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PREFACE

Since its rediscovery by nineteenth-century scholarship, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 61 has never been ignored, though it has also not gained a great deal of notoriety beyond the scholars of Middle English romance. Several accounts have made passing notice of the eccentricities of the scribe, who signs his name "Rate" after nineteen of the manuscript's forty-one items and who draws curious sketches of fish, flowers, and other designs on many of the volume's leaves. But the manuscript has also been singled out as an example of the reading material popular with middle-class English families in the later Middle Ages, and it is for this reason that the present edition has been made.

Though all of the manuscript's contents have been printed at least once, these texts have been scattered in hard-to-find nineteenth-century collections or in the collation notes of modern editions. It is hoped that the present volume will encourage study of the entire manuscript as a valuable witness to the devotional habits, cultural values, and popular tastes of late medieval England.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION, DATE, AND PROVENANCE

Ashmole 61 is a long, narrow paper book made up of 162 folia, two end leaves of seventeenth-century paper, and three modern end leaves.³ The manuscript measures approximately 418mm by 140mm, and was last bound in 1986 in off-white leather. The earlier, seventeenth-century binding (including boards and clasps), in a style common to other items in the collection of Elias Ashmole, has been kept separately since the 1986 rebinding. The tall, narrow format of Ashmole 61 has occasionally lead it to be classified among "holster books," the narrow books supposedly carried in saddle bags by itinerants, especially minstrels.⁴ But the theory that minstrels owned these volumes has been convincingly debunked by Andrew Taylor,

¹ The manuscript has received more attention in recent years, largely through the efforts of Lynne Blanchfield, who has examined Ashmole 61 extensively in her dissertation and two published essays. The present editor is profoundly indebted to her work.

² See, for example, Parkes, "Literacy of the Laity," p. 569.

³ Several previous studies have described the physical makeup of the manuscript and its contents. Among the most useful of these accounts are Lynne Blanchfield's "Rate Revisited" and Gisela Guddat-Figge's entry in her *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, pp. 249–52.

⁴ Guddat-Figge discusses the history of this claim in her Catalogue of Manuscripts, pp. 30-35.

and there are other, more convincing explanations for the format of Ashmole 61.⁵ Some of the surviving medieval ledgers used by merchants or guilds for entering accounts resemble Ashmole 61, and if (as the evidence suggests) the scribe was an amateur used to keeping such accounts rather than copying literature, this resemblance is not a coincidence.⁶

There are two sequences of foliation. One, in a modern hand of the last two centuries, appears in the top right corner of each folio. Though this modern foliation numbers 161 leaves, it counts two folia as fol. 30, an error noticed during the 1986 collation, when these two leaves were renumbered fol. 30a and fol. 30b. Since many earlier descriptions of the manuscript rely on the mistaken foliation, these folio numbers have been used for this edition. An earlier sequence of foliation skips the first eight folia and counts 160 leaves, making a leap from 150 to 160, instead of 150 to 151, at our fol. 159.⁷ This foliation appears in the top center of each folio, and the hand may be that of the scribe or another early user.

At the time of the manuscript's rebinding, an attempt was made by Bruce Barker-Benfield to reconstruct the original quiring of the manuscript; the physical evidence of the quires has been obscured by resewing in the seventeenth century and by pasting by nineteenth- or twentieth-century conservators. Barker-Benfield's hypothetical collation is as follows: $I^8 II^{10} III^{12} IV^{16} V^{12} VI^{10}$ (missing leaves 9 and 10, with a loss of text between fols. 65–66) $VII^{12} VIII^{14} IX^{13}$ (leaf 8 canceled, with no loss of text) $X^{16} XI^{16} XII^{14} XIII^{16}$ (missing leaves 12–16, with a loss of text after fol. 161).

The scribe has written catchwords at the end of each quire except for quires XII and XIII. Since one text runs across the break between quires XII and XIII, this suggests that the present arrangement of the manuscript's contents conforms to the original arrangement, and that the manuscript was not compiled as a set of discrete "booklets." Indeed, texts run across the other eleven of the twelve quire boundaries; only the first quire stands apart as a unit. Even this quire, since its contents are included in the scribe's table of contents (see below, Contents and Arrangement), must have been in its present position soon after the manuscript's completion. All of this evidence suggests that the scribe did not attempt to fit texts neatly into quires but rather added new quires as his copying demanded.

Quires I, II, and IX use paper without watermarks. Three kinds of watermarked paper are used for quires III–V, VI–VIII, and X–XIII, roughly corresponding to Briquet's numbers 694, 11159, and 10116 respectively, though only the last is a very close match. The dates of these watermarks would suggest that the manuscript was copied after 1479, and the last quire dates from some point after 1488. Since the scribe's hand seems unlikely to date from any later than the first decade of the sixteenth century (see below, Scribe), this suggests

⁵ A. Taylor, "Myth of the Minstrel Manuscript."

⁶ Blanchfield briefly discusses the resemblance to account books and notes a similarly shaped volume containing accounts of the church of St. Mary de Castro in Leicester ("Idiosyncratic Scribe," p. 18). See also Collins, *Glimpse into the Past*, pp. 27–29.

 $^{^{7}}$ For a possible explanation of the fact that the early foliation skips the first quire, see p. 7, n. 30 below.

⁸ Barker-Benfield's collation notes, as well as beta-radiographs of the watermarks and other discussions of the manuscript's physical makeup, have been preserved in the Bodleian in a file labeled REFS LXXIV.27.

⁹ Briquet, Les Filigranes.

¹⁰ See Halmann, "Watermarks of Four Late Medieval Manuscripts."

that the manuscript dates from either the last decade of the fifteenth century or the first decade of the sixteenth; no date more precise than "c. 1500" can be assigned with any confidence.

The original ownership of the manuscript is uncertain (see below, Scribe). The few sixteenth-century pen trials and marginal notes leave little evidence of post-medieval ownership, though a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century note on the top margin of fol. 161v, "Item to me from M. Austin of Hook norte[?] on Thursday 2 couple of Rabbitts the Thursday following 2 couple more Thursday the 15 of August 2 couple more" may place the manuscript near the Oxfordshire town of Hook Norton at some later date. A note in another sixteenth-century hand on the top margin of fol. 106v, "Delivered d dame Elizabeth [sic]," may record the name of a later reader or owner, but this name offers little help in establishing provenance. Though the paper has become somewhat brittle with age, there are few other signs of wear and little to suggest that the volume was much read by its later owners. It is not known when the manuscript came into the collection of Elias Ashmole, the seventeenth-century collector of curiosities and books. The manuscript was mistakenly catalogued with the same summary catalogue number as Ashmole 60, and overlooked until noticed by Samuel Brydges in 1814. Samuel Brydges in 1814.

SCRIBE

The scribe, who signs his (or possibly her) name after nineteen texts as "Rate," cannot be confidently identified, but a series of clues allows some educated guesses. ¹⁴ Early attempts to identify the scribe with the Scots author David Rate, the supposed author of the didactic work *Ratis Raving*, were subsequently and decisively disproved. ¹⁵ Other attempts to identify the scribe on the basis of the frequent drawings of fish and flowers have also failed. Though it is tempting to interpret these drawings as a rebus signature hinting at the scribe's family or birthplace, none of the possible interpretations (e.g., "Fishrose") has proven satisfactory.

¹¹ This same hand makes another note on fol. 98v, "I reade that wee late off thy god father." This is an imperfect copy of line 1113 of *The Northern Passion* (item 28), the first line of text on this leaf. The last four words of the marginal note differ from the text, and may (or may not) indicate that this later reader struggled to interpret Rate's handwriting. Other marginalia, which may well be in either Rate's or a very early owner's hand, include boxed crosses used as *nota* marks on fols. 63r, 65r, 79r, 124v, and 125r. Pen trials in later hands, nearly always faint or illegible, appear on fols. 65v, 79v, 105r–106r, and 150v–151r.

¹² For an introduction to Ashmole's collecting and antiquarian interests, see the entry by Michael Hunter in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 2, pp.661–65.

¹³ Brydges and Haslewood, *British Bibliographer*, vol. 4, pp. 17–18. For the history of the cataloguing and rediscovery of Ashmole 61, see Blanchfield, "Rate Revisited," pp. 209–10.

¹⁴ The scribe uses the spelling "Rathe" on one occasion; see item 30. F. J. Furnivall, who printed texts of items 3, 4, 7, and 8, mistook the initial capital and transcribed the name as "Kate." However, from the evidence of the scribe's capitals throughout the manuscript the letter is clearly an "R."

¹⁵ The suggestion was first made by John T. T. Brown, "Poems of David Rate." Girvan, in his edition of *Ratis Raving*, demonstrated the impossibility of this connection, based in part on the dialect of Ashmole 61 (pp. xxxiii–xxxvii).

The first genuine clue to the identity of "Rate" is his dialect, located by the *Linguistic Atlas* of Later Middle English in northeast Leicestershire. ¹⁶ His dialect features a preponderance of northeast Midlands forms. For example, the third person plural pronoun is thei or occasionally they; present tense verbs in the third person singular and plural end in -ys; Old English I has been lengthened in open syllables to long e in words such as evyll, mekyll, sekyr; "though," "but," and "church" are usually spelled thoff, bot, and chyrch; participles usually end in -yng, but Rate often leaves -and endings from northern exemplars "untranslated." When he encounters them, Rate also lets other northern forms stand unchanged, but usually substitutes midland/southern words for less familiar northern vocabulary. All this supports the location of the scribal dialect in northeast Leicestershire, a border region between the dialects of the northeast Midlands and the North, where some of Rate's copy-texts seem likely to have originated.

The last name Rate (or its variants, Rathe, Ratte, Rotte, Rot, etc.) is not common in Leicestershire or elsewhere in late medieval England, but Blanchfield found several records of two William Rattes in the records of the city of Leicester. A William Ratt left a will dated 1522 that is now preserved in the Leicester Record Office's Register Book of Wills for 1512–26 (fols. 152 and 157v). In the 1509–10 list of the free citizens of Leicester, it is presumably the same man entered as William Ratt, son of William. A William Rotte rented a building from Leicester's powerful Corpus Christi Guild in 1494–95, perhaps the same William Rot registered in the guild of ironmongers in 1480. It remains impossible to say which of these William Rat(t)es were the same man, or whether one of them was the scribe of Ashmole 61. But the conjecture that the scribe was a middle-class tradesman in Leicester would certainly explain many of the features of Ashmole 61 (see below, Use and Historical Context).

The best explanation to date of the fish and flower drawings adds further evidence connecting the scribe Rate to the city of Leicester. In her dissertation, Blanchfield suggests

 $^{^{16}}$ See the linguistic profile (#71) in vol. 3 of A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English, pp. 233–34.

¹⁷ Blanchfield, "Idiosyncratic Scribe," pp. 159–60.

¹⁸ The will is indexed in Calendars of Wills and Administrations Relating to the County of Leicester, p.10.

¹⁹ Register of Freemen of Leicester, p. 61.

²⁰ Records of the Borough of Leicester, vol. 2, pp. 349 and 464.

²¹ In the course of preparing this edition, a William Race was found in the ordination lists of Bishop Russell of Lincoln (a very large diocese that included Leicestershire). In a 1491 ordination in Leicester, a William Race of "Estthorpe" was listed among those of "primam tonsuram" and the unbeneficed acolytes. These are the clerics in minor orders, not yet ordained as priests; William Race never appears again in subsequent ordination lists, and presumably never advanced to the priesthood. Though there are many examples of the family name "Ros" in this area, the occasional confusion of "t" and "c" in medieval scripts makes this man another possible candidate. Easthorpe was a hamlet adjoining Bottesford in northeast Leicestershire, precisely where the dialect of the scribe originates.

²² Other possible candidates among the late medieval Rat(t)es and Rottes of the northeast Midlands include a John Rote of Croyland, Lincolnshire (*Calendars of Lincoln Wills*, p. 12), and an Elizabeth Rote of Norton, on the western edge of Leicestershire (*Calendars of Wills and Administrations Relating to the County of Leicester*, pp. 41 and 46). Neither candidate matches the dialect or the date of the manuscript as well as the various William Rat(t)es.

that the drawings bear some connection to the badge of Leicester's Corpus Christi Guild.²³ One surviving depiction of this badge features a chalice with a six-petaled flower on its stem and a fish used as a flourish over the letter *I*. The connection remains highly conjectural, but given the other information connecting Rate to the Corpus Christi Guild of Leicester, Blanchfield's explanation of the fish and flowers remains the most persuasive. The fish do not appear to be heraldic symbols of any known English family, and the flowers do not seem to have any direct connection to Tudor roses. It remains entirely possible, of course, that Rate has simply drawn these fish and flowers without intending to evoke any symbolism whatsoever.²⁴ The fish resemble pike (or possibly salmon), and are often drawn with a toothy grin; on a few occasions Rate has combined the motifs and has drawn a fish with a stem of flowers in its teeth. The flowers are generally five- or six-petaled, and are too vaguely drawn to be identified as either roses, daisies, cinquefoils, or any other specific type.

In addition to his fish and flowers, Rate has added a circumscribed hexafoil design on fol. 17v (at the end of item 6), and a heraldic shield with a cross and five suns representing the five wounds of Christ at the end of item 29 on fol. 106r. But his idiosyncrasies are not limited to his doodles. His hand is an unusually conservative Anglicana, with no Secretary forms other than the single-chambered a; the hand most closely resembles hands from the middle of the fifteenth century, i.e., fifty years before Ashmole 61 was copied. Rate's peculiar habits, as well as his relaxed attitude towards error and his tendency to carelessness, suggest that he was not a professional scribe but rather a reasonably proficient amateur copying for his own use.

Previous editors of Ashmole 61's texts have noticed, if not fully understood, Rate's eccentric scribal habits and patterns of revision, and they have usually dismissed readings from Ashmole 61 as unreliable. Ashmole 61 preserves an unusual amount of textual variants and unique versions of other texts. Rather than attempting to explain these variants by assuming that Rate had access to a remarkable number of unique copy-texts, it is much easier to assume that Rate habitually revised the texts he copied. Though it is often difficult to guess at the reasons for Rate's revisions, he frequently replaces hard or unfamiliar words, and often expands or abridges his material to suit his own ends. He regularly changes the beginnings and endings of his texts, and omits material that appears elsewhere in the manuscript. When his copy-texts preserve northern dialect forms, sometimes he keeps them, but other times he alters them as he goes along, with varying effects on the rhyme and sense of the revised lines. He also revises to correct for his own mistakes; for example, rather than going back to correct a missed rhyme word, Rate often rewrites the following line or lines to cover up the defective reading. This kind of "rolling revision" occasionally results in strained syntax or even

²³ Blanchfield, "Idiosyncratic Scribe," pp. 151–57.

²⁴ It is worth comparing Rate's fish to the fish sometimes drawn by other scribes to enclose catchwords; see, for example, fols. 11v, 23v, 35v, etc. in Oxford, Merton College MS 66, a fourteenth-century copy of Duns Scotus's commentary on Peter Lombard's *Sentences*. Blanchfield suggests that Rate's fish and flowers may represent breaks in the copying, since many of them appear in the lower margins of leaves and others appear in between texts.

²⁵ Ypotis and The Northern Passion (items 27 and 28) best demonstrate Rate's habits of abridgment; in these texts he omits many couplets and some entire sections, presumably because he felt they went beyond his purposes or (as in the case of the Resurrection scene of The Northern Passion) because he duplicated this material elsewhere in the manuscript. In copying Maidstone's Seven Penitential Psalms (item 32), Rate truncates all of the stanzas of Psalm 129. Rate's additions range from single lines (often ignoring meter and rhyme scheme) to entire stanzas.

nonsense, but Rate seems to have had a ready supply of stock phrases to help him rewrite lines as he went along.

In a few texts, Rate works around larger errors (or possibly defects in his copy-text), including the transposition of lengthy passages. At other points, he anticipates a later moment in the text or alters his approach to a difficult passage in the midst of copying it. ²⁶ Though this edition does not attempt to chart or explain all of Rate's scribal patterns, important variants are discussed in the Text section of the introduction to each item in the explanatory notes.

Though professional scribes in fifteenth-century London and other urban centers produced the bulk of surviving Middle English manuscripts, amateur productions like Rate's are by no means uncommon in this period.²⁷ Robert Thornton, a Yorkshire landowner, wrote out two collections of Middle English texts for his own use, and the "Findern" manuscript seems to have been copied piecemeal by an entire family.²⁸ Members of the urban merchant classes also began compiling their own collections in this period, and Rate's collection shares some resemblance to the work of the Londoners John Colyns and Richard Hill in the early decades of the sixteenth century.²⁹ Exactly why these amateurs chose to spend the time compiling their own collections rather than purchasing booklets copied by professionals is not known, but producing their own manuscripts allowed for complete control over the finished volumes.

CONTENTS AND ARRANGEMENT

Following the descriptions of the manuscript made by Guddat-Figge and Blanchfield, this edition numbers the contents 1–41. But the number is misleading. Item 11 is in fact two distinct texts; item 14 is merely a repetition of the first few stanzas of item 6, with only minor variants; items 35a and 35b are two distinct texts that have been fused together by Rate, much to the confusion of some previous editors.

There is every reason to believe that the manuscript followed the present arrangement of the contents from a very early date. The early foliation skips the first quire (containing items 1–4), and this quire may have been added last. But the mutilated leaf at the front of the manuscript features a table of contents drawn up in Rate's hand, and this includes the items in the first quire, so they must have been placed in that position shortly after the

²⁶ For a likely example of mistaken anticipation, see *The Feasts of All Saints and All Souls* (item 25), line 233; for a clear example of an "on-the-fly" revision, see *Sir Orfeo* (item 40), line 551.

²⁷ Only one piece of evidence argues against the view of Rate as an amateur scribe copying for his own use: the colophon to the *Stimulus Consciencie Minor* (item 33) asks that the scribe be paid for his work. It seems easier, however, to consider this a borrowing from an exemplar or a recollection of a familiar scribal jingle than to throw out all the other evidence that suggests that Ashmole 61 is a homemade production.

²⁸ For Robert Thornton and his manuscripts, see J. Thompson, *Robert Thornton*. See also *The Thornton Manuscript (Lincoln Cathedral MS 91)*. For the Findern manuscript, see Harris, "Origins and Make-Up." See also Hanna, "Production of Cambridge University Library MS Ff.i.6."

²⁹ For the makeup and context of these London miscellanies, see Parker, *Commonplace Book in Tudor London*. See also Meale, "Compiler at Work."

manuscript's completion.³⁰ As stated above (Physical Description, Date, and Provenance), the contents appear to have been copied sequentially, with the possible exception of items 9–11, which may have been added later to fill in a leaf.

How Rate acquired his copy-texts is uncertain, but he clearly drew on regional networks of circulation. Many of the manuscripts that resemble Ashmole 61 most closely were produced in the northern midland counties and Yorkshire.³¹ It shares six texts with Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.2.38, a miscellany copied by another Leicestershire scribe around the time Rate was at work on Ashmole 61.³² Besides the texts it shares with Ashmole 61, CUL MS Ff.2.38 also contains other tail-rhyme romances, a version of the seven penitential psalms, several *exempla*, and John Mirk's *Life of St. Margaret*. The "Pilkyngton" manuscript, Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.5.48, was probably compiled in Lancashire and also shares six items with Ashmole 61.³³ Similarly, the "Heege" manuscript, National Library of Scotland MS Advocates, 19.3.1, dates from this same period, was copied in either Nottinghamshire or Derbyshire, and shares two texts and many analogues with Ashmole 61.³⁴

Several texts in Ashmole 61, such as the *Stimulus Consciencie Minor* (item 33), appear to have circulated only within this region: all the surviving manuscripts of that text derive from Yorkshire or the Midlands. *Sir Isumbras* (item 5) was likely first composed in the east or northeast Midlands in the first half of the fourteenth century; Rate's copy is a witness to the regional popularity of this text over a century and a half later. Just how these kinds of regional networks operated remains a subject of study, but it seems likely that Rate drew from the texts available locally, and did not have to resort to extraordinary means to obtain his material. ³⁵ Some of the unique texts, such as *The Debate of the Carpenter's Tools* (item 16),

³⁰ Blanchfield offers a logical explanation for the unfoliated first quire and the torn leaf containing the abandoned opening of *Saint Eustace* (item 1) and the table of contents: "After copying *Edward* (41), Rate began to re-copy *Eustace*, realized half-way down that he already had this text, cut the bifolium in half, wrote out the contents of the finished volume on the bottom of the spoiled copy, and placed it at the beginning with the first quire. Subsequently, this leaf and the first quire became displaced, and were only discovered when the manuscript was eventually foliated. They were then returned to the beginning of the manuscript, their proper place as indicated by the contents list and by the catchword which was added before the foliation" ("Idiosyncratic Scribe," p. 24).

³¹ Though he does not discuss Ashmole 61, Thorlac Turville-Petre examines other manuscripts in this region in "Some Medieval English Manuscripts in the North-East Midlands."

³² See the introduction by McSparran and Robinson to their facsimile edition; the six texts it shares with Ashmole 61 are *How the Wise Man Taught His Son*, *The Erle of Tolous*, *The Lament of Mary*, *Stimulus Consciencie Minor*, *The Adulterous Falmouth Squire*, and *The Wounds and the Sins* (items 3, 19, 30, 33, 35b, and 38).

³³ The six texts are A Prayer to Mary, The Incestuous Daughter, The Northern Passion, The Lament of Mary, The Sinner's Lament, and The Wounds and the Sins (items 15, 23, 28, 30, 35a, and 38).

³⁴ See the useful introduction by Phillipa Hardman to her recent facsimile of this manuscript, *The Heege Manuscript*. The shared texts are *Sir Isumbras* and *The Sinner's Lament* (items 5 and 35a). MS Advocates 19.3.1 also contains *The Little Children's Book* (a possible source of *Dame Courtesy*, item 8), the usual version of *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, a prayer for the Mass (not unlike item 17, *A Prayer at the Levation*), other romances, gospel paraphrases, and visions of the afterlife. For further discussion of this MS, see Shaner, "Instruction and Delight."

³⁵ For an introduction to the topic, see the essays collected by Felicity Riddy in *Regionalism in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts*.

may have been local productions, the work of Rate himself or of another Leicester figure. Though printers were making editions of many of Ashmole 61's texts around the time the manuscript was compiled, none of its texts appears to have been copied from a printed text.

No definitive scheme of organization governs the arrangement of Ashmole 61's texts; instead, the manuscript seems to be arranged in small groups of related texts. The particular relationships between each text and its immediate neighbors are discussed under Manuscript Context in each item's introduction in the explanatory notes, but a few general patterns can be observed here. Rate has joined together some texts on the basis of shared subject matter or similarities of genre. How the Wise Man Taught His Son (item 3) is followed by How the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter (item 4), two independent texts that share a very similar subject. The Short Charter of Christ (item 29) and The Lament of Mary (item 30) quite naturally follow immediately after The Northern Passion (item 28). However, some logical sequences are broken up by items that do not appear to be directly related: The Debate of the Carpenter's Tools (item 16) interrupts a series of prayers, and The Dietary (item 31) appears amidst pious works, whereas we might expect it to appear in the conduct material among the manuscript's first eight items. Rate may simply have copied items as they became available to him — an unpredictable process governed by the relative scarcity of copy-texts — or he may have only sporadically planned the volume as a whole.

Though the texts range across a variety of verse forms, Rate does not significantly tailor his layout to fit any particular item. All appear in a single column. He often draws rhyme brackets, but not always with careful attention to the lines he has copied. The lines per page vary from as few as forty-four to as many as sixty, and Rate does not always rule his lines. He usually separates his items with either the colophon "Amen quod Rate" or drawings of fish or flowers, and uses small titles on several occasions. In general, the manuscript is quite plain: even the fish do not seem to be intended as decoration, and the only color added to the ornamentation is a dull yellow wash applied to some capital initials and drawings, probably Rate's usual dark brown ink diluted with water.

GENRES Romance

Among the narrative texts of Ashmole 61, the romances are the best known and the most studied. Four of these, *Sir Isumbras, The Erle of Tolous, Lybeaus Desconus*, and *Sir Cleges* (items 5, 19, 20, and 24), are written in tail-rhyme stanzas, one of the most popular verse forms for Middle English romances, particularly those originating in the Midlands. ³⁶ Tail-rhyme stanzas in these romances follow an *aabccbddbeeb* rhyme-scheme, with four-stress lines in the a, c, d, and e lines and three-stress lines in e lines, a form that likely aided recitation but that also produces a jog-trot rhythm memorably lampooned in Chaucer's Tale of Sir Thopas.

Tail-rhyme romances take up a considerable variety of subject matter and themes, a range well-represented by those in Ashmole 61. *Sir Isumbras* borrows much of its narrative form from saints' lives (especially *Saint Eustace* [item 1]), and Isumbras's heroism involves as much penitential suffering as martial prowess. The romance celebrates the Christian family

³⁶ For a survey of tail-rhyme romances and a discussion of their Midlands origins, see Trounce, "English Tail-Rhyme Romances." See also Tajiri, *Studies in the Middle English Didactic Tail-Rhyme Romances*, pp. 3–26.

— converted, baptized, and finally triumphant over persecuting nonbelievers — and piety trumps chivalry as the text's central value. Sir Cleges shares much of this piety, but it involves little in the way of combat and the violence it does portray is comic rather than chivalric. The Erle of Tolous and Lybeaus Desconus conform more closely to what modern readers expect of romance, offering heroes who triumphantly rise from positions of outlawry or exclusion to honor and happy marriage. But the two are very different in other respects. The Erle of Tolous switches between perspectives as it depicts court intrigue, deception, and disguise; all the events demonstrate the essential virtue of trewth (loyalty and the upholding of promises). Lybeaus Desconus closely follows its titular hero, and is nearly picaresque in its episodic form and its celebration of raw bravado above all else. In short, the tail-rhyme romances of Ashmole 61 encompass much of the variety of the romance genre as a whole, with a homely style and unpretentious vigor that made them popular reading matter for a very wide range of English audiences.

Only one of Ashmole 61's romances is written in a form other than tail-rhyme: Sir Orfeo (item 39) probably dates from the same decades in which Sir Isumbras, The Erle of Tolous, and Lybeaus Desconus were written, but it is written in four-stress couplets. Sir Orfeo is exceptional in nearly every other sense as well. Its treatment of a classical subject, its interest in the Celtic fairy world, and its refinement distinguish it from most Middle English romances.

Saints' Lives and Legends

Another group of Ashmole 61's narratives treats exclusively religious subjects but often employs narrative techniques and language borrowed from (or shared with) chivalric romance. These are the saints' lives and gospel legends, including Saint Eustace, Saint Margaret, The Northern Passion, and The Legend of the Resurrection (items 1, 37, 28, and 36). Saint Eustace, like its close partner Sir Isumbras, is even written in tail-rhyme, further emphasizing its kinship with romance. The Northern Passion and The Legend of the Resurrection shape gospel accounts and apocryphal legends into stirring narratives that portray the life of Christ as a daring adventure. Both derive primarily from French originals. The Feasts of All Saints and All Souls (item 25) might be grouped with these other texts, as it fuses legendary material with an adventurous journey to heaven and hell. The King and His Four Daughters (item 26) fits less comfortably in this category, since it is an allegorical debate (and not, strictly speaking, a narrative), but since it treats the heroism of Christ's incarnation and crucifixion as a matter of feudal justice (and has a French source), it might best be considered alongside these other pious legends.

Exempla and Comic Tales

A third group of narratives derives from medieval preaching's use of short moral tales to reach an audience: *The Knight Who Forgave His Father's Slayer, The Jealous Wife, The Incestuous Daughter,* and *The Adulterous Falmouth Squire* (items 18, 22, 23, and 35b).³⁷ These *exempla* feature simple, quickly-drawn characters whose behavior (good or bad) earns its just reward. Despite the severity of their narrative logic, these stories often reveal a tender sense of human

³⁷ For bibliography and a brief discussion of *exempla*, see the introduction to *The Knight Who Forgave His Father's Slayer* (item 18).

10 Codex Ashmole 61

frailty and kindness, as in the weeping, penitent heroine of *The Incestuous Daughter* or the gentle, devout husband in *The Jealous Wife*. Nor is the theology of these *exempla* crude or unforgiving: *The Incestuous Daughter* demonstrates that the scope of divine mercy is beyond the grasp of the Church's own rites of confession and penance. All derive from Latin sources and have numerous analogues among the many surviving *exempla* in Middle English and other vernaculars.

The final group of narratives have little in common with each other except their humor. The rhyme scheme of *Sir Corneus* (item 21) is a form of tail-rhyme and it shares an Arthurian setting with many Middle English romances, but it lacks any other resemblance to romance. The source of its comedy, Guinevere's adultery and women's lechery more generally, invites comparisons between this text and moral *exempla* on the same subject, but the difference in genre is all-important. *King Edward and the Hermit* (item 41) is also written in tail-rhyme, and opens much like other romances, with a hunt followed by a chance encounter between a knight and a stranger in the depths of the forest. It relies on well-worn comic material — the disguised king and the bumptious commoner — but applies a surprisingly light touch. *The Debate of the Carpenter's Tools* (item 16) is not a narrative at all and shares only its comic spirit with these other texts. It is something of an oddity within Ashmole 61 and in the body of surviving Middle English poetry. It bears signs of being an occasional poem (i.e., written for performance to a particular audience), but the uncertainty of its original context makes its generic status more difficult to determine.

Didactic Texts

The non-narrative works in Ashmole 61 appear in a variety of verse forms and derive from a mixed set of sources. One closely-related group of didactic texts includes *How the Wise Man Taught His Son, How the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter, Stans Puer ad Mensam, Dame Courtesy,* and *The Dietary* (items 3, 4, 7, 8, and 31). All of these address the rules of polite behavior, religious duty, and hygiene, and most are addressed (often explicitly) towards children or young adults. These texts freely mix moral commands with practical concerns; two other texts take up only one of these strands. *The Ten Commandments* (item 6) serves as the religious bedrock upon which all these other moral strictures rest, while *The Rules for Purchasing Land* (item 10) concerns only the practical side of life. *Ypotis* (item 27) sits less obviously with this group, since its form (dialogue) and source material (a hodgepodge of biblical facts and ancient lore) make it unlike the homely advice of the conduct manuals. But despite its origins in erudite monastic riddle-books and ancient philosophy, *Ypotis* looks like a catechism, a review of information educated laymen felt obliged to know.

Prayers, Meditations, and Lyrics

The diversity of religious works in Ashmole 61 is not uncommon in late medieval English miscellanies; audiences in this period could choose from an enormous range of religious literature in their native tongue. Even the liturgy and the Bible, traditional areas of Latin's dominance, were partially accessible through Middle English texts. Private prayer had long been given over to the vernacular, and Ashmole 61's prayers — *An Evening Prayer* and *A Morning Prayer*, *A Prayer to Mary*, and *A Prayer at the Levation* (items 12, 13, 15, and 17) — could be memorized for daily use and serve as functional elements of unpretentious lay devotion. All of the manuscript's meditative works seem calibrated for a lay audience, or at least an

audience outside the religious orders. The *Stimulus Consciencie Minor* (item 33) offers a kind of beginner course in meditative piety, describing simple images and ideas for the devout to contemplate, without introducing theological cruxes or wildly original rhetoric. *Maidstone's Seven Penitential Psalms* (item 32) makes greater demands on its audience. The shifts of speaking voices (the penitent sinner, Christ on the cross, etc.) and richly figurative language might pose genuine difficulties for many audiences, but Maidstone's interpretive paraphrase aims to make these less problematic. The familiarity of the psalms, read during church services throughout the year, must have also provided some context for a late medieval lay audience. *The Stations of Jerusalem* (item 34), though it might belong among the pragmatic works of instruction (as a guidebook), seems more likely meant to encourage meditation on the Passion and the deeds of the Apostles. Its exact function remains something of a mystery.

For lack of a better term, a final group of non-narrative works can be considered together as lyrics — short poems in a variety of stanzaic forms. *The Short Charter of Christ, The Lament of Mary, The Sinner's Lament, The Wounds and the Sins*, and *Vanity* (items 29, 30, 35a, 38, and 40) all belong squarely within the mainstream of Middle English religious lyric, assuming other voices (Christ, Mary, a dead sinner, etc.) to encourage mankind's contemplation of its debt to God and the inevitability of death. *Right as a Ram's Horn* (item 2) follows an equally well established secular tradition of complaint. Although it is the one poem in Ashmole 61 to address (explicitly) contemporary social conditions and politics, it was probably six decades old at the time Rate copied it, and its critique of disorder is timeless.

THEMES
Family Life

With forty-two texts in a variety of genres, Ashmole 61's contents naturally cover a very wide range of interests; nevertheless, a few generalizations can be made about the particular interests suggested by Rate's compilation. Since Rosemary Ginn's unpublished edition of Sir Cleges, scholars have noted that a strong interest in domestic life, both its duties and its joys, runs throughout the manuscript. 38 Other English miscellanies from this period contain more practical material for the maintenance of a household — recipes, home remedies, household accounts, etc. But the contents of Ashmole 61 seem perfectly suited for the spiritual nourishment and entertainment of a household. Works like How the Wise Man Taught His Son (item 3) and How the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter (item 4) emphasize duty to God and patience with one's spouse — the latter counseled to both future husbands and future wives. The adaptation of Lydgate's Stans Puer ad Mensam declares that "To tech chylder curtasy is myn entente" (line 9), and Dame Courtesy announces that "This boke is made for chylder yong" (line 147). Most of the exempla, including The Knight Who Forgave His Father's Slayer, The Jealous Wife, The Incestuous Daughter, and The Adulterous Falmouth Squire (items 18, 22, 23, and 35b), hinge upon family relationships, whether between husband and wife, father and son, or father and daughter. The Marian lament that follows The Short Charter of Christ (item 29) is directed at mothers, an unusually specific audience for a Passion lyric. The Debate of the Carpenter's Tools and Sir Corneus (items 16 and 21) rely on two familiar sources of medieval humor: drunken husbands and lecherous wives. There are, by this editor's count, seven reunited families in seven different texts in Ashmole 61.

³⁸ Ginn, "Critical Edition of the Two Texts of Sir Cleges," pp. 82–85.

Ashmole 61's portrayal of family life is hardly unified or simplistic, in part because it emerges out of many different texts in different genres. The depictions of family bliss, especially those in *Saint Eustace, Sir Isumbras*, and *The Jealous Wife* (items 1, 5, and 22) center on the nuclear unit of husband, wife, and children. In *Sir Orfeo* and *Sir Cleges* (items 39 and 24), the bond between husband and wife suggests a love nearly equivalent to the divine love between God and humanity, and several other texts depict sacrifice for (or with) one's family as the noblest deed imaginable. Love, rather than genealogy, hierarchical obligation, or shared property, ties these idealized families together.

But in contrast to these touching scenes of family intimacy, many of Ashmole 61's texts are relatively unsentimental in their depiction of family life. *The Lament of Mary* (item 30) warns mothers not to place love of their own children above their love for the Son of Man, and *How the Wise Man Taught His Son* (item 3) and *Vanity* (item 40) contain strong reminders that the joys of domestic life are transitory. If *Sir Orfeo* (item 39) celebrates the marriage bond as worthy of the highest imaginable sacrifice, it also reveals the vulnerability of that bond. *Sir Corneus* (item 21) cynically (or comically) dismisses fidelity, while *The Adulterous Falmouth Squire* (item 35b) recognizes the seriousness of breaking wedlock. For each text that insists on familial obligations, there are those that emphasize the moral limits of such obligations (such as *The Knight Who Forgave His Father's Slayer* [item 18]). All of these qualifications make Ashmole 61's collective portrait of family life a complex one.

The Passion

In the course of his catechism in *Ypotis* (item 27), Emperor Hadrian asks Ypotis how man can protect himself from the devil. Ypotis's answer is simple: "Thynke on Chrystys Passyon. / Man, thynke onne Hys wondys smerte, / And have His Passyon in thyn herte" (lines 420–22). The answer aptly characterizes Ashmole 61's larger interest in contemplation of the Passion and wounds as a spiritual cure-all. This is not unusual; fifteenth-century devotion, both learned and popular, lay and religious, centered around the Passion and the suffering body of Christ to a degree never equaled in Western Christianity before or since. Several interrelated trends contributed to this emphasis, including the Church's insistence (hardened after years of heretical dissent) on the Eucharistic transubstantiation of the host into the body of Christ and the development of an affective piety which encouraged heartfelt contemplation of the Passion.

Rate has selected works that treat the Passion as a human drama (*The Northern Passion, The Legend of the Resurrection* [items 28 and 36]), as an allegory or metaphor (*The King and His Four Daughters, The Short Charter of Christ* [items 26 and 29]), and as a visual icon (*The Lament of Mary* [item 30]). In *The Stations of Jerusalem* (item 34), Rate has chosen a text that reimagines the Passion as a guided tour. Rate has also selected works that emphasize the Passion in ways that their equivalents in the same genres do not. Among the various translations of the seven penitential psalms that circulated in the vernacular, Maidstone's paraphrase is especially rooted in the Passion. Many poems denounced the seven deadly sins and provided remedies for them, but *The Wounds and the Sins* (item 38) is among the few that involve a comparison to the Passion.

The Passion texts of Ashmole 61 rarely achieve either the inventiveness of Richard Rolle's work or the emotional intensity manifested by famous devotees like Margery Kempe. In readings of *Maidstone's Seven Penitential Psalms* (item 32) and the *Stimulus Consciencie Minor* (item 33), contemplation of the Passion may have been primarily intended as a means of prepara-

tion for confession, typically performed during Lent. While other texts may have been used for daily meditation on the Passion, none seem likely to be part of a fully ascetic or "mixed" life of lay mysticism. ³⁹ Instead, the texts in Ashmole 61 indicate how fully ingrained — even commonplace — some of the most striking images of the Passion had become by the end of the fifteenth century. By this point, imaginative techniques and figurative leaps that had been revolutionary in the fourteenth century had been fully incorporated into the spiritual life of a wide variety of English audiences.

The Afterlife

Whether, as Jacques Le Goff has claimed, purgatory was "invented" in the twelfth century, or whether it was a much older idea, by the late fifteenth century the terrain of purgatory, heaven, and hell had been mapped extensively. 40 Ashmole 61 reveals the complexity of the elaborate economy of punishments and rewards that connected life in this world to the fate of souls in the next. The Feasts of All Saints and All Souls (item 25) imagines purgatory and heaven as close reflections of earthly existence. Divine order arranges the societies of both purgatory and heaven into hierarchical estates much like those on earth, and communal ties forged by the Universal Church connect the living and the dead. By way of contrast, The Sinner's Lament (item 35a), The Adulterous Falmouth Squire (item 35b), and the Stimulus Consciencie Minor (item 33) describe hell as terrifyingly isolated from earth, God, and heaven. The damned may still be able to see the bliss of heaven, but this only increases their torment. This vision of hell as painful isolation reappears indirectly in Sir Orfeo (item 39), where the Fairy King's captives suffer a timeless living death, cut off from their former companions. For medieval audiences, consideration of the next world necessarily prompted contempt for this world, an impulse that appears in Vanity (item 40), the Stimulus Consciencie Minor, and even in How the Wise Man Taught His Son (item 3).

Courtesy, Property, and Religious Duty

The idea of courtesy covered a much wider range of values in the later Middle Ages than it does today; modern definitions only obscure the complex meanings of the Middle English term. The quaint associations of courtesy with the world of courtly refinement and French romance are only a little less distracting. Lines 5–10 of *Dame Courtesy* demonstrate the governing role of courtesy in the world of Ashmole 61:

Clerkys that cane the scyens seven Seys that curtasy came fro heven When Gabryell Owre Lady grette And Elyzabeth with her mette. All vertus be closyd in curtasy, And all vyces in vilony. know the seven sciences
greeted
encompassed

³⁹ For a useful introduction to these various forms of lay devotion in England, see Hirsh, *Revelations of Margery Kempe*.

⁴⁰ For Le Goff's claim and the development of the idea of purgatory, see the introduction to *The Feasts of All Saints and All Souls* (item 25).

Imagined in these terms, courtesy incorporates not only polite behavior or social rules but an entire mode of conduct. Courteous conduct recognizes obligations and hierarchies, both human and divine, and it requires a precisely understood sense of humility. The fanciful attribution of the origin of courtesy to the encounter between Gabriel and the Virgin at the moment of the Annunciation hints at this connection between courtesy and humility, a connection made clearer in those texts, such as *An Evening Prayer* (item 12), which refer to "curtas Crist" (line 8). The phrase "curtas Crist" recognizes his voluntary submission on behalf of mankind and resembles the *buxsomnes* required of young wives in *How the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter* (item 4). In *The Stations of Jerusalem* (item 34), the narrator claims that the oxen and asses in the manger "dyde curtasy" (line 667) to the infant Jesus, an example that further associates courtesy with humility and deference rather than refinement (the latter virtue being rarely embodied by barnyard animals).

As defined by the didactic material in Ashmole 61, courtesy involves an acute sense of duty. The first duty is to God, observed by attending Mass daily and performing other regular devotions. The other duties vary according to social standing and circumstance, but they involve a constant awareness of social hierarchies. Serving superiors, whether they are lords, (guild) masters, husbands, or fathers, requires diligence from morning to night, inside and outside of the house. As Rate's version of *Stans Puer ad Mensam* (item 7) indicates, even when the *soveryn* goes to fetch late-night refreshment or begins to take off his shoes, the courteous man must be close at hand, ready to serve. This does not imply that superiors need not be considerate of their social inferiors; the plot of *Sir Cleges* gleefully punishes Uther Pendragon's uncourteous officers for their nastiness to an unrecognized poor man. The texts in Ashmole 61 present generosity and humility, rather than social class, as the signs of true courtesy.

In this larger sense, Ashmole 61's courtesy literature properly includes those texts that detail the regular duties of the faithful. These include daily routines, such as the prayers for morning and night, A Prayer at the Levation (item 17), and the instructions for daily devotion contained in How the Wise Man Taught His Son (item 3) and How the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter (item 4). The necessity of giving alms, going on pilgrimage, and regular confession reappear throughout the romances and exempla, further defining the duties of the fifteenth-century laity.

Ashmole 61's contents comment on other (more secular) conceptions of duty and obligation; among the most frequently discussed are the duties and risks surrounding the ownership of property, perhaps a subject closely related to the manuscript's interest in family life. *The Rules for Purchasing Land* (item 10) set out the practical difficulties, and works such as *Vanity* (item 40) lay out the moral risks inherent in worldly goods. Middle English romances often involve the loss and recovery of property, a theme present (in varying ways) in *Sir Isumbras, Sir Cleges, The Erle of Tolous, Lybeaus Desconus* (items 5, 24, 19, and 20), and the romance-influenced *Saint Eustace* (item 1). The stewardship of property and the value of labor are also central concerns of *How the Wise Man Taught His Son* (item 3) and *How the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter* (item 4).

USE AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Readers will judge for themselves Ashmole 61's coherence as a collection, and many interrelations between the contents have only been briefly touched upon under the subheading Manuscript Context for each text. However, the dominant interest of the manuscript is not in any one particular theme or idea, but in the two literary values posed by Chaucer's

Host, "sentence and solas" (*Canterbury Tales* Prologue I[A]798). Instruction — moral, religious, or practical — and entertainment, in roughly equal proportion, seem to be the principal motives behind Rate's compilation of the contents. Naturally, many texts could provide both: romances might be valued for their moral import, and saints' lives for their entertainment. The comedic diversions could offer lessons in conduct, and there seems no reason to believe that medieval audiences were incapable of finding the grotesque punishments of hell described in *The Adulterous Falmouth Squire* (item 35b) titillating, or at least morbidly fascinating.

Put another way, the manuscript confirms Felicity Riddy's suggestion that "Good manners, right conduct, and the claims of the next world . . . seem to have been the abiding concerns of the fifteenth-century readers of romances." Ashmole 61's mixture of genres and subjects has its own idiosyncrasies, but it also can be read as a representative example of a large class of fifteenth-century miscellanies that share similar combinations of romances, conduct literature, pious legends, and religious doctrine. Two of these miscellanies have already been mentioned as especially close to Ashmole 61 in both spirit and place of origin: Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.2.38, from southwest Leicestershire, and Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland MS Advocates 19.3.1, a compilation owned by a family in neighboring Nottinghamshire or Derbyshire. Many other manuscripts might be added to this group, including several known to have been owned by bourgeois or provincial gentry families. 42

One way to identify the defining features and intended use of Ashmole 61 is to consider what it is not, i.e., what it leaves out. The manuscript was clearly not intended as a reference work: the extremely rudimentary table of contents and absence of any indexing techniques make this clear. English history of the preceding two centuries, as well as the politics of Henry VII's reign, receives scant attention, as do specialized subjects of higher learning (medicine, law, etc.). No strand of late fifteenth-century humanism — neither the reformist learning of Colet or Erasmus nor Italian classicism — leaves any trace. Ashmole 61 cannot be considered very worldly, both in the sense that it shows relatively little interest in practical information and in that its tastes are hardly cosmopolitan.

Ashmole 61 also does not include any prose; by the end of the fifteenth century, a large quantity of Middle English prose circulated among a variety of audiences, making this exclusion from a collection of this size somewhat unusual. Since much Middle English prose consisted of mystical devotions, the absence of prose suggests a relative lack of interest in private contemplation. The complete dominance of verse also suggests that Ashmole 61 was intended for public reading. Reading aloud remained a very common pastime at the close of the Middle Ages, perhaps even the primary form in which texts were encountered by their audiences. Verse, particularly the simple four-stress lines used by most of Ashmole 61's texts,

⁴¹ Riddy, Sir Thomas Malory, p. 23.

⁴² Ashmole 61 shares four texts (items 7, 28, 30, and 31) with Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson C. 86, a London miscellany from the last decades of the fifteenth century; on this manuscript, see Boffey and Meale, "Selecting the Text." It also shares four texts with Lincoln Cathedral MS 91, one of the two manuscripts produced by the Yorkshire nobleman Robert Thornton (items 5, 19, 35a, and 35b). For the Lincoln Thornton MS, see n. 28 above. Though the provenance of British Library MS Cotton Caligula A.2 is unknown, it too seems likely to have been owned by a family, possibly with connections to London; see Thompson, "Looking behind the Book." Ashmole 61 and Cotton Caligula A.2 share four texts (items 5, 20, 27, and 31) as well as differing versions of *Stans Puer ad Mensam* (item 7).

is easier for listening audiences to follow than prose.⁴³ Many of the texts here ultimately derive from preaching material, including homily cycles and collections of *exempla*, and they retain signs of having been intended for oral delivery. Some texts, particularly item 14, *Ten Commandments* (False Start), appear to have been altered specifically for this purpose.

If Ashmole 61 was intended to be read aloud, it provided a calendar of texts that might be read at appropriate occasions throughout the year. Sir Cleges (item 24) would make an ideal reading for a Christmas feast; the penitential texts such as Maidstone's Seven Penitential Psalms (item 32) might be read in Lent, as part of the preparation for yearly confession. The Northern Passion (item 28) could be read during Holy Week before Easter, and The Legend of the Resurrection (item 36) could be read on Easter or at any point during the Easter season. Saint Margaret (item 37) could be read on her saint's day (July 20), as could Saint Eustace (item 1, September 20); another natural fit would involve a public reading of The Feasts of All Saints and All Souls (item 25) on November 1 and 2. The various texts that consider mortality and the pains of hell might be read during Ember days, three days of fasting repeated during each of the four seasons. Church ales and guild feasts might have been the occasion for some of the lighter material (such as King Edward and the Hermit [item 41] and The Debate of the Carpenter's Tools [item 16]). Clearly such a list leaves out much material that might be appropriate any day of the year — e.g., the conduct material — and any claims about how Ashmole 61 was used must remain speculative. But this may be the best explanation of its particular combination of texts.

Ashmole 61 offers popular reading in the most genuine sense of the word. The term popular" must be defined and defended, if it is to be used at all. "Popular literature" is not used here as a synonym for "folk literature" or as part of an imagined "mass culture." 44 Though much of Ashmole 61's material derives from folk wisdom and folk tales, it has been shaped by learned writers. Though England had arguably acquired forms of "mass culture" with the introduction of printing in the decades before Ashmole 61's composition, that term poorly suits a unique artifact shaped by contingency and choice rather than the market. 45 Nor is "popular" intended as a condescending or belittling evaluation of the quality of these texts. Ashmole 61's material is popular in the same way Nicola McDonald describes some romance as popular "in its capacity to attract a large and heterogeneous medieval audience, as well as in its ability to provide that audience with enormous enjoyment."46 Undoubtedly, some of these texts had greater appeal to specific groups, particularly the middle classes of urban tradesmen and provincial landowners. But unlike Latin theology, French romances, or technical works in Middle English, the texts here could be understood and appreciated by nearly everyone in late medieval England. This edition aims to make them readily accessible once more.

⁴³ The best and most recent discussion of this topic is Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public*. See also Bradbury, *Writing Aloud*.

⁴⁴ For useful examinations of the term "popular" as it relates to the type of material presented here, see the introduction by Putter and Gilbert to *The Spirit of Medieval Popular Romance*, pp. 1–38.

⁴⁵ As mentioned above, none of Ashmole 61's texts appears to derive from a printed book. Nevertheless, one index of these items' popularity is their early appearance in print. Versions of Lydgate's *Stans Puer ad Mensam* and *Dietary*, as well as *St. Margaret*, were in print by 1500, and *Sir Isumbras* was printed in approximately 1530 (see *STC* 14280.5). Many other early printed texts closely resemble Ashmole 61's texts in both spirit and genre.

⁴⁶ McDonald, "Polemical Introduction," in *Pulp Fictions of Medieval England*, p. 2.

EDITORIAL PRACTICES

Because this edition is meant to present the texts of Ashmole 61 and does not claim to serve as a critical edition for any of these texts, they have been conservatively emended. Generally speaking, when a manuscript reading makes plausible sense, even when somewhat strained or difficult, it has been retained. The texts have not been emended to correct for rhyme or meter. However, this edition is intended for use by readers who wish to study popular late fifteenth-century Middle English verse, not simply for the study of Ashmole 61 itself. Therefore, when readings present such difficulties or are so manifestly defective that the sense is lost, they have been emended. Wherever possible, these emendations have been made on the basis of the texts of the most closely-related manuscripts. Again, this often involves settling for something other than the "best" reading according to the standards of modern editing.

All emendations are recorded in the Textual Notes to each item. Major emendations, as well as significant variants, omissions, and additions, are discussed in the Explanatory Notes to each item. In the introduction to each item, the status of the text (i.e., the number of other surviving manuscripts, the relationship of Ashmole 61 to those of other manuscripts, and any peculiarities of Rate's copying) is discussed under the subheading Text.

The texts have been edited to conform with the standards of the Middle English Text Series. This includes altering the pronoun *the* to *thee* and adding an accent mark to long final e when it has full syllabic value (e.g. $eit\hat{e}$), for easier recognition. Capitalization and the letters "thorn," u/v, and i/j have been regularized to conform with modern practice. The letter "yogh" has been changed to y when it appears in initial positions or between vowels, and to g or gh when appearing in final position or before an h. Rate's doubled ff, when appearing in initial positions, has been altered to f to conform to modern practice.

All abbreviations have been silently expanded, but Rate's curious practices make this somewhat difficult. Many of his suspension marks alter their meaning depending on context, and are often (but not consistently) otiose. His superscript tailed a can signify u, ur, er, re, r, or, or oure. His macrons often indicate a suspended n or m, but on other occasions these appear to be otiose. On occasion, he uses a reverse curl after the end of final g to indicate a suspended n before it (as in the participle ending -yng), but on other occasions he uses the same reverse curl when the n is already written out. Early editors who used Ashmole 61's texts, particularly Carl Horstmann, interpreted all of Rate's flourishes as suspension marks, adding a final e after each barred double e, and every e, e, e, or e0 with a final curl. This edition, following more recent practice, has interpreted such strokes as otiose. Rate's macrons have been expanded as e1 or e2 macrons have been expanded as e3 or e4 macrons have been expanded as e4 or e6 macrons have been expanded as e6 macrons have been expanded as e8 macrons have been expanded as e9 or e9 macrons have been expanded as e9 macrons have been expanded as e9 macrons have been expanded as e9 or e9 macrons have been expanded as e9 or e9 macrons have been expanded as e9 macrons have been expanded as

Rate's other abbreviations have been expanded to conform with his regular spelling (when that can be ascertained) and according to context; pi has been expanded to either thei or thi, depending on function; ps becomes this or these; pu becomes thou; and pr becomes ther. Similarly, ws becomes was and wr becomes was and wr becomes was and wr becomes was and wr becomes was and was and was becomes was and was was and was becomes was and was was and was wa

Rate uses no form of punctuation whatsoever. All the punctuation used here is editorial. Line numbers count only the lines of Middle English text present in Ashmole 61, and do not take into account missing or omitted lines. Latin lines (quotations, subtitles, colophons, etc.) incorporated into the Middle English verse are numbered as (e.g.) 27a, 27b, etc., with numbers corresponding to the preceding line of verse.

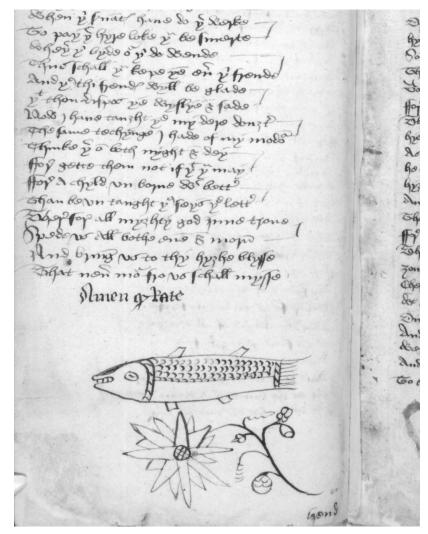


Figure 1: MS Ashmole 61, fol. 8v detail. The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.



1. SAINT EUSTACE

fol. 1r	Seynt Ewstas	
	All that be on Godys lore,	in God's religion
	Lytell, mykyll, lesse and more,	great
	Lystyns to me a stound	Listen; while
	Of a knyght of hethenes	heathenness
5	That mych had of werldys blysse,	had much of the world's (worldly) bliss
	Of gold and penyes round.	pennies
	Hys name hyght Placydas;	was called
	Wyth Tracyan the emperoure he was	Trajan
	Ryght wyse man of rede.	[A] very; counsel
10	Wyth the pore he was wele gode,	
	And wyth the rych myld of mode, And gode in every dede.	manner
	Of fre huntyng he couth inoughe,	noble; knew enough
	In holte and under the wode boughe,	In woods
15	And in the wyld felde.	
	He rode on huntyng on a dey;	
	A hert he found ther he ley,	hart (male deer)
	Well feyre under the lynd.	under a linden tree
	Of many hertys and bestys also,	
20	Of more and lesse ther were moo,	large and small; more
	He was the feyrest of all.	Ü
	The gretyst hert fled hys wey.	
	The knyght rode after all a dey	after [it] for a day
	By hymselffe alone	
25	In tyll anodor kynges lond.	Into another
	Ther gane the hert to wythstond	began; hold firm
	Upon a roche of stone.	rock
	The hert turned hys hornes hyghe	
	Ther he stod under the wode lynd	under a (linden) tree
30	And seyd, "Syr Placydas,	

	Thow arte a knyght of huntyng fre; Thow me foloys and I thee fle — Ryde softer thy pace.	noble You follow me more gently
35	"Betwene my hornes that are so hyghe, To me and thou wold cast thyn eyghe, Well sone than myght thou see The feyrest syght that may be thought,	If you would cast thine eye upon me
	Or yn thys werld that may be wroght, Or ever in erthe may be.	made
40	"Jhesu Cryst onne crosse iwys, That hath thee broght in all thys blys,	certainly (indeed) into
	Thou huntys after thys tyde. The truthe wele son thou schall se, If thou wyll tourne thy face to me,	occasion
45	For ferther thou may not ryd." The lyght of hevene in a leme, Bryghter than is the sone beme,	flash (ray)
6.1.1	Upon that hert gan lyght.	began to fall
fol. 1v 50	The hert spake as a man it were, So fayre to the knyght ryght there, And seyd to hym wyth ryght:	as if it were a man
	"Placydas, I sey to thee	
55	That thi name changyd schall be, And Crystindom underfonge. It is Jhesu Cryst of heven	And [you shall] receive Christianity
33	That spekys to thee with myld steven; Ne duell thou not to long.	voice Nor wait; too
	"Thou take thi chylder and thi wyfe,	children
60	And wend all withouten stryffe, And crystyn you betyme.	go; hesitation (resistance) christen; promptly
	For oftyn tyme you schall be lede,	tempted
	Wyth sorow and care ye schall be fedde, For love of me and myne."	
	"Leve Lord," seyd he,	Dear
65	"My Crysten name thow gyff to me,	Christian
	Or that I hens wend." "Now thou hyght Placydas;	Before I go hence (from here) are called
	Thow schall hyght Syr Ewstas In werld withouten end."	ан сашеа
70	Homeward he went fast anone And told it to hys wyffe at home;	immediately

	They thankyd God dey and nyght. "Syr," sche seyd, "we wyll gon,	
75	And becom cristynd anon In the name of God allmyght."	christened immediately
	He toke his chylder and his wyffe,	
	And went forthe withoutyn stryffe	argument
	To the font ston.	[baptismal] font
	Ther thei were crystyn tho,	christened then
80	His wyffe and his childer two,	
	Ne was he not alone.	Nor was he alone
	Som tyme he hyght Placidas,	Once he was called
	Now he hyght Syr Ewstas;	
	Blyssed be God Allmyght.	
85	Betwen the undron and the none,	mid-morning and noon
	I wote this dede it was done,	believe
	Ne was it not be nyght.	Nor; by night (in secret)
	To the wodde thei went anon,	
	Als so swyth as thei myght gon,	As fast
90	Ne restyd thei no stound.	Nor did they rest a moment
	As thei went under the wodde bowe,	branches
	Of god tydyngys ther cam inow,	good; enough
	Fro hevene to them on grownd.	
	An angell seyd, that was full bryght,	
95	"Syr Ewstas, Godys knyght,	
	Blyssyd mote thou ben.	may thou be
fol. 2r	Thiselve, thi chylder, and thi wyfe	
	Schall in joy lede your lyfe,	
	And hevens blys schall sene.	shall see
100	"Thoff thou les both lond and lede,	Though you lose; people
	Halle and bowre, palfray and stede,	home, horse and steed
	Ne be thou not sorye.	
	Now thou hast Crystindom understond,	accepted
	The fend wyll yern thee for to fond,	fiend; yearn to tempt you
105	Now thou arte made holye.	
	"Wend ye forthe into your waye,	Go; on your way
	And kepe your saulys nyght and daye,	•
	And do as I you rede.	advise
	All ye schall, for sothe iwys,	truly indeed
110	For the love of swete Jhesus	
	In marterdom be dede."	be killed

	Syr Eustas went hym home Al so swyth as he myght gone,	As quickly
	Wyth wyfe and childer two.	
115	He found his schepe in fold were betyn,	sheep in their fold were struck (down)
	And thonder his hors to deth had smyten; On fote must thei go.	lightning [thunder]; smitten
	All that hym lovyd went hym fro,	
	Bot his wyfe and his childer two;	Except; children
120	Son thei must wende.	Soon; depart
	Erly or it was any daye,	Early before it was day
	Stylly thei stalkyd away	Quietly; slipped
	By a woddys ende.	the outskirts of a forest
	To a water thei gan gone,	went
125	A schype thei found sone anon;	
	Thei went ther tyll.	thereto
	Into the schype thei went tho,	then
	His wyfe and his chylder two;	children
	The water was sterne and ylle.	stormy and dangerous
130	The schypman byhold that ilke knyght And that lady that was so bryght;	shipman (captain) beheld that same
	He thought hyre fare and schene. To hym he seyd after than,	fair and beautiful
	"Wher hadyst thou this feyre woman?	Where did you get
135	Sche schall be myn, I wene."	I think
133	Selie selian be myn, i wene.	1 11111111
	Out of the schype he drew hym tho,	then
	And his yong childer two;	
	Full woo was hym therfore.	1 1.
140	The lady cryed and mad gret dynne,	made great din
140	And fro hyr lord was loth to twyn,	loathe to part
	And weppyd and syghed sore.	
	The knyght sett hym don apon a ston,	
	And se hys wyfe was fro hym go,	saw; gone
	Takyne fro hym wyth wrong.	wrongly
145	He seyd alas that he was born,	
	Hys wytte fro hym nyghehond was lorne;	nearly was gone
	Hym thought hys lyf to longe.	too
fol. 2v	After the schype his eye he caste;	
	Out of his syght than was sche paste.	
150	He beheld hys chylder two:	
	"Me thinke my herte wyll all to-bled.	bleed to death

155	How schalle I you moderles fede? Now was me never so wo." So long forth his way he toke, Tyll that thei com unto a broke,	raise I was never so miserable further
133	Ther over thei must fare. Wade thei muste. The water was scheld, By ether syde the wyld feld; Well mekyll was hys care.	shallow field
160	He toke hys o chyld in his arme — The other he wend schuld have no herm — He bare hym over to the lond.	one
165	Soune he seyd in hys mode: "Godys grace," he seyd, "is ever more gode — That I understond.	in his mind
	"Sytt now styll, son myn, Tyll that I fett brother thyn, And thou schall have thi mede. I schall com to thee anon,	Until I fetch reward
170	Als so sone as I may gon, Ne make thou no dred."	Do not be afraid
175	Into the water he went agayn, Tyll that he com to the myddys strem, And lokyd hym bysyde.	middle (of the)
175	A wyld lyon he saw ther gone; He toke his yonge sone anon; On hym he gapyd wyde.	He (the lion) seized;soon him (the child); opened [his mouth] wide
180	That lyon bare that child with hym, That was both gret stoute and grym, Ne was he never so wo. Than was Syr Eustas sorye, For both his childer were born awaye; He fell in swounyng tho.	Nor was he (Eustace) ever so miserable (see note) then
185	Bot when he fro swonyng rose, He lokyd up and forth he gose; His wytt was neyghe hym fro. Bot ever he thought onne Jhesu Cryst, On his deth and his up-ryst.	nearly (gone) from him But he continually thought about resurrection (see note)
190	"Jhesu Cryst in Trinyté, Allmyghty God, thou comforth me! To thee I make my mone Of my wyfe that was so trew,	

	So feyer a woman of hyde and hew, So wo is me alone.	skin and complexion
195	"Of my chyldren that be forlorn, With wyld bestys awaye born, I may now sey alas. Tyll uncouthes londys I wyll go; How long schall I lyve so?	To unknown
200	That ever I born was!	(i.e., Alas, that I was ever born)
fol. 3r	"On Job I wyll bethink me, That ever had in blysse be And sethen fell in care. Lord, for the love of thee,	be mindful Who had always been in bliss then
205	Ne wyll I never to sory be, How so ever I fare.	I will never
210	"I have wepyn all my fyll — Tho bade no man me yit be styll — For Goddys helpe is nyghe." Ther come an angell fro heven,	wept Though no man commanded
	That spake to hym with myld steven, From Cryst that woneth one hyghe:	voice dwells on high
215	"Blyssed be thou, Syr Eustas: In heven is made thi mery place, Ther thou schall blyth bene. Thiselve, thy chylder, and thi wyfe Schall haven that merye lyfe, And all that joy sene."	you shall be blithe children have see
220	So long he went forth in hys wey, His bedys bedande nyght and dey, To toune tyll that he came. Suynkyng and suetyng he muste tho, For his spendyng was all go. To worche he must than,	prayers praying Until to town Working and sweating; then money was all gone work; then
225	With bow and arowys and with horn, For to kepe other mens corn, By dey and eke by nyght. Weddys to take and bestys to pynd — That was hym not comyn of kynd.	crops also Pledges (guarantees); pen common habit (see note)
230	Fyftyn wynter he was ther, Or men wyst whens he were, His mete for to eyren.	Before men knew from whence to earn his food

	The Emperor dyd hym to seche,	ordered him to be sought
	With men that ware myld of spech,	
235	Knyghtys bothe styff and sterne.	stalwart and fierce
	Over that corne comen thre	field
	Riding men of one ble;	appearance
	With hym ther they mette.	
	The knyghtys rydyn on horsys hye;	tall
240	With wordys myld, feyre and sclyghe,	gracious
	That heyward fare thei grette.	hayward fair(ly) they greeted
	For he was wardan over that corn,	
	The heywerd stod and blow his horn;	
	Ther wedd he bade them yeld.	Their pledge he bade them provide
245	He askyd what thei soughtyn ther,	
	And why thei went over so ferre,	
	Over that hyghe felde.	
fol. 3v	"Syr," thei seyd, "be not dysplesyd,	
	We knaw that we have yow dessesyd,	disturbed
250	For we seke after a man.	
	We ben the Emperares consylerys;	
	We have hym sought both ferre and nere,	
	Bot fynd hym nought we canne.	
	"A nobull knyght for soth he was,	
255	Hys name was callyd Syr Placydas.	
	On huntyng oute he fared,	went
	Never sethyn come home,	since
	Ne no tydyng from hym come,	
	That no man sethen of herd.	since heard of
260	"Here we have foundyn thee,	
	By a wound that I se,	
	On thee that stondys here.	
	One thy nose ther is a wound,	
	Whereby we have thee here found,	
265	And thou schall ben owre fere."	companion
	"Nay, seres, so mote I then,	so may I prosper
	I may not your feloy ben;	be your companion
	I ame a pore man."	, I
	"Thou must with us to the Emperowre	must go
270	For to have thy honour	0
	That thou were wonte to hane."	wont (used) to have

	Syr Eustas se that he muste nedes For to go forth with thes knyghtys,	saw
975	Unto the kyngys courte.	<i>G</i>
275	He toke hys leve at grete and smalle, At man and wyfe and gentylles alle;	from From
	Thei wer loth to departe.	riom
	Forthe he went with them all thre	
	With the Emperour for to be;	
280	To the kyngys courte he came.	
	Ther was joy and blysse inoughe;	enough
	The Emperour onne hym lowghe,	smiles
	And knyghtys, squyre, and grome.	groom[s]
	He told hys lord of his care,	
285	In strange lyffe his herd fare,	difficult
	Fro begyning to the end:	
	Bothe of hys swynke and of hys suete	toil; sweat
	Of his treuthe and of hys byhete Of all that God hym send.	constancy; loyalty
290	It was therafter longe	
	That ther come a werre strong	war
	Upon the Emperour.	TI.
	Theder wente many a knyght,	There
295	Well armed, I you plyght,	promise
493	To save hys honour.	
	Theder went knyghtys two,	There
	And thei were to fyght also,	
	With hors and hernes gode.	gear
900	Ther was non in all that playe,	combat
300	With spere and suerd that ilke dey,	sword; same
	That ther dynte ne withstode.	blow
fol. 4r	When thei hade foughten all the deye,	
	And scomfet the other syde aweye,	defeated
	Thei went bothe to one inne.	an inn
305	Ther gode feloys thei become,	good companions
	As thei hade ben queynted at home,	As if; acquainted
	By grace of God, I wene.	I believe
	Togeder thei dyde syte at mete,	at the meal
	And both of one dyssche thei ete,	out of one dish
310	And maden them full blythe.	were joyful
	After met thei told talys	After the meal

	Of aventures and herd batayles, And of all ther lyfe.	fierce
315	The yonger man of the two Son askyd the other tho Of what kyne that he were. He satte styll and syghed sore, And seyd lytell and thought more, With a wele sad chere.	Soon family very solemn face
320	"Syr, wyll thou my counsyll hylle If I thee telle of my wylle, And also of my care? A riche man my fader was;	will you keep my secret intent
325	His name hyght Syr Placydas — God gyffe hym wele to fare.	was called
330	"My fader was a doughty knyght, And my moder a lady bryght, And ruddy of all hew. We were yong sones two: My yonger broder and I also,	freshly red
	In halle and boure of stone.	building
335	"My fader toke us alle thre, My moder, my broder, and me — Thorow the grace of God Allmyght — And lede us to a founte ston, And crystind us ther anon, Ne was it not by nyght.	Through [baptismal] font christened Nor was it at night (in secret)
340	"Sethyn, I understode me, We felle into poverté, And wenten oute of lond.	Then, as I understand went
	Over a water we schuld have gone; Oure moder ther fro us was tane, With falsyd born onne hond.	taken With falsehood carried away
345	"My moder was a feyr woman, Lyke in this werld was non That onne water fare. The schypman toke her us from, Withouten law or other dom; Than wexed new all our care.	went over water right waxed (grew)
350	"We went throghe a wyldernes; With wepyng and with soroufulnes	through

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355	We come to a strem. My fader me toke and over me bore, And my broder he left ther, Tyll that he come ageyne.	carried
	"A wyld lyone ther gan gon, And cought me in his mouthe anon, And bore me fast aweye.	began to go immediately
360	The schypherdys with ther schepe When thei hym se, thei dyd hym mete,	shepherds; their sheep
fol. 4v	And schrewydly dyd hym freye.	harshly; fight
365	"Thus fro the lyon I was tane. And broght me up with bourde and game — Thanke be God allmyght — A riche man of that lond.	taken entertainment and sport
	All that nedyd, he me fond, And dubyd me a knyght."	All that I needed, he provided
370	"A! Broder, late me tell thee, A wolf ther came and caught me, And bore me in hys mothe. Plowmen that syght thei se, And to hym fast thei dyd hyghe, Stronge men and welle thei cowthe.	mouth run (hasten) well they were able
375	"The wolfe for fere doun me leyd, And sethyn a lady me hath fedd,	fear afterwards; raised
	And dubyd me a knyght. Sche me fond palfrey and sted, Helme, habyrion, and odour wed, Spere and swerd full bryght."	provided me Helmet, coat of armor, and other clothes
380	Ther modour all this herd, Ther as sche was in a yerde; Sche wepe all for blysse. To hyr bowre sche went anon,	yard (garden) room
385	Also swyth as sche couthe gon, With full mykill gladnes.	
390	Ther came ryding Syr Eustas, Ther that lady inne was, The knyghtys to sekyn swythe. Sche beheld that sembly knyght, And he that lady that was so bryght,	To where that lady's dwelling was To seek the knights quickly seemly (handsome)
	With chere fayre and blythe.	joy ful

	"Dame," he seyd, "tell thou me, What men here at inne be,	are at [this] inn
	At this nexte howse?"	house
395	"Syr, I knaw ther knyghtys two:	know
	Well thou schall them know also.	
	Wellcome, my lefe spowse!	dear
	"My lord, well I knaw thee	know
	By a wond that I se,	wound
400	Upon thy nose is sene.	[can be] seen
	A! Lord, I had herde fare,	hard going
	And lede my lyve in mykyll care;	lead; great
	I tell yow now bydene:	certainly
	"Fro thee I was take with a schypman,	From you; taken by a shipman
405	And wened I schuld have be his leman;	[he] thought; sweetheart
	He was not of my laye.	religion
	A knyght ther was in that schyppe,	
	That fro the schypman he dyde me helpe,	from
	And brought me safe awaye.	
410	"Suete lord, wyll ye gone	
	To this nexte hous anone?	house now
	Your chylder ther they be!	children are there
	And make grete joye in that house	
	And thanke owre Lord, suete Jhesus,	
415	And God in Trinyté."	
	Both thei wente theder anon,	there immediately
	Also swyth as thei myght gon,	As quickly as they might go
	And come into the halle.	
fol. 5r	And when that thei ther sones se,	(see note)
420	Thei thankyd God in Trinyté,	
	And also suet Seynt Palle.	sweet St. Paul
	The two knyghtys ther fader knew,	
	And sone onne kneys doune thei flewe,	knees; fell
	And thankyd God Allmyght.	·
425	For joye that they togeder were mette,	together
	All fowre full faste thei dyd wepe,	strongly they wept
	And so dyde many a wyght.	a person
	Syr Eustas gane to tell tho	then
	Of his joy and of hys wo	
430	That he had ben inne.	
	Than ther was none at that bord	table

	That fore wepyng myght speke a word, Nor none in that inne.	
435	So glad of odour ichon thei ware; Thei kyssed and mad gode chere, And fylled the wyne anone,	So happy for the other each of them was
	And told how thei were crystinde,	christened
	And thought ther care was withstond,	endured
	And sorow was fro them gon.	gone from them
440	The Emperoure herd telle of this,	
	How thei were in joy and blysse,	
	And crystinde that thei were.	christened
	He sente knyghtys sone anon	immediately
445	To seke theme up everychone, That thei founden were.	each of them
445	i nat thei founden were.	[So] that
	When thei were befor hym brought,	
	Them to scle it was his thought,	His plan was to slay them
	And so for sothe he dyde.	
	For Allmyghty Godys sake	
450	The deth to them thei wold take,	They would accept their deaths
	What deth as he them bedde.	Whatever death he prescribed for them
	He dyd them in a panne of brasse,	pan (vessel, cauldron)
	Al so hote as ever it was,	As hot as
	And made fyere abowtyne.	
455	All fowre therin he brente;	burnt
	Ther saulys onto heven went.	
	Of payn thei were withouten.	They were without pain
	Beseke we all Seynt Eustas	[May] we all beseech (beg)
400	That he graunte us all grace	
460	To heven for to wend.	In order to go to heaven
	To Jhesu, Seynt Mary sone,	Jesus, Saint Mary's son
	And ther withouten end to wone	to dwell
	God that grace us send. AMEN.	[May] God send that grace to us
	EXPLICIT VITA SANCTI EUSTACHII	Here ends the Life of Saint Eustace
	2. RIGHT AS A RAM'S HORN	
fol. 5v	Thus Ryghtwysnes do now procede,	Righteousness
	And sytyht lyke a gay emprece.	sits; empress
	Law hath lorn all maner of mede,	forfeited; bribe
	And settyht up Treuth als hyghe as God is.	sets
5	Gode Feyth hath outelauwed all doubylnes,	deception
	And Prudens setys all thingys beforne,	governs above all else

	Kepyng the ordour of perfyte stabulnes, Conveyd by a lyne ryght as a rammys horne.	stability Directed by (written by)
10	Princes of custom, thei wyll maynten non wrong, And Prelatys lyve in holynes. Knyghthod wyll maynten no falsyd among, And Prestehode hath refused all ryches. And Relygion of verrye holynes	support no one in the wrong Prelates (churchmen) falsehood
15	With perfyte lernyng up beth borne. Envy in cloyster hath non entres, Conveyed by a lyne ryght as a rammys horn.	is supported entrance
20	Thei have banesched away all strangenes. Servantys doth allway there bysenes That of the dey non owre be lorn;	Merchants; no heed Usury; fettered in distress To speak of the work of our women banished; novelty [So] that; no hour is lost
	With suete and traveyll thei pute awey Idelnes, Conveyd by a lyne	sweat and labor
25	Out of this lond — els God forbede — Is baneschyd Symonye and Falsed also. Yonge and eld hathe takyn sadnes them to. Women hath loste pride and take them to mekenes Whos pacyens is gode both at even and morn;	[that it be] else (otherwise) Simony and Falsehood seriousness unto themselves
30	Ther tonges hath no talent to schrewdnes, Conveyed by a lyn	inclination to shrewishness
35	Crysten Cowrte ther correccions do spred, More for soule helth than for symony, as I gesse; Right schall be reseyved withouten any mede. Ther schall no pounde be ther penance, And Sumoners wyll sofere no synne in ther offyce; Thei travell for the treuth, ther clothes be torne, Ther may no mede make them hold ther pece, Conveyd by a lyn	Ecclesiastical courts; discipline souls' health received; bribe (i.e., no bribe; see note) allow strive
40	Schyrifes of chyres, thei take so gode hede That babys and burges schall no man overpresse, ¹ Nor thei wyll not endyte a man for any mede,	Sheriffs of shires indict; reward
45	Bot Ryche Men be mersyfull to more and lesse. Leders of the law, thei have refusyd ryches, Questemonggers on bokys, thei wyll not be forsuor	n; False witnesses

¹ So that no man shall oppress children or townspeople

	Thes men perchas tham heven expresse, Conveyd by a lyn	earn for themselves heaven directly
50	Mynstrels make men myrth for no mede, Bot for soule helth to sette men in sadnes. Treuly thei do ther almys dede	give men entertainment soul's health; seriousness
	To the pore pepull that lyves in destres, And when thei mete togeder, there at festys es, The more the meryer; therfor thei wyll not mourn	ease (joy) ne.
55	When thei feyle felyschyp, than be thei in hevynes Conveyd by a lyn	s, lack company; sadness
	Princes, remembyr you, and prudently take hede How Vertues over Vyces is wexen a duches.	has become a duchess
fol. 6r	Owre Feyth holdys not bot byleve in his Crede; The Ryght Beleve he beryth wytnes,	holds nothing but
60	The Scribes and Fareseys hath left ther frewardne	es Pharisees; obstinacy
	And wedyd the cokyll clen oute of the corn. Thus be we governed, for soth as I gesse, Conveyed by lyn AMEN.	weeded the cockle (tares)
	3. How the Wise Man Taught His Son	
	Lordyngys, and ye wyll here How a wyse man taught hys sone,	Gentlemen, if you will hear
	Take god hede to this mater,	good
	And fynd to lerne it yf ye canne.	try to learn
5	This songe for younge men was begon	•
	To make them trew and stedfaste;	
	For yerne that is evyll spon, Evyll it comes out at the laste.	yarn that is badly spun
10	It was a wyse man had a chyld	TM/h ol mage
10	Was fully fiftene wynter of age, Of maneres he was meke and myld,	[Who] was
	Gentyll of body and of usage.	behavior
	Bycause he was his faderes ayer,	father's heir
	His fader thus on this langage	in these words
15	Taught his sone wele and feyre, Gentyll of kynd and of corage.	nature; disposition
	And seyd, "Son, have this worde in herte,	
	And thynke theron when I ame dede:	1 ,
20	Every dey thi fyrst werke — Loke it be don in every sted —	duty situation
40		the form of the Host (the Eucharist)

	And thanke thi God of his godnesse, And afterward, sone, be my rede, Go do thi werldys besynesse.	by my advice
25	"Bot fyrst worschype God on the dey, And thou wyll have to thi mede Skylfully what thou wyll praye. He wylle thee send withouten dred,	reward Justly
30	And send thee all that thow hast nede, Als ferre as mesure wyll destreche. Luke mesurly thy lyfe thou lede, And of the remynant ther thee not reche.	all that you have need [of] As far as moderation will allow See that you lead your life moderately And that you do not overreach
35	"And, son, thi tonge thou kepe also, And tell not all thyngys that thou maye, For thi tonge may be thy fo. Therfor, my son, thynke what I sey,	can [speak of]
40	Wher and when that thou schall praye, And be whom that thou seyst owht; For thou may sey a word todey,	to whom you say anything
40	That seven yere after may be forthought. "With love and awe thi wyfe thou chastys,	regretted fear (reverence); chastise
	And late feyre wordys be thi yerd;	stick
	For awe it is the best gyse For to make thi wyfe aferd.	way afraid
45	"Sone, thi wyfe thou schall not chyde, Ne caule her by no vylons name; For sche that schall ly by thy syde, To calle hyr wykyd, it is thy schame. When thou schall thy wyfe defame,	call her by no shameful name
fol. 6v 51	Welle may another man do so; Bot sofer, and a man may tame Hert and hynd and the wyld ro.	But be patient roe (small) deer
	"Sone, be thou not gelos by no weye,	jealous in any way
55	For if thou fall in gelosye, Late not thi wyfe wyte be no weye; For thou mayst do no more folye.	realize it in any way
60	For if thi wyfe myght ons aspye That thou to her wold not tryste, In spyte of all thi fantysye, To wreke hyr werst, that is herre lyste.	have faith in her delusion (longing) To do her worst, that will be her desire
	"Son, unto thi God pay welle thi tythe, And pore men of thy gode thou dele.	share your goods with poor men

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	Ageyn the devell be stronge and styfe,	Against; resolute
65	And helpe thi soule fro peyne of helle. Thys werld is bote fantesye fele,	only a glorious illusion
0.5	And dey by dey it wylle apare.	diminish
	Therfor beware the werldys wele:	world's riches
	It farys as a chery feyre.	goes past like a cherry festival
	it iai yo ao a chery reyre.	goes pass time a enerry jestical
	"Many man here gederes gode	gathers goods
70	All hys lyfe tyme for odour men,	
	That he may not — be the rode —	by the cross
	Not have tyme to ete a hene.	hen
	When he is dolven in his den,	buried in his grave
	Another schall come at the last ende,	
75	And have hys wyfe and catell than;	goods then
	That he has sparyd another wyll spende.	What; saved
	"For all that ever a man doth here	
	With bysenes and travell bothe,	labor
	All this is, withouten were,	without doubt
80	Not bot for mete and drynke and clothe;	
00	More getys he not, withouten hothe.	without doubt
	Kyng ne prince whether he be,	Whether he is either
	Be he lefe or be he lothe,	Whether he wishes or not
	A pore man schall have als mych as he.	Whether he desired of hot
85	"Therfor sone, be my counselle,	
0.5	More than inowghe thou never covete.	enough
	Thou wotyst not when deth wylle thee asayll;	know not
	This werld is bot deth and debate.	struggle
	Loke thou be not to hyghe of state.	too proud
90	By ryches here sette thou no price;	set you no value
30	For this werld is full of deseyt;	sei you no ourue
	Therfor purchasse paradyce.	
	"F 1.1 1.11	*
	"For deth, my chylde, is, as I trow,	as I trust
05	The most ryght serteyn it is;	certain [thing] there is
95	Nothing so unserteyn to unknow,	Nothing so unknowable and uncertain
	As is the tyme of deth, iwys.	indeed
	And all that I have sayd before	
	And I have brong us to his blosse	
100	And Jhesu bryng us to his blysse,	p 411
100	The chyld that was in Bedlem borne."	Bethlehem
	AMEN QUOD RATE	

4. How the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter

fol.7r	Lyst and lythe a lytell space, I schall you telle a prety cace: How the gode wyfe taught hyr doughter To mend hyr lyfe and make her better.	Listen and attend a little while pleasant account
5	"Doughter, and thou wylle be a wyfe, Wysely to wyrch in all thi lyfe, Serve God and kepe thy chyrche, And myche the better thou schall wyrche.	if you will [And] to work wisely attend
10	To go to the chyrch lette for no reyne, And that schall helpe thee in thy peyn. Gladly loke thou pay thy tythes, Also thy offeringys loke thou not mysse.	do not be hindered by any rain
	Of pore men be thou not lothe,	contemptuous
	Bot gyff thou them both mete and clothe;	food and clothing
15	And to pore folke be thou not herde,	hard
	Bot be to them thyn owen stowarde;	steward
	For wher that a gode stowerde is,	0.11
	Wantys seldom any ryches.	Seldom is wanting
20	When thou arte in the chyrch, my chyld,	
20	Loke that thou be bothe meke and myld,	can nour braners
	And bydde thi bedys aboven all thing. With sybbe ne fremde make no jangelyng; ¹	say your prayers
	Laughe thou to scorn nother olde ne yonge;	
	Be of gode beryng and of gode tonge.	
25	In thi god beryng begynnes thi worschype —	good behavior; respect
_ 0	My dere doughter, of this take kepe.	take heed
	If any man profer thee to wede,	offers
	A curtas ansuer to hym be seyde,	-,,,,
	And schew hym to thy frendys alle.	introduce him
30	For anything that may befawle,	No matter what may happen
	Syt not by hym, ne stand thou nought	J 11
	In sych place ther synne mey be wroght.	where sin might be done
	What man that thee doth wedde with rynge,	O
	Loke thou hym love aboven all thinge.	
35	If that it forteyn thus with thee,	it happens to you
	That he be wroth and angery be,	
	Loke thou mekly ansuer hym,	
	And meve hym nother lyth ne lymme,	cause him to stir neither body nor limb
	And that schall sclake hym of hys mode;	slake his anger
40	Than schall thou be hys derlyng gode.	
	Fayre wordys wreth do slake;	calm wrath
	Fayre wordys wreth schall never make;	
	Ne fayre wordys brake never bone,	

¹ With neither kin nor strangers make any chatter (gossip)

	Ne never schall in no wone.	in any place
45	Be fayre of semblant, my der doughter;	mild of expression
	Change not thi countenans with grete laughter,	, ,
	And wyse of maneres loke thou be gode.	
	Ne for no tayle change thi mode,	
	Ne fare not as thou a gyglot were,	harlot
50	Ne laughe thou not lowd, be thou therof sore.	lest you be sorry for that
	Luke thou also gape not to wyde,	
	For anything that may betyde.	
	Suete of speche loke that thow be,	
	Trow in worde and dede — lerne this of me.	Truthful
fol. 7v	Loke thou fle synne, vilony, and blame,	shame
56	And se ther be no man that seys thee any schame	. says shameful things to you
	When thou goys in the gate, go not to faste,	you go
	Ne hyderward ne thederward thi hede thou caste	, Nor look around everywhere
60	No grete othes loke thou suere;	
60	Byware, my doughter, of syche a maner.	
	Go not as it were a gase	as if you were a foolish person
	Fro house to house to seke the mase.	idle diversion
	Ne go thou not to no merket	To loss your saminas
65	To sell thi thryft; bewer of itte. Ne go thou nought to the taverne,	To lose your earnings
03	Thy godnes for to selle therinne.	to lose
	Forsake thou hym that taverne hanteth,	haunts
	And all the vices that therinne bethe.	are therein
	Wherever thou come at ale or wyne,	
70	Take not to myche, and leve be tyme,	leave promptly
	For mesure therinne, it is no herme,	1 1 7
	And drounke to be, it is thi schame.	
	Ne go thou not to no wrastlyng,	
	Ne yit to no coke schetyng,	cock-shooting
75		As if you were a strumpet or a harlot
	Or as a woman that lyst to dote.	likes to be foolish
	Byde thou at home, my doughter dere,	
	Thes poyntys at me I rede thou lere;	from me I advise you learn
	And wyrke thi werke at nede,	do your work as necessary
80	All the better thou may spede.	
	I suere thee, doughter, be heven kyng,	
	Mery it is of al thyng.	
	Aqueynte thee not with every man	
0.5	That inne the strete thou metys than;	
85	Thof he wold be aqueynted with thee,	
	Grete hym curtasly and late hym be.	
	Loke by hym not longe thou stond,	11
	That thorow no vylony thi hert fond. All the men be not trew	tempt your heart
90		
30	That fare speche to thee can schew.	

	For no covetys no giftys thou take;	covetousness
	Bot thou wyte why, sone them forsake.	Unless you know why [they are given]
	For gode women with gyftys	
0.5	Men ther honour fro them lyftys,	removes
95	Those that thei were all trew	, 1
	As any stele that bereth hew;	steel
	For with ther giftys men them overgone,	overcome them
	Thof thei were trew as ony ston. Bounde thei be that giftys take;	
100	Therfor thes giftys thou forsake.	
100	In other mens houses make thou no maystry,	control (preeminence)
	For dred no vylony to thee be spye.	[that] no shame be seen upon you
	Loke thou chyd no wordys bolde	chide
	To myssey nother yonge ne olde;	insult
105	For and thou any chyder be,	For if
	Thy neyghbors wyll speke thee vylony.	
fol. 8r	Be thou not to envyos,	
	For drede thi neyghbors wyll thee curse.	
	Envyos hert hymselve fretys,	consumes
110	And of gode werkys hymselve lettys.	hinders
	Houswyfely wyll thou gon	
	On werkedeys in thine awne wone.	dwelling
	Pryde, rest, and ydelleschype:	idleness
115	Fro these werkys, thou thee kepe.	
115	And the Cod warrahyna whan they may	
	And thy God worschype when thou may,	
	More for worschype than for pride, And styfly in thy feyth thou byde.	staunchly
	Loke thou were no ryche robys,	wear
120	Ne counterfyte thou no ladys;	imitate; noble women
	For myche schame do them betyde,	imitate, neete kemen
	That lese ther worschipe thorow ther pride.	reputation
	Be thou, doughter, a houswyfe gode,	1
	And ever more of myld mode.	
125	Wysely loke thi hous and meneyé;	oversee; staff (household servants)
	The beter to do thei schall be.	
	Women that be of yvell name,	
	Be ye not togeder in fame.	reputation
100	Loke what most nede is to don,	
130	And sett thi men therto ryght sone.	
	That thing that is befor don dede,	accomplished
	Redy it is when thou hast nede.	
	And if thy lord be fro home,	
135	Lat not thy meneyé idell gone. And loke thou wele who do hys dede;	
100	Quyte hym therafter to his mede.	Repay; according to his merits
	And thei that wyll bot lytell do,	rapay, according to his mertis
	The che that will bot lyten do,	

140	Therafter thou quite his mede also. A grete dede if thou have to done, At the tone ende thou be ryght sone. And if that thou fynd any fawte, Amend it sone and tarrye note.	At one end (I.e., Take up a part) fault do not delay
145	Mych thyng behoven them That gode housold schall kepyn. Amend thy hous or thou have nede, For better after thou schall spede. And if that thy nede be grete,	Many things before
150	And in the country corne be stryte, Make an houswyfe on thyselve: Thy bred thou bake for houswyfys helthe.	grain is in short supply of yourself
155	Amonge thi servantys if thou stondyn, Thy werke it schall be soner done. To helpe them sone thou sterte, For many handys make lyght werke. Bysyde thee if thy neghborys thryve, Therfor thou make no stryfe,	If you stand amidst your servants
160	Bot thanke God of all thi gode That he send thee to thy fode. And than thow schall lyve gode lyfe, And so to be a gode houswyfe.	sustenance
	At es he lyves that awe no dette — It is no les, withouten lette.	At ease; owes It is no lie, without fail
fol. 8v	Syte not to longe uppe at even, For drede with ale thou be oversene.	too long awake in the evening overcome
165	Loke thou go to bede bytyme; Erly to ryse is fysyke fyne. And so thou schall be, my dere chyld, Be welle dysposed, both meke and myld. For all ther es may thei not have,	early medicine
170	That wyll thryve and ther gode save. And if it thus thee betyde, That frendys falle thee fro on every syde, And God fro thee thi chyld take,	hoard fall [away] from you
175	Thy wreke onne God do thou not take; For thyselve it wyll undo,	anger
175	And all thes that thee longys to.	these [things] that belong to you
180	Many one for ther awne foly Spyllys themselve unthryftyly. Loke, doughter, no thing thou lese, Ne thi housbond thou not desples.	Ruins; incompetently waste
	And if thou have a doughter of age, Pute her sone to maryage; For meydens thei be lonely,	
	And no thinge syker therby.	secure

185	Borow thou not, if that thou meye,	
	For dred thi neybour wyll sey naye.	N 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
	Ne take thou nought to fyrst,	Nor buy anything on credit
	Bot thou be inne more bryste.	therein more damaged
190	Make thee not ryche of other mens thyng,	hu an a
190	The bolder to spend be on ferthyng.	by one
	Borowyd thing muste nedys go home, If that thou wyll to heven gone.	
	When thi servantys have do thi werke,	
	To pay ther hyre loke thou be smerte,	prompt
195	Whether thei byde or thei do wende;	stay or whether they go
130	Thus schall thou kepe them ever thi frende.	stay or whether they go
	And thus thi frendys wyll be glade	
	That thou dispos thee wyslye and sade.	seriously
	Now I have taught thee, my dere doughter,	
200	The same techynge I hade of my modour.	
	Thinke theron both nyght and dey,	
	Forgette them not if that thou may.	these lessons
	For a chyld unborne were better	
	Than be untaught — thus seys the letter.	the book
205	Therfor, Allmyghty God inne trone	enthroned
	Spede us all bothe even and morn,	
	And bryng us to thy hyghe blysse,	
	That never more fro us schall mysse."	from us shall depart
	AMEN QUOD RATE	
fol. 9r	5. SIR ISUMBRAS	
	Isombras	
	Hende in halle and ye schall here	Nobles; if you will hear
	Of elders that beforn us were,	
	Ther lyves how thei dyde lede.	1 (1 , , ,
5	I schall yow telle a wonder case.	wonderful matter
3	Frendys, herkyns how it was: Ye schall have heven to mede.	listen
	re schail have heven to mede.	as reward
	I wyll you telle of a knyght	
	That was both herdy and wyght,	brave; stalwart
	A dughty mone he was;	doughty
10	Syr Isombras was his name,	
	A nobull knyght of ryall fame	excellent reputation
	And stronge in every cas.	circumstance
	He was a feyre man and strong	
	With schulderes brod and armes longe	
15	That sembly was to se.	pleasant
	He was large man and hyghe,	tall

	All hym loved that hym seyghe, So hend a man was he.	saw noble
20	Mynstrels lovyd he welle in halle, And gafe theme rych robys of paule And gyftys of glytering gold. Of curtassye that knyght was kynge	fine cloth
	And of his mete not sparynge; Ther goth none syche on molde	food goes [now] none like him on the earth
25	He had the feyreste ladye That any man myght se with ee, Under Oure Lady of heven, And thei hade fayre sones thre;	eye Except for
30	They were all feyre as thei myght be, With tonge as I you neven.	as I tell you
	Bot inne hys herte a pride was browght: Of Godys werkys he goffe ryght noght. Hys mersye he sette nott byghe.	(cared) nothing His (God's); did not consider
35	So longe he lyffed inne that pride That God wold no lenger byde, Bot sente hym sorow inne hyghe.	delay great sorrow
40	For it befelle upon a deye The knyght wente forth for to pleye Hys feyre foreste to see. As he lokyd hym besyde on hye, He herd a byrd synge hym nye Hyghe upon a tre.	near him
45	And seyd, "Abyd, Syr Isombras. Thou haste forgette what thou was For pride of gold and gode. The Kynge of Heven gretys thee soo; Yonge other olde thou schalt have woo: Chese thee inne thi mode."	Stay have forgotten goods so Either in youth or in old age Choose; mind (heart)
50	With carfull herte and syghyng sore, On his kneys he felle doune thore And both his handys uphelde. "Werldys welthe I wyll forsake	anxious; sighing there
fol. 9v 56	And to Godys mersye I wylle me take; To hym my selve I yelde. In youth I may both ryde and goo; When I ame olde I canne not so,	surrender
	My bones wyll wex unwelde.	become feeble

	Bot, Jhesu, if thi wylle it be,	
60	In youthe poverté thou sende me, And welthe in myn elde."	old age
00	And welthe in myn cide.	oia age
	Than the byrde toke hys flyght;	
	Alon he left that drery knyght	$dreary\ (sorrowful)$
	And so fro hym he wente.	
	When he of that bryd hade no syght,	
65	Hys sted that was so strong and wyght	swift
	Dede under hym was bentte.	Dead; destroyed
	Hys haukys and hys hondys bothe	hounds
	Wente to the wode as thei were wrothe,	crazed
	Iche onne dyverse weye.	Each in various directions
70	What wonder was if he were wo?	
	On fote hymselve he muste go;	
	To peyn turned hys pley.	
	As he came by a lytell schawe,	grove
	A lytelle chyld anon he sawe	soon
75	Came rydinge hym agene.	
	Welle wers tydingys he hym tolde,	worse news
	That brynte was all his bygingys bolde,	burnt; buildings
	Hys bestys were all slayn.	
	"Lord, ther is nowght lefte on lyve	
80	Bot thy chylder and thy wyffe,	
	The soth I wylle thee seye."	truth
	"Whyle that I may on lyffe se	
	My wyffe and my chylder thre,	
	Full glad I ame this deye."	day
85	As he went by hymselve alone,	
	He mette hys herdmen everychon	every one of them
	With a drery chere.	(see note)
	"God that sent me all this wo	,
	Hath sente me joy and blys also,	
90	And yet joy mey I here."	
	A dolefull syght it was to se	
	His wyffe and hys chylder thre	
	That fro the fyre were flede.	
	Al so naked as thei were borne,	As
95	He fownd them sytyng under a thorn	thornbush
	Fled oute of ther bede.	

100	Nothyng yit sory yit was he Bot when he saw them nakyd be That he lefte sembly clade. Than the lady bade them be blythe, "For yonder I se your fader onne lyve; For nothinge be ye drade."	handsomely cheerful in dread
105	They had wepyd all ther fylle; The knyght bad thei schuld be styll And wepe nought so sore. "For all the care that we be inne, It is for oure wyked synne, For we are worthy myche more.	
fol. 10r 110	"And we canne nothinge wyrke, Therfor myselve I thinke, yrke, Of begyng for to go.¹ Bot we schall thorow Godys grace Com into some gode place Where some gode we may do."	(see note)
115	He toke hys ryche cyrcute of paule, Over his wyfe he lete it falle With a full drery mode. Hys ryche mantell than toke he And cutte it and clothyd his chylder thre	overcoat spirit robe
120	That nakyd befor hym stode. "Now schall ye do all at my rede: Go seke ther God was quyke and dede And sprede was on the rode tre. For these Cryst, he is so gode.	at my advice (as I command) travel to where God was live and dead spread; cross
125	For Jhesu Cryst, he is so gode, They that hym seke with mylde mode Ther lyves fode send wylle he." A crosse he cutte upon hys breste And schryved them both unto the preste,	spirit sustenance confessed; priest
130	In story as we sey. They that were ther frendys ther Thei wepyd fast and syghed sore; Ther songe was "Welle-a-wey!"	Alas!
135	The knyght and the lady hende Toke ther leve at ther frende And made a sorowfulle mone. Sore wepyd both olde and yenge;	gentle

¹ Lines 109–11: Since we cannot succeed at all, / Therefore I, exhausted, think / To go begging

	Ther was a carefull partyng When thei ther wey dyd gone.	
140	With them thei bore bot lytelle gode To helpe them to ther lyves fode, Nether gold ne fee. Bot inne the lond thei begged ther mete Where thei myght any gete For Seynte Charyté.	sustenance nor money food
145	It was grete dole to se that syght, That lady and that gentyll knyght, How thei dyde sofer wo.	
150	They that were wounte to duell with wyne, In grete poverté thei were inne, And myche sorow also.	joy
	In a forest thei had gon wylle, No towne myght thei come untylle, Ne no towne coude thei kepe. When thre deys were come and gone,	wandering unto
155	Mete ne drynke had thei none; For hunger sor thei wepe.	sore (sorely)
	Ne thing thei saw that come of corne, Bot fowlys wyld that satte on thorn;	grew of grain (i.e., was edible)
160	Ne mete ther gete myght he. Than came thei to a water kene; The bankys were fulle wyde betwen — That grymly was to se.	swift fearsome
165	Hys eldyst son he toke up ther And over the water he hym bere, And sette hym on the londe.	
fol. 10v	"Loke," he seyd, "that thou be styll To I fette thy broder thee tylle, And play thee with this wand."	Until; to you stick
170	The knyght that was hend and gode Over the water than he wode, And toke hys mydell sone, And bore hym over the water wyld. A lyon toke that other chyld Or he to lond myght com.	noble went Before
175	With carfull herte and sygheng sore, Hys mydellyst son than lefte he thore;	J

	Wepand he wente awaye.	
	With sory chere and drery mode	spirit
	Agen over the water he yode;	went
180	To pyne turned all hys pleye.	
	A lyberd com and toke the tother	the second
	And bare hym to the wodde to his broder;	
	Wyldly awaye he wente.	
	The lady wepyd all her fylle;	
185	For sorow herselve sche wold spylle,	kill
	Sych sorow to hyr was lente.	
	They seyd alas that they were borne,	
	"Herd world is us beforne	
	That are was wyld and cranke!"	once was carefree and cheerful
190	The knyght bade sche schuld be stylle	
	And blythly sofer Godys wylle:	
	"We behove hym all to thanke."	are obliged
	Lytell wonder those thei had care,	though
	For both ther childer leste thei ther	lost
195	Of the eldyste two.	
	Hys wyffe he uptoke ther	
	And over the water he her bare,	
	His yongyste sone also.	
	Thorow a forest thei went deys thre	
200	Tyll thei come to the grete see.	
	Grete stormes saw thei blaw	blow
	Upon the lond ther thei stode.	where
	Ther come seylond onne the flode	
	A thousand schyppes onne rowe.	
205	They lokyd doune them besyde:	
	Many schyppes thei saw ther ryde	
	Bot a lytell them fro.	
	With toppe-castels sette onne lofte,	upper decks; high
	They semed all one gold wroght,	made of gold
210	Thei glytered and schyned soo.	
	The Soudan of Pers was therinne.	Sultan of Persia
	Crystindom he come to wyne,	conquer
	Ther wakyd wo full wyde.	stirred up woe
	The knyght thought that he wold lende	stop
215	A lytell by that foreste hend;	
	The schyppes wold ther abyde.	
fol. 11r	Men come to lond, withouten lesse.	without a lie (certainly)
	Ther com in botys grete presse,	in boats a great crowd

220	Mo than I canne telle, What ther were be the sonde, Of gold all glyterande With many an hygh toppe-castelle.	More by the bay
225	The knyght spake to the ladye fre, "What frely folke may thes be That drawys so faste to londe? They seme men of grete asstate. I rede some almus we aske them atte; For hungour we be nyghe fonde.	noble alms; from them completely tested
230	"In this forest we have gon, Mete ne drinke ete we non More than deys seven. Aske we thes folke some mete, And loke if we may any gete, For Godys love of heven."	
235	To the galys thei went with wynne That the Soudan hymselff was inne, That rychely was wroght. Thei galyode they som lyffer fede	ships; joy [To the one] that
240	Thei askede ther som lyffes fode, For his love that dyeghed onne rode And made this werld of nowght. The Sayrezins seyd he was a spye, When thei herd hym so crye, And ther schyppes had sought.	cross Saracens (see note)
245	The Souden bade, "Do hym aweye, For we leve not on his leye. Loke ye gyffe hym nowght."	do not believe in his religion
250	A knight seyd unto the kynge, "Sertys, it is a wonder thyng Yone pore man to see, For he is both large and hyghe,	tall
255	The feyrest man that ever Y se; A gentyll man is he. With armes long and schuldres grete, Wythe browys brante and eyen stepe, A knyght semys to be.	I ever saw arched; eyes bright
	Hys wyffe whyte as whalys bone, Hyr lyre as the see fome, And bryght as lylé of blee."	face; sea foam lily; countenance
260	The Sowdan grete reuth thought, Bade he schuld be befor hym brought;	pity [And] requested

	He wold hym se with syght.	
	When he them se, he rewyd sore, So sembly as thei bothe wore,	grieved handsome
	The lady and the knyght.	паназоте
265	He seyde, "Syr, both gold and fee	
	Thow schall have, and duelle with me	if you dwell
	And helpe me for to fyght.	3 9
	If thou be doughty man of dede,	
	Thou schall be horsyd on a stede;	
270	Myselve schall dubbe thee knyght."	
fol. 11v	Styll stode Syr Isombras,	
	And saw that he a Sarysene was.	
	"Syr," he seyd, "naye,	
	That schalle I never more	
275	Agens Crystendom to warre	
	And lyffe upon thi leye.	believe in your religion
	Syr, in the foreste we have gone,	
	Mete ne drynke have we none;	
980	Thys is the seven deye.	
280	We aske ye some lyves fode, For Jhesu love that dyghed on rode,	erace
	And late us wend our waye."	cross
	The Soudan beheld that lady there:	
	Hym thought sche an angell were,	
285	Comyn oute of heven.	
	He seyd, "Thou schall have gold and fee,	
	Thy wyffe if thou wyll sell to me,	
	More than thou canne nevyn.	can name
	Sche schall be quene of all my lond	
290	All schall bow unto her honde —	
	Therof she may be feyne."	eager
	Syr Isombras seyd, "Naye,	
	My wyffe I wyll not do awaye,	
	Bot I be for hyr slayne.	
295	"I weddyd hyr at Godys ley	in God's law
	To hold hyr to myn ending dey	
	Bothe in wele and woo."	
	The Soudeyn swore by hys thryft	by his fortune
200	The lady schuld with hym be lyffte	left
300	For ought that he couthe doo.	200-1-1
	The gold on his mantyll thei told; Thoff he were never so stronge and bold,	counted Though
	His wyff thei toke hym froo.	Though
	And sethyn to the lond thei gan hym caste,	afterwards
	This semyir to the fond their gair hym caste,	ajierwaras

305	And bette hym to hys rybbys braste And made his flesche full bloo.	ribs broke blue
	Than was this knyght in sorow and care,	
	And cursyd the whyle that he come ther;	
910	His wyffe was fro hym goo.	
310	The lytell chyld on the lond thei sette	
	And saw how the Sarysyns hys fader bette, And wepyd and was full woo.	
	Tana nop) a ana nao tan noo.	
	The lady wepyd and thought hyr ylle.	
	Unneth for sorow men myght her stylle	
315	That sche herselve wold sclo. ¹	
	Sche brayd her armes and faste gane crye,	threw up
	And callyd fast on our dere Ladye,	
	"Schall we now parte in twoo?	
320	Alas, blythe schall I never be And I my lord no more schall se;	If
340	My joy is gon me froo.	If
	Out, alas, that I was borne;	
	My welth this dey fro me is lorne."	lost
	Thus wakyd all her woo.	grew
	,	0
fol. 12r	When the knyght myght uppe stonde,	
326	He toke the chylde by the honde;	
	Aweywerd than went he.	
	A ryche schype ordend was ther;	
	The Souden seyd a knight schuld fare	
330	With that lady fre.	
	The Souden with his awne hond	
	Crounde hir quene of all hys lond	
	And sente hyr home to hys contré.	had and day and a
335	A ryche charter, I understond,	potent document sealed
333	He selyd it with hys owne hond That sche schuld quene be.	[So] that
	That selle sellula quelle be.	[30] mai
	Bot when the schypes were made redy,	
	Sche wepyd and was full sory,	
	And knelyd downe befor the kynge,	
340	And seyd, "Syr, I praye thee	
	One bone thou wold grante me	boon (favor)
	Of one privye thinge."	personal favor
	The Souden grantyd and sche was feyne.	glad
0.45	The knyght was brought to hyr ageyne	
345	And sche gaffe hym a rynge.	

 $^{^{1} \} Lines\ 314-15: \textit{Men could scarcely calm her on account of her sorrow, / [Sorrow\ such] that\ she\ would\ kill\ herself$

	Mete and drinke thei dyde hym gyffe,	
	That he myght with a seven nyght lyffe,	
	And the lytell chyld yenge.	young
	The lady was curtasse and mylde:	
350	Sche kyssed hire lord and sethen hyr chyld,	
	And sowned twyse dyd sche.	swooned
	They drew uppe seyle of ryche hew;	
	The wynd of the haven blew	out of the harbor
	With that lady free.	
355	The wondyd knyght doune hym sette,	wounded
	And for his lady sore he grette	wept
	Whyle he the seyle myght se.	
	"God that made both dey and nyght,	
	Have mersye upon me, a sympulle wyght.	man
360	Thy sond welcom it be."	command
	When the knyght myght uppe stond,	
	He toke the chyld by the hond.	
	Awey gon he feyre,	
	And sette hym downe under a tree.	
365	Unethe hy myght with eyne se,	Scarcely; eyes
	So had he wepyd sore.	
	Mete and drynke he forth drewe	Food
	And goffe the lytell chyld inowe,	gave; enough
	And ever he was inne care.	
370	In his mantyll of scarlet rede	
	Amonge hys gold he dyde his brede,	put
	And with hym he it bare.	
	Tyll he come to a hyll hye	
	Ther he behovyd a nyght to lye;	
375	Ne ferther myght he streche.	wander
	In the mournyng as he lye,	
	An angelle bore his gold awey,	
	Fro the rede mantyll he dyd it seche.	take
fol. 12v	The sory knyght uppe sterte hee	
380	And folowyd hym unto the see:	
	Ther over gane he flye.	
	That same tyme an unycorne	
	His yonge sone awey had borne;	
	Syche sorow ganne he drye.	endure
385	Ofte he was in wele and woo,	
	Bot never halfe as he was thoo.	then
	He sette hym onne a stone;	

	With carfulle herte and drery stevyn,	sad voice
390	He callyd on the kyng of heven; To hym he made hys mone. "Lord" he sayd "fyll we is mel	lament
	"Lord," he seyd, "full wo is me! So feyre as I hade childer thre,	
	And now have I none.	
	God that berys of heven the croune	
395	Wyse me this dey to some toune,	Guide
	For now I ame alone."	
	And as he went in that thrawe,	time
	Smythmen herd he blawe	Blacksmiths vigorously work their bellows
400	And fyer saw he glowe.	
400	Than askyd he mete for charyté. Thei bade hym labor, "For so do we —	food
	We have non other plowe."	employment
	The knyght spake to them ageyn,	_F y
	"For mete I wolde traveyll feyn,	work gladly
405	Blow and do inow."	Blow [the bellows]
	Than of mete thei gaffe hym wone;	plenty
	They made hym to bere a stone	
	Oute of a depe slow.	muddy hole
	Thus he bore irene and stone	
410	Till two yere were comen and gon;	
	He wroght thus with myche wo.	
	Be than couth he make a fyre;	
	They gaffe hym than mans hyre;	a man's wages
415	He wroght more than other two. A smythes man he was ther	
113	Longe seven yere and more,	
	And dyde the belos blow.	bellows
	Be than wele couth he dyght	By; he could make
	All maner of armour for a knyght	•
420	To warre when he schuld goo.	
	All that tyme, I understond,	
	The Sowdan werred on Crysten lond	made war
	And struyd it full wyde.	ravaged
	The Crysten kynge flede so longe,	
425	And he gedered folke full stronge	gathered
	The Sarysens to abyde.	meet in battle
	Dey of batell ther was sette; Bothe heythen and Crysten mette	
	A lytell ther besyde.	
430	Of alkyns armour he wantyd nouht;	all kinds of
	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	J

	Upon a sted he was brought, To batell gon he ryde.	
fol. 13r	He rode uppe to an hylle hyghe;	
	Hethen and Crysten ther he seyghe	
435	That the knyghtys hade brought.	
	Forthe he rode that thrawe;	at that time
	Trompys sone herd he blawe,	Trumpets
	And wepyns faste thei brought.	
	He sette hym doune upon hys kne;	
440	To Jhesu Cryste prayd he	
	And fast he hym besought:	
	"Lord, thou leve me in this feld	allow
	That I may the Soudene yelde	repay
	The wo that he me wroght."	
445	The knyghtys herte was full gode,	
	And forthe he rode with herdy mode;	steadfast spirit
	To fyght he was fulle feyne.	eager
	For no wepyn wold he stynte;	stop
450	Ther lyved non that bore his dynte,	No one lived who felt his blows
450	Tyll his hors was sleyne.	
	Than the kynge to the grownd sought.	went
	A Crysten erle out of the batell hym brought	
	Untyll a mownteyn.	Unto (up to) a mountain
455	Ther he changed all his wede	clothes
433	And horsed hym one a gode stede,	
	And sone he wente ageyn.	
	He prykyd forth as sperke on glede	spark in fire
	When he was horsyd one a stede	
	With a grymbly gare.	fearsome weapon
460	Som he hytte on the hede	
	Unto the gyrdell that it wode,	so that it drove down to the belt
	Them to mych care.	[Putting] them in great pain
	It was wele sene ther he stode	where he stood
	And also were that he yode,	whereever he went
465	Hors and man doune he bare.	
	He rode upp to a mounteyn;	
	Ther the Souden was islayn	slain
	And all that with hym ware.	
	Thre deys and thre nyghtys	
470	Syr Isombras held his fyghtys;	
	Ther wane he the gree.	victory
	Than the Crystynd were full feyn	joyful
	When the Saryzens were sleyne;	3 20
	, , ,	

475	They made game and glee. They askyd, "Were is that knyght That was so doughty and wyght? Well feyn we wold hym se.	brave
480	He is a man of mych myght, And doughty bare hym in the fyght; We knew non sych as he." Erlys, barons, thei hym sought, Befor the kyng thei hym brought; Sore wondyd was he.	grievously wounded
485	The kyng hys name freyned than; He seyd, "I ame a smythes man. What is thi wyll with me?"	asked
fol. 13v	The kyng ansuerd hym than, "Wonder it is, if a smythes man In bateyll were so wyght."	
490	He bad gyff hym mette and drynke, And all that he wold aske or thynke,	commanded him to be given
	Tyll he were helyd ryght. And be the crowne the kyng sware,	healed
495	"If he covers of hys care, I schall dubbe hym a knyght."	recovers
	He was levyd ther in that stede To hele the wondys in hys hede That he hade inne that fyght.	left; place
	The Crysten men were full feyn	
500	That the Sarysens were slayn	
	And all the hethyn houndys.	hounds
	Of his peynes sore dyd thei rewe;	pity
	Iche dey thei made salvys newe To ley onne his woundys.	salves
505	They gafe hym mete and drynk also,	
	And helyd his woundys that were bloo	blue
	Withinne a lytell stounde.	while
	The knyght ordeyned hym scrype and pyke,	bag and stick
510	And made all palmer lyke,	dressed like a palmer (pilgrim)
310	And made hym redy to fownde. His leve he toke, withouten lesse,	depart without a lie (truly)
	And thankyd them both more and lesse	without a tie (trais)
	That helpyd to hele hys wounde.	
	The redy way than toke hee	
515	Even to the grete see	
	That was depe to the grownde.	(earth's) foundation

	A shype redy ther he founde That was tyed to the londe,	
	As Godys wyll it was.	
520	The schype was redy for to wend,	depart
	And in went the knyght hend,	noble
	Owte of the haven to passe.	
	And over the see, I understond,	
F. 0. F	The schype wente unto hethyn lond	
525	And passed over that flode.	sea
	And when he was in hethynes lente,	landed in a heathen country
	Forth his weys faste he wente And seldom styll he stode.	
	Sevyn wynter was he ther	
530	With hungor, thyrst and mykell care;	
	He wantyd lyves fode.	life's sustenance
	In woddys that were grete and hye,	,
	He went forth full drerye	
	As man that couth no gode.	knew
535	Full wery he went on the deye,	wearily
	On the nyght in his clothys leye,	slept
	That was so pore a wede;	garb
	Goddys werkys for to wyrke.	
F 40	Of penans was he never yrke	weary (unwilling)
540	For his grete mysded.	
fol. 14r	All a thyrste he was gone;	
	Mete and drynke gate he none,	
	Ne hous to herbour men.	p. 41.1
545	Withoute the towne of Bedlem, He ley done be a well strem,	Bethlehem
343	Sore wepand for pyne.	pain
	And as he leye aboute mydnyght,	pan
	Ther come an angell fro heven bryght	
	And brought hym bred and wyne.	
550	"Palmer," he seyd, "welcom thou be;	
	The Kyng of Heven wele gretys thee.	
	Forgyven are synnes thyn.	
	"Wele thee gretys heven kynge,	
	And hath gyven thee his blyssyng,	
555	And bydys thee turne ageyn."	
	The knyght fell doune on hys kne,	
	Jhesu Cryst than thankyd he;	. 1
	He wepyd, he was so feyn.	overjoyed
	Bot he wyste never whether to go:	

560	No other wernyng hede he tho, Bot aye to walke in peyn. He walkyd forth dey and nyght;	then always
	God hym sent wey full ryght, The soth if I schall seyn.	If I will (can) say the truth
565	Many londys he dyd go thorow, Tyll he came to a ryche borow; Therine a castell stod.	town
	Ther herd he telle ther wonnes a quen That was a lady feyre and schene.	lived beautiful
570	The word of hyr wyd yode, That iche dey gaff at hyr gate, For Godys love, who wold it take.	widely went gave [alms] (see note)
	Many folke fonde he ther, A floryn had iche one, that is not to leyne.	Harris (agin) to lie
575	Syr Isombras was never so feyn, He hungered never so sore.	florin (coin); to lie desirous
	Of the pore that myght ivell gone, They toke men sexty and moo	suffer evils (misery)
580	Of tho that sekyst were, And inne thei toke Syr Isombras.	sickest
	At grete myscheffe thei saw he was; Of hym thei rewyd sore.	distress pitied
	The ryche quene in halle was sette,	
585	And men servyd hyr at mete In riche robys of paule, And in the florth a cloth was leyd. "The pore palmer," the steward seyd, "Schall sytt above them all." Mete and drynke was forth browght;	fine cloth on the floor
590	The palmer sate and ete nought, Bot lokyd onne the haule. So myche he saw of game and gle, And thought what he was wonte to be; Teres he lete doune falle.	
fol. 14v 596	So longe he sate and ete nought, The quen beheld and wonder thought, And to a knyght gan sey,	
600	"Feche me a cheyr and a coshyne, And sette the palmer therinne	cushion
600	To tell me that he mey, What tydyngys that he hath herd and sene In hethenes were he hath bene,	heathen lands

	In many a wyllfull weye."	wild (difficult)
605	A ryche chayre ther was fette, Befor the quen ther he was sette And told hyr of hys leye.	exquisite; fetched story
	So noblye he hyr told,	
	That sche myght frayn as sche wolld, And lenger lyst sche sytte.	inquire as she wished desired to sit
610	"For my lord sake I schall thee gyffe,	
	Als long as ever thou may lyve, Clothe, drynke, and mete,	
	And a man to serve thee ryght In chambyr both be dey and nyght	
615	Withinne my castell gate."	1
	He thankyd mykyll the lady fre, And inne hyr courte duellyd he;	much
	His chere was the bete.	cheer (mood) was the better [for it]
620	So longe the palmer duellyd thare, That he was bothe hole and feyr,	Until
020	And served inne the halle.	
	He was a mych man and hye; All had wonder that hym seye	large man and tall
625	So strong he was withalle.	throw
023	When knyghtys went to pute the ston, Twelve fote before them everychon,	шю
	He putte it as a balle. Therfor envye at hym thei hade:	
630	They justyd at hym with strokys sadde, And he overcom them alle.	jousted; fierce
030		
	Syre Isombras upon the feld, Was non so herdy under scheld	[When] in the field
	Durste mete hys crowkyd stede, Bot he gaffe hym syche a knoke	Who dared meet his decrepit horse
635	That thei tomblyd tayle over toppe,	
	And many he made to bled. And some of them so dyd he qwake	shake
	He brast in two both neke and bake, And many fled for dred.	
640	The quen her selve lowde lowghe,	laughed
	"The pore man is strong inoughe — I hold hym worthy to fede!"	
	Then befell it on a dey	
645	The palmer went hym for to pley, As it was are hys kynde.	formerly his habit

fol. 15r 650	A foulys neste he saw on hyghe, A red clothe therin he sye Wawynd with the wynde. Unto the neste gane he wyne; His awne gold he saw therine, All olde he gane it fynde. And when he saw that gold That his wyffe was for solde, His sorow began to mende.	Waving he began to go
655	The gold to his chambyr he bare, Under hys bedde he hydd it there; Wepand he wente awey. When he with eyghe that gold dyd se, He wepyd for his wyffe and his childer thre;	
660	To pyne turnede hym his pley. And he were never so glad of mode, And he ons to his chambyr yode, He wepyd after all dey. So long the palmer led his lyffe	[Even] if he were never so happy If he went once to his chamber
665	Among the knyghtys that was full ryfe, The soth I wyll you sey. Tyll it befell upon a dey To the wode he wente to pley,	that [habit] was well known
670	His olde sorow to new ryn. A knyght braste up the chamber dore; The gold he found in the flore, And schewyd it to the quen. Sone when sche it sawe with syght, In swonyng the lady fell doune ryght,	newly consider broke down
675	For sche it are hade sene. Sche kyste it ofte and seyd, "Alas, This gold owyth Syr Isombras, That my lord was wonte to be."	seen it formerly belongs to used to be
680	And sche it to that knyght tolde, How sche was for that gold solde Many a dey before. "When ye may that palmer se, Byde hym come speke with me; After hym me longeth sore."	
685	The palmer was brought into the halle. The quen to counsyll dyd hym calle And askyd hym, for Godys ore, If he were ever gentyll man,	mercy

	And how he that gold wanne.	
690	His mournyng was the more.	
	With sorowfull hert and syghyng sore,	
	He gaff hyr an ansuere	
	And on his kneys hym sette.	
	The fyrste tale that he her told,	
695	How sche was for that gold sold,	
	And how that he was bete,	
	And how his chylder fro hym was born,	
	And how his gold fro hym was lorne,	
	And how that he was threte.	threatened
700	Than sche kyssyd his face,	
	And seyd, "Welcom, Syr Isombrace!"	
	For joy thei were wepand.	weeping
fol. 15v	Joy it was to se them mete.	
	With clypyng and with kyssing suete	embracing
705	In armes when thei gon folde.	began to embrace
	Ather were of other so feyn,	Each was so glad of the other
	Ther joy myght no man seyn,	
	The sothe if it were tolde.	
	A ryche feste dyd thei byd,	command
710	Riche and pore therto yede;	came
	Durste non agen them hold.	No one dared resist them
	Crowned he was that iche nyght,	very
	And made kyng that are was knyght	formerly
	Of the barons bold.	By
715	When he was kynge and bore the croune,	
	He sente hys sond fro towne to towne,	command
	Tyll iche a grete cyté.	To every
	He made crye in borowys bold,	towns
	Riche and pore, yong and olde,	[To]
720	That thei schuld crystend be.	
	And thei that wold not do so,	
	Ther schall nothing for them go, Nother gold ne fee.	nothing will help them
	A ryche kyng was Syr Isombras,	
725	In more welthe than ever he was,	
·	Of hethen londys was hee.	
	Crystindom he kepyd that tyde:	
	Sondys he sente full wyde	Commandments
	To them that hethen were.	
730	Bot thei turnyd to his assentte,	Unless they converted to his intention
	He seyd iche one thei schuld be brente	burnt

735	With sorow and myche care. They seyd if thei myght hym hente, He schuld come to a parlament, With them schuld he fayre. One of them seyd, verament, That he schuld be drawyn and brynte	catch contend burnt
	And all that with hym were.	Other
	D. Cl., H.J.	
740	Dey of batell ther was sette. Many hethen ther were mette	
740	Syr Isombras to sloo.	slay
	Many Sarysins gedered that tyde;	gathered at that time
	They came theder ferr and wyde	there
	With hethen kyngys twoo.	
745	Syr Isombras was full of care;	
	He had no man with hym to fare.	
	All his myrthe was goo.	
	The Saryzyns falyd hym at nede:	failed him in his need
	When he was horsyd on a stede,	
750	All thei flede hym fro.	
	Syr Isombras was full of care.	
	He kyssed his wyffe with myld fare,	
	With sorowfull herte and sore.	
	A dolfull word dyd he seye:	
755	"Sertys, dame, have gode dey,	i.e., farewell
	For now and ever more."	J
fol. 16r	"Lord," sche seyd, "if I were dyght	arrayed (dressed)
	In hernes as I were a knyght,	armor
	With thee wold I fare.	
760	And bothe same late us wend,	together; go
	Sen God this grace hath us send;	Since
	I byde to lyve no more."	wait (expect)
	Sone than was the lady dyght	
	In hernes as sche were a knyght,	
765	And had spere and scheld.	
	Ageyn thirti thousand and mo,	
	Com ther none bot thei two	
	When thei mette in the feld.	
	And as thei schuld takyn be,	
770	Ther com rydand knyghtys thre	
	Upon thre bestys wylde.	beasts
	One onne a lyberd, another onne an unycorn,	
	One onne a lyon — he come beforn —	
	That was ther oldyste chyld.	

775	In angellys wed thei were clade, And an angell them to batell lede	clothes
	That sembly was to see.	handsome
	They slew the hethyn kynges two	
	And many of the Sarysins also,	
780	Thirti thousand and thre.	
	Syr Isombras prayd the knyghtys kinde	
	Home with hym that they wold weynde	go
	And become his men so fre.	
	Thei ansuerd as the angell them kende,	instructed
785	"For thee we were to batell sende —	
	Thin awne sones are we."	
	Than was the knyght both glad and blythe,	
	And thankyd God many a sythe	many times
	And on hys kneys he hym sette.	
790	"O Lord," he seyd, "heven kyng,	
	Blyssed be Thou over all thing,	
	My sones that I have mette."	
	Isumbras and hys lady fre	
705	Blysse then ther chylder thre;	
795	For joy all thei grette.	wept
	It was comforth for to sene	Fil 17 1 1 1
	The gret joys was them betwen	[that] were between them
	With clyppyng and with kyssing suete.	embracing
	A ryall borow was ther besyde:	royal town (belonging to the crown)
800	Syr Isumbras gan theder ryde,	to there
	His wyffe and his sones all same.	together
	And when he to the borow was com,	town
	Ther were thei rychely welcom	
	With myrthe, gle and game.	
805	With gret honour thei dyd them welcom,	
	With trumpys, pype, and with schalmewon,	trumpets; shawms (oboes)
	As nobull knyghtys of meyn.	
fol. 16v	Isumbras and his childer thre	
	In hethenes made them redé	In heathen lands prepared themselves
810	Batell onne them to bede.	War against them to wage
	Sone thre londys gon thei wyn	
	And stablyd Crysten men therinne,	established (settled)
	In romanse as we rede.	
015	Than was the knyght, Syr Isumbras,	
815	More better than ever he was	_
	And coverde of all his care.	recovered
	Iche of his sonnes he gaffe a lond	
	And crouned them kyng with hond,	

To lyve in myrthe ever more.

820 They lyved and dyghed with god intent, good faith
And to heven ther saules wente
When thei dede were.
AMEN QUOD RATE

	6. THE TEN COMMANDMENTS	
fol.16v	Herkyns, syrys, that standys abowte: I wyll yow tell with gode entente, How ye to God schuld knele and lowte, If ye wyll kepe his commandment.	Harken, sires
5	Thow schall loff God with herte entere, With all thi sawle and all thi myght. Other god in no maner Thou schall not have be dey ne nyght.	sincerely god
10	Thy Godys name in vanyté Thow schall not take, for welle ne woo; Dismembyr hym not that on the rode tree For thee was made full blake and bloo.	good or bad cross
15	Thy holy deys kepe wele also; Fro werldly werkys thou take thi reste. All thy howsold the same schall do, Bothe wyffe and chyld, servant and beste.	household
20	Thy fader and moder thou schall honour, Not only with thi reverence: In all ther nede be ther sokowre, And kepe aye Goddys obedyence.	support always
	Of mans kynd thou schall not sley, Ne herme with word ne wyll ne dede. Ne no mans gode thou take awey, If thou may helpe them at there nede.	
25	Thy wyff thou mayste in tyme wele take, Bot non other lawfully. Lechery and synfull luste thou forsake, And dred aye God wereever thou be.	at an appropriate time always
	Be thou no theffe ne theffys fere	combanion

Be thou no theffe ne theffys fere, companion

Ne nothyng wyne thorow trechery. gain
Ocure ne symony cum thou not nere,
Bot consciens clere kepe aye truly. keep always

fol. 17r 35	Thow schall in word be trewe also, And wytnes fals schall thou non bere. No lye thou make for frend ne foo,	
	Leste thou thy sawle full gretly dere.	damage
40	Thi neyghbours wyff thou nought desyre, Ne womane none throw synne covet; Bot as Holy Chyrch wold it were, Ryght so thi pourpos luke thou sette.	[shall] not through sin wants it to be
	Howse ne lond ne other thing Thow schall not covet wrongfully; Bot kepe well aye Godys bydding, And Crysten feyth leve stedfastly.	always believe
45	Thes be the commandmentys ten That bene wryte in this scryptour, That God gaff to Moysen (Them to kepe, loke ye before)	text Moses look to it
50	In two tabullys of ston ryght To helpe mans kynd forth of synne, Wryten with the hond of God allmyght, To teche mankynd this werld to wynne.	tablets out of sin gain
55	All thei that thes commandmentys kepe, In heven with God schall ever wonne; Yiff that they wyll fro syn them kepe, They schall be bryghter than the sonne. AMEN QUOD RATE	dwell
	7. STANS PUER AD MENSAM	
fol. 17v	Jhesus Cryste that dyed upon a tree To bye mans saule that ons was forlorn, Helpe them wele in all ther degré That doth ever ryght behynd and beforn.	buy; once was lost social condition Who always do right in every way
5	And gyffe me grace that I may so teche That som man therfor the better maye be, And to be to chylder a bodely leche, And ever more all vyces thei may fere and fle.	[So] that children; physician
10	To tech chylder curtasy is myn entent, And thus forth my proces I purpos to begynne. The Trinyté me sped and gode Seynt Clement, In what contrey that ever I be inne.	intention discourse aid me

15	The child that ever thinkys that he wold thé, My councell in this to hym that he take, And ever more curtayse luke that he be, And ever all evyll vices to fle and forsake.	prosper He should take my counsel in this abandon
20	The child that is curtas, be he pore or ryche, It schall hym avayll — therof have no drede. And ever to hymselve for to be a lech, When he is in quarel or any other nede.	assist; doubt physician need
	And if he be vicious and nothing will lern, To fader and to modour be statly and stern, He may never thryffe well for nothing that he cannot	proud and headstrong e. may do
25	Ne no man of hym rejosyng will have, In what lond of Crysdom that he commys inne, Bot oft tymes rebukyd and be callyd knave, Ne never is abull worschippe to wynn.	will delight in him But [he will be] often to earn praise
30	Therfor this scryptour, my sone, if thou rede, And thinke in thiselve that thou wold be a man, Unto syche poyntes I rede thou take hede, As thou schall hereafter rede if thou canne.	text
35	And labour thiselve while thou arte yong, For thou schall be more perfyte when thou arte of a To helpe thiselve the better with hond and with ton Than he that lernes nothing bot to pley and rage.	
	The sothe treuly thiselve thou may see, By experience by many in the werld That are unthrifty ne no tyme will thé, How thei be trobyled and oft tymes ille-horlde.	truth prosper troubled; assailed
40	Therfor, this doctrine to thee I rede thou take To ocupy and use bothe by dey and nyght; Never no maystrys I rede that thou make ¹ The which be contrary agen reson and ryght.	To be busy with contrary to
45	Now, chyld, take gode hed what that I wyll sey: My doctryn to thee I purpos to begyn. Herkyn well therto and go not awey; Goddys grace be with us now and ever more. Amen	instruction; intend Listen . God's

I advise you to never to act outrageously (in a high-handed way)

50 fol. 18r	My dere child, fyrst thiselve thou enabulle With all thi herte to vertuous disciplyne Afor thi soveryn standyng at the tabull, Dispos thi youthe after my doctryne: To all nurtour thi courage thou enclyne. Fyrst, when thou spekys luke thou be not rekles; Behold to thi sovereyn in the face with thi eyen.	Before your superior Look your superior(s); eyes
55	Kepe fete and fyngers and hondys styll in pese.	<i>y</i> 1 (<i>n y</i>
60	Be simpyll of cher, cast not thi luke of syde; Gase not aboute, turnyng thy hede over alle. Ageyn the post luke not thi bake abyde; Make not the myrror also of the walle. Pyke not thi nose allso in especyall; Be ryght wele were and sett theron thi thought. Crache not thi fleche for ought that may befall, Hede and hond, ne other thinge that is upon thee nog	Stare Against; do not rest your back a mirror of the wall especially aware; concentrate on it Scratch; may happen tht. [Nor scratch]; at all
65	To the erth thou luke not when any man spekys to the Bot behold unto his face — take gode tent therto. Go pesably by the wey wereso ever it be, That no man vex thee in jorney were thou schall gon.	e, ground heed peaceably [So] that; trouble
70	Change not thi colour by no maner wyse, Les thou be prevyd gylty in all thi mysdede. Moke not ne scorn not nother man ne wyfe, Ne no nother person — therto thou take gode hede.	Ridicule; neither no other
75	Ete thou not mete with thi unwasche hondys, For dred of mych hurte that may com therbye, Ne syte not unbyden weresoever thou stond, Lesse the pepyll sey thou canne no curtasye.	food; unwashed unasked Lest; know
	Take aboffe thee thi better when thou schall sytte, Els folke wyll sey that thou canne no gode. Take thou no mete — be welle were of itte — Unto grace be seyd and therto veyll thi hode.	above aware Until; remove your hood
80	When thou etys thi mete be not to hasty — Be well were therof — be it befe or moton, Or any other metys other pye or pastye, Leste thou be callyd els both cherle or gloton.	foods or pie or pasty

Lines 51–52: Direct your young life according to my teaching: / Incline your heart (attention) to good manners

85	When thou has don with a dysch calle it not ageyn, For that is no curtassy — therof thou take gode hede. Whatsoever thou be servyd, loke thou be feyn, For els thou may want it when thou hast nede.	pleased
	Revyle thou no metys, whatsoever it be, If thou purpos afterward of it for to ete.	Refuse; food
90	Fro all sych uncurtasnes I red that thou fle, And ever to be curtas thi hert therin thou sette.	advise
	Kepe thi spone clen from all maner of fylthe;	spoon
	Longe in thi dysch late it not abyde.	sit
95	Bewere wele therof that thou nothyng spylleth, That thei do not moke thee that standys thee besyde.	mock; stand next to you
	Luke thi hondys be clen when thou etys thi mete;	
	Pare clene thi nayles for ought that may be.	of all [dirt]
	Make them chere curtasly that by thee do sytte, And kepe wele thi countenans, for that is courtasy.	pleasant company
100	Dele not thi mete awey bot if thou have leve,	Give (Divide); have permission
	If thou sytte with any man that may be thi better,	
	For els thou may therfor have a grete repreve — Thus seys Grossum Caput in doctrine of letter.	reproof (rebuke) Grosseteste (see note); text
fol.18v	When thou etys thi mete take gode hede of this:	
105	In the o syde of thi mouthe ete thou thi mete,	one
	That both thou chekys be not fulle at ons; For that is no curtassy and so thou schall fynd itte.	once
	When mete is in thi moth, laughe thou ryght nought,	mouth
110	Ne speke thou to no man in syche tyme, For dred that thy mete oute of thi mouth be brought,	
110	And lepe inne thi dyssche with ale or with wyne.	fall
	Kytte thou no mete — therof take thou gode tente —	Cut
	When mete is on thi trencher uneten some dele.	some piece
115	Ne moke thou no man that at the bord is lente, For drede that mysfforton sone after may thee spylle.	slow at the table ruin you
113	If that thou wyll of nourtyr, my sone, bewere: Sette thou no dysche never onne thi trencher.	will have good manners
	When thou sowpys thi potage be wele were of this:	sip your soup
120	Make no grete sownd in suppyng of thi dysche, And wype wele thi mowth when thou drynk schall take Ne no thyng hafe therinne that may do amysse,	sounds in slurping e.

125	For if any mete thi mowth be withinne, When thou schuld drynke ofe coppe or of canne, Sum wyll drinke, be it thyke or thynne; Than schall thou be mokyd both of wyff and man.	from cup or jar Someone [else] will drink it
130	When thou syttys at the tabull, this is curtasy: Over thi tabull luke thou not spylle, Lest it falle one mete that stondys thee by; For that is a cherles dede whoso doth it. Pyke not thi tethe — therof be thou were — Tyll that thow have etyne all that thow wylle. Ne noy not thi felew — of that loke thou spere; Drynk, salt, ne potage, therof non thou spylle.	annoy; refrain stew (soup)
135	Blow not in thi dyssch, be it mete or drynke, For that is no curtasy — therof take thou tente. Ne when thou arte at any mete nother slepe ne wynke, For mokyng of pepull where that thou arte lente.	take heed nod off slow
140	Kepe clene thi nose with napkyn and clote, That no fylthe be sene that schuld thee dyshonour. Ne swere thou to no man a forsuorne othe, For that schall be repreve and to thee non honour.	cloth profane disgrace
145	Pley thou not with a dogge ne yit with a cate Befor thi better at the tabull ne besyde; For it is no curtasy — be thou sure of that — In what place of Crystendom that thou dwelle or byde.	
	When thou etys thi mete, of this thou take hede: Touche not the salte beyng in thi salt saler, Ne with flesch ne fyssche, with other mete ne brede, For that is no curtassy; so seys Doctour Paler.	saltcellar (salt dish)
150	Ley salt on thi trenchere with knyfe that be clene; Not to myche — be thou were — for that is not gode. That all maner of courtassy of thee may be sene, And ever to thi better luke thou aveyll thi hode.	be careful [So] that lower your hood
fol. 19r 155	If thou wasche with a better man than thi selfe arte, Spytt not on thy hondys — therof take gode hede — And be thou not to cruell, at no tyme over-perte; The better thou schall lyke when thou hast nede.	[and] at no time; saucy
160	Preys not to hye where thi better is, Bot stond lawly on thi fete befor the hey tabull; And loke thou be servysabull at every mese,	ot too closely (presumptiously) lowly; high table useful (obedient); meal

	And jangell not to moch for makyng of a fabull.	chatter; story
	Take hede of one thing that I wyll thee sey,	1.1.
	For it is gret curtasy and schall to thee aveyle:	help
1.05	Out of no mans mouth, forbere it if thou may,	prevent
165	To take any comenyng or yit any tale.	conversation
	Com not to counsell bot if thou be callyd,	
	For dred of repreve were as ever thou gos.	shame wheresoever you go
	Ne never moke non old man thofe he be old,	
	For sych uncurtasy may cause thee to have foys.	foes
170	When thou haste dyned be redy to ryse	
	Somwhat or thi better, for that is curtasy,	before your better(s)
	And els thi soverand he wyll thee dyspise,	
	And think that thou arte prowd and bere thiselve to hy.	
	Crombys aboute thi trencher luke that thou leve non,	
175	Bot clene them awey with thi knyfe that be clene.	
	Obeysens thou make or thou ferther gone,	Show reverence before
	That alle that sytys at the tabull thi curtasy may sene.	
	If thou have a fader that be of lyfe here,	
	Honour hym with wyrschype — my counsell I thee gyffe -	_
180	And also thi modour that is thi faderes fere,	companion
100	And ever more after the better thou schall fare.	companion
	And ever more ance the better thou schair fare.	
	And if thou rebukys them, other in word or dede,	
	And be to presumptos and set thee not bye,	care not for yourself
	Thou schall never thryve when that thou hast nede,	
185	Ne yit kepe the statutys of thi curtasye.	rules
	Thy elbow and armys have in thi thought,	
	To fer on thi tabull do them not ley.	far
	To mych mete at ons in thi mouth be not brought,	J
	For than thou art not curtas, thi better wyll seye.	
190	Kepe wele thi slevys fro touchyng of mete,	
130	, , ,	laced
	Ne no long slevys lasyd luke that thou have.	
	Kepe wele thi knyfe fro castyng under fete;	from falling
	The more lawde of peple I wote thou schall have.	praise
	Ever on thi ryght hond take thou thi bettere	
195	Wher that ever thou go, be wey or by strete,	
	And if thou se any man be redyng of a letter,	reading [privately]
	Com not to nyghe hym for dred of rehete.	near; reproof
	And if thou go with any man in feld or in towne,	
	,	Rw. palace or force
	Be wall or by hege, by pales or by pale,	By; palace or fence

200	To go withoute hym luke thou be bowne, And take hym bytwyx thee and that same walle.	on the outside; ready
205	And if thou mete hym luke thou be sure That thou go withoute hym and leve hym nexte the walle And if ye schuld enter in at any dore, Putt befor thee thi better for oughte that may befalle.	
fol. 19v	Stare not on a strange man to mych — be thou ware — For that is no curtassy; therto thou take gode hede. Ne speke not to mych (thus seys Doctour Paler), Bot if it be in thi Pater Noster, thi Ave, and thi Crede.	unfamiliar Unless
210	And thou passe befor a man weresoever it be, At feyre or in other place, luke thou aske leve, And ever thinke on worschype and thy onesté, And kepe thee ever fro rebuke and all maner repreve.	If fair; leave (permission) reputation; sense of decorum
215	And if that it forten so by nyght or any tyme, That thou schall lye with any man that is better than thou Spyre hym what syde of the bedd that most best wyll ples And lye thou on the tother syde, for that is for thi prow.	
220	Ne go thou not to bede befor bot thi better cause thee, For that is no curtasy — thus seys Doctor Paler. Hose and schone to powle of, loke thou redy be, And other gere that to hym langys, for thou may fare the	shoes; pull e better. belongs to him
225	And when thou arte in thi bed this is curtasy: Stryght downe that thou lye both with fote and hond. When ye have talkyd what ye wyll, byd hym gode nyght is For that is gret curtasy — so schall thou understond.	Straight n hye, directly
	If thou ryse before at morow take god hede of this: Byd hym gode morow or thou go, thof that he be on slep Ne do no thinge in that hous that schuld be amysse, Bot ever more all curtasy I rede to thee thou kepe.	oe,
230	Another thing at thi table for soth I wylle thee telle, That is gret courtasy (thus seys Doctor Paler): On thi tabull kepe thi knyf — luke thou befelle — When thou putys mete in thi mouthe, for that is behavour	see to it that you do this
235	And if thou be in any place were thi better is drynkyng, So that the coppe be at his hede, odour with ale or wyne, Doctor Paler seys thee thus, and byddys thee sey nothing For brekynge of thi curtasy in syche a curtas tyme.	_

240	And if thou be in any plas were thi sovrand schall Luke thou be redy anon with water in some vessel Forgete not the towell, nother for hard ne nessche For that is grete curtasy, the soth I do thee telle.	l, ready promptly
245	Of all maner of thingys, one I wylle thee schew: Never with any rebaudry do not fyle thi mouthe, For that is no curtasy, thou schall fynd it trew Wher thou go est or weste, other north or southe.	teach ribaldry; fill Where[ever]; either
	And if thi sovereyn drinkyng be in the tyme of nys If thou be standing in thi hous or syting in any syc Take a candell in thi hond anon and hold hym lys To he have drownkyn what he wyll, styll by hym th AMEN QUOD RATE	de, ght.
	8. Dame Courtesy	
fol. 20r	Whosoever wyll thryve or thé Muste vertus lerne and curtas be. For who in yowth no vertus usythe,	thrive or prosper courteous uses (practices)
5	In age all men hym refusythe. Clerkys that cane the scyens seven Seys that curtasy came fro heven	know the seven sciences
	When Gabryell Owre Lady grette And Elyzabeth with her mette.	greeted
10	All vertus be closyd in curtasy, And all vyces in vilony.	encompassed
	Aryse betyme oute of thi bedde, And blysse thi breste and thi forhede. Than wasche thi hondys and thi face,	in time (i.e., early) i.e., make the sign of the cross
15	Keme thi hede and aske God grace Thee to helpe in all thi werkes; Thow schall spede better, whatso thou carpes. Than go to the chyrch and here a Messe:	Comb fare better, whatever you ask for Mass
20	Ther aske mersy for thi trespasse. To whom thou metys come by the weye, Curtasly "gode morne" thou sey. When thou hast don, go breke thy faste	sins meet coming by the way
	With mete and drynke of god repaste. Blysse thi mouthe or thou it ete; The better schall be thi dyete.	nourishment before
25	Befor thi mete sey thou thi grace — It ocupys bot lytell space.	takes only a little time

¹ Do not forget the towel, neither for hard nor soft (i.e., in all circumstances)

	Ean cupe mate and downloand us	
	For oure mete and drynke and us,	
	Thanke we owre Lord Jhesus.	O Fath Hall Mann
20	A Pater Noster and Ave Mary	Our Father; Hail Mary
30	Sey for the saulys that in peyne ly.	lie in purgatory
	Than go labour as thou arte bownde,	as you must
	And be not idyll in no stounde.	in no situation
	Holy scryptour thus it seyth	says
0 5	To thee that arte of Cristen feyth:	
35	If thou labour, thou muste ete	
	That with thi hondys thou doyst gete.	what you earn with your hands
	A byrd hath wengys for to fle,	fly
	So man hath armes laboryd to be.	
40	Luke thou be trew in word and dede:	Look
40	In all thi werkes than schall thou spede.	prosper
	Treuth doyt never his master schame;	never does
	It kepys hym out of synne and blame.	
	The weys to heven, thei ben this tweyn:	they are these two
15	Mercy and treuthe, as clerkys seyn.	say
45	Whoso wyll come to the lyfe of blysse,	
6.1.00	To go these weys he may not mysse.	do without [these virtues]
fol. 20v	Make no promys bot it be gode,	
	And kepe thou it with myght and mode,	spirit
. .	For every promys, it is dette	[a] debt
50	That with no falsed muste be lette.	not be hindered by falsehood
	God and thi neybores lufe all wey;	
	Welle is thee, than may thou sey,	
	For so thou kepys all the lawe	
	Withoute any fer, drede, or awe.	
55	Uncallyd go thou to no counsell;	Do not offer counsel unasked
	That longys to thee, with that thow melle.	Busy yourself with what pertains to you
	Scorne not the pore, ne hurte no man.	
	Lerne of hym that thee tech cane.	who can teach you
	Be no gloser, nor no moker,	flatterer; mocker
60	Ne no servantys no wey loker.	watcher of servants
	Be not prowd, bot meke and kynd,	
	And with thi better go thou behynd.	
	When thi better schewys his wylle,	
	To he have seyd thou muste be stylle.	Until he has spoken
65	When thou spekys to any man,	
	Hand, fote, and fynger kepe thou styll than,	
	And luke thou uppe into his face,	
	And curtase be in every place.	courteous
	With thi fynger schew thou nothyng,	
70	Nor be not lefe to telle tydinge.	eager to tell news
	If any man sey welle of thee	
	Or of thi frendys, thankyd muste he be.	
	Have few wordys and wysly sette,	

	For so thou may thi worschyppe gete.	
75	Use no sueryng nother lyeng	swearing nor lying
	In thi sellyng and thi byeng,	
	For and thou do, thou arte to blame,	if you do
	And at the last thou wyll have scham.	
	Gete thi gowd with trewth and wynne,	Earn your goods (living); honor
80	And kepe thee out of dette and synne.	
	Be loth to greve and leffe to plese;	loath to grieve; eager to please
	Seke the pes and lyfe in es.	peace; ease
	Of whom thou spekys, where and when,	
0.5	Avyse thee welle, and to what men.	
85	When thou comys unto a dore,	
	Sey "God be here" or thou go ferre.	forth
	Whereever thou commys, speke honestly	
	To syr or dame or ther meny.	retinue (company)
00	Stand and sytte not furst withall,	1 1 1 1 1 1 1
90	Tyll he byde thee that rewlys the halle.	he who rules the hall asks
	Wher he bydis, ther must thou sytte,	bids
C 1 O1	And for non other change ne flyte.	argue
fol. 21r	Sytt upryght and honestly;	with dignity (respectfully)
95	Ete and drinke and be felewly.	friendly Share
95	Parte with hem that sytes thee by; Thus teches thee Dame Curtory	Snare
	Thus teches thee Dame Curtasy.	
	Take the salt with thi clen knyfe.	tombonate of obeset
	Be cold of spech and make no stryfe;	temperate of speech Slander; absent
100	Bakbyte no man that is awey;	Sianaei, aoseni
100	Be glad of all men wele to sey. Here and se, and sey thou nought,	
	Than schall thou not to profe be brought.	he but to trial
	With mete and drynke befor thee sette	be put to trial
	Hold thee plesyd and aske no bette.	better
105	Wype thi mouthe when thou wyll drinke,	Dette1
103	Lest it foule thi copys brinke.	rim of your cup
	Kepe clen thi fyngers, lypes, and chinne,	rim of your cup
	For so thou may thi wyrschype wynne.	
	In thi mouth when thi mete is,	
110	To drinke or speke or laugh, iwys,	indeed
110	Dame Curtasy forbydys it thee.	macca
	Bot prayse thi fare wheresoever thou be,	your food
	For be it gode or be it badde,	your food
	In gud worth it muste be had.	In good worth (With respect)
115	When thou spytys, be welle were	spit; aware
	Wherso thou spytys nyghe or fer.	1 -
	Hold thi hand befor thi mouth	
	When thou spytys, and hyde it couth.	courteously
	Kepe thi knyfe both clen and scherpe,	,
120	And be not besy for to kerpe.	chatter
	/ 1	

	Clens thi knyfe with som cutte bred,	
	Not with thi cloth, as I thee rede;	
	With any fylth to fowle the clothe,	
	A curtase man he wylle be lothe.	
125	In thi dysch sett not thi spone,	
	Nother on the brynk as unlernyd don.	edge as the unlearned (boorish) do
	When thou sopys make no noyse	sup (eat)
	With thi mouth as do boys.	unrefined fellows
	The mete that on thi trencher is,	plate
130	Putt it not into thi dysch;	serving dish
	Gete thee sone a voyder,	a dish for removing items from the table
	And sone avoyd thou thi trencher.	empty
	When thi better take thee the coppe,	gives you the cup
	Drinke thi selffe and sett it uppe;	8 7 1
135	Take the coppe with thi hondys,	
	Lest it fall ther as thou stondys.	
	When thi better spekys to thee,	
	Do of thi cape and bow thi kne.	hat
fol. 21v	At thi tabull nother crache ne claw —	scratch
140	Than men wyll sey thou arte a daw.	jackdaw (fool)
	Wype not thi nose, nor thi nos thirlys —	nostrils
	Than men wyll sey thou come of cherlys.	come from churls (are lowborn)
	Make thou nother cate ne hond	cat or hound
	Thi felow at thi tabull round,	
145	Ne pley with spone, trencher, ne knyffe.	
	In honesty and clenys lede thou thi lyffe.	cleanliness (propriety)
	This boke is made for chylder yong	4 1 2/
	At the scowle that byde not long;	Who do not stay long at school
	Sone it may be conyd and had,	learned and known
150	And make them gode if thei be bad.	
	God gyff them grace vertuos to be,	
	For than thei may both thryff and thé.	thrive and prosper
	AMEN QUOD RATE	1 1
	9. LATIN EPIGRAM	
	Tempore felici, multi numerantur amici.	
	Cum fortuna perit, nullus amicus erit. ¹	
	Cum fortuna perit, nunus anneus erit.	
	10. THE RULES FOR PURCHASING LAND	
	Whoso wyll be were in purchasyng,	careful (wary)
	Consider the poyntys that be therinne:	<u> </u>
	Fyrst se that the lond be clere	secure (clear from legal claims)
	In the tytell of the sellere,	title
5	And that it stond in no daunger	control (obligation)
	Of no womans dewere.	dower

¹ In happy times, many friends are counted. / When good fortune disappears, there will be none

keep awake (watch over)

	Se wher the lond be bound or fre,	whether
	And se the reles of every feffé.	release; feoffee
	Se that the seller be of age,	of legal age
10	And whether it stond in any morgage.	•
	Loke whether a tayle thereof may be fonde,	entail (restriction)
	And whether it stond in statute bounde.	
	Consyder what servys longys therto,	service belongs
	And what whyte-rente there oute must go.	quit-rent
15	And if it meve of a weddyd woman,	is inherited from
	Luke ryght wele if that thou cane.	(see note)
	And if thou may in any wyse,	
	Make a charter of warantys	warrantees (see note)
	To thyn eyres and asygnés also.	heirs and assigns
20	Thus schall a wyse purchesor do;	
	And in ten yere if thou wyse be,	
	Thou schall ageyn thi money se.	

11a. LATIN EPIGRAM

O Asside, Asside, dico te Romanos superare.¹

11b. LATIN EPIGRAM

Tres infelices in mundo dicimus esse: Infelix qui pauca sapit spernitque doceri; Infelix qui multa sapit spernitque docere; Infelix qui sancta docet si vivat inique.²

12. AN EVENING PRAYER

Myn hert in thi servys wake.

fol. 22r	Jhesus Lord, well of all godnes,	source; goodness
	For thi grete pety I thee pray:	pity
	Forgyffe me all my wykidnes	
	Wherwith I have grevyd thee todey.	grieved
5	Honour and praysing to thee be,	
	And thankyng for thi gyftys all	
	That I this dey reseyvid of thee;	received from you
	Now, curtas Cryst, to thee I calle.	courteous
	This nyght fro perell thou me kepe,	
10	My bodely rest whyll that I take;	
	And als long as myn evyn sclepe,	throughout my evening sleep

¹ O son of Assidus, son of Assidus, I say you will conquer the Romans (I say the Romans will conquer you)

² We say there are three [kinds of] unfruitful [people] in the world: / [He is] unfruitful who knows little and refuses to be taught; / [He is] unfruitful who knows much and refuses to teach; / [He is] unfruitful who teaches holiness but lives wickedly

For feryng of the fende owre fo, threatening; foe Fro fowll dremys and fantasys, foul 15 Kepe this nyght from synne also, In clenes that I may upryse. purity Save my gode doers fro grevans, benefactors repay them (reward them for) And quyte them that thei on me spend. Kepe my enmys fro noyans, enemies; trouble 20 And gyffe them grace for to amend. Mercy, Jhesu, and grante mercy; My body, my soule, I thee beken, commend to you In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, Amen.¹ 13. A MORNING PRAYER Ihesu Lord, blyssed thou be. For all this nyght thou hast me kepe protected From the fend and his posté, fiend; power Whether I wake or that I slepe. 5 In grete deses, in dedly synne, discomfort Many one this nyght fallyn has, Many a person That I myselve schuld have fallyn in, Hadyst thou not kepyd me with thi grace. Lord, gyffe me grace to thi worschype, 10 This dey to spend in thi plesanse; favor And kepe me fro wyked felyschipe, company And from the fendys comberance. devil's influence Jhesu, my tunge thou reule allso, tongue; rule That I not speke bot it be nede, unless necessary 15 Hertly to pray for frend and fo, And herme no man in word ne dede. Cryste, gyffe me grace of mete and drynke This dev to take mesurably, moderately In dedly synne that I not synke 20 Thorow outrage of foule glotony. Jhesu my lord, Jhesu my love, And all that I ame bond unto, fol. 22v Thi blyssing send fro hevyn above, And gyffe them grace wele to do.

¹ In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, Amen

25 My gode angell that arte to me send From God to be my governour, From all evyll sprytys thou me defend, And in my desesys to be my socoure.

AMEN QUOD RATE

troubles; aid

14. TEN COMMANDMENTS (FALSE START). SEE TEXTUAL NOTES.

15. A PRAYER TO MARY

Every dey whyle I ame on lyve,

I schall thee grete with Aves fyve, Therto a Pater Noster and a Crede,

35

Mary modour, wele thou be; Mary modour, thinke on me. Modour and mayd was never none In this werld bot thou alone. 5 Mary modour, mayden clene, pure Scheld me this dey fro sorow and tene. harmMary, out of synne helpe me And out of dette, for charyté. Mary, for thi joys fyve, five joys 10 Helpe me to lyve in clene lyve. For the terys thou letyst under the rode, cried beneath the cross Grante to me my lyfes fode sustenance Wherewith I may me cloth and fede And in treuth my lyff to lede. 15 Helpe, Lady, and all myn, And kepe us ever fro hell pyne. hell's punishment Scheld me todey fro vylony disgrace (misfortune) And fro all wekyd company. Thou scheld me fro all werldys schame 20 And from all other wyked fame. Suete Lady, mayden myld, Fro the fend thou me schyld, That the fend me note dere; not tempt Suete Lady, thou me were. guard 25 Both by dey and eke by nyght, alsoHelpe me, Lady, with all thi myght. They that be in dedly synne, Late them never dyghe therin. Pray to thi sone, hevyn kynge, 30 That he send us all gode endyng, a good death That we may thether wend fol. 23r go there Ther as joy is withouten end. There where Mary, also I tryst in thee That thes prayers thou wylle grante me;

For to have heven to my mede.
God it grante for his pyté,
That I may fynd it so be.
Amen, Amen, for charyté.

40

reward

16. THE DEBATE OF THE CARPENTER'S TOOLS

	The Shype-Ax seyd unto the Wryght,	Chip-Ax; Carpenter
	"Mete and drynke I schall thee plyght;	Food; promise
	Clene hose and clene schone,	stockings; shoes
	Gete them wheresoever thou kane.	[You will need to]
5	Bot for all that ever thou kane,	you can ever do
3		Thou shall; prosperous
	Thall never be thryfty man,	* *
	Ne none that longys the crafte unto,	Nor any who belongs to the trade
	For nothyng that thou kane do."	For anything
1.0	"Wherfore," seyd the Belte,	Thus; Mallet
10	"With grete strokys I schall hym pelte.	strike
	My mayster schall full well thene,	prosper
	Both to clothe and fede his men."	
	"Ye, ye," seyd the Twybyll,	Double-edged Ax
	"Thou spekys ever ageyn skyll.	against reason
15	Iwys, iwys, it wyll not bene,	Surely, surely, it will not be so
	Ne never I thinke that he wyll then."	Nor; prosper
	"Yis, yis," seyd the Wymbyll.	Boring tool (drill)
	"I ame als rounde as a thymbyll.	
	My maysters werke I wyll remembyr;	
20	I schall crepe fast into the tymbyr,	sink firmly
	And help my mayster within a stounde	moment
	To store his cofer with twenti pounde."	fill his coffer
	"Ye, ye" seyd the Compas,	
	"Thou arte a fole in that case.	fool
25	For thou spekys without vysment;	thought
	Therfor thou getyst not thi entent.	desire
	Wyte thou wele it schall be so,	You know well
	That lyghtly cum schall lyghtly go.	
	And thou gete more than other fyve,	[Even] if you earn; five such
30	Yit schall thi mayster never thryve."	<i>i j j</i>
	The Groping-Iren than spake he:	Gouge
	"Compas, who hath grevyd thee?	
	My mayster yit may thryve full wele;	
	How he schall I wyll thee telle.	
fol. 23v	I ame his servant trew and gode;	
36	I suere thee, Compas, by the rode,	swear [to] you; cross
30	Wyrke I schall bothe nyght and dey;	swear fiof you, cross
		Lone
	To gete hym gode I schall assey." "Yo yo "soyd the Soy	try
40	"Ye, ye," seyd the Saw, "It is bote best that they down blow	L. a Land II
40	"It is bote bost that thou doyst blow.	only a boast that you blow (brag)

	For those thou wyrke bothe dey and nyght,	
	He wyll not thé, I sey thee ryght.	prosper; tell you
	He wones to nyghe the alewyffe	lives too near; tavern keeper
	And he thouht ever for to thryffe."	If
45	Then seyd the Whetston,	-1
10	"Thof my mayster thryft be gone,	prosperity
	I schall hym helpe within this yere	FireFire
	To gete hym twenti merke clere.	twenty marks profit
	Hys axes schall I make full scharpe,	<i>J</i> 1 <i>J</i>
50	That thei may lyghtly do ther werke.	
	To make my master a ryche man	
	I schall asey if that I cane."	
	To hym than seyd the Adys,	Adze
	And seyd, "Ye, syr, God gladys.	rejoices
55	To speke of thryfft, it wyll not be,	,
	Ne never I thinke that he schall thé.	
	For he wyll drynke more on a dey	
	Than thou cane lyghtly arne in twey;	easily earn in two
	Therfor thi tonge I rede thou hold	•
60	And speke no more no wordys so bold."	
	To the Adys than seyd the Fyle,	
	"Thou schuldys not thi mayster revyle;	
	For thoff he be unhappy,	unfortunate
	Yit for his thryft thou schuldys se.	should tend to his work
65	For I thinke or tomorow at none	before noon tomorrow
	To arne my mayster a payre of schone.	earn; shoes
	For I schall rube with all my myght,	
	My mayster tolys for to dyght,	to prepare my master's tools
	So that within a lytell space,	a short while
70	My mayster purce I schall encrece."	master's purse
	Than seyd the Chesyll,	Chisel
	"And ever he thryve, he berys hym wele."	
	For tho thou rube to thi hede ake,	rub until your head aches
	His thryfte fro hym it wyll be take.	profit will be taken from him
75	For he loves gode ale so wele	
	That he therfor his hode wyll selle.	hood
	For some dey he wyll seven pens drynke;	seven pence worth
	How he schall thryve I cane not thinke."	imagine
	"Ye, ye," seyd the Lyne and the Chalke,	
80	"My mayster is lyke to many folke.	like many
fol. 24r	Tho he lufe ale never so wele,	ever so much
	To thryve and thé I schall hym telle.	urge
	I schall merke well upon the wode,	
٠.	And kepe his mesures trew and gode;	
85	And so by my mesures all,	

¹ If he ever thrives, then he bears himself well [Presumably ironic]

	To thé full wele my mayster schall."	
	Than bespake the Prykyng Knyfe,	Awl
	"He duellys to nyghe the alewyfe.	too near
00	Sche makys oft tyme his purse full thyn;	thin
90	No peny some tyme sche levys therin.	Sometimes she leaves
	Tho thou gete more than other thre, Thryfty man he cane not be."	earn more than three others
	"Ye, ye" seyd the Persore,	Auger (drill)
	"That at I sey it schall be sure.	That which I say will surely be true
95	Whi chyd ye iche one with other?	argue with each other
	Wote ye not wele I ame your brother?	Know
	Therfor none contrary me,	contradict
	For as I sey, so schall it be.	
	My mayster yit schall be full ryche;	
100	Als fer as I may stret and streche,	strain and stretch
	I wyll helpe with all my myght,	
	Both by dey and by nyght,	
	Fast to runne into the wode	
105	And byte I schall with moth full gode.	mouth (teeth)
103	And thus I trow, be my crowne, To make hym schyreff of the toune."	trust shariff
	"Soft, syr," seyd the Skantyllyon	sheriff Softly (Hush); Gauge
	"I trow your thryft be wele ny don.	Sofity (Trush), Swage
	Ever to crewyll thou arte in word,	cruel
110	And yet thou arte not worth a tord.	turd
	For all the gode that thou gete myght,	
	He wyll spend it on a nyght."	in a night
	Than the Crow bygan to speke,	Crowbar
	Forwhy is herte was lyke to breke	Because
115	To here his brother so revyld,	insulted
	And seyd, "Thou spekys lyke a chyld.	
	Tho my mayster spend never so faste,	
	Inoughe he schall have at the laste. May forteyn as mych as ever schall he	[He] may be as fortunate
120	That drynke never peny to that he dyghe."	a penny's worth until he dies
140	"Ye, ye" seyd the Rewle,	Ruler (Straight-Edge)
	"Ifeyth, thou arte bot a fole.	Truly
	For and he dyghe and have ryght nought,	
	Who trowys thou wyll gyfe hym owght?	believes; anything
125	Thus schall he ly upon the grownd,	
	And be beryd lyke an hund.	buried; hound
	For and a man have ought befor,	[earned] anything
	When he has nede it is gode store."	reserve supply
190	"What, Syr Reule?" seyd the Pleyn,	Plane
130	"Another reson I wyll thee seyn:	11.
fol. 24v	Thoff my mayster thou schuldyst not lake	luck
	Yit thi mayster thou schuldyst not lake.	blame (abuse)

	For yit a mene I schall se	yet I will see a means
105	That my mayster schall wele thé.	prosper
135	I schall hym helpe both dey and nyght To gete hym gode with all my myght.	
	I schall clens on every syde	cleanse (by scraping)
	To helpe my mayster in his pride."	cieunse (by scraping)
	The Brode-Ax seyd withouten mysse;	Broad-Ax; with certainty
140	He seyd, "The Pleyn my brother is;	,
	We two schall clence and make full pleyn,	
	That no man schall us geynseyn,	gainsay (disagree with)
	And gete oure mayster in a yere	
	More sylver than a man may bere."	
145	"Ye, ye," seyd the Twyvete,	Ax (or mallet?)
	"Thryft, I trow, be fro you sette.	Profit, I am sure, is kept from you
	To kepe my mayster in his pride, In the contré ye canne not byde	live
	Without ye stele and be thefys	Unless
150	And put meny men to greffys.	grief
	For he wyll drynke more in a houre	87
	Than two men may gete in fowre.	
	When ye have wrought all that ye canne,	
	Yit schall he never be thryfty mane."	Still
155	Than bespake the Polyff	Pulley (Block and tackle)
	With gret strong wordys and styffe:	fierce
	"How, Syr Twyvet? Me thinke you grevyd.	disturbed
	What devyll who hath you thus mevyd?	
160	Thof he spend more in a yere Of gold and sylver than thou may bere,	
100	I schall hym helpe with all my myght;	
	I trow to make hym yet a knyght."	
	"What, Syr?" seyd the Wyndas-Rewle,	Windlass
	"Me thynke thou arte bot a fole.	
165	For thou spekys oute of seson;	untimely (improperly)
	He may not thé therfor by reson.	
	A carpenter to be a knyght?	
	That were ever ageyn ryght.	against
150	Therfor I schall telle thee a saw:	proverb
170	Who so wold be hyghe he schall be law."	low (humble)
	"Ye," than seyd the Rewle-Stone, "Mayster hath many fone,	Ruler (Straight-Edge)
	And ye wold helpe at his nede,	foes If
	My mayster schuld the better spede.	fare better
175	Bot whatsoever ye brage or boste,	jare seach
	My mayster yet schall reule the roste.	roost
fol. 25r	For as I ame a trew man,	
	I schall hym helpe all that I cane."	
	The Gowge seyd, "The devyles dyrte	Gouge (Chisel); dirt (filth)

180	For any thyng that thow cane wyrke!	
	For all that ever thou canne do,	,
	It is not worth an old scho.	shoe
	Thow hast be prentys this seven yere,	apprentice
185	And yit thy crafte is for to lere.	still to be learned
100	And thou couthe wyrke als wele as he, Yet schall thi mayster never thé."	If you could work as well
	"Softe, syr," seyd the Gabull Rope,	Hush; Cable
	"Me thinke gode ale is in your tope.	11usn, Caole head
	For thou spekys as thou wold fyght,	пеца
190	Therto and thou hade any myght.	If you had any strength thereto
100	I schall tell thee another tale:	1) you had any strength thereto
	My mayster how I schall aveyle.	assist
	Hayle and pull I schall full faste	Haul
	To reyse housys whyle I may laste.	
195	And so within a lytell thraw,	short while
	My mayster gode schall not be know."	be unknown (uncountable)
	Than spake the Wryghtys Wyfe,	Carpenter's
	"Nother of you schall never thryfe,	Neither; ever
	Nother the mayster ne the man,	
200	For nothinge that ye do canne.	
	For ye wyll spend in a moneth	month
	More gode than thre men hath."	
	The Squyre seyd, "What sey ye dame?	Square
	Ye schuld not speke my mayster schame."	
205	"Squyre, I have non other cause,	
	I suere thee by Seynt Eustase;	
	For all the yerne that I may spynne,	yarn
	To spend at ale he thinkys no synne.	
	He wyll spend more in an owre	hour
210	Than thou and I cane gete in fowre."	
	"Yit me thinke ye be to blame	
	To gyffe my mayster syche a name.	
	For thoff he spend more than ye have,	
015	Yit his worschype ye schuld save."	reputation; protect
215	"Mary, I schrew hym and thee to,	curse
	And all them that so canne do.	
	For hys servant I trow thou be, Ther thou schall never thé.	
	For and thou lerne that craft at hym,	if from him
220	Thy thryft I trow schall be full thine."	if; from him thin (meager)
fol. 25v	The Draught Nayle than spake he,	Nail Puller
101. 257	And seyd, "Dame, that is no le.	lie
	Ye hafe the maner of this frekys	know the habits; men
	That thus for my mayster spekys.	in favor of
225	Bot lythe to me a lytell space:	listen; short while
 ~	I schall yow tell all the case,	essecti, strone without

	How that they wyrke for ther gode —	
	I wyll not lye, be the rode.	cross
	When thei have wroght an oure or two,	worked
230	Anon to the ale thei wyll go	
	And drinke ther, whyle thei may dre	while they can continue
	'Thou to me!' and 'I to thee!'	
	And seys, 'The Ax schall pay for this;	
	Therfor the cope ons I wyll kys.'	cup once I will kiss (i.e., drink)
235	And when thei come to werke ageyne,	
	The Belte to hys mayster wyll seyne,	Mallet
	'Mayster, wyrke not oute of reson;	unreasonably
	The dey is vary long of seson.	
	Smale strokys late us hake,	hack
240	And sum tyme late us es oure bake.'	ease
	The Wymbull spekys lyke a syre:	Auger
	'Sevyn pens of a dey is smale hyre	small wages
	For wryghtys that wyrke so faste	carpenters who
	And in owre werke have grete haste.'	
245	The Groping Iren seys full sone,	Gouge
	'Mayster, wyll ye wele done?	
	Late us not wyrke to we suete	until we sweat
	For cachyng of over-gret hete.	For fear of overheating
	For we may after cold to take,	catch a cold
250	Than on stroke may we no hake.'	[So] that we cannot hack one stroke
	Than bespake the Whetston,	
	And seyd, 'Mayster, we wyll go home,	
	For fast it draw unto the nyght;	
255	Our soper by this I wote is dyght.'	I believe is ready
255	The Lyne and Stone, the Perser and Fyle,	Awl
	Seys, 'That is a gode counsylle.'	advice
	The Crow, the Pleyn, and the Squyre	Crowbar; Plane; Square
	Seys, 'We have arnyd wele our hyre.'	earned
0.00	And thus with fraudys and falsyd	frauds and falsehood
260	Is many trew man deseyvid.	
	Therfor, by ought that I canne se,	
	They schall never thryve ne thé.	
	Therfor the craft I wyll go froo	
C 1 OC	And to another wyll I goo."	1 11 4 11 \
fol. 26r	Than answerd the Wyfe in hye,	loudly (proudly)
266	"And I myght, so wold I,	If I could
	Bot I ame to hym bounde so faste	
	That off my halter I may not caste.	
970	Therfor the preste that bounde me prentys,	priest who put me in service
270	He schall treuly have my curse,	
	And ever schall have, to that I dyghe, In what contré that ever he be."	until I die
	Therfor, wryghtys, take hede of this,	

275	That ye may mend that is amysse, And treuly that ye do your labore, For that wyll be to your honour. And greve you nothing at this song, Bot ever make many yourselve amongs.	[So] that; what is amiss
280	Bot ever make mery yourselve amonge, Ne gest at hym that it dud make, Ne envy at hym ye take, Ne non of you do hym blame.	Nor scoff at him that did make it
	For-why the craft hath do hym schame By mo weys than two or thre, Thus seys the boke, serteynlye.	Because; has done more
285	God, that is both gode and hend, Gyff you grace that ye may mend,	gracious
	And bryng us all unto His blysse, That never fro us schall mysse. AMEN QUOD RATE	depart
	17. A PRAYER AT THE LEVATION Welcom, Lord, in forme of bred.	in the form of the Eucharist
	In thee is both lyffe and ded; Jhesu is thi name.	death
5	Thow arte God in Trinyté, Lord, thou have mercy of me, And kepe thou me fro schame.	
	Hayll Fader, heyll Sone, Heyll Holy Gost fro heven come;	
10	Heven kyng thou arte crouned. Heyll man of myghtys most, Fader and Son and Holy Gost; Of a meyd thou were borne.	greatest power
1.5	Heyll Jhesu, blyssed mote thou be, Heyll blyssed blossom on tre;	may
15	Welcom be thi sond. Heyll frute, heyll floure, Heyll Jhesu our savyowre, In water and on londe.	command (message)
20	Heyll kyng, heyll knyght, Heyll man of most myght,	
	Prince syttyng in trone. Heyll the Sone of most honour,	throne
	Heyll duke and emperour Of all this werldys wone.	world's abundance

fol. 26v	Heyll flessch, heyll blode,	
26	Heyll Jhesu of myld mode,	spirit
	Heyll be thou kynge.	
	Heyll be thou bred beste,	
	Heyll Fader feyrest;	
30	Thou madyst all thing.	
	Heyll rose upon ryse,	rose on the stem
	Heyll perle of price,	
	Heyll God that alle thinge woste,	knows
	Heyll Fader, Son, and Holy Goste;	
35	Welcom in forme of brede.	

18. THE KNIGHT WHO FORGAVE HIS FATHER'S SLAYER

	Bytwyx two knyghtys beyond the se	Between
	Fell a gret conteke to be.	Happened a great argument (feud)
	Bytwyx them fell syche wreth and wo,	such wrath and suffering
	That the one weyted the other to slo.	plotted (ambushed); slay
5	This sleyne knyght hade a chyld,	piotiea (amousnea), stay
3	A doughty bachyler and wyld.	noung height, hagdstrong
	This chyld toke hym to rede	young knight; headstrong decided
		death
	For to venge his fader dede.	
10	He gate hym grete power and myght	acquired
10	To be sege the other knyght.	.11
	The other knyght perseyved hym wele,	observed
	And droff hym to his best castelle.	withdrew himself
	Than was he besegyd so streytly	
1 -	That he durste com out on no party	in no way
15	Of al the twelve moneth, with no deseyte,	For twelve months; truly
	So was he beseged streyte.	narrowly
	Messe ne matyns he ne herd,	
	Ne never to the chirch he ferd.	went
	And it was in the Lentyn tyde,	time of Lent
20	When men schuld leve wreth and pride.	set aside
	Than fell it on the God Frydey,	Good
	The knyght that in the castell ley	
	Lukyd out and saw men go	
	To the chyrche to and fro.	
25	Barefote to the chyrch thei yede	went
	To aske mersy for there mysdede.	
	The knyght thought, "It is long gone	
	That Messe at the chirch I herd none.	Mass; heard any
	Whatsoever God for me wyll wyrche,	do
30	I wyll ryse and go to the chyrche."	
fol. 27r	He drew of his hose and schone,	took off; shoes
101. 471	The dress of the hope and senone,	won off, shoes

	And dude the gatys be undone. Barefote he yede, as is the gyse,	commanded the gates fashion
	To chirch to here Godys servys.	fasition
35	And as he the wey to the chirche name,	took
	His enmy sone agens hym came,	
	And seyd, "Tratoure, now schall thou dyghe,	
	And my faders deth full dere abyghe.	pay for
	No werldys gode thee schall save,	worldly good
40	Bot thou thi deth of me schall have."	, ,
	The knyght saw non other bote,	remedy
	Bot fell on kneys before his fote,	
	And seyd, "Of me thou have mersy,	
	For hym that lyght in the virgyne Mary	was incarnated
45	And soferyd deth on the rode tre	cross
	This dey, to save both thee and me,	
	And forgaffe hym that his blod spylte;	them who spilled his blood
	Right so thou forgyff me that gylte.	
	I ame as a prisonere in this place;	
50	I put me now all in thi grace,	
	That Godys grace be on thee lente	
	At the dey of jugemente."	
	This knyght that was his enmy	
	Herd hym praye so reufolly,	pitifully
55	And seyd, "Seth thou haste me besought	Since; beseeched
	For Jhesu love that dere us bought,	
	And for his moder love so dere,	
	For them I grante thee my powere."	i.e., power over you
60	This iche chyld sone doune lyght,	This same; down leapt [from his horse]
60	And in gode love kyssed the knyght.	C
	"We be now frendys that are were wrothe;	formerly
	Go we now to the chyrche bothe,	man A
	In gowd love and perfyte charyté, For his sake that ordered thus to be "	good
65	For his sake that ordeynd thus to be." The knycht was glad yeraly	
03	The knyght was glad veraly, And so were all that compeny,	
	That he foregyff them this mysdede,	
	And to the chyrch than both thei yede.	went
	Befor the cros thei knelyd doune,	Were
70	In the worschyppe of Jhesus Passyon,	
• •	For to kysse the crosse that dey,	
	As custom is in Crysten ley.	religion
	The elder knyght for honour	O
	Yede fyrst and kyst hys creatour.	
75	After than yede the chyld,	
	That was become meke and myld,	
	With the tokyn he gane hym blysse	sign of the cross
	And knelyd downe the crosse to kys.	

fol. 27v	The crusyfix that there was leyd	
80	His arme fro the crosse uppe brayd	rose up
	And clyped the chyld hym betwyx,	embraced
	And sethe he kyssed the crusyfix.	then
	All the perysch, bothe olde and yenge,	parish
	Perseyved and saw that clyppenge	embracing
85	And how the crucyfyx hym kyste.	
	Thei saw it all and wele it wyste,	knew
	And thei thankyd suete Jhesu	
	Of that merakyll and that vertu.	
	Of this chyld was grete selcouthe	wonder
90	That the crucyfix kyste his mouthe;	
	Nevertheles yit, iwys,	Yet nevertheless, indeed
	In his herte was mych blys,	
	And all the folke that saw that thing	
	Made to God grete thankyng.	
95	Of thes two knyghtys how it betyde	
	The merakyll sprong wele wyde,	became widely known
	And every man therof gan tell.	began to talk
	Prestys in prechingys therof can spell,	Priests in sermons; speak
	So that every man in that contré	•
100	Lyve well the more in charité,	
	And all men the soner forgave	sooner
	Ther wreth that thei to other have.	
	Sykyr thou be he was ryght wele	Sure
	That God for hym dude sych merakell.	performed
105	A sygne it was of grete love	sign
	That God allmyghty of heven above	G
	Preferd hym to kys so lawly,	lowly (humbly)
	For he mekyd his herte so hye.	humbled; high (proud)
	Now may ye se God loves them dere	. 8 4
110	That forgyve ther wreth in this werld here;	
	So schall his wreth on hym be sene	
	That here wyll not forgyffe ther tene.	the wrong done to them
	Therfore prinsypally I hold it beste	O
	For to love pece and lyve in reste.	
115	And that it myght so be,	
	Prey we all for charité.	
	AMEN QUOD RATE	
	~	

19. THE ERLE OF TOLOUS

5

Jhesus Cryst in Trinité,
O God and persons thre,
Gyff us wele to spede.
And gyff us grace so to do
That we may come thi blysse unto,

fol. 28r	On rode as thou dydest blede. Leve lordys, I schall yow tell Of a case that some tyme fell	cross Dear
	Fer in a unkuth land:	unknown (distant)
10	How a lady had gret myscheffe,	misfortune
	And how sche keverde of her greve,	recovered from her grief
	I pray yow understond.	
	Som tyme ther was in Almane	Germany
	An emperoure of mekyll mane;	much might
15	Sir Dioclysian he hyght.	was called
	He was a bold man and a stoute:	brave
	All Crysten men of hym dyde doute,	fear
	He was so strong in syght.	
90	He desyret many man,	disinherited
20	And falsly he ther londys wane	won
	With maystres and with myght.	force
	Tyll it befell upon a dey, A werre wakenede, as I you sey	arosa
	Betwyxx hym and a knyght.	arose
	betwykk flyfir and a knygne.	
25	The Erle of Tolas, Syr Barrard,	
	The Emperour with hym was hard	hostile
	And gretly was his fo.	
	He had raught oute of his hond	taken (stolen)
	Thre hundreth pond worth of lond;	
30	Therfor he was fulle wo.	
	He was a hardy man and stronge,	
	And the Emperour dyd hym wronge	
	And other men also.	
	This Emperour had a wyfe,	
35	The fayrest lady that ever had lyve,	
	Save Mary full of myght,	Except
	And therto gode in all thinge,	
	Of almus dede and of god bering,	almsgiving; good conduct
40	Bothe by dey and nyght.	1
40	Of hyr body sche was trew	chaste
	As ever lady that man knew,	hamatiful
	And therto most bryght. To the Emperour sche gan sey,	beautiful
	"Leve lord, I yow pray,	Dear
45	Delyver the Erle his ryght."	Return; rightful property
10	zei, et die zite iiis i, gite.	Twown, regarden property
	"Dame," he seyd, "late it be.	let
	That dey schall thou never se,	
	If I may ryde aryght,	

50	That he schall have his lond ageyn. Fyrst I schall brek hym, bake and breyn, As I ame trew knyght.	his back and skull
	He werres fast on my lond; I schall be redy at his hond, Within this fourtnyght."	
fol. 28v	He sent a bone everywher	command ment
56	That all men schuld make hem yare Agene the erle to fyght.	themselves ready
	He lete cry in every syde, Thorow his lond ferre and wyd,	
60	Bothe in feld and towne;	
	All that myght wepyn bere,	
	Suerd, arblast, scheld and spere,	Sword, crossbow, shield
	That they schuld be redy boune. The Erle on his syde also,	readily prepared
65	With fourty men and mo,	
	With sperys and suerdys broune,	shining
	One dey therof was sette.	
	When thei togeder mette,	
	Was crakyd many a crowne.	
70	The Emperour had batels sene.	
	To them he spake with wordys kene,	fierce
	And seyd, "So mote I thryve,	may I
	Be now redy for to fyght;	
	Bete and smyte them downe ryght,	T.
75	And leve non one lyve.	none alive
	Loke that non raunsond be, Nether for gold ne for fe,	ransomed
	Bot sley with suerd and knyve."	
	For all his boyste, he feyled yete.	boast; still failed
80	The Erle manly hym dyde mete	J
	With strokys gode and ryfe.	plentiful
	They made batell on every syde;	
	Men together gane ther ryde	
	With scheld and many a spere.	
85	They leyd on as thei wer wode	charged; crazy
	Both with suerd and axes gode;	
	Full hedosly it was to here.	hideous; hear
	Ther were schaftys crakyde	, 1
90	And scheldys all to-schakyd;	splintered
30	Hambracys thei all to-tere. The Erle hymselve a suerd drewe:	Hauberks (coats of armor); tore apart

	Two hundred men therwith he slewe; He was so wyght in were.	mighty
	The was so wyght in were.	megreey
O.E	Many a stede styked was,	stabbed
95	And many a bold baron in that place Ley luburryng in his blod.	wallowing
	So myche blod ther was spylte	autoung
	That the feld was overhylled,	covered
100	As it hade ben a flode.	
100	Many a body and many a hede, Many a doughty knyght was dede,	
	That were some tyme wyld and wode.	furious
fol. 29r	Many a wyfe may sytte and wepe,	
105	That was wonte softe to slepe	.,,
105	And now gamys them no gode.	no pleasure amuses them
	The Erle of Tolas wane the feld.	won
	The Emperoure stod and hym byheld.	
	Full fast gane thei fle	
110	To a castell them bysyde; Feyn he was his hede to hyde,	
110	And with hym erles thre.	
	No mo, for soth, scapyd awey,	escaped
	Bot thei were slayne or teynte that dey;	wounded
115	It myght non other be. The Erle tyll nyght folowyd the chas,	not be otherwise chase (retreat)
113	And seth he thankyd God of grace	thuse (retreat)
	That syttys in Trinyté.	
	Ther were sleyn in that batayll	
	Sixty thousand, withouten feyll,	
120	On the Emperoure syde.	
	Ther were take thre hundred and fyfty Of gret lordys, sykerly,	certainly
	With woundys wonder wyde.	condition
	On the Erlys syde ther was sleyn	
125	Bot twenti score, soth to seyn;	four hundred
	So boldly thei gan abyde. Sych grace God can send	fight
	That evyll quarell com to evyll end,	bad
	For ought that may betyde.	
130	Now the Emperour was full wo:	
	He had lost men and lond also	
	Sore than syghed he.	1. 1
	He swere by hym that dyghed on rode Mete ne drynk schall do hym gode,	cross; died
	where he drynk schan do nym gode,	

135	Or he avenged be.	Until
	The Emperas seyd, "Gode lorde,	
	Ye were better to be acorde, Be ought that I can se.	
	It is grete foly, sothly to telle,	
140	To be ageyn the trew quarelle;	just cause
	Be God, thus thinkys me."	·
	"Madame," seyd the Emperour,	
	"I have a grete dishonour;	
1.45	Therfor my hert it is wo.	
145	My erlys are sleyn and brought to ded; Therfor carefull is my rede.	
	Sorow wyll me slo."	slay
	Than seyd the lady Beulybon,	stay
	"Syr, I rede you, be Seynt John,	
150	Of were that ye ho.	From war; cease
	Ye do the wrong and not the ryght:	
	That may ye se right wele in syght,	
	By that and other mo."	more [evidence]
fol. 29v	Than the Emperour was evyll apayd;	badly pleased (angry)
155	It was sothe the lady seyd; Therfor hym lykyd ille.	truth
	He went awey and syghed sore;	
	No word to hyr he spake more,	
	Bot held hym wounder styll.	
160	Leve we now the Emperour in thought;	
	Gle ne game lykes hym nought,	
	So gretly he gan grylle.	grieve
	And to the Erle turne we ageyn, That thanked Cod with all his mayn	inht
165	That thanked God with all his mayn His grace he sent hym tyll.	might [That] he had sent his grace to him
103		[1 hai] he haa sem his grace to him
	The Erle Barard of Tolas	
	Had fell men of chevalrys	many
	Taken to hys prison.	
170	Mykell gode of them he hade;	C - 11 .11
170	I can not tell, so God me glad, So gret was ther raunson.	God help me
	Among them all he had one	ransom
	Was gretyst of them everychon,	each of them
	Lord of many a toune,	cach of them
175	Syr Tralabas of Turkey,	
	The Emperour eme, sykerly,	Emperor's uncle, certainly
	A lord of grete renowne.	-

180 185	So it befell onne a dey, The Erle went for to pley By a ryver syde. The Erle seyd, "Tralabas, Tell me, Syr, for Godys grace, A thyng that spryngys wyde, That your Emperour hath a wyfe, One of the feyrest on lyfe Of hew and eke of hyde. I suere by boke and by belle, Be sche als feyr as I here telle, Mekyll may be hys pride."	is widely known complexion and also of skin
190	Than ansuerd that lord anon ryght, "Be the order that I bere of knyght, The soth I schall telle thee: To seke the werld, more or lesse, Cristendom or hethenes,	
195	Is non so bryght of ble. Whyte as snow is hyr colour, Her rudde rede as ros floure. In syght who may her se, All men that ever werke wroght,	complexion complexion (cheeks) red as rose
200	Myght not thinke in thought A feyrer for to be."	
fol. 30ar	The Erle suere, "By Godys grace, This word in mournyng me mase, Thou seys sche is so bryght. Thy ranson here I thee forgyfe,	grieves me
206	My helpe, my love, whyll that I lyve. Therto my trouth I plyght, If it so be thou wyll bryng me	pledge my truth (honor)
210	In safe werd forth with thee Of her to have a syght, A hundred pownd with grete honour, To byghe thee hors and armour, As I ame trew knyght."	guard buy
215	Than ansuerd Syr Tralabas, "In that comandment, in this place, My trewthe I plyght to thee: I schall hold thi forwerd gode, To bryng thee with myld mode	your promise
220	In syght hyr to se. And therto I wyll hyll counsell, And never more, withouten feyle,	keep secret

225	Ageyn yow to be. I schall be trew, by Godys ore, To les myn owne lyffe therfore; Herdely treste to me."	grace To lose Confidently trust in me
	Than seyd the Erle wordys hende: "I truste to thee as for my frende, Withouton any stryffe	noble
230	Withouten any stryffe. Anon that we be buskyd yere On owre jorney for to fare, Forth to se that wyffe.	quickly prepared
235	I suere by God and by Seynt Andrew, If I fynd thee gode and trew, Riches schall be thee ryve." They lete nother for wynd ne weder, Bot forth thei gone bothe togeder,	abundant [for] you stopped neither for wind nor weather
	Withouten any stryffe. Thes knyghtys ne stynte ne blan	stopped nor tarried
240	To the cyté that thei rane That the Quen was inne.	Until they came (ran) to that city
	The Erle hymselve — more he drede —	feared
	Clothed hym in hermytys wede,	hermit's clothing
	Thoff he were of ryche kynne, For he wold not knowen be.	Although; birth
245	He duellyd ther deys thre	
410	And restyd hym with wyne.	pleasure
	He bethought hym on a dey,	[Tralabas] thought to himself
	That gode Erle to betrey;	
	Falsly than he began.	
250	Anon he went on hys wyse	
	To chamber to the Emperys	
	And set downe on hys kne.	
	He seyd, "He that heryd hell	harrowed hell
055	Kepe yow fro all perell	
255	If that his wyll it be.	
	Madam," he seyd, "be Jhesus I have the Erle of Tollous —	
	Owre most fo is he."	greatest
	"In what maner," the lady gan sey,	8
260	"Is he come, I thee praye? Anon tell thou me."	
fol. 30av	"Madame, I was in prisone;	
	He hath forgyff me my ranson,	
	By God full of myght.	

265	And all it is for the love of thee,	
	So sore he langys thee to se,	
	Madam, ons in syght. A hundred pownd I have to mede,	once
	Armour and a nobull stede.	as reward
270	For sothe, I have hym hyght	promised
-	That he schall se yow his fyll,	promised
	Ryght at his awne wyll;	
	Therto my treuth I plyght.	
	"I adv ha is to us a far	
275	"Lady, he is to us a fo; I rede, therfor, that we hym slo.	advice: clan
413	He hath don us grete grylle."	advise; slay grief
	The lady seyd, "So mote I go,	griej
	Thy soule is lorn if thou do so;	lost
	Thi trewthe thou schall fullfylle.	
280	Sen he forgaff thee thy rawnson	Since
	And lowys thee oute of prison,	allows
	Do wey that wekyd wyll.	Do away with
	Late thou never that jentyll knyght,	Hinder
	Also ferre forth as thou myght,	fare (do)
285	So fere no maner of ill.	
	"Tomorow when thou herys Messe bell,	Mass bell
	Brynge hym to my chapell,	
	And thinke on no slowthe.	do not be sluggish
	Ther schall he se me at hys wyll,	
290	Thi comandment to fullfyll.	
	I rede thou hald thi treuthe.	
	Sertys, and thou hym begyle,	if you beguile him
	Thi saule is in gret perell,	Ç
295	Sythe thou arte at his othe. Sertys it were a traytorry	Since
493	For to weyt hym with vylony;	treachery lie in wait for
	Sothly it were grete reuthe."	pity
	soun) is were green reduce.	Puly
	This knyght to the Erle wente;	
	In his herte he held hym schent,	shamed
300	For his wyked thought.	
	He seyd, "Syr, so mote I thé,	may I prosper
	Tomorow thou schall my lady se;	
	Therfor desmay thee nought.	
005	When we here the messe belle,	
305	I schall bryng thee to hyr chapelle;	
	Theder sche schall be brought.	, , , , , ,
	By the oryell syde stond thou styll:	bay window (alcove)

	Than schall thou se her at thi wyll, That is so worthely wroght."	
fol. 30br 311	The Erle seyd, "I hold thee trewe. And that schall thee never rewe, As forth as I may."	regret
315	In hys herte he wax glad. "Fyll the wyne," the Erle bad, "This goyht to my pay!"	goes to my liking
	Ther he restyd that nyght. On the morn he gan hym dyght In armytys aray. When thei range unto the messe,	dress hermit's clothes
320	To the chapell gan thei passe To se that lady geye.	
	They had standen bot a whyle, The montans of halfe a myle; Than came the lady fre.	stood space (see note)
325	Two erlys her lede; Wonder rychely sche was clede, In gold and ryche perré.	clad jewels
330	When he se hyr in syght, Hym thoght sche was als bryght As blossom on the tre. Of all the syghtys that ever he seyghe,	
	Ne rysed never hys herte so heyghe, Sche was so bryght of ble.	countenance
335	Sche stode styll in that place; All displeyd was here face For love of that knyght.	
0.40	He beheld wele here face, And swore by Godys grace, He se never syche a syght.	
340	Hyr eene were gray as glas; Mouth and nose schapyn was At all maner of ryght. Fro the forhed to the too,	eyes were shaped
345	Better schapyn myght non goo, Ne non semblyer in syght.	more seemly (beautiful)
	Thrys sche turned hyre abowte Betwen the erles that were stoute, For that lord schuld here se.	
350	Hyr sydes were long, hyre medyll small, Schulder and armys ther withall;	

355	Feyrer myght non be. Hyr hondys white as whalys bone With long fyngeres that feyre schone, Hyr nayles bryght of ble. When sche spake with myld steven, Sche semyd an angyll of heven, So sembly sche was to se.	color voice
360	When he had seyn hyr wonder wele, The lady went to hyr oryell Messe for to here.	chapel
fol. 30bv	The Erle stode on that other syde; His eyn fro hyr he myght not hyde,	eyes
0.07	So lovely sche was of chere. He seyd, "Lord God full of myght,	
365	Leve that I were so worthy a knyght That I myght be her fere, And that sche non husbond hade.	Allow companion
	Alle the gode that ever God made To me were not so dere."	
370	When messe was don to the ende, The lady was feyr and hende; To the chambyr gan sche fare. The Erle syghed and was full wo;	noble
375	Oute of syght when sche was go, His mowrnyng was the more. The Erle seyd, "So God me save, Of hyr allmus I wyll crave,	alms
380	If that hir wyll were." If he myght gete of that lady fre Every dey ons hyr to se,	
	That wold kever hym of care. The Erle knelyd doune full ryght	cure him from sorrow
20*	And askyd gode, for God almyght That dyghed on the tre.	tree (cross)
385	The Emperas sone callyd a knyght: "Fourty florens of gold bryght," Sche seyd, "bryng thou to me." To the ermyte sche it payd.	florins (coins)
390	Of hyr fynger a ryng sche leyd Among that gold so fre. He thankyd hyr, as I you sey. To the chamber went that lady gey,	
	Ther hyr was levyst to be.	Where; most pleased

	The Erle went to his innes;	inn
395	A gret joy he begynes	
	When he fond that ryng.	
	In hys herte he wax blythe	
	And kyssed it many a sythe.	time
	He seyd, "My dere derlyng,	
400	On thi fynger this was;	
	Wele is me I have that grace,	
	Of thee to have this ryng.	
	If I ever gete grace of that Quen,	
	That any love be us betwen,	
405	This may be owre tokenyng."	
	Then, erly as it was dey,	as soon as
	He toke his leve and went his wey	as soon as
	Into his awne countré.	
	Syr Tralabas he thankyd fast:	
410	"Of this dede that thou don hast,	
110	Well yeldyd it schall be."	rahaid
	They kyssed togeder as gode frend.	repaid
	Syr Tralabas gane home wend;	
	That evyll mote he thé.	man he breeker
fol. 31r	A tratery he thought to do,	may he prosper
416	,	treachery
410	If he myght come therto;	wicked
	So schrewyd in herte was he.	wickea
	Anon he callyd two knyghtys,	
	Herdy men at all ryghtys;	
420	Bothe were of ryche kynd.	noble birth
	He seyd, "Syrres, withouten feyll,	
	If that ye wyll hold counseylle,	keep a secret
	Gret worschip schall ye wyne.	
	Know ye the Erle of Tolous?	
425	Mykell schame he hath don us;	
	His bost I rede we blyne.	I suggest we put a stop to his pride
	Wyll ye don after my rede,	[If] you will act according to my advice
	This dey he schall be ded,	
	So God save me fro synne."	
430	The one hyght Kankerus, that other Kayne;	
	Falser men myght none reyn,	live (exist)
	Sertys, than were tho.	those
	Syr Tralabas was the thyrd.	
	It was no masterry hym to byde	need for them to wait
435	After hym to go.	·
	At the bryge thei hym mette:	
	With herd stokys thei hym bette,	sticks

440	As men that were his foo. Fast he faught them ageyn: The Erle was man of mekyll meyn; Thus sone he slew the two.	might
	The third fled and blew oute fast.	got winded
	He overtoke hym at the laste; His hed he cleft in thre.	
445	The countré gederyd sone in haste	gathered
	And after hym thei ranne faste;	S
	Feyn he was to fle.	
	The Erle of them he was agast;	
450	At the last fro them he past — Feyne he was to fle.	Glad
130	Fro them he went into the west	Giaa
	To rest hym ther as he caste best;	reckoned
	A ware man was he.	careful
	All the nyght in that forest	
455	The gentyll Erle he toke his rest;	
	He had non other wone.	dwelling
	When the dey dawyd he aros uppe son And thankyd God that sytte in throne	dawned
	That he had scapyd hys fone.	foes
460	That dey he travellyd many a myle,	j
	And oft he was in gret perylle	
	Be wey as he gan gon.	
	To he come to a feyre castell Ther he was lowest to dual	governmed
465	Ther he was levyst to duell, Was made of lyme and stone.	accustomed
	Of his comyng his men were glad	
	"Be mery, my men," he seyd,	
C 1 01	"For nothing that ye spare.	1.
fol. 31v 470	The Emperoure, withouten les, I trow wyll late us be in pes	lies trust
170	And werre on us no more."	ii usi
	Thus duellyd the Erle in that place	
	With myrthe, game and solas,	entertainment
475	Ryght as hym levyst were.	accustomed
475	Late we now the Erle alone, And speke we now of Dame Beulybone,	
	How sche was cast in care.	
	The Emperoure lovyd his wyfe	
	Als mych as his awne lyffe,	
480	And more, if he myght.	

	He chese two knyghtys that were hym dere, Whereso he were, ferre or nere, To knyg hym day and nyght	dear to him Wherever he was
	To kepe hyr dey and nyght. The one on hyre his love he caste;	
485	So dyde the other, at the laste;	
	Sche was so feyre and bryght.	
	Nother of other wyst ryght nought;	knew at all
	So hertly love of them was sought, To dethe thei were nyghe dyght.	passionately; desired nearly brought
		, ,
490	So it befell upon a dey,	
	The one knyght to the other gan sey,	To an horse
	"Syr, als mote I thé, Mo thinke they fallyst all away	as I may prosper
	Me thinke thou fallyst all awey As a man that were clongon in cley,	fade stuck in the mud
495	So pale wexys thi ble."	waxes (becomes) your face
100	Than that other seyd, "I make a vow,	wanter (becomes) your face
	Right so faryst thow,	
	Wherfor so ever it be.	
	Tell me thi cause whi it is,	
500	And I wyll tell thee myn, so have I blys;	
	My trewthe therto I plyght."	
	"I grante," he seyd, "withouten feyll,	
	Bot loke that it be conseyll."	secret
	Therto his trouth he plight.	
505	He seyd, "My lady the Emperas,	
	For hyr I ame in gret duras:	duress
	To deth it wyll me dyght."	send
	Than seyd that other "Serteynly,	
510	Withowten doute, so fare I	
510	For that lady bryght. Sen bothe owre loves is on hire sette,	Since
	How myght owre bale be best bette?	suffering; bettered
	Canst thou owght rede us ryght?"	at all advise
	Than seyd that other, "Be Seynt John,	
515	Better councell knaw I none,	
313	Methinke, than is thys:	
	I rede that one of us two	
	Prively unto hyr go	
	And pray hyr of blys.	
fol. 32r	I myselve wyll go hyre tylle,	to her
521	And case be that I gett hyr wylle,	If the outcome
	Of myrth schall we not mysse.	
	Thow schall take us with the dede,	catch us in the act

525	And than of thee sche wyll have dred And grante thee thi wyll, iwys."	
	Thus thei were at one asente.	agreed
	This fals theff forth he went	0
	To wyte the ladys wylle.	know
	In chambyr he found hyr so fre;	
530	He sett hym doune on his kne,	
	His pourpos to fullfylle.	
	The lady seyd, "Stond uppe, my knyght. Who has wrethyd thee, dey or nyght,	provoked
	It schall lyke hym full yll.	ртооокеи
535	On thee seknes I may se,	
	Tell me now thi privyté:	secret
	Why thou mournyst so styll?"	
	"Lady," he seyd, "that dare I nought,	
	For all the gowd that ever God wroght,	
540	Be grete God invysebyll,	By
	Bot on a boke ye wyll swere	
	That ye schull me never diskere; Than were it possybyll."	betray
	Than were it possybyn. Than seyd the lady, "How may this be,	
545	That thou deryst not tryst me?	
0.10	Is it so orrybyll?	horrible
	Here my trouthe to thee I plyght:	
	I schall it hyll, dey and nyght,	conceal
	Als trew as boke or bybull."	
550	"Lady, in you is all my tryst.	
	Inwerdly I wold ye wyste	
	What peyn I sofer yow fore:	
	I droupe, I dayr, nyght and dey,	I sink down, I am overcome
555	My wytte, my welthe is all awey, Bot ye leve on my lore.	Unless; believe; words
555	I have you lovyd, par me fey,	by my faith
	Bot to yow I dorste not sey;	dared
	My mournyng is the more.	
	Bot ye do after my red,	Unless; according to my advice
560	Sertenly I ame bot ded;	
	Of my lyffe I make no store."	value
	Than ansuerd that lady blyth,	
	"Syr, wele thou wotyst I ame a wyfe!	know
KGE	My lord is the Emperowre:	7
565	He chesyd thee for trew knyght To kepe me bothe dey and nyght	chose
	To kepe me bome dey and nygnt	

	Under thi sokowre.	protection
	To do that if I asente,	
	I were worthy to be brente	burnt
570	And brought in grete dolowre.	sorrow
	Thow arte a traytore in thi saw,	speech
	Worthi to be hangyd and draw,	drawn
	Be Mary whyte as floure!"	
fol. 32v	"A Madam," seyd the knyght,	
575	"For the love of God almyght,	
	Hereon takyth gode hede:	
	In me ye may full wele trayst.	trust
	I dyd nothing bot yow tayst,	test
	Al so God me spede.	As God may help me
580	Thinke, madam: your treuth ye plyght	
	To hyll consell dey and nyght,	keep secret
	Ryghtfully for to rede.	to tell
	I aske mersy, for Godys ore;	grace
	Hereof yff I carpe any more,	speak
585	Lett me be draw with a stede."	drawn by a horse
	Than seyd the lady, "I thee forgyffe;	
	Al so longe as I here lyffe,	
	Consyll schall it be.	Secret
	Luke thou be a trew man	
590	In all thing that thow can	
	To my lord so fre."	
	"Yis, madam, els dyde I wrong,	
	For I have servyd hym ryght long	
	And wele he quiteht me."	repays
595	Therof carpyd thei no more,	spoke
	Bot to his felew he is fare,	
	That evyll mote thei thé.	may they prosper
	Thus to his felew he is gon,	
	And he hym freyned sone anon,	inquired
600	"Sey how hast thou sped."	fared
	"Ryght nought," seyd the other,	
	"Seth I was borne, lefe brother,	
	Was I never so sore adred.	
	Sertys it is a boteles bayle	hopeless case
605	To hyr to touche syche a tale,	mention such a matter (see note)
	At bord or at bede."	table
	Than seyd that other, "Thi wytt is thinne.	thin
	I myselfe schall hyr wynne,	
	I ley my hede to wedde."	as a wager

610	This passyd overal, I you sey,	
010	Tyll afterwerd, on the thyrd dey,	
	This knyght hym bethought:	
	"Sertys, spede how I may,	
	My ladys wyll, that is so gey,	
615	It schall be throught sought."	thoroughly discovered
010	When he sey hyr in best mode,	inoroughly discovered
	Sore syghand to hyr he yode,	Sorely sighing; went
	Of lyffe as he ne rought.	As if he cared not for his life
	"Lady," he seyd, "withouten feyle,	113 of the current hou for this life
620	Bot ye helpe me with your conceylle,	
040	In bale I ame browght."	misery
	She anguard wale gurtagly	
	She ansuerd wele curtasly, "My consyll is all redy:	
	Tell me how it is.	
fol. 33r	When I wote word and end,	
626	If my consell may it amend,	
040	It schall, so have I blys."	
	"Lady," he seyd, "I understand;	
	Ye must hold uppe your hond	
630	To hylle consyll iwys."	keep a secret indeed
000	"Yis," seyd that lady fre,	neep a seerer macea
	"Here my trewthe I plyght to thee,	
	And els I dyde amys."	
	, , ,	
	"Now lady," he seyd, "I dare tryst	
635	All my lyff if that ye wyst	knew
	Ye wyll me never dyskever.	betray
	For yow I ame in so grete thought;	
	In myche bale I ame brought —	misery
C 40	Withowten othe I swere.	
640	And that ye mey full wele se,	
	How pale and wanne I ame of ble,	appearance
	I dyghe nyghe for the dere.	nearly die; wound
	Dere lady, grante me thi love,	
CAF	For love of hym that sytys abofe	. 11 1/ .1
645	That stong was with a spere."	stabbed (on the cross)
	"Syr," sche seyd, "is that thi wyll?	
	If it were myn, than dyd I ille;	
	What woman holdys thou me?	
250	In thi kepyng I have bene;	
650	What hast thou herd by me or sene	
	That towchys to vylany,	comes near
	That thou in hert arte so bold,	_
	As I were hore or scold?	whore or shrew

655	Ney, that schall thou never se. Ne had I thee hyght to hyll consell, Than schuld hong, withouten feyll, On the galew tre."	promised to keep it secret
	This knyght was never so sore aferd Sethe he was borne in mydell erde,	afraid middle earth
660	Sertys, as he was tho.	
	"Mercy," he seyd, "gode madame,	
	Wele I wote I ame to blame;	
	Therfor my herte is wo.	
CCF	Lady, late me not be spyld.	ruined
665	I aske mersy for my gylte:	
	On lyfe ye late me go." Than seyd the lady, "I grante wele	
	I schall hille consyll every dele,	
	Bot do thou no more so."	
670	Now this knyght forthe yede	
	And seyd, "Felow, I ame not sped.	successful
	What is thi best rede?	
	Yiffe sche tell my lord of this,	
CTT	We ben take, so have I blys;	will be imprisