hand different from that of the text has marked a cross in the left margin; such marginal crosses also appear at twenty-six other places in the text, eleven of them opposite stage directions. John Marshall has suggested that they may have been a production aid, perhaps indicating significant changes of stage-picture. See Marshall, “Marginal Staging Marks.”
- 325 “Out, harrow” is a frequent cry of the devils in the biblical plays, generally signifying anger and frustration, though it is also the reaction of the poor widow and her daughters to the fox’s capture of Chaunteclere in Chaucer’s Nun’s Priest’s Tale (*CT* VII[B²]4570).
- 327–28 *My place to restore, / God hath made man!* The plays commonly assert the proposition that mankind was created to fill the gap left when Satan and his horde of angels fell. E.g., York Cycle 7.23–24, 37.13–16; and N-Town 11.48 ff. (Parliament of Heaven). See also Gower, *CA* 8.30–36 and *Cursor Mundi* 514–16. The idea figures prominently in St. Augustine’s *Enchiridion*, ch. 29.
- 341–42 Lucifer’s “wyly . . . knowynge,” that is worldly knowledge, is a direct contrast to a very different kind of knowledge, the wisdom represented by Christ.
- 343 *compleccyons*. Elemental humors of the body (melancholy, bile, choler, phlegm) through which humankind is especially vulnerable.
- 380, s.d. See note to line 324, s.d.; although the stage direction indicates that Lucifer goes offstage to remove his devil costume, there is no practical reason why he must do so. Perhaps he simply steps behind a curtain in order to deposit his now superfluous attire.
- 381–92 As Riggio has pointed out, these opening speeches of the returning Mightes indicate a clear differentiation of intellect: Mind, representing higher reason and therefore the most intellectual, is concerned with studying God’s *doctrine*; Understanding, representing lower worldly reason, will follow God’s *law*; and Will, representing sense and passion, will offer God *praise*. See Riggio, *Play of Wisdom*, pp. 229–30.
- 394 Lucifer’s first attack on the three Mightes is based on a quotation from Scripture, hinting at the way he will twist theological arguments to his own purpose.
- 401 Again, Lucifer refers to a scriptural passage which the audience (and the three Mightes) would undoubtedly recognize (Ecclesiastes 3:1–3).
- 413 *Mertha*. Martha, the sister of Mary and Lazarus. See Luke 10:38–42. During the Middle Ages, she was regarded as typifying the active life. See Aquinas, *Catena Aurea*, Luke 10:38–42.

- 414 *Maria*. Maria is the contemplative sister of Martha, who typifies the active life. (See Luke 10:38–42.) The activities of Martha please God greatly (line 413) but Maria pleases God more, since the “Contemplatyff lyff ys sett befor” (line 417). This Mary was traditionally identified with Mary Magdalene. See the Digby Mary Magdalene play.
- 428 How one reads Lucifer’s arguments in favor of the “mixed life” is crucial in the context of interpreting the play as a whole. A life which combined contemplation with living in the world (as opposed to a strictly cloistered life) was often held up as an ideal, as the mode of life which Christ himself led (lines 419–28). If the three Mightes, as their arguments would suggest, are presented as cloistered monks, Lucifer’s arguments could be seen as more effective than advice to abandon contemplation entirely. Much of the argument is derived from Walter Hilton’s fourteenth-century treatise *On the Mixed Life*, and David Bevington has suggested that the playwright is in fact arguing in favor of the mixed life despite presenting the case in the voice of Lucifer, since Lucifer’s arguments represent a substantial distortion of Hilton’s explanation (*Macro Plays*, p. xiii).
- 431 ff. Lucifer’s success at seducing Mind through logical argument is signaled by Mind’s admission that Lucifer has “reason” (line 445).
- 433 Lucifer’s warning against the difficulties of the contemplative life echoes the advice given by Thomas à Kempis, *De imitatione Christi*, Book 1, chapter 19.4: “Numquam sis ex toto otiosus, sed aut legens, aut scribens, aut orans, aut meditans, aut aliquid utilitatis pro communi laborans” (Never be completely idle, but either reading or writing, or praying or meditating, or at some useful work for the common good).
- 445 *me seme ye have reson*. Lucifer’s arguments against the contemplative life and his rejection of “harde lyvyng, and goynge wyth dyscyplyne dew” (line 434, as well as Mind’s defense of the contemplative life, line 446) imply that the three Mightes are dressed as contemplatives.
- 451–56 Lucifer’s seduction of Understanding is centered on the offer of power and authority as well as their outward signs, that is, fine clothing. Lucifer appeals to Understanding’s five wits as a source of “delectacyon,” as well as the “dominacyon” or power inherent in those who dress well and present an authoritative aspect.
- 468 Lucifer’s twisted discussion of what best pleases God may be the catalyst for Wisdom’s concluding sermon on the Nine Virtues, lines 998–1065.
- 473–76 *What synne ys in met? In ale? In wyn? / Wat synne ys in ryches? In clothyng fyne? / All thyng Gode ordenyde to man to inclyne. / Leve your nyse chastyté, and take a wyff!* Lucifer offers Will the physical pleasures of the senses, good food and drink, wealth, and sex. Since Will is not much given to logical argument, he falls easily.
- 479 Wisdom has already warned against basing conclusions solely on the information of the five senses (lines 295–300).

- 488 Riggio (*Play of Wisdom*, p. 243) suggests that “thes prechors” might well refer to members of the audience. This would certainly accord with Lucifer’s other interactions with the audience (lines 433–40, 490, and possibly 518).
- 490 The line could be directed at a clerical member of the audience.
- 492 *sell my soule on a mery pynne*. The phrase is proverbial, and appears in other plays, such as Henry Medwall’s *Nature* (lines 865 and 1084). See Whiting, P215, and Tilley, P335. A “pynne” is a peg, perhaps of a musical instrument, and the phrase means to “direct one’s thoughts towards pleasure.”
- 494 Throughout his conversation with the three Mightes, Lucifer has been directly subverting the arguments of Wisdom which opened the play; here he concludes by redefining the “clene soull” (which Wisdom had identified as “Godys restyng place,” line 193) as “mery.”
- 510 *Change that syde aray*. Lucifer advises Mind to change his long gown (“syde aray”), presumably for a shorter, more fashionable coat. A primary focus of anti-fashion satire in the fifteenth century was the short coat which provided little protection from the elements but displayed the wearer’s attributes to advantage. So in *Mankind*, Newguise disapproves of Mankind’s practical “syde gown” and recommends replacing it with a “jakett” (lines 671–72).
- 511 The meaning here is a bit unclear, signaled by the very different readings in the two manuscripts (“and it hap” in Digby, “hanip” in Macro). “La plu joly” would seem to be the name of a song. The Digby reading might mean “if it happen [to the tune of . . .].”
- 513–15 The idea figures prominently in St. Augustine’s *Enchiridion* 29, entitled “The Restored Part of Humanity Shall, in Accordance with the Promises of God, Succeed to the Place Which the Rebellious Angels Lost.”
- 522 *Resone I have made both deff and dumme*. Lucifer has perverted reason, making it “deff and dumme.” As he gloats about his success in the seduction of the three Mightes, he indicates precisely the three sins to which they will be subject: Mind will be governed by Pride, the principal sin of the intellect; Understanding by Avarice or Covetousness, the principal sin of worldliness; and Will by Lechery, the principal sin of the physical body.
- 530–31 Covetousness is the sin to which Humanum Genus (“Mankind”) succumbs at the end of his life in *Castle of Perseverance* (lines 2700 ff.).
- 542 *Wyll clenness ys in mankyn*. M: *Wyll clenness ys mankyn*. Neither Davis nor Bevington emend. Coldeway suggests “Wyll in clenness ys mankyn,” but the *Wisdom*-playwright would not be likely to use such inverted diction.
- 549, s.d. The naughty boy whom Lucifer carries off with him might be a plant by the acting company or a mischievous and annoying child in the audience. Although several editions of the play gloss “boy” as “young man,” it would be important for the victim to be small enough to be picked up and carried with relative ease. Lucifer’s abduction of an annoying child is intended as a warning to the audience of his power over them.

- 550–61 Each of the Mightes indicates that his new relationship to Lucifer is displayed physically by new (and fashionable) clothes.
- 551 *Wypppe, wyrre, care away!* The interjections here (and at 762 and 890) are clear enough in their general sense, though their exact meaning is uncertain. They may well simply be expressions of pleasure or, in the latter two cases, of alarm.
- 601 Simony, the buying or selling of church offices for profit, was a substantial problem in the Middle Ages, when many churchmen held temporal administrative positions in addition to their spiritual positions within the church. Dante's *Inferno* condemned the simoniacs to the eighth circle of Hell. A fourteenth-century poem "The Simonie," linking simony and covetousness or greed, is found in Dean, *Medieval English Political Writings*, pp. 193–212.
- 602–03 This definition of falseness as wisdom is, of course, the inversion on which the play turns: true wisdom (that is oneness with Christ) has been perverted into worldly wisdom (that is falseness and deceit).
- 616–18 Several three-part drinking songs survive in the Fayrfax and Ritson manuscripts (British Library MS Add. 5465 and 5665 respectively, both edited by John Stevens in *Early Tudor Songs and Carols*). The Powers identify their parts: Will is the treble or top part, Understanding the mean or middle part, and Mind the tenor or lower part.
- 632–35 Mind presents, in effect, a definition of Maintenance, the character he will adopt in the first dance. Described by Bevington as "the chief legal abuse of the age," Maintenance involved the support or "maintaining" of a large body of liveried retainers for the specific purpose of interfering in legal proceedings. Maintenance represented a defiance of the central authority of the law, and both Richard III and Henry VII passed legislation intended to restrict its abuse. See Bevington, *Tudor Drama and Politics*, p. 30. The closest modern equivalent would likely be "graft" or "obstruction of justice."
- 636–43 Whereas Mind's perversion of the legal system was aimed at gaining power and authority ("myghty lordeschyppe," line 629) in support of his sin of Pride, Understanding will use the courts for financial gain to satisfy his sin of Avarice. His methods will include simony (the selling of ecclesiastical offices, see note to line 601) and bribery.
- 684 A marginal note at this point reads "va . . ." which is completed at line 784 with "... cat" (also in the margin). The word "vacat" ("it may be omitted") in the same hand as the playtext clearly indicates that the scribe envisioned more than one performance, with the possibility of omitting the dances (and thus eliminating the need for eighteen dancers). Such an omission might anticipate a smaller venue, a less costly performance, or a performance intended for touring. The initial direction ("va . . .") also appears in the Digby manuscript; the closing direction would presumably have appeared in the section of the manuscript which is now lost.
- 691, s.d. The dancers are "dysgyssed" (masked) and are dressed in the "sute" or livery of Mind. Their costuming is based on images of power and authority: red beards,

- lions rampant (standing upright, usually upon one hind leg, in a position of attack), and carrying clubs or batonlike weapons. Each of the Mightes is followed by six named dancers costumed identically (or, in the case of Lechery, in two gendered groups of three), and these followers associate their leader directly with one of the three traditional enemies of mankind: the World, the Flesh, and the Devil. Mind/Maintenance is followed by representatives of the Devil's sins, Pride, Envy, and Wrath (line 752).
- 696 *discorde*. M *dycorde*; reading from D.
- 697 Lovedays defined periods of time during which lawsuits and other legal matters might be settled out of court as well as the agreements made on such occasions. See Bennett, "Mediaeval Loveday."
- 706 "Madame Regent" is likely to be the name of the dance which the trumpets play, but it is unknown. Very little dance music survives from late fifteenth-century England, although a recently discovered manuscript in the Derbyshire Record Office associated with the Gresley family gives the tenors for eight dances over which the players would improvise one or more parts. See Fallows, "Gresley Dance Collection." One possible reconstruction of these dances can be found online at <www.hants.gov.uk/basdance/gresley.html>.
- 717 Cloaked Collusion, one of the Vices in John Skelton's *Magnyfycence* (printed around 1530), says that he himself bears "two faces in a hood" (line 710).
- 720 The inquest or jury of Holborn; the district of Holborn was well known as the legal quarter of London, housing not only the law schools and the Inns of Court but also the Fleet Prison.
- 723, s.d. Understanding/Perjury's dancers wear "hattys of Meyntenance," that is, they are liveried indicating their allegiance to a patron. His followers each represent qualities used to gain advantage in a legal suit and thus to accumulate wealth through fraud.
- 730 *evyll endyrecte*. So D. M reads *entyrecte*, which Eccles glosses as "ointment." I have followed D here, as does Riggio, who translates "evil twist."
- 740 This sounds like a proverb, though it is not recorded as such. It might be a variant of the proverb "There goes the hare away," Whiting H120 and Tilley H157. Whiting discusses the use of proverbs in the play in *Proverbs in the Earlier English Drama*, pp. 75–77.
- 751, s.d. There seems to be no ambiguity about Will/Lechery's dancers: they are six women, three of them cross-dressed as gallants. Although it is frequently claimed that women did not appear on the stage in England until after the Restoration, there is clear evidence of female performers in the Middle Ages. See Brown and Parolin, *Women Players in England*, where a number of the essays assume the existence of female performers prior to 1500. Also, these women are dancers rather than actors, and records of female dancers are common in the fifteenth century. The meaning of "conregent" is not clear. The base meaning would

- seem to be “ruling together” (as the *OED* gives it) or “having the same authority,” so it likely indicates that they wear the same livery. A hornpipe is a wind instrument constructed at least partially of animal horn, thus representing here an image of cuckoldry. Animal horns were used in the construction of several kinds of instruments, including bagpipes, fipple flutes (like recorders), and pibcorns.
- 758 “Bete,” or “Betty,” would seem to be a generic name for a loose woman.
- 762 The exact meaning of the interjection is uncertain, and it may simply be an expression of surprise (see also 551 and 890).
- 764 ff. The dance degenerates into a fight between the three Mightes, symbolic of the discord and lack of order into which they have fallen after their seduction by Lucifer.
- 775, s.d. It is Wyll’s six dancers who leave (the “dumb show”), not the three Mightes.
- 783 *by the bon.* A relatively mild oath, a less offensive variant of “By God’s bones.” It may also have a phallic overtone, since Wyll has now become Lechery.
- 788 Westminster Hall (just north of Westminster Abbey, near the present site of the Houses of Parliament) was the venue for three of the most important courts: King’s Bench, Common Pleas, and Chancery. In the moral interlude *Hick Scornor* (c. 1514), Imagination claims: “And yet I can imagine things subtle / For to get money plenty. / In Westminster Hall every term I am” (Lancashire, *Two Tudor Interludes*, lines 215–17).
- 792–93 The area around St. Paul’s was a center for the conduct of business, both commercial and legal, centering on the parvise, the enclosed and covered area at the west door. Writing during Elizabeth I’s reign, William Harrison notes that “[t]he time hath been that our lawyers did sit in Paul’s upon stools against the pillars and walls to get clients” (*Description of England*, p. 174).
- 803 *engrose.* M: *engose*, Eccles’ emendation.
- 808 *nether.* M: *nther*, Riggio’s emendation.
- 818 A noble was worth 6 s. 8 d, or one third of a pound.
- 831 St. Audrey was the common anglicization of the Anglo-Saxon St. Etheldreda, founder (in 673) and patron saint of the cathedral at Ely; the London residence of the bishop of Ely was on Ely Place, just at the east end of the district of Holborn, next to a church dedicated to St. Etheldreda.
- 833 *N.* likely stands for *nomen* (name) and the performer would insert the last name of someone local or a member of the audience.
- 849–50 Having a person arrested in one county (shire) while indicting him in another county at the same time was an effective means of guaranteeing his conviction. Since he would have been required to be present at both hearings, his absence at one would ensure his conviction at the second.

- 852 The Marshalsea Court was held before the king's steward and knight-marshal, and dealt primarily with cases involving members of the royal household as well as with cases involving trespass in the vicinity of royal property.
- 853 The High Court of the Admiralty was given jurisdiction under Edward III over a variety of acts committed at sea, including piracy and ownership of wrecks. Its jurisdiction seems to have expanded quickly to include a variety of civil disputes, since legislation was found to be necessary under both Richard II and Henry IV to restrain the spread of the High Court's actions.
- 854 A writ of *praemunire facias* ("you shall warn"; the manuscript reading is incorrect) required the sheriff to summon someone accused of pursuing a suit in a foreign country which should be pursued in an English court.
- 857 *the crose and the pyll*. From the French *la croix et la pile*, the phrase refers to the two sides of a coin, exactly equivalent to "heads and tails."
- 870 The frequent use of the word "mery" following the fall of the Mightes gives it a strong association with their sinful, revelous state.
- 890 *whowe*. The exact meaning of the interjection is uncertain, and it may simply be an expression of disbelief, like "whoa" (see also 551 and 762).
- 900 *dysvyguryde*. M: *dyvyguryde*, Eccles' emendation. At line 697 the M scribe appears to have misread D's *discorde* as *dycorde*, and it is possible that he has made the same mistake here, though without this page of D it is not possible to tell.
- 907 A *rechace* is the call that is sounded to muster the hounds for a hunt; the "sounds" of the three Mightes have called the Devil.
- 911, s.d. The manuscript reads "vi small boys" but this is likely a scribal error for "vii," since Wisdom explicitly connects them (line 979) with the Seven Deadly Sins. Riggio, following the events of the Mightes' masque dances, suggests that Anima is to be taken as the seventh devil in the same way that each of the Mightes becomes a seventh along with his six dancers. The equation of Anima with one of the Seven Deadly Sins would, however, be theologically inappropriate.
- 934 *dysyrvynge*. M: *dysyrynge*, Eccles' emendation. This may be another case of M misreading an "I" if D's reading was *dysyrvynge*.
- 972–74 *very contrycyon*. Wisdom outlines the traditional form of penance, defined as contrition, or sorrow of heart; confession to an appropriate ecclesiastical authority; and satisfaction or restitution. This explanation appears in a wide variety of sources, among them Hilton's *Scale of Perfection* (see Appendix 1).
- 985 *your charter*. The playwright's image of a formal charter which the penitent soul receives through confession likely comes from Hilton's *Scale of Perfection* (see Appendix 1).
- 988 *comfort*. M: *mercy*, Eccles' emendation.
- 999 The Nine Points (*Novem Virtutes*) are described in several fifteenth-century texts in both Latin and English, and in both prose and verse. The English versions

- are not as close to *Wisdom* as the Latin prose text printed in Appendix 1, pp. 89–90. In general, the nine points involve a personal and emotional commitment to God, rather than a formal or public involvement. As such, they are in line with the tenets of *devotio moderna* as seen in such texts as Thomas à Kempis' *De imitatione Christi* (c. 1418).
- 1018 *thryve*. M: *prywe*, Eccles' emendation.
- 1024 *kyngys*. The texts of the *Novem Virtutes* read "knights" at this point, and, while "kyngys" could be an error for "knyghtys," it is also possible that the playwright changed the text deliberately since references to royalty are more important in *Wisdom* than references to mere nobility.
- 1043–45 *Upon thy nakyde feet and bare / Tyll the blode folowde . . . Ande after eche stepe yt sene were*. Compare the bloody feet of the poor plowman's pitiable wife in "Piers the Plowman's Crede," line 436, as she walks barefoot across icy terrain; there the emotive force of the image provokes compassion in the audience.
- 1065, s.d. The crowns which Anima, the Five Wits, and the three Mightys now wear are more elaborate than the "chappelets" they wore at their first appearance.
- 1096–1107 In these lines, possibly the most extraordinary passage in the whole play, Wisdom (now explicitly equated with Christ) explains to Anima how his five senses, perfect in their lack of sin, are able to make atonement for her where her sinful senses fail. This explanation revolves around an emotional description of the pains which the crucifixion brought to each of Christ's senses, the images clearly drawn from the fifteenth-century devotional mode of affective piety, best exemplified by Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*. Love explains the principle of imagining one's self in the place of Christ: "For to him that wolde serche the passion of oure lorde with alle his herte & alle his inwarde affeccione, there shuld come many deuout felynges & stirynges that he neuer supposede before. Of the which he shuld fele a newe compassion & a newe loue, & haue newe gostly confortes, thorch the which he shold perceyue him self turnede as it were in to a newe astate of soule, in the which astate thoo forseide gostly felynges, shold seme to him as a nerneste & partie of the blisse & joy to come" (p. 160).
- 1107 *dovehous*. The "dovehouse" image seems to have been traditional; Eccles gives examples of it in the *Ayenbite of Inwit*, the *Orologium*, Richard Rolle's *Meditations on the Passion*, and *The Book of Margery Kempe*.
- 1108 *plesere*. M: *plesynge*, Eccles' emendation (for the rhyme with line 1106).
- 1123 Each of the Mightys is returned to a state of grace through one of the theological virtues; Mind through "gostly felynge," that is faith, Understanding through hope (line 1127), and Will through love or charity (line 1135).
- 1137 This line is not in the manuscript, but there is no doubt that a line is missing from the stanza, and since the stanzas of the other three Mightys and Anima each give a Latin couplet at this point, this would be the appropriate place for the missing line. The line immediately following in Colossians (3:9) does not fit,

since it does not rhyme with “foly” in the next line; however, the line as quoted by Hilton in *Scale of Perfection*, Book 2, Chapter 31 does rhyme, and has been inserted here (following Eccles and Riggio). See Appendix 1.

1156 There is no change of speaker indicated in the manuscript at this point, though there is a line drawn across the page, which in almost all cases the scribe uses to indicate either a change of speaker or the beginning of a stage direction. Riggio has proposed that the scribe has drawn the usual line, but has forgotten to note the new speaker; she points out that it would be odd for Anima to offer the final blessing, noting that in the other Macro moralities the concluding benediction is given by “the figure representing divine authority: God the Father in [*The Castle of*] *Perseverance* and Mercy in *Mankind*” (*Play of Wisdom*, p. 307).

1159 *Our. M: on*, Eccles’ emendation.

APPENDIX 1: SOURCES

The following excerpts have been reedited for this volume unless otherwise noted. For full citations to complete editions of the extracted texts, see the bibliography.

THE PRIDE OF LIFE

The passage which clarifies the uncertain reading of line 347 appears frequently in both prose and verse texts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; examples of both are given here. The *Gesta Romanorum* (Deeds of the Romans) was a very popular text which survives in a large number of manuscripts, and may well be the source for the line, though it appears frequently in lyrics of the period as well.

A. *GESTA ROMANORUM*, BRITISH LIBRARY MS ADDITIONAL 9066, fol. 54 (COMPARE *PRIDE OF LIFE*, LINE 347)

This is redde in the Cronycles of Rome that in the tyme of Antynyane the Emperour in the Citee of Rome befill [happened, befell] a grete pestilence of men and bestes and grete hungre in all the Empire. The comons risen agayn [against] her lordes and agayn her emperour.

The Emperour desired to wite [know] the cause of the tribulacions and diseases and, disposed hym forto putte a remedie agayn the forsaid disease, he called to hym foure wise Philisophers forto shew hym the cause of the grete vengeaunce.

Of the whiche philisophers the first said thus, “Gifte [reward, bribery] is domesman [judge] and gile [guile, deceit] is chapman [merchant], the grete hold no lawe, servantes have none awe.”

The second said, “Witte [wit, skill, craft] is turned to trechery, and love into lechery. The holy day into Glotonye, and gentrie [gentility] into vilanye.”

The third said, “Wise men are but scorned, and wedowes be sore yerned [harassed]; grete men are but glosed [flattered], and smale men born downe and mysloved [disliked, hated].”

The fourthe said, “Lordes wexen [become] blynde and kynnesmen ben unkynde; dethe out of mynde, and threwe the [truth] mayh no man fynde.”

B. "THE ABUSES OF THE AGE," BRITISH LIBRARY MS HARLEY 2251, fol. 153r:

Gift is made domesman,	<i>Reward (Bribery); judge</i>
Gyle is made chapman,	<i>Guile; merchant</i>
Lordes ben lawles,	
And children ben awles.	<i>without awe or reverence</i>
5 Witte is torned to trechery,	<i>Wit (Skill, Craft)</i>
Love is torened to lecher,	
Pleye is torne to vilany,	<i>Sport (Play)</i>
And haliday to gloteny.	
Olde men ben skorned,	
10 Wymmen ben wowed.	<i>wooed (harassed)</i>
Riche men ben pleasid,	
And poremen ben diseasid.	<i>afflicted</i>
Wise men ben blynde,	
And kynrede is unkynde.	<i>kindred (family)</i>
15 The dede is out of mynde;	<i>death</i>
Trew friende can noman fynde.	

WISDOM

The source material for the play which is printed here does not include the Bible, from which a number of passages derive. In particular, the opening conversation between Wisdom (Christ) and Anima relies heavily on the love-poetry of the Canticles, from which several direct quotations are taken.

A. THE *OROLOGIUM SAPIENTIAE*

The *Orologium Sapientiae* (Timekeeper of Wisdom) by the German mystic Heinrich Suso (c. 1295–1366) provided a substantial part of the first section of the play. The author did not use Heinrich's Latin text, but rather the anonymous English translation which was produced in the mid-fifteenth century under the title *The Sevene Poyntes of Trewe Love and Everlastynge Wisdame*. At least eight complete manuscripts of the English version survive, as well as five partial texts, and it was printed by William Caxton in 1491. The correspondence between the two texts is often very close; the playwright frequently preserves both the vocabulary and the sentence structure of the treatise. The passages printed here represent the closest correspondences between the two texts; a comparison of the play with its source is instructive from the point of view both of the author's use of the wording of the treatise as well as of his omissions. Also, many of the play's biblical quotations (both canonical and apocryphal) are taken directly from the English translation of Heinrich rather than from the Vulgate Bible or other standard sources. The text given here is taken from Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Douce 114, fols. 89v–148r.

(MS Douce 114, fols. 93r–94r; compare *Wisdom*, lines 1–79)

The maystere [teacher], everlastynge Wisdam, seyde, “First of the properté of the name and the love of everlastynge Wisdam, and how the discyple schalle have hym in felynge of that love bothe in beternesse and in swetnesse. First, if thou wolt wite [know] the properté and resone of my name, thou schalt understande that I am clepede [called] of hem that livene in erthe everlastynge Wisdam. The whiche name is most convenient and best acordynge to myne nobleye [nobility]. For thoughe hit so be that everye persone of the Holye Trinité taken by hit-selfe is Wisdam, and alle the persones to-gydere one everlastynge Wisdam, neverthelese, for als miche [much] as Wisdam is properlye applyede to the Sone and also hit falleth [pertains] to him by resone of his generacione [birth] specialye [especially], therefore the bylovede Sone of the Fadere is takene and understande in that manere significacione of Wisdame custumablye [usually], nowe as Godde and nowe as manne, nowe as he that is spouse of his Chirche and nowe as sche that is spouse and wyfe of everye chosene soule, that maye seye of everlastynge Wisdam in thees wordes of the Boke of Wisdam: “Hanc amavi et exquisivi a juventute mea et quesivi eam sponsam mi assumere, et amator factus sum forme illius.” That is to seye, “She¹ I have loveded and I have utterlye souhte fro [from] myne youthe and I have desyrede for to have to mye spouse, and I am made a love of hir forme and schappe [appearance].” And also in the selfe [same] book thus, “Super salutem et omnem pulcritudinem dilexi sapienciam et proposui pro luce habere illam, venerunt mi omnia bona pariter cum illa.” “Abovene heele [health] and alle bewté I have lovede Wisdam and I have purposede for to have hir as for mye lihte, and alle godes [good things] have comene to me with hir.” Also of mye worthinesse hit is writen thus: “Sapiencia speciosior est sole et super omnem disposicionem stellarum luci comparata invenitur prior, candor est enim lucis eterne et speculum sine macula divine majestatis et ymago bonitatis illius.” That is to seye, “Wisdam is feyrere thanne sonne and in comparisone of hir to liht she is foundene [found] passynge above alle the disposicione [display] of sterres, she is forsothe the bryhtnesse of everlastynge liht and the mirroure without of Goddes majesté and the ymage of his godenesse.” Also thus: “Melior est sapiencia cunctis opibus preciosissimis et omne desiderabile non potest ei comparari, longitudo dierum in dextra ejus et in sinistra illius divicie et gloria.” “Wisdam is bettur thanne alle manere of moste preciose godes, and alle that may be desyreded may not be in comparisone lyke to hir; the lenth of yeres is in hire right syde and in hir lift [left] seyde riches and joye.”

And thus miche [much] touchygne the properté and the worthenesse of mye name. But nowe, toching my love, beholde with a joyefulle mynde how hable I am to be lovede, howe lovelye to be clippede [embraced] and kyssede of a clene soule. O blessedde is that soule to wham [whom] is grauntede in alle here lyfe, thouhe [though] it be but one tyme, to feele that hit be so. And thouh hit be so that deth falle [happen] thereby, hit schalle not be to him grevous. For, sothelye, I am ever redye to him that loveth me for to love ayenewarde [in return], and with him I am present in chirche and atte borde [meal], in the weye and in cloyster and in the market, so that there is no place but that there is present charité of Godde; for amonge alle othere spouses the goddelye Wisdam hath this sengulere [unique] properté that sche may be present overalle to the desyre of hire love, and alle the sihynges [lamentations] for hire and desyres and all maner dedes and servyses sche as present

¹ The manuscript reads *sche this*. Perhaps the translator is attempting to indicate that the Latin demonstrative *hanc* is feminine.

knoweth anone. Also the sengulere prerogatyfe [advantage] of mye godenesse and love is so grete that, whoso tasteth therof thowh hit be but one lytele drope, aftere that he schalle halde alle the lustes and lykynges of the worlde but as dritte [dirt]. Mye love discharges [absolves] hem [them] that beth overleyde with the hev   birthene [burden] of sinnes, hit purifyeth and maketh clene the conscience, hit strengtheth the mynde and the soule, hit geveth fredam to hem that beth parfyte, and copleth [joins] and knitte hem [them] to here [their] everlastynge beginnyng. And what more — whoso taketh me into [as] his spouse and loveth me above alle thinge, he lyveth with tranquillyte and reste, he deeth [dies] with sykernesse [certainty (of salvation)], and in a manere he beginneth here the blisse and the joyes that schole [shall] laste ever worlde withoute ende.

We spekene manye thinges and yite [yet] we faylene [fail] in oure wordes, for the hye worthinesse of mye love there maye none tunge of menne ne of aungeles pleyndye telle; hit maye be in experience felt, but hit may not be fullye tolde or spokene, and therefore alle thees wordes of the makynge of goddelye love beth but as sodenlye rathere owt caste than in effecte plenerlye [more clearly] fulle spokene.

Thenne seyde the discyple to himselfe thus, “O Lorde Godde, howe manye gode thinges have² sovereynlye [supremely] fayre and worthi spouse! Why thanne makest thou dissimulatione or feynynge, whye assayest [test] not whether thou mayht have hire in to thi amyke [friend] or love? O, howe blessedde were thou if thou mihteste wede [marry, wed] hir and have hir into [as] thi spouse! For thou art yonge and able to love, and ther maye none herte so clene be so solitarie by lakke of love. Wherefore nowe in fulle deliberacione I have utterlye sette that I schalle putte myeselfe to the deth, so that I maye hir gete in to amyke and spouse of me.”

And thanne everlastynge Wisdam with a gladde and graciose chere [countenance] godelye salvede [greeted] hym and seyde schortlye [briefly] in thees wordes, “Fili, prebe mi cor tuum.” “Sone, giffe me thi herte!”

(MS Douce 114, fols. 91r–92r; compare *Wisdom*, lines 100–04)

This passage appears somewhat earlier in the treatise than the previous one. Here, the Disciple describes the various schools of worldly wisdom in which he has previously studied prior to discovering the School of True Divinity, and the passage explains the — otherwise slightly odd — line in which Anima asks Wisdom to “Teche me the scolys of your dyvynyte” (line 100). The line can be understood approximately by taking “scolys” to mean “doctrines,” but its background in this passage makes the author’s choice of word much clearer. The passage also provides a direct source for lines 101–04.

There was sumtyme a devout discyple of Wisdam, the whiche aftere that in his youthe hadde gone to diverse scoles and lerede sere [many] sciences of mannus [man’s] doctrine and worldlye wisdam, aftere he cam to more age and was towchede bye³ to the trewe love of oure Lorde Jhesu, him thouhte miche [much] veyne [unprofitable] travayle [labor] in the forseyde sciences, wherefor he preyede continuelye and devoutlye to Godde, that he wolde not suffre him to departe from this lyfe til he cam to the knowelechyng and the kunynge [understanding] of sothefast [true] and sovereyne philosophye. And in the mene tyme as he

² The manuscript reads *here I spokene*.

³ There may be a word missing in the text here; Horstmann suggests “desire.”

went fro [from] studye to studye and fro scole to scole, sechyng bisilye that [that which] he desirede, but in none manere sothefastlye [truly] fyndynge but onelye as a ymage or a liknesse thereoffe, befelle upon a tyme, as he was in hees devoute meditaciones and preyeres, there aperede to his siht as hit were a wondere grete and large rounde hous like to the spere [sphere] of the firmamente, alle of brihte schinyng golde, sette alle aboute with fayre preciose stones, in the whiche hous, that was departede [separated] in the middes, there were tweyn [two] mansiones, one above and anothere benethene [below], and eche of hem continede diverse doctours and maystres and wondere fele [many] disciples accordyng to hem. In the nethere [lower] mansione were maystres and discyples of alle naturele sciences and of alle craftes undere sonne, the wheche alle haddene [had] as hit were a manere [kind of] veyle upon here faces, and amonge the grete swinke [labor] and travayle that they haddene eche off heme [them] in his science and craft, thei were comfortede with a manere of swete drinke, the whiche quenchede not fullye here thriste; but hit, generynge [producing] a manere of dryenesse, made hem more thristlewe [thirsty] and more.

And whan the forseyde disciple hadde abedene [remained] a while in thoo [those] scoles and tastede of here drinke, his stomake overturnede and beganne to have a vomyte. Wherefore he laft thoo scoles and forsoke thees sciences, and went up to the seconde mansione, the whiche was wondere feyre and diverse-manner curioselye depeyntede [painted] and arayed [decorated]. And whanne he come thereto and stode before the dore, he fonde ther this manere superscripcione, “This is the scole of sothfaste [true] divinyté, where the maystresse [mistress] is everlastyng Wisdam, the doctrine is verité and trewth, and the ende everlastyng felicité.” And whanne he hadde radde [read] this superscripcione, in alle hast he entrede in to that scole, coveitynge [desiring] with alle his inwarde desyre to be made a discypule of that scole, wherebye he hoped to come to that ende that he hadde longtyme desyrede.

But in this scole were thre ordres bothe of discyples and of doctours. Summe setene [sat] on the grounde bye the dore, the wheche lakkedene [lacked] trewe taste of divinyté and haddene here beholdynge [vision] and siht to [on] thoo [those] thinges that were without-forthe [external]. Thei that were of the secounde ordre, profytete not ferventlye, but in a manere semede [seemed] as thei stodene stille. But thei that were of the thridde ordre, setene [sat] nihe [near] the maystre and thei, drinkyng the water of helefulle [healthful, tending towards salvation] Wisdam that came out of his mouthe, thei were made so drunkene that thei foryetene [forgot] hemselfe [themselves] and alle othere worldlye thinges, havynge here [their] hertes and here eyene [eyes] ever upwarde to the mayster and ferventlye ravischede in to his love and havenelye thinges.

And whenne the discypule hadde bisilye [carefully] beholdene thees thinges, he was gretlye awondrede, and namelye of that thinge that in one scole and of one sothfastnesse [truth] ther was so grete diversité and unliknesse in manye maystres and discyples. And thanne he herde, as him thouhte [it seemed to him], a voyce, spekyng to him in thes manere wordes, “Thoo [Those] thre ordres that thou hast seene, beth thre manere of studying and techyng holye writte [scripture]. The first manere is fleschelye, and that havene thei that bene copiose and habundant in the letterere [lettered] science [knowledge] without the spiryte, the wheche the more kunyng [understanding] that thei bene, the more thei bene blowne [inflated] and filled with pryde, and bene noyes [harmful] both to hemselfe and to othere, the wheche sekene not in here kunyng [knowledge] Goddes wirchepe and lovyng or to soule-hele [salvation] and edificacione of hemselfe and othere, but thei bisiyne [concern] hem [them] onelye about here owne worldlye promociōe [advancement]. The secounde

manere of lerenynge and techynge holye writ is bestelye [brutishly], and that is in hem that in scole-excersyse in a symple manere sechene thoo thinges that bene nedefulle to soulehele, but thei beth necligente and slowe to profyte in the fervour of charité and love to Godde and havenelye thinges. The thridde manere is spirituele and gostlye, and that is in hem that with alle here mihtes and hertlye affeccionen travayle [labor] and bysyene [busy] hem to gete thoo thinges that longene [belong] to perfeccione, so that, as here understandynge profyteth in kunynge [understanding], so here [their] soule and here affeccione be filled with the Wisdam of Godde, the wheche tastene and beholdene the swetnesse of oure Lorde, and be [by] here kunynge of holye write techene and ledene hemselfe and othere in to blessedde ende.”

Wherefore the forseyde discyple, levynge alle the tothere [others], soverenylye [particularly] desyrede to have his abidyng and dwellyng with hem, and offrede him to be with hem [them] a trewe discyple of that havenelye maystre, everlastynge Wisdam. And so he, neyhynge [drawing near] to the mayster, beganne to speke to him in this manere, “O thou sovereyne and everlastynge Wisdam, sithene hit is so that alle menne by kynde [nature] desyrene [desire] for to have kunynge, and in thee, universele prynce and auctor [creator] of kynde, alle manere tresores of wisdam and kunynge beth hidde, and also thou art makere of alle thinge and hast alle manere of science and alle thinge thou seest and knowest. Therefore I aske of thee with a gredye [greedy] desyre of alle mye hert that thou opune to me the tresoreye of thi sovereyn Wisdam, and that compendioslye [thoroughly] and in schorte [brief] wordes, for thei that now be the lovene and haveth likynge in schorte speche, and of makynge bokes is none ende — alle the worlde is filled with dyverse doctrynes, and there beth a twosende [thousand] manere of livynge: one liveth in this manere and anothere in that manere. Ther beth so manye bokes and tretees [treatises] of vyces and vertues and of dyverse doctrynes, that this schort lyve schalle rather have an ende of anye manne thanne he maye owthere studye hem or rede hem. Wherefore, thou everlastynge sovereyne Wisdam, I desyre and aske of thee that thou teche me in schort manere that havenelye divinité, the whiche without errour standeth in thi Wisdam and in trewe love of thee, blessedde Jhesu.”

The mayster, everlastynge Wisdam, answerede thus, “Mye dere sone, wille thou noht savor [take pleasure] in kunynge to hye [too much], but drede [beware]! Here me now and I schalle teche the thinges that beth [will be] profitable to thee. I schall give thee a chosen gifte, for myne doctryne schalle be thi lyfe. Wherefore, takynge oure biginnynge of helefulle [healthy, tending toward salvation] disciplyne at the drede of Godde, the wheche is the biginnynge of Wisdam, I schalle teche thee by order seven poyntes of mye love, whereinne stant [stands] sovereyne Wisdam and the perfeccion of alle gode and rihtwis [righteous] lyvynge in this worlde.”

B. WALTER HILTON'S *THE SCALE OF PERFECTION*⁴

The fourteenth-century mystic Walter Hilton (c. 1330–1396) studied law, probably at Cambridge, before entering the priesthood and becoming an Augustinian canon at the abbey of Thurgarton, Nottinghamshire, where he is likely to have become head of the abbey. His

⁴ Excerpted from Thomas H. Bestul's edition (2000).

spiritual treatise *The Scale of Perfection* is a comprehensive manual for living a holy life, focusing in particular on the idea that the soul must be purified of all sin before union with God is possible. Although addressed to a Carthusian recluse, it became one of the most popular works of devotional literature in English before the Reformation of the sixteenth century.

Book 2, Chapter 1 (compare *Wisdom*, lines 103–06)

And in the bigynnyng, yif [if] thou wole [will] witen [know] pleyntli what I mene bi this image, I telle thee forsothe [in truth] that y undirstonde not ellis but thyn owen soule; for thi soule and my soule and everi resonable soule is an image, and that a worthi image, for it is the ymage of God, as the apostel seith: *Vir est ymago dei* (1 Corinthians 11:7). That is, man is the image of God and maad to the image and to the liknesse of Him, not in bodili schap [form] withoutin, but in the myghtes [powers] of it withinne, as Holi Writ seith: *Formavit deus hominem ad similitudinem suam* (Genesis 1:27). That is, oure Lord God schoop [formed] in soule man to the ymage and the liknesse of Him. This is the ymage that I have spoke of and schal speken of. This ymage, maad to the liknesse of God in the first schapyng [forming] was wondirli [wonderfully] faire and bright, fulle of brennyng [burning] love and goostli [spiritual] light. But thorough synne of the first man Adam it was disfigured and forschapen [deformed] into anothis liknesse . . .

Book 2, Chapter 2 (compare *Wisdom*, lines 109–24)

Now is it sooth [true] mankynde, that was hool [whole] in Adam the first man, trespaced agens [against] God so wondir grevousli whanne hit forfetide the special biddyng [command] of God and consentide to the fals conceile [counsel] of the feend [devil], that it deservide rightwiseli [justly] for to have be departid [separated] from Him and dampned to helle withouten ende — so fer forth [to the extent], that stondinge the rightwisenesse of God [were the righteousness of God to stand], the trespaas myght not be forgiven but yif [unless] amendis and ful satisfaccioun were first maad therfore. But this amendes myght no man make that was man oonli and come out of Adam by kyndeli [natural] generacion, for this skile [reason], for the trespas and the unworschipe [dishonor] was endeles gret, and therefore it passide [surpassed] mannys myght [power] for to make amendis for it. And also for this skile: he that hath trespaced and schal make amendis, hym bihoveth gyve [it is necessary for him to give] to hym that he trespacide unto al that he oweth though that he hadde not trespaced, and also over [beyond] that, hym bihoveth gyve him sumwhat [something] that he oweth not, but oonli [only because] for that he trespacid. But oonli mankynde hadde not [nought] wherwith he myght paie God for his trespaas, over that he ought [owed] Hym. For what good dede that man myght doon in bodi or in soule, it was but his dette. For everi man oweth [is obliged], as the Gospel seith, for to love God with al his herte and al his soule and alle his myghtes; and betere myght he not doo than this. And nevertheles this deede sufficed not to the reformyng of mankynde, ne [nor] this myght not he doon but yif he hadde first be reformed. Than nedid it [it was necessary] that yif mannys soule schulde be reformed and the trespaas maad good, that oure Lord God Hymself schulde reforme this image and make amendis for this trespaas, syn [since] that no man myght. But that myght He not doo in His Godhede, for He myght not, ne ought not, make amendis bi suffryng of peyne in His owen kynde [nature]. Therefore it nedide that He schulde take the same mankynde that hadd trespaced, and bcome man; and that myght He not by the comon lawe of kyndeli [natural] generacion, for it was impossibile Goddis sone to be born of a touchid [touched (sexually)] woman. Therefore He moste bcome man thorough a gracious [i.e., through grace]

generacioun, bi wirkyng of the Holi Goost, of a clene [pure] gracious maiden, oure Ladi Seynt Marie. And so was it doon. For oure Lord Jhesu Crist, Goddis sone, bicam man, and thorough His precious deeth that He suffride made amendis to the Fadir of hevene for mannys [man's] gilt. And that myght He wel doon, for He was God, and He oughte [owed] not for Himsilf, but for as mykil as He was man born of the same kynde that Adam was that first trespacede. And so, though He ought not for His owen persone, for Himsilf myght not synne, nevertheles He ought it of His free wille for the trespas of mankynde, the whiche kynde He took for savacioun [salvation] of man of His endeles merci. For sooth [truth] it is ther was nevere man that myght yelde to God onythinge of his owene that he ought not, but oonli this blissid man Jhesu Crist. For He myght paien [pay] thingis that He oughte not as for Himsilf, and that was not but o [one] thyng: and that was for to gyve His preciose liyf [life] by wilfull takynge of deeth for love of sothfastnesse [truth]. This ought He nout [owed] He not]. As mykil good as He myght doo to the worschipe [honor] of God in His liyf, was al but dette. But for to take deeth for love of ryghtwisenesse [righteousness], He was not bounden therto. He was bounde to rightfulness, but He was not bounden to dyen. For deeth is oonli a peyne [punishment] ordeyned of God to man for his owen synne; but oure Lorde Jhesu synned nevere, ne He myght not synnen, and therefore He oughte [was obliged] nought for to dien. And yit wilfulli He diede, than paid He to God more thanne He oughte [owed]. And syn [since] that was the beste manere [kind of] deede and most worthi that evere was doon, therefore was it resonable that the synne of mankynde schulde be forgyven, in as mykil [much] as mankynde had founden a man of the same kynde withoutin weem [blemish] of synne, that is Jhesu, that myght make amendis for the trespas doon and myght paien oure Lord God al that he oughte, and overmore [moreover], that he oughte not. Thanne siththe [since] oure Lord Jhesu, God and man, diede thus for savacion of mannys soule, it was rightful that synne schulde be forgyven and mannys soule, that was His image, schulde mow be [be able to be] reformyd and restorid to the first likenesse and to the blisse of hevene.

Book 2, Chapter 6 (compare *Wisdom*, lines 125–30)

Two maner of synne maken a soule to lese the schap [image] and the liknesse of God. That oon is callid original, that is the first synne. That othir is callid actuel [actual, i.e., sins actively committed, as opposed to inherited original sin] synne, that is wilfulli doon. Thise two synnes putten a soule fro the blisse of hevene and dampnen it to the eendeles pyne [pain] of helle, but yif it be thorough grace of God reformed to His liknesse, or [before] it passe hens out of this lif. Neveretheles, two remedies there aren agens thise two synnes, bi the whiche a forschapen [deformed] soule mai be restored ageyn. Oon is the sacrament of baptym [baptism] agens the origynal synne; anothir is the sacrament of penance agens the actuel synne. The soule of a childe that is born and is uncristened, bicause of the origynal synne hath no liknesse of God; he is not [nothing, naught] but an image of the feend and a brond [firebrand] of helle. But as soone as it is cristened, it is reformed to the ymage of God, and thorough vertu of feith of Holi Chirche sodeynli is turned fro the liknes of the feend and maad like to an angel of hevene.

Book 2, Chapter 13 (compare *Wisdom*, lines 133–48)

For thou schalt undirstonde that a soule hath two parties. The toon is called the sensualité; that is the fleshli feelyng bi the fyve outward wittes [senses], the whiche is comoun to man and to beest. Up [Of] the whiche sensualité, whanne it is unskilfulli [irrationally] and unor-

dynateli [improperly] rulid, is maad the image of synne, as I have bifore seid, for than is the sensualité synne, whanne it is not rulid aftir resoun. That tothir [other] partie is callid reson, and that is departid [divided] on two — the overe [upper] partie and the nethere [lower] partie. The overe is likned to a man, for it schulde be maister and sovereyne, and that is propirli the ymage of God, for bi that oonli the soule knoweth God and loveth God. And the nethere is likned to a woman, for it schulde be buxum [obedient] to the overe partie of resoun, as a woman is buxum to man. And that liyth in knowynge and rulyng of ertheli thinges, for to use hem discreteli aftir nede and for to refuse hem whanne it is no nede; and for to have ai [always] with it thyn iye [eye] upward to the overe partie of resoun, with drede and with reverence for to folwe it.

Book 2, Chapter 12 (compare *Wisdom*, lines 148–70)

Fair is mannys soule, and foule is a mannys soule. Fair in as mykil [much] as it is reformed in trouthe to the liknesse of God, but it is foule in as mykil as it is yit medelid [mingled, mixed] with fleschli felynges and unskilful [irrational] stirynges of this ymage of synne. Foule withouten as it were a beest, faire withinne like to an angel. Foule in feelyng of the sensualité, fair in trouthe of the resoun. Foule for the fleschli appetite, faire for the good wil. Thus fair and thus foule is a chosen soule, seiynge Holi Writ thus: *Nigra sum, sed formosa, filie Ierusalem sicut tabernacula Cedar et sicut pelles Salomonis* (Canticles 1:4). I am blak, but I am fair and schapli, yee doughteris of Jerusalem, as the tabernaculis of Cedar and as the skynnes of Salomoun. That is: Yee angelis of hevene, that aren doughteres of the highe Jerusalem, wondreth not on me, ne dispice [despise] me not for my blak schadwe, for though I be blak withoute bicause of my fleschli kynde, as is a tabernacle of Cedar, nevertheles I am ful fair withinne as is the skyn of Salomon, for y am reformed to the liknesse of God. Bi Cedar is undirstonde myrkenesse [darkness], and that is the devyl. Bi tabernacle of Cedar is undirstonde a reprevid [condemned] soule, the whiche is a tabernacle of the devyl. Bi Salomon, that bitokeneth peseble [peaceable], is undirstonden oure Lord, for He is pees and pesible. Bi the skyn of Salomon is undirstonden a blissid aungel, in whom oure Lord woneth [dwells] and is hid, as lif is hid withinne the skyn of a quyk [living] bodi, and therfore is an angel likened to a skyn.

Thanne mai a chosen soule with meke trust in God and gladnesse in herte seie thus: Though I be blak bicause of my bodi of synne, as is a reprevid [condemned] soule that is the tabernacle of the feend, nevertheles I am withinne wel faire thorough trouthe and good wille, like to an angil of hevene. For so seith he in anothir place: *Nolite considerare me quia fusca sum, quoniam decoloravit me sol* (Canticles 1:5). That is: Biholdeth me not for y am swart [dark], for the sunne hath defaded me. The sunne maketh a skyn swart onli withoute and not withinne, and it bitokeneth this fleschli liyf. Therfore seith a chosen soule thus: “Repreve me not for y am swart, for the swartnesse that y have is al withouten, of touchynge and of berynge this ymage of synne. But it is nothinge withinne.” And therfore soothli, though it be so that a chosen soule reformed in feithe dwelle in this bodi of synne, and feele the same fleischli stirynges and use the same bodili werkes as doth a tabernacle of cedar, so fer forth [to the extent] that in mannes dome [judgment] ther schulde no difference be bitwixe that oon and that tothir — nevertheles withinne in here soules is there ful grete diversité, and in the sight of God is there ful grete twynnyng [separation].

Book 1, Chapter 12 (compare *Wisdom*, line 231)

The knyttyng and the festenyng of Jhesu to a mannys soule is bi good wille and a greet desire to Hym oonli, for to love and for to have Hym and see Him in His blisse.

Book 2, Chapter 31 (compare *Wisdom*, lines 1122–45)

For now bi the grace of oure Lord Jhesu schal y speke a litil as me thenketh more openli of reformynge in feelynge — what it is and how it is maad, and whiche aren goostli feelynges that a soule receyveth.

Nevertheles first, that thou take not this maner of spekyng of reformynge of a soule in feelynge as feynynge or fantasie, therfore I schal grounden it in Seynt Poules wordis, where he seith thus: *Nolite conformari huic seculo, sed reformamini in novitate sensus vestri* (Romans 12:2). That is: Ye that aren thorough grace reformed in feith, conforme yow not henneforward [henceforth] to maneres of the world, in pride, in covetise, and in othere synnes; but be ye reformed in newehede [newness] of youre feelynge. Loo, heere thou maist see that Seynt Poul speketh of reformynge in feelynge; and what that newe feelynge is he expounneth in anothir place thus: *Ut impleamini in agnitione voluntatis eius, in omni intellectu et sapientia spirituali* (Colossians 1:9). That is: We praien God that ye mowen [may] ben fulfilled in knowynge of Goddis wille, in al undirstondyng and in al maner goostli wisdom; that is, in reformynge in feelynge. For thou schalt undirstonde that the soule hath two manere of feelynges: on withoute of the fyve bodili wittes, anothir withinne of the goostli wittes, the whiche aren propirli the myghtis of the soule, mynde, reson, and wille. Whanne thorough grace thise myghtes aren fulfilled in al undirstondyng of the wille of God and in goostli wisdom, than hath the soule newe gracious feelynges. That this is sooth, he schewith in anothir place thus: *Renovamini spiritu mentis vestre, et induite novum hominem, qui secundum deum creatus est in iusticia, sanctitate, et in veritate* (Ephesians 4:23–24). Be yee now renued in the spirit of youre soule; that is, ye schullen ben reformed not in bodili feelynge ne in imaginacion, but in the overe partie [upper part] of youre resoun. And clothe yow in a newe man, that is schapen aftir God in rightwisenesse, holinesse, and soothfastnesse. That is, your reson, that is propirli the ymage of God thorough grace of the Holi Goost, schal be clothid in a newe light of soothfastnesse [truth], holynesse, and rightwisenesse [righteousness] and thanne is it reformed in feelynge. For whanne the soule hath perfight [perfect] knowynge of God, than is it reformed. Thus seith Seynt Poul: *Exspoliantes veterem hominem cum actibus suis; induite novum, qui renovatur in agnitione dei, secundum ymaginem eius qui creavit eum* (Colossians 3:9–10). Spoile [Despoil] yousilf of the oolde man with alle his deedis; that is, casteth fro yow the love of the world with alle wordli maneris. And clothe you in a newe man; that is, ye schullen be renewed in the knowynge of God aftir the liknesse of Hym that made yow.

Book 2, Chapter 9 (compare *Wisdom*, lines 1154–60)

Of this reformynge in feith speketh Seynt Poul thus: *Justus autem ex fide vivit* (Hebrews 10:38). The rightwise [righteous] man lyveth in feith. That is, he that is maad rightful [just] bi baptyng or penaunce, he lyveth in feith, the whiche sufficeth to savacion and to heveneli pees, as Seynt Poul seith: *Justificati ex fide, pacem habemus ad deum* (Romans 6:1). This is, we that aren righted [justified] and reformed thorough feith in Crist han pees and acord maad atwixe God and us, not agenstondyng [withstanding] the vicious feelinges of oure bodi of synne.

Book 2, Chapter 26 (compare *Wisdom*, lines 1160–64)

Thus seith Hooli Writ: *Vobis qui timetis domini orietur sol iusticie* (Malachi 4:2). The trewe sunne of rightwisenesse [righteousness], that is, oure Lord Jhesu, schal springe to yow that dreden Him; that is, to meke [meek] soulis that meke [humble] himself undir her even Cristene [fellow Christians] bi knowynge of here [their] owen wrecchidnesse, and casten hemsilf down undir God bi noghtynge [rendering as nothing] of hemsilf in here owen substaunce thorough reverente drede and goostli biholding of Him lastandli [constantly], for that is perfight [perfect] mekenesse.

C. WALTER HILTON'S *EPISTLE ON THE MIXED LIFE* (VERNON MS TEXT, fols. 353v, COL. 1–356, COL. 2)⁵

Hilton rejected the idea that the life closest to God was that of the cloistered monk or hermit, supporting instead the notion that the best life is a “mixed” life devoted to service and prayer in the world rather than withdrawal from it. Lucifer’s arguments in favor of the mixed life, intended to draw Mind, Will, and Understanding away from a monastic existence, are largely drawn from Hilton’s discussion, although based on a very superficial reading of it.

Chapter 27 (fol. 356r, col. 1; compare *Wisdom*, lines 401–29)

And I halde [maintain] that hit is good to thee for to use this maner in what devocion that thou be, that thou hange [remain] not longe ther-upon, outhur [either] for to putte fro [from] thee thi mete [food] or thi slepe in tyme, or for to [di]sese [harm] any othur man unskilfuli [unreasonably]. *Omnia tempus habent*: Al thing hath tyme (Ecclesiastes 3:1)..

Chapter 1 (fol. 353v, col. 2)

Thou schalt not utturli [entirely] folwe thi desyre for to leve [abandon] ocupacions & bisynes of the world which are nedeful to use in rulyng of thi sel[f] & of al othur that are under thi keping, & geve thee hol[i] [entirely] to gostly [spiritual] occupacion in preyers & meditations as hit were a monk or a frere [friar] or eny othur mon that were not bounde to the world be [by] children & servauns as thou art: for hit falleth [is appropriate] not to thee; yif [if] thou do so, thou kepest not the ordre of charité. Also, yif thou woldest utterli leve gostli occupacion, nomeli [that is] aftur the grace that God hath geven to thee, & sette thee holliche [entirely] to bisynes of the world, to fulfillyng of actif lyf, as fully as anothur that never feled devocion, thou leosest [will lose] the ordre of charité, for thi stat [estate] asketh for to do bothe, in diverse tymes.

Chapter 2 (fol. 353v, col. 2)

Thou schalt medle [mix] the werkes of actif lyf with gostly werkes of contemplatyf lyf, and then dost thou wel. For thou schalt o [one] tyme with Martha be bisy for to ruile & governe thin houshold, thi children, thi servauns, thi neighebers, and thi tenautes. Yif [If] thei do wel, cumforte hem therin & help hem; yif thei don uvel [evil], tech hem to amende hem & chastise hem. And thou [schalt] also loke & knowe wysli that thi thinges & thi worldly godes be [by] rightly kept be thi servautes, governed & trewely dispendet [spent], that thou might

⁵ Transcribed from the manuscript.

the more plenteuousli with hem fulfille the dedes of merci to thin evencristen [fellow Christians]. A nothur tyme thou schalt with Marie leve the bisynes of the world & sitte down at the feet of ur Lord be mekenes in preyers & holy thoughtes & in contemplacion of him as he geveth thee grace.

Chapter 5 (fol. 354r, cols. 1–2)

Oure Lord for to stere [direct] sum men to use this medled [mixed] lyf, tok upon him self the persones of such maner of men, bothe of prelates & curates of holy chirche & of othur such as are disposed as I have seid, and gaf to hem ensaumple [example] be his owne worchyng [deeds] that thei schulde use this medled lyf as he dude [did]. O [One] tyme he comuned [communed] & medled [mixed] with men, schewyng to hem his dedes [of] merci, for he taught the unkonnyng [uneducated] by his preching, he visyted the seke & heled hem of heor [their] sores, he fedde the hungri & cumforted hem that were sori [grieving]. Anothur tyme he lafte [left] the conversacion of al worldly men & of his disciples also & went alone in to desert upon the hulles [hills] & contyn[u]ed al the night in preyers as the gospel seith. This medled lyf schewed ur Lord in him self to ensaumple of hem that han [have] take the staat [condition] & the charge of this medled lyf, that thei schulde o [one] tyme geve hem to bisynes of worldly thynges in resonable nede, & to werkes of actyf lyf in profyt of heor [their] evencristne [fellow Christians] whuch thei have cure [care] of; anothur tyme geve hem hol[i] [entirely] to contemplacion be devocion in preyer & in meditacion . . .

D. (ST. BERNARD?), *MEDITATIONES PISSIME DE COGNITIONE HUMANA CONDITIONIS*, MIGNE, *PL* 184R, COLS. 485A–487C (COMPARE *WISDOM*, LINES 95–98, 177–90, 245–82)

The *Meditationes* are probably not by St. Bernard, although most medieval manuscripts of the text attribute it to him; the work provides the principal source for the idea that the earthly powers of the soul form a trinity: Mind, Will, and Understanding or, as the treatise phrases it, “memoria,” “intelligentia,” and “voluntas.” The work’s popularity is attested both by its extensive use by Pietro Alighieri, Dante’s son, in his commentary on the *Paradiso* dating from about 1340, as well as by the publication of an English translation in 1496 by Wynkyn de Worde, *The Medytacyens of Saynt Bernarde*. Both the Latin text and English translation are included here, since it is likely that the author was working from the Latin text.

1. Multi multa sciunt, et se ipsos nesciunt. Alios inspiciunt, et se ipsos deserunt. Deum quaerunt per ista exteriora, deserentes sua interiora, quibus interior est Deus. Idcirco ab exterioribus redeam ad interiora, et ab inferioribus ad superiora ascendam: ut possim cognoscere unde venio, aut quo vado; quid sum, vel unde sum; et ita per cognitionem mei valeam pervenire ad cognitionem Dei. Quanto namque in cognitione mei proficio, tanto ad cognitionem Dei accedo. Secundum interiorem hominem tria in mente mea invenio, per quae Deum recolo, conspicio, et concupisco. Sunt autem haec tria, memoria, intelligentia, voluntas sive amor. Per memoriam reminiscor: per intelligentiam intueor; per voluntatem amplector. Cum Dei reminiscor, in memoria mea eum invenio, et in ea de eo et in eo delector, secundum quod ipse mihi donare dignatur. Intelligentia intueor quid sit Deus in se ipso; quid in Angelis, quid in sanctis, quid in creaturis, quid in hominibus. In se ipso est incomprehensibilis, quia principium et finis: principium sine principio, finis sine fine. Ex me intelligo quam incomprehensibilis sit Deus; quoniam me ipsum intelligere non possum,

quem ipse fecit. In Angelis est desiderabilis, quia in eum desiderant prospicere: in sanctis est delectabilis, quia in eo assidue felices laetantur: in creaturis est admirabilis, quia omnia potenter creat, sapienter gubernat, benigne dispensat: in hominibus est amabilis, quia eorum Deus est, et ipsi sunt populus ejus. Ipse in eis habitat tanquam in templo suo, et ipsi sunt templum ejus: non dedignatur singulos, neque universos. Quisquis ejus meminit, eumque intelligit ac diligit, cum illo est.

2. Diligere eum debemus, quoniam ipse prior dilexit nos, et ad imaginem et similitudinem suam nos fecit, quod nulli alii creaturae donare voluit. Ad imaginem Dei facti sumus; hoc est, ad intellectum et notitiam Filii, per quem intelligimus et cognoscimus Patrem, et accessum habemus ad eum. Tanta cognatio est inter nos et Dei Filium, quod ipse imago Dei est, et nos ad imaginem ejus facti sumus; quam cognationem etiam ipsa similitudo testatur, quoniam non solum ad imaginem, sed et ad similitudinem ejus facti sumus. Oportet itaque id quod ad imaginem est, cum imagine convenire, et non in vacuum nomen imaginis participare. Repraesentemus ergo in nobis imaginem ejus in appetitu pacis, in intuitu veritatis, et in amore charitatis. Teneamus eum in memoria, portemus in conscientia, et ubique praesentem veneremur. Mens siquidem nostra eo ipso ejus imago est, quo ejus capax est, ejusque particeps esse potest. Non propterea ejus imago est, quia sui meminit mens, seque intelligit ac diligit; sed quia potest meminisse, intelligere, ac diligere a quo facta est: quod cum facit, sapiens ipsa fit. Nihil enim tam simile est illi summae Sapientiae, quam mens rationalis, quae per memoriam, intelligentiam et voluntatem in illa Trinitate ineffabili consistit. Consistere autem in illa non potest, nisi ejus meminerit, eumque intelligat, ac diligit. Meminerit itaque Dei, ad cujus imaginem facta est; eumque intelligat, diligit, atque colat, cum quo potest semper esse beata. Beata anima, apud quam Deus requiem invenit, et in cujus tabernaculo requiescit. Beata quae dicere potest: *Et qui creavit me, requievit in tabernaculo meo* (Ecclesiastes 24:12). Negare siquidem requiem coeli ei non poterit.

3. Cur ergo nos deserimus, et in his exterioribus Deum quaerimus, qui apud nos est, si nos velimus esse apud eum? Revera nobiscum est, et in nobis: sed adhuc per fidem, donec videre mereamur per speciem. *Novimus*, inquit Apostolus, *habitare Christum per fidem in cordibus nostris* (Ephesians 3:17): quia Christus in fide, fides in mente, mens in corde, cor in pectore. Per fidem ergo recolo Deum creatorem; adoro redemptorem, exspecto salvatorem. Credo videre in omnibus creaturis, habere in me ipso; et, quod his omnibus ineffabiliter jucundius atque beatius est, cognoscere in se ipso. Patrem namque et Filium cum sancto Spiritu cognoscere, vita est aeterna, beatitudo perfecta, summa voluptas. Oculus non vidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit, quanta claritas, quanta suavitas, et quanta jucunditas maneat nos in illa visione, quando Deum facie ad faciem videbimus; qui est lux illuminatorum, requies exercitatorum, patria redeuntium, vita viventium, corona vincentium. Ita in mente mea quamdam imaginem illius summae Trinitatis invenio: ad quam summam Trinitatem recolendam, inspiciendam, et diligendam, ut ejus recorder, ea delecter, et eam complectar et contempler, totum id quod vivo, debeo referre. Mens imago Dei est, in qua sunt haec tria: id est memoria, intelligentia et voluntas. Memoriae attribuimus omne quod scimus, etiamsi non inde cogitemus. Intelligentiaetribuimus omne quod verum cogitando invenimus, quod etiam memoriae commendamus: voluntati, omne quod cognitum et intellectum, bonum et verum esse expetimus. Per memoriam Patri similes sumus, per intelligentiam Filio, per voluntatem Spiritui sancto. Nihil in nobis tam simile Spiritui sancto est, quam voluntas vel amor sive dilectio, quae excellentior voluntas est.

Dilectio namque donum Dei est, ita quod nullum hoc dono Dei est excellentius. Dilectio namque quae ex Deo est, et Deus est, proprie Spiritus sanctus dicitur, per quam charitas Dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris (Romans 5:5), per quam tota Trinitas in nobis habitat.

The English version is printed from Wynkyn de Worde's version, printed in 1496 (STC: 1917; sig. Bi, Aiii). A few minor printer's errors have been silently corrected.

How man by knowledge & understandynge of hymselfe maye knowe God, and how the soule of man is the ymage of God.

1. Many there ben that know & understonde many other thynges, & yet they knowe not theyr owne selfe. They take moche hede [pay much attention] to other, but they loke not well to themselfe. They leve theyre inwarde & goostly thynges, and seke God amonge outwarde thynges, the whyche is within theym. Therfore I shall come fro [from] those thynges that ben [are] outwarde to inwarde thynges, & from inwarde thynges I shall lyft my mynde to thynges above, that I may knowe wherof I came, and whether I go, what I am, and wherof I am. And so by knowlege of myself, I may ascende & come to the knowlege of God, for the more I proyffyte in knowlege of my self, the more nygh [near] I drawe to the knowlege of God.

On the inward mannys behalfe I fynde thre thynges in my soul wherby I remembre, beholde & desyre my lorde God. The whiche ben, the mynde, the understandynge, & wyl or love. By the mynde I remembre Him; by the understandynge I beholde Him goostly [spiritually]; and by wyl or love I love and desyre Him. Whan I remember God I fynde in Hym in my mynde, & fele therin in Him swetnesse & plesyre of Hym, lyke as he vouchesaufe [grants] to gyve me. By the understandynge I beholde in Hym what He is in Hymself, what in holy angellys, and what in His blessyd sayntes, what in His creatures, & what in mankynde. In Hymselfe He is incomprehensyble for He is both begynnynge & ende: Begynnynge without begynnynge, & ende wythout ende. By myself I understonde how He is comprehensyble whan I may not atteyne to understandynge and knowlege of my self whome He hath made. In holy angellys He is plesaunt and desyderable [desireable], for theyre desyre is alwaye to beholde Hym. In sayntes He is delectable, for they happy & blessyd delyte them in Hym contynually. In creatures He is mervelous, for by his myghte & power He createth all thynges the whiche He governeth moost wysely, & dystributyth moost benyngnely: In mankynde He is amyable & lovely, for He is theyr God & they ben His people. And He dwelleth with theym as in His owne temple and they ben the temple of Hym. Who somever [Whoever] hath mynde and thynketh on Him, understandeth Him and loveth Hym, He is with hym.

2. Sothely [truly] we owe [ought] to love Hym moche, syth [since] He hath loved us soo moche & made us after His owne ymage & lyknes & soo hath He done to none [no other] erthly creature. Sothely it behoveth [is appropriate] that the thyng that is made after an ymage to be accordynge and lyke to the ymage or symylytude that it is fourmed after, and not to have unworthely the name of an ymage in vayne. Therfore lete us shewe in us thymage [the image] of Hym in desyrynge of peas and regardynge of trouth. Lete us holde and kepe Hym by perfyte love and charyté in our mynde. Let us bere Him in our conscyence and to Hym presente in every place lete us do due reverence and worshyppe.

Our soul sothly is the ymage of God, for asmoche as it is apte and mete to take and receyve Hym and maye [perhaps] be partener of Hym. It is the ymage of Hym, not only that it remembreth itselfe, understandyng or loveth itselfe, but by cause it maye remembre, understande, and love Hym. whiche made it. And whan it soo dooth, thenne is it wyse, for sothly there is no thyng more lyke to the hyghe wysdome of almyghty God, than is a resonable soule, whyche by mynde, understandyng and love resteth in the blessyd Trynyte. In whiche she [i.e., the soul] maye not reste and abyde, but yf she remembre Hym, understande and also love Hym.

But yf she thynke dyligently on her lorde God, after thymage of Whome she is created and made. And understande, love, honoure, and worshyppe Hym wyth Whome she maye eternally abyde and reste in perfyghte Joye and blysse. Sothly that soule is ryghte happy and blessyd in whome oure Lorde fyndeth restyng, and in whoos tabernacle He dwelleth and resteth. That is an happy soule that maye saye, “My Lorde & maker hath restyd in my tabernacle.” Soothly He shal not deny to such a soule the everlastyng reste of heven.

3. O, why thenne loke we not in our self, but seke [seek] our Lorde amonge outwarde thynges, the whyche is with us yf we wyll be with Him? Sothly He is both with us and in us,⁶ but that as yet is by fayth, unto suche tyme as we maye deserve to see Him clerly. “We knowe,” sayth the apostle, “that by fayth Cryste abyde in our hertes.” By fayth I remembre my maker, I worshyp my mercyfull redemer, and abyde [await] my savyoure. I byleve that He lyveth in all creatures, that He dwelleth within me. And also I truste to knowe Him in Himself, the whiche is moche more blyssfull & Joyfull than all thyse ben [are], for sothly to knowe perfyte the Fader, the Sone, & the Holy Goste in everlastyng lyfe, perfyte blysse & excedyng plessyre [pleasure], for the mortall eye hath not sene, ne eere [ear] herde, ne mannys herte understode clerly and perfytyl how moche clernesse, how moche Joye, how moche swetnes we shall have in that blessyd syghte whan we shall beholde face to face Him that is the lyght of all bryghte thyng, the refuge and reste of travelers & labourers, the receyver and keper of them that torne to Him, the very lyfe to all that lyve, and the crowne of theym that overcome theyre goostly [spiritual] enmyes. Thus I fynde in my soule the ymage of the hyghe & glorious Trynyte, to the whiche moost hyghe & glorious Trynyte I owe [ought] to referre and orther [order] all my lyfe, that I maye remembre Hym and putte my playsyre & contemplacyon in Hym. The soule is the ymage of almyghty God the whiche conteyneth thre thynges, the mynde, the understandyng, & wyl. To the mynde we attribute & put all thyng that we lerne or know though we thynke not alway thereon. To the understandyng we attribute all that we knowe is true, the whiche also we commende & putte to our mynde. By the mynde we ben resemblyd & lyke to the Fader, by understandyng to the Sone, & by wyl or love to the Holy Goost, for there is no thyng in us more lyke to the Holy Goost than is the wyl, or so precyous that there is noo gefte [gift] of God, and it is true love, for true love is the gefte of God more noble & excellent than it is, for true love that cometh of God, and is God Himself, is properly called the Holy Goost by whome the love of God is diffused & sprad [spread] in our hertes, and by whome all the holy & blessyd Trynyte dwelleth and abyde in us.

⁶ Wynkyn de Worde’s translation here reads “Sothly he is both in us and in us,” but this is clearly a mistranslation of the Latin.

E. ANONYMOUS, *TRACTATUS DE INTERIORI DOMO, SEU DE CONSCIENTIA AEDIFICANDA*, MIGNE, PL VOL. 184, COL. 511A–B (COMPARE *WISDOM*, LINES 213–18)

Like the *Meditationes*, this treatise on the conscience was attributed during the Middle Ages both to St. Bernard and to Hugh of St. Victor, though it is probably not by either one of them. *Wisdom*'s author used it as a source for his description of Will.

Nam inter omnia Dei dona, quae ad salutem hominis spectare videntur, primum et principale bonum, bona voluntas esse cognoscitur, per quam imago similitudinis Dei in nobis reparatur. Primum est, quia a bona voluntate bonum omne inchoatur. Principale est, quoniam bona voluntate nihil hominibus utilius datur. Quidquid homo facit, bonum esse non potest, nisi ex bona voluntate procedat. Sine bona voluntate omnino salvari quispiam non potest: cum bona voluntate nemo perire potest. Voluntas bona nec dari potest invito, nec auferri nisi volenti. Voluntas hominis est potestas Dei. Voluntas hominis est, quia velle in voluntate hominis est; et ideo totum meritum in voluntate est. Quantum vis, tantum mereris. Quantum crescit voluntas tua bona, tantum crescit meritum tuum. Fac igitur magnam bonam voluntatem tuam, si vis habere magnum meritum.

For among all the gifts of God that appear to be directed towards man's salvation, the first and principal is known to be a good will, through which the image of God's likeness is restored in us. It is first because everything good begins from a good will. It is principal, since nothing is given more useful to men than a good will. Whatever a man does cannot be good unless it proceeds from a good will. It is completely impossible for anyone to be saved without a good will; with a good will, no one can perish. Good will cannot be given to anyone against their will, nor can it be taken away unless they wish it. The will of man is the power of God. It is the will of man, because wishing rests in a man's will, and for this reason all merit is in the will. As much as you wish, so much you deserve. As your good will grows, so does your merit. Therefore make your good will great, if you wish to have great merit.

F. ST. BONAVENTURE'S *SOLILOQUIES* ⁷

The *Soliloquies* of St. Bonaventure are in themselves strongly dramatic, consisting of a dialogue between man (Homo) and his soul (Anima).

OPERA OMNIA, VOL. 8, P. 42 (compare *Wisdom* lines 309–23)

Anima: Eia, mi Domine Deus, quantum ego infelix et misera diligere debeo Deum meum, qui me creavit, cum non eram; redemit, cum perieram, et de multis periculis liberavit me; quando errabam, reduxit me; quando ignorabam, docuit me; quando peccabam, corripuit me; quando contristabar, consolatus est me; quando iam pene desperabam, confortavit me; quando steti, tenuit me; quando cecidi, erexit me; quando ivi, duxit me; quando veni, suscepit me.

Soul: Woe to me, my Lord God, how much ought I, unhappy and wretched, to love my God, who created me when I did not exist, who redeemed me when I had perished, and freed me

⁷ Excerpted from A. Lauer's edition.

from many perils; when I strayed, he brought me back; when I was ignorant, he taught me; when I sinned, he corrected me; when I was sad, he consoled me; when I was on the point of despair, he comforted me; when I stood, he held me; when I fell, he lifted me up; when I went, he led me; when I came, he received me.

OPERA OMNIA, VOL. 8, P. 41 (compare *Wisdom* lines 1106–10):

[Homo:] Revertere adhuc, o anima, Christus in cruce te expectans habet caput inclinatum ad te deosculandam, habet brachia extensa ad te amplexandam, manus apertas ad remunderandum, corpus extensum ad se totum impendendum, pedes affixos ad commanendum, latus apertum ad te in illud intromittendum. Esto ergo, o anima, iam columba nidificans in foraminibus petrae. . . . Haec Bernardus.

Yet return, O Soul, Christ is waiting for you on the Cross. His head is bent down to kiss you, his arms are stretched out to embrace you, his hands are open to forgive, his body is stretched out to hand himself over entirely, his feet are fixed in order to remain with you, his side is open for you to enter into it. O soul, be now a dove building her nest in the openings of the rock. . . . This [is the end of the quotation from] Bernard.

G. *THE NINE THINGS WHICH PLEASE CHRIST / NOVEN VIRTUTES*, CAMBRIDGE, GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE, MS 140/80, PP. 132–35 (COMPARE *WISDOM*, LINES 998–1065)

This anonymous text survives in both English and Latin versions. Horstmann printed several English versions, both in prose and in verse but, as Smart pointed out, the Latin text contained in Gonville and Caius College MS 140/80 is closer to the *Wisdom* text than any of the English versions.⁸ An excerpted text is given here from that manuscript, since the *Wisdom* playwright ignores the lengthy commentary which accompanies each of the “points.”

Hic continentur novem virtutes quas Dominus noster Jesus Christus cuidam sancto viro volenti deo servire necnon devote facere que placent ore suo revelavit sibi dicens primo, “Da pauperibus meis unum denarium in vita tua quia mihi hoc plus placet quam si dedisses post vitam tuam montes aureos in monetam compositos.” . . .

Secunda virtus. Emitte unam lacrimam pro peccatis tuis et pro amore meo sive passione mea et hoc plus placet mihi quam si plorares tantam aquam quanta continentur in mari pro rebus mundanis . . . Casiodorus . . . ait, “Fletus est cibus animarum corroboracio sensuum absolucio peccatorum refeccio mencium lavacrum culparum. . . .

Tercia virtus. Sustine dulciter et pacienter unum verbum durum et probosum de proximo tuo et magis mihi placet quam si disciplinares corpus tuum cum tot virgis quot possunt crescere super unam arborem vel dietam terre. . . .

Quartus gradus. Vigila una hora pro me et cicius placebit mihi quam si mitteres ultra mare duodecim milites sepulcrum meum vindicatuos. . . .

Quinta virtus. Habeas pietatem et compassionem de proximo tuo inope vel infirmo et hoc enim frequencius mihi placet quam si jejunares xl annis qualibet ebdomada per tres dies in pane et aqua. . . .

⁸ C. Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers*, prose texts vol. 1, pp. 110–12; verse text vol. 2, pp. 455–56; Smart, *Some English and Latin Sources and Parallels*, pp. 34–35.

Sexta virtus. Ne dicas sermonem tradiciosum vel fraudulentum de proximo tuo set taceas pro amore meo et amplius mihi placet quam si ambulares per viam nudis plantis quod cursus sanguinis sequeretur vestigia pedum tuorum. . . .

Septima virtus. Ne instiges nec excites proximum tuum ad malum set omnia convertas in meliora et hoc mihi placet quam si semel in die ascendens in celum. . . .

Octava virtus. Frequenter desideres et interrogas me et hoc mihi plus placet quam si mater mea et omnes sancti orarent pro te. . . .

Nona virtus. Diligas me solum super omnia et hoc mihi plus placet quam si ascenderes unam columpnam plenam novaculis acutis ita quod caro tua scineretur in particulas irrecuperabiliter in futurum. . . . Item Gregorius in Pastoralibus ait, "Nichil est preciosius deo virtute dileccionis." . . .

Here are the nine virtues which our Lord Jesus Christ revealed by his mouth to a certain holy man who wished to serve God and do piously what pleases Him, saying first, "Give a penny to my poor during your life; that pleases me more than if you were to give mounds of gold coins after your death." . . .

Second virtue. Shed a tear for your sins and for my love or my passion and that pleases me more than if you were to weep as much water as is contained in the sea for worldly things. . . . Cassiodorus . . . says, "Weeping is food for the soul, a strengthening of the senses, a release from sins, a sustenance for the mind, and a washing away of guilt." . . .

Third virtue. Endure calmly and patiently a hard and abusive word from your neighbor and that pleases me more than if you were to discipline your body with as many rods as might grow on a tree or within a day's journey. . . .

Fourth degree. Watch one hour for me and that will please me more than if you were to send twelve avenging soldiers across the sea to my sepulcher. . . .

Fifth virtue. Have pity and compassion on your needy and sick neighbor and that pleases me more than if you were to fast three days in each week for forty years on bread and water

Sixth virtue. Do not say hateful or false things about your neighbor, but be silent for my love and that pleases me more than if you were to walk on the road with bare feet until a track of blood followed the trail of your feet. . . .

Seventh virtue. Do not incite or press your neighbor to evil, but turn everything to good, and that pleases me more than if on that same day you ascended to heaven. . . .

Eighth virtue. Ask of me and pray to me often, and that pleases me more than if my mother and all the saints prayed for you. . . .

Ninth virtue. Love me alone above all things, and that pleases me more than if you were to climb a pillar set with sharp razors so that your flesh was torn apart into small pieces which could not be joined together again. . . . Note: Gregory, in his "Pastoral Care" says, "Nothing is so precious to God as the love of virtue." . . .

APPENDIX 2: MUSIC

MUSIC IN *THE PRIDE OF LIFE*

The only explicit indication of music in *The Pride of Life* is the direction that the king's messenger, Mirth, sing a song (line 322, s.d.) as he takes the queen's message to the bishop, perhaps moving from one scaffold or stage to another. The dramatic situation only requires that the song mirror Mirth's high spirits. Very few secular songs survive from the later fourteenth century, but one possibility would be the popular song "*L'homme armé*," which appears in a variety of polyphonic settings. These all date from later in the fifteenth century, but the tune itself is likely to have been significantly older. There is no reason why the messenger should not sing a song in French, though it is not certain that the tune was known in England.

MUSIC IN *WISDOM*

The stage directions of *Wisdom* specify an unusually extensive use of music, utilizing plainchant, secular polyphony, and dance music. Since in some cases the chant is sung by five or six people, there is also the possibility that some of the liturgical texts might have been sung in polyphonic versions. This appendix provides the music for the relevant chants in the Sarum usage, as well (in two cases) as polyphonic settings of the sort which might have been used.¹

THE LITURGICAL MUSIC

The most likely source for the liturgical texts which are sung in the play would be the monophonic plainchant of the Sarum rite, which was instituted under the guidance of St. Osmund, who became bishop of Salisbury (Sarum) in 1078 and which remained the primary liturgical usage in the south of England until the Reformation.²

¹ Richard Rastall notes that since some of the costuming directions in the text (notably Anima's black-on-white dress) may indicate a Dominican connection, it is possible that the music for these chants would have been drawn from Dominican, rather than Sarum, sources (*Minstrels Playing*, p. 459). See also pp. 451–64 for a thorough discussion of the music in the play.

² A facsimile of Richard Pynson's 1502 printing of the Sarum processional is published in *Use of Sarum* I.

The processional antiphon “*Nigra sum*” (line 164, s.d.) with which the Five Wits enter is given in two versions: a chant and a three-part setting.³ The text is from Canticles 1:4, which does not appear in the liturgy, so I have set it to a suitable psalm tone.⁴ If the chant version is used, it would be appropriate for Anima to sing the first line as an intonation (as Rastall suggests), the Five Wits joining her on the words “*filia Jerusalem*.”

The processional antiphon which ends the first section of the play, “*Tota pulcra es*” (line 324, s.d.), is given here both in its Sarum form and in a three-part setting by Forest from the Trent manuscripts.⁵ This collection of sacred music was compiled between about 1415 and 1421, so this setting may be a bit too early for the play. It is important to note here that the text is not one of the Marian antiphons beginning “*Tota pulcra es Maria*,” but is derived from Canticles 4:7–11 and 2:11–13.

The two verses which Anima sings processionally “in the most lamentabull wyse” (line 996, s.d.) as she and the Mightys leave the stage to receive penance are both from the Lamentations of Jeremiah, and thus both appear in the Easter liturgy; the first, “*Magna velud mare contricio*” at matins on Good Friday; the second, “*Plorans ploravit*” at matins on Maundy Thursday the day before. Since they come from two different services, it is not clear how the two verses would be sung, but the two most likely possibilities are either that the verses would have been extracted from the larger settings of the Lamentations and sung successively, or that a newly-composed setting would have been made. I have given the chants for the two verses as they appear in the Easter liturgy and have made minor adjustments to the music to reflect minor differences in wording between the Sarum chant and the playtext.

The antiphon “*Quid retribuam*” with which Anima, her Five Wits, and her three Mightys return to the stage transfigured (line 1064, s.d.) is also given in two versions. Since only the second verse, “*Calicem salutaris*,” appears in the Sarum use I have followed Rastall’s suggestion that the first verse simply be set to the same music.⁶ The alternative three-part version is simply a setting of the chant in faubourdon style. The parallel harmonies of faubourdon represent one possible method of elevating the solemnity of an occasion, and thus would be appropriate for the final return of Anima and her retinue.

THE THREE-MEN’S SONG

Secular songs for three men’s voices (treble, mean, and tenor) become relatively common towards the end of the fifteenth century, and proliferate in the sixteenth. They appear with some frequency in plays; the best known are the two songs in the Coventry Shearmen and Tailor’s Play, the well-known Coventry Carol and the Shepherds’ Song.⁷ At least some of the

³ The three-part setting in late fifteenth-century style is by Andrea Budgey, of the medieval ensemble *Sine Nomine*.

⁴ Tone 1 for Psalm 110, *Liber Usualis* 133.

⁵ The Sarum version is taken from *Processionale ad usum Sarum* (Pynson, 1502), fols. 123v–124; the Trent version is in R. von Ficker, ed., *Sieben Trienter Codices VI*, p. 80. Forest’s first name is unknown.

⁶ Rastall, *Minstrels Playing*, p. 461.

⁷ Rastall, *Heaven Singing*, pp. 66–71; *Minstrels Playing*, p. 185.

three-part songs collected by Thomas Ravenscroft appear to have had dramatic connections.⁸ The anonymous three-part song given here has the bawdy quality that seems to be demanded by the play; it also has the advantage that the polyphonic setting of the second and third verse parodies the faubourdon style which was often used in a contemporary liturgical context.⁹ The tune appears in a five-part setting in the Henry VIII manuscript (British Library Add. 31922, fols. 106v–107r) with the words “And [If] I were a maiden, as many one is . . .”¹⁰ I have extracted the preexisting tune from the tenor part and reset it to a text based loosely on the fifteenth-century secular lyric, “I have a gentil cok.”¹¹

THE DANCES

I have not given music for the dances. The sources which survive for English dance music at the end of the fifteenth century are very slim, and the largest single collection, the dances from Gresley Hall, Derbyshire, do not fit the instruments specified in the playtext.¹² The stage directions indicate the instruments for each of the three dances: trumpets for Mind’s dance of maintenance, a bagpipe for Understanding’s jurors, and a hornpipe for Will’s dance of lechery. There is no indication of how many trumpets accompany the first dance, but clearly the other two dances use only a single instrument. The Gresley dances, like much other dance music from the period, require at least two players, since they consist of an elaborate (often improvised) treble played over a preexisting tenor. In the case of many dances, including those of the Gresley collection, it is only this tenor part which survives, with the expectation that one or more parts would be improvised above it. The most extensive sources for monophonic dances are Italian, and Jennifer Nevile has suggested that Italian dances may not have been unknown in late fifteenth-century England.¹³ If this solution is adopted, the most useful source for both music and choreography is the 1463 dance treatise of Guglielmo Ebreo of Pesaro.¹⁴

⁸ *Pammelia* (London, 1609; STC 20759) contains three songs from Beaumont’s *Knight of the Burning Pestle*; *Deuteromelia* (London, 1609; STC 20757) contains a further song from the same play, as well as songs from Shakespeare’s *Twelfth Night* and Marston’s *Jack Drum’s Entertainment*; *Melismata* (London, 1611; STC 20758) is a collection of humorous “city” and “country” songs, many of which may have dramatic connections.

⁹ The faubourdon setting of the tune is by Garry Crighton of the University of Münster.

¹⁰ Stevens, *Music at the Court of Henry VIII*, pp. 78–79.

¹¹ The full text of the poem may be found in Salisbury, *Trials and Joys of Marriage*, p. 253.

¹² Fallows, “Gresley Dance Collection, c. 1500.”

¹³ Nevile, “Dance in Early Tudor England.”

¹⁴ Guglielmo Ebreo of Pesaro, *De pratica seu arte tripudii*.

A POSSIBLE SONG FOR NUNCIUS, LINE 322S.D.

8 L'hom - me, l'hom - me, l'hom-me_ar-mé, l'hom-me_ar-mé, l'hom-me_arm - é doigt - on doub -

5 8 ter. Et l'hom-me_ar-mé. On a fait par - tout cri-er, 'A l'as-sault!' D'un hau-bre-gon de

11 8 fer. L'hom-me, l'homme, l'homme_armé, l'homme_armé, l'homme_arm - é doigt-on doub - ter.

TO LINE 164, “NIGRA SUM SED FORMOSA,” CHANT VERSION

Ni - gra sum sed for - mo - sa, fi - li - a Je - ru - sa - lem, si - cut ta - ber -

6 na - cu - la ce - dar, et si - cut pel - les Sal - o - mo - nis.

TO LINE 164, “NIGRA SUM SED FORMOSA,” POLYPHONIC VERSION

Andrea Budgey

Ni - gra sum sed for - mo - sa, fi - li - a Je - ru - sa - lem, si-cut ta - ber -

Ni - gra sum sed for-mo - sa, fi - li - a Je - ru - sa - lem, si-cut ta - ber -

Ni - gra sum sed for-mo - sa, fi - li - a Je - ru - sa - lem, si-cut ta - ber -

9 na - cu - la ce - - - dar, et si - cut pel - les Sal - o - mo - - - nis.

9 na - cu - la ce - - - dar, et si - cut pel - les Sal - o - mo - - - nis.

9 na - cu - la ce - - - dar, et si - cut pel - les Sal - o - mo - - - nis.

TO LINE 324S.D., "TOTA PULCHRA ES," CHANT VERSION

The musical score is written on a single staff in G-clef (treble clef) with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The melody is composed of eighth and sixteenth notes, often beamed together in groups. The lyrics are written below the staff, aligned with the notes. The score is divided into measures by bar lines, with measure numbers 7, 14, 21, 28, 35, 42, and 49 indicated at the start of their respective lines.

To - ta pul - cra es, a - mi - ca me - a, et ma - cu - la
 non est in te fa - vus di - stil - lans la - bi - a tu - a mel et lac sub
 lin - gua tu - a o - - - dor un - guen - to - rum tu - o - rum su - per om - ni -
 a a - ro - ma - ta iam e - nim hi - ems tran - si - it im - ber a - bi - it et re -
 ces - - - sit flo - res ap - par - u - e - runt, vi - ne - e flo - ren - tes o - do - rem
 de - de - runt, et vox tur - tur - is au - di - ta est in ter - ra
 no - stra; sur - - - ge pro - per - a a - mi - ca me - a, ve -
 - - - ni de Li - ba - no, ve - ni, co - ro - - na - be - ris.

TO LINE 324S.D., "TOTA PULCHRA ES," POLYPHONIC VERSION

Forest

The musical score is written for three staves, each with a different clef (soprano, alto, and tenor/bass). The lyrics are in Latin and are written below the staves. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and bar lines. The lyrics are as follows:

To - - - ta pul - - - chra es, a - mi - - ca

To - - - ta pul - - chra es, a - mi - - ca

To - - - ta pul - chra es, a - mi - - ca

me - - - a et ma - cu - la non est in te fa - vus

me - - - a et ma - cu - la non est in te fa - vus di - stil -

me - - - a et ma - cu - la non est in te fa - vus

di - stil - lans la - bi - a tu - a mel (a - tu - a)

lans la - bi - a tu - a mel

di - - - stil - lans la - bi - a tu - a (a - tu - a) mel

et lac sub lin - gua tu - a o - dor un - guen - to - - rum tu - o - rum

et lac sub lin - gua tu - a un - guen - to - rum tu - o - - - rum su - per

et lac sub lin - gua tu - a o - dor un - guen - to - rum tu - o - rum su -

su - per o - mni - a a - ro - - - ma - - - ta. (ma - - - ta.)

o - mni - a a - ro - - - ma - to finish ta. (ma - to continue ta.)

per o - mni - a a - ro - ma - ta. (ta.)

TO LINE 619S.D., SONG FOR MIND, WILL, AND UNDERSTANDING

Unison

I have a gen - tle cock, and he crows for me good day; he makes me rise up —

I have a gen - tle cock, and his fea - thers are all his

I have a gen - tle cock, and with me he takes his

ear - ly my ma - tins for to say. I have a gen - tle cock, and his fea - thers are all his

black; his comb is of red — co ral, and no - thing does he lack.
ease; and when he stands up - right at night my la - dy he doth please.

black; his comb is of red — co ral, and no - thing does he lack.
ease; and when he stands up - right at night my la - dy he doth please.

black; his comb is of red — co ral, and no - thing does he lack.
ease; and when he stands up - right at night my la - dy he doth please.

TO LINE 995, "MAGNA VELUD MARE CONTRICIO"

Mag-na ve - - - - - lud ma-re con-tri-ci-o tu - - - - -

- - - a - - - quis - - - con - - - so - le - - tur - - - tu - - -

- i. - - - Plo - rans - - - plo - - ra - vit - - - in no - cte - - et la - cri - me - -

- - - ei - - us - - in max - il - lis ei - - - - - - - - - - - us - -

TO LINE 1065S.D., "QUID RETRIBUAM DOMINO," CHANT VERSION

Quid - - re - tri - bu - am - - - Do - mi - no pro om - ni - bus quae re - tri - bu - it mi - hi?

Ca - li - cem sa - lu - ta - ris ac - - - ci - pi - am, et no - men - - Do - mi - ni - in - vo - ca - bo.

TO LINE 1065S.D., "QUID RETRIBUAM DOMINO," FAUBOURDON VERSION

Quid re - tri - bu - am Do - mi - no pro om - ni - bus quae re - tri - bu - it mi - hi?

Quid re - tri - bu - am Do - mi - no pro om - ni - bus quae re - tri - bu - it mi - hi?

Quid re - tri - bu - am Do - mi - no pro om - ni - bus quae re - tri - bu - it mi - hi?

Ca - li - cem sa - lu - ta - ris ac - ci - pi - am, et no - men Do - mi - ni in - vo - ca - bo.

Ca - li - cem sa - lu - ta - ris ac - ci - pi - am, et no - men Do - mi - ni in - vo - ca - bo.

Ca - li - cem sa - lu - ta - ris ac - ci - pi - am, et no - men Do - mi - ni in - vo - ca - bo.

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GLOSSARY

The glossary covers the two play texts, but not the source material printed in Appendix 1.

abey, abye <i>suffer; pay a penalty or fine</i>	avoydyth <i>drives out</i>
accordyt, acordyt <i>suits, is appropriate to</i>	ay <i>always, forever</i>
acumberyde <i>overcame</i>	ayeins <i>towards; against</i>
afer, afere <i>frighten</i>	ay-whan <i>whenever</i>
affyable <i>agreeable one, lover</i>	
affyance <i>reliance, dependence</i>	bachelere <i>young man, knight</i>
affye <i>trust</i>	bal, bale <i>evil, hardship</i>
aghte <i>ought</i>	baldli <i>certainly, clearly</i>
alend <i>come, arrive</i>	banis <i>banns, proclamation</i>
als <i>as</i>	behou <i>benefit</i>
alyng <i>altogether</i>	behovefulle <i>appropriate; profitable</i>
amis <i>wrongly, badly</i>	benygnyté <i>kindness</i>
Amralté <i>Admiralty</i>	beschrew <i>curse</i>
amyke <i>beloved</i>	beseke <i>seek</i>
anosyde <i>harmed, injured</i>	bet, beth, bethe, bett <i>are</i>
anow <i>enough</i>	beteche <i>commend to</i>
aplye <i>apply, devote</i>	bethynke <i>consider</i>
applyede <i>attributed</i>	betit <i>beats, overcomes</i>
apposyde <i>examined</i>	betyme <i>promptly; early</i>
aquyt <i>acquit, release</i>	beyght <i>bail, enticement, bribe</i>
aray <i>costume, clothing</i>	bilent (wyt) <i>come (to)</i>
arere <i>raise</i>	bilevyd <i>neglected</i>
arest <i>arrest</i>	bisey <i>careful</i>
arome <i>far off, at a distance, roaming</i>	biwent <i>went, lived</i>
aryght <i>immediately; properly</i>	bled <i>creature</i>
aryve <i>arrive</i>	blyne <i>cease</i>
aslawe <i>slain</i>	blyve <i>quickly, immediately</i>
aspye <i>notice, see, find out</i>	bode <i>threaten</i>
assende <i>ascend</i>	bolhed <i>bullhead, idiot</i>
assyduly <i>assiduously, continuously</i>	bore, borre <i>born</i>
asythe <i>atonement</i>	boun <i>readily</i>
atastyde <i>tasted</i>	bowhede <i>bowed</i>
ataunt <i>in excess</i>	bowr <i>chamber, private apartment</i>
avaunsyd <i>promoted</i>	bren <i>brain; brows</i>
avaunt, avaunte <i>brag, boast</i>	brennynge <i>burning</i>

breydest *reproach*
brit *bright*
bronde, brondis, brondys *firebrand, torch; sword*
brouke *use*
browys *eyebrows*
burthen *burden*
byght *bite; be severe*

cache *catch*
caren *carrion*
carye *be afraid*
cayser *emperor*
cepman *merchant, tradesman*
chagler *windbag*
cham *came*
chapelettys, chapplettys *coronets, small crowns*
char *care*
charp *carp, speak*
chere *behavior, spirit; precious*
cherysyste *cherishes*
cheveler, chevelers *wigs*
cheveleryde *wearing a wig*
chevesaunce *fraud, trick to get money*
chong, chonge, schonge *trade, change*
choppe *bargain*
chorle, chorlys *churl, base person*
chout *knew*
churg *church*
clene *pure, clean, innocent*
clennes *purity, innocence*
clepe, clepyde *call, name*
clere *clearly*
closyde *buried, covered*
clovyn *split*
clumme *silent*
clymyt *climbs*
cognycyon *knowledge*
comly *becoming, appropriate*
complexccyon, compleccyons *temperament*
confirmacyon *consent*
conregent *with equal authority, ruling together; in the same livery*
contenance *masked; with expressive gestures*

convenyent *appropriate*
conversant *familiar*
cors *body*
cosyn *relative*
couth *could*
covetys, covetyse *covetousness*
cowdys *could*
Cresten *Christian*
crestyde *crowned, liveried*
crestys *badges of livery*
crose *head of a coin (see pyll)*
cumli *fittingly*
cumlic *handsome*
cure *care*
curtely *courtly*
custume *habit, custom*
custummaly *customarily*

dalyance *play; idle conversation*
dame *mother*
damesellys *maidens*
dammyde *damned*
dasche *strike, hit*
dau (don of dau) *day (put to death)*
daunte *satisfy; tame*
defoule, defoulyde, defyle, dyffoulyde *defile*
deit *died*
del *control*
delectacyon, dylectacyon *pleasure, delight*
delful *terrible, painful*
delith *deals, gives*
demisman *judge*
dere *dear; costly; brave*
derrist *bravest*
desyderable *desirable, longed for*
devoydyth *exits*
devys *heraldic device; person wearing livery*
dew, du *due, appropriate*
dispyte *dispute, argue*
dobullnes *duplicity*
doghtely *bravely*
doghti, douti *brave*
dompe, dumme *stupid; silent*
domys *judgments*

dot *dies*
douce *sweet*
dout, doute *fear, doubt*
drawte *drawn out*
dres *decorate, prepare*
dryvande *going*
dur *dares*
dyght *ordain; prepare; put*
dyrke *dark*
dyscheyit *deceit*
dyscrey *perceive*
dysporte *sport*
dysposyde *inclined; spent*
dysprave *slander*
dyspyes *despises*
dyspyght *malice, hatred*
dyspytuusly *insultingly, hatefully*

egalle *equal*
eke *also*
ellys *otherwise*
ending-daws *last days, death*
enduyde *endowed*
endyght *indict, prosecute*
endyn *end, die*
engrose *confiscate, take possession of*
enmy, enmye, enmyes *enemy*
enquer *inquire, ask*
entent *advice, counsel*
entret *entreaty; jury-bribing*
eschew, eschewe *avoid*
espyede *noticed, seen*
eteit *eat*
eveyн-crysten *fellow Christians*
expedyente *useful, appropriate*
expellyt *drives away*
exposycyon *understanding*
expres *for certain, surely*
eye *fear*

fainist *most beautiful*
fale, fel, fele *many*
fay *faith*
fel *skin*
fend, fende, fendis *devil*
ficis *fish*
florresschist *flourish, brandish*

fonde *try*
fondnes *foolishness*
fonnyde *foolish*
fors *consider, regard, think*
fortherers *promoters*
freellnes, freelté *frailty*
fremit *unrelated person*

gaff *gave*
galont, galonte, galontes, galontys
fashionable young man
gederyde *gathered, assembled*
gees *intend; guess*
geet *get*
geyl *deceit, guile*
gin, ginnith, gyn, gynne *begins*
gird *strike*
gostlic *profoundly; spiritually*
gostly *spiritual*
govell *usury*
gras *grace*
grates *gratitude*
graven *buried*
grete, grett *great*
grisful *terrible*
gronde *ground, basis, foundation*
grou *grieve*
gyedly *splendidly*
gyse *fashion, manner, custom*

hal *all, entirely; hall*
halse *embrace*
halt *hold*
ham *home*
hante *haunt; use*
happe *happen*
har *their*
harlottys *evil persons*
harow *harrow! (cry of distress)*
hattys *hats*
hayer *heir*
he *he; she*
hedyr, hidir, hydir, hydyr *here, in
this direction*
heelfull *healthy*
hei, hey, hy, hye *high, tall*
hel, hele *health*

hel, helle *hell*
helfis *helmets*
hem *them*
hend, hende *near; gracious; end*
henge *hanged*
hennis, hens *hence*
her *her; here*
hestis, hestys *commands*
hevede *head*
hind *end*
hir *their*
ho *she*
hodys *hoods*
holl *whole*
holly *worship*
holys *holes*
honde *hand*
hoope, hoppe *hope*
hote *command*
hurde *store, hoard*
(y)hyght *was/is called*

ibore, iborre *born*
icom *come*
ifer *together*
ikaghte *caught*
ikorne, ikorre *chosen; famous*
iliche *like*
ilore *lost*
imad *made, created*
inclyne *submit, accept*
induyr *endure*
indwell *inhabit*
infenyt *infinite*
informable *knowledgeable*
inow, inowe *enough*
inperfyghtnes *imperfection*
inspyryt *inspires*
ipocryttys *hypocrites*
irerit *established*
isen *seen*
iustis *justice*
iwis, iwys *indeed, certainly, truly*

jentyll *gentle*
juge-partynge *bribing of judges*

kempis *warriors*
kertyllys *overskirts*
kete *bold*
kinde, kynde *nature*
kith, kyt *shows, manifests*
knett *knit*
knyt, knytis *knight(s)*
korin *chosen*
kynrede *kindred*

lace *wrap*
lafte *left*
lak *find fault (with)*
lanys *lanes, streets*
lasyde *fastened*
lec, leche *doctor*
lecuri *lechery*
leeffull *lawful*
lefe *leaf*
leint *length, height*
lende *participate*
lenust *most lean; most frail*
lere, lerne *learn*
lerit *educated*
lesing, lesynge *lie, falsehood*
lest *least*
lestenith *listen*
lett *allow, leave*
lettrit *educated*
leut *uneducated*
lev, leve *leave*
lever *better (for); rather*
lewyde *uneducated*
leyfte *left*
leynth *length*
lib *live*
lisst *lie*
list, liste *desire, please; am/are bidden*
lombys *lamb's*
lond, londe, londis *land, lands*
lor *wisdom*
lore *lost*
lought *bow down*
lovelich *lovely*
lovevyt, lovit, lovyt, lovyth *loves*
lovyntly *lovingly*
lyghtlyer *more easily*

lykly *handsome*
lykyng *happy*
lykyngys *desires*
lynde *linden; lime tree*
lyst *want, desire*
lyvyt *lives*

mac *make*
mad *made*
mafay *by my faith*
maistri, maistrie, maistrye *power, authority*
males *malice*
malewrye *misfortune*
mare *more*
marre *confuse, trouble*
mase *makes, causes*
mastres *mistress*
maynpris *bail*
mayntement *maintenance*
med, mede *earnings, reward; bribery*
medsyne *medicine*
mekyt *makes meek*
mene *complain; mean; middle voice*
mengylde *mixed*
meny, meny, meyn, meyné *retinue, company*
menyver *white fur, ermine*
meroure *mirror*
mest *most*
meth *power, ability*
metis *meets, comes together*
mevyng *action*
miste *missed, omitted*
mit *might*
mitir *miter*
mo *more*
mod, mode *mood; mind*
moder, modyr *mother*
molde *mold; earth*
moque *take pleasure*
mornyth *suffers*
mosyde *deceived*
mot *may*
mout *mouth*
mouyntenys *mountains*
mucil *much, greatly*

munit *warns*
mut *must*
myrable *wonderful*
mys *fail; sin*
mysfare *go wrong*
misst *must*

nas *was not*
nast *have not*
nede *necessary*
nel *will not*
ner *near; not at all*
ner *near*
nesesse *necessary*
nex *next*
ney *nor*
nis *is not*
nit *night*
nobley *nobility*
nold *would not*
nost *know not*
nother, nothir *neither*
notys *musical notes*
nowere *nowhere*
nynte *ninth*
nyse *foolish*
nysyté *foolishness*

obeysance *obedience*
ocke *but*
ofir *over*
onclennes *lechery, filth*
oncunnyng *ignorance*
onis, onys *once*
onkynd, onkynde *unnatural*
onlerit *uneducated*
onthryvande *useless, unprofitable*
onto *unto*
or *before*
ordenance *plan, plot*
ordenyde *ordained, decreed*
ordure *filth, excrement, garbage*
ordynatly *properly*
oreble *horrible*
other *or*
othis *oaths*
ou *you*

ough *owe*
outh *out*
outwrynge *squeeze out*
ouyr *hour*
ovre *over*
oyein, oyeyne *again*
oyeynis *against*

pacyenly *patiently*
paraventur *perhaps*
parvyse *enclosure at a church door*
passante *stylish, fashionable*
pawsacyon *pause*
peas, pees, pes *peace*
pere *equal*
perlys *pearls*
perrysschyt *destroys*
pervert, perverte *pervert, go astray*
peyn, peyne, peyns, peynys *pain, pains*
pleynerly *obviously*
pleyntuus *plentiful*
pol *pool*
pompyus *ostentatious*
povert *poverty*
praty *pretty*
prec, preche *preach*
precynosnes *wealth, richness*
prerogatyff *inherent right*
prest *ready*
preve *prove*
prevynge *proving*
profyght *profit*
prolocutor *speaker*
prowe *profit*
prykkys *spikes, thorns*
purfyled *edged, bordered*
puysschaunce *force*
pyctoure *image*
pyler *pillar*
pyll *tail of a coin (see crose)*
pynne *pen, peg*

quak *quake*
quell, qwell *destroy*
quen, qwen *queen*
quytte, qwyte *repay*

rampaunt *(heraldic) standing on hind legs in profile*
rast *ease, comfort*
rave *express oneself passionately*
raveyn *plunder, rapine*
rechace *hunting call to muster hounds*
rechase *judicial review*
reclusyde *hidden*
recordaunce *false testifying*
recurable *curable*
recure *reward*
recurythe *obtains legal possession*
reddure *punishment*
rede *advise; red*
reducyde *led back*
reformynge *re-establishing*
regyn *region*
reke *care*
rekleshede *carelessness*
relacyon *account; knowledge*
relessyt, relesyt *releases, frees*
reme *realm*
remene *remember*
ren, renne, rennis, rennyt *run, runs*
rent *torn*
renuyde *restored*
repeyer *turn; resort*
replicacyon *reply*
reprehende *condemn*
repreve *reproof*
reprovable *reprehensible*
resort, resorte *go (for help); retinue*
resythe *rise, lift up*
retenance *retinue*
retornys *writ payments*
reulyde *ruled*
reut, ruthe *pity*
reuthyles *ruthless, pitiless*
reve *deprive*
rew *regret*
reyng *reign*
reysyst *raise, uplift*
rit *right; very*
ro *roe, female deer*
Rode *Cross*
rot *root; foundation*
route *run riot*

- rubbyt** *scrubs*
ryghtusnes *righteousness*
ryve *tear apart*

sage *elderly; wise*
satysfye *pay for*
savrit *savored*
savy *save*
schappe *form, appearance; beauty*
schen *shining*
schere *shire, county*
schir *sir*
scho *she*
schonge *see chong*
schrew *curse*
schrewde, schrewede *mischievous, clever*
schullin *shall*
schylyngys *shillings*
sckyppe *skip*
scot *thrown*
screu *shrew, villain*
seker, sekyr, sikir *certain*
sekyrnes *certainty*
sen *seen; sin*
sensyble *perceivable (by the senses)*
sentys, seyntys *saints*
ser *sir*
seth, sethe *since; says*
sew, sewe *lead to, follow*
seyer *lawyer*
shendeschyppe *shameful behavior*
shrew *curse*
sib *relation*
sig, sigge *say, said*
skil *reason; reasonable*
slet, sleye *wise, clever*
sleyght, sleyghtys, sleyttys *trickery*
slyppe *slip, slide*
smartli *quickly*
smert *dies*
smerte *sharp*
soleyn *proud, haughty*
sondis *shore*
sorre *sorely; strongly*
sot, soth, sothe *truth*

soute *sought*
spart, sparye, sparyth *spare*
spec, speche *speech*
specyfye *describe*
sped, spede, spedit *hasten; thrive, succeed*
spelle *story, narrative*
spellys *utters*
spille, spyll, spylle *destroy*
spousebreche *adultery*
spoyll *divest*
stabil, stable *steadfast*
starre *stare, glare*
stere *direct*
sterne *severe, difficult*
sterre *incite, stir*
sterynge, steryngys *stirring; impulse*
stews, stewys *brothels*
stif *steadfast*
stont *stands; exists*
stotey *bravery*
stounde *period of time*
stout, stoute *strong*
streightly *frugally*
streinth, strent, streyint, streynt, streynth, strynt *strength*
strengtheth *strengthens*
streytly *strictly; narrowly*
streytt *limited*
suc *such*
sue *pursue, follow*
sune *son*
sut, sute *livery; matching costumes*
swaynis *men*
swetter *sweeter*
swyn *swine*
swyre *neck*
symony, symonye *simony, buying and selling church offices*
symylytude *image*
syn, syne, synn, synne, synnys *sin; sign*
syngler, synglere *curious; special, individual*
sypres *cypress*
sythe *since*

tal *tale*
talente *intention, desire*
taut *taught*
ten, tene *annoy, anger*
tende *listen to*
tenker *tinker*
tenour *tenor, lowest musical part*
tere *tear*
thede *country*
thedyr *there*
thegh *although*
thingit *think*
thore *there*
thot *though*
thout, thowte *thought*
thrawe *suffer*
threttys *threats*
threys *thrice*
thryfte *prosperity*
thryvande *thriving*
torne *turn*
touart *towards*
trace, traces *dance*
tramposyde *transposed, converted*
tre *wood*
trebull *treble, highest musical part*
trecri *treachery*
trespas *trespass; sin*
treut, treuthe, trouth, trouthe, truyt
 truth
trist, troust *believe, trust*
tristili *faithfully*
trow *think, believe*
trumpes, trumpys *trumpets*
trymbull *tremble*
tyght, tyghte *tight, tightly*
tyng *thing*

uche *each*
unabylythe *makes unfit for, disables*
unclosyde *opened*
unstabullnes *instability*
usance *usage*
usande *being used*

varyance *question; disagreement*
verray *true*

veyne *vain*
victoryall *of victory*
vyseryde *masked*
vysurs *masks*

wan, wen *when*
war, wer *where*
ware *beware*
warnit *warns*
wat, watt *what*
wede *clothing*
wedys *weeds*
welde *control*
wend, wende *go, turn*
wene *think, believe; understand*
werre *war*
wet, wete *know*
whow, howe *how! (?)*
wight, wyght *white; creature, person*
wirch *work; cause*
wittin *know*
wo, woo *who; harm, woe*
wode, wood, woode *mad, insane*
wom *whom*
wondyde *wounded*
wonschildis *defenders*
wordly *worldly, secular*
wore *were*
wosa, woso *whoso*
wot, wote, wott *knows*
wrake *ruin*
wreist *anger*
wrother *evil, disastrous*
wroute *created*
wrye *conceal*
wy *why*
wyc, wyche *which*
wyke *week*
wyly *wily, clever*
wynke *sleep*
wynnande *winning*
wyppe *quick! (?)*
wyrre *hurry! (?)*
wyrry *throat*
wyt *with; knowledge*
wyvande *wived, married*

yar *ready*

yche *each*

yeff, yeve, yiue *give*

yeftys, yiffte *gifts*

yelpe, yilp, yilpe *speak well, praise;
boast*

ynowe *enough*

yomandrye *yeomanry, retinue*

yougthe *youth*

yove *given*

yyng *young*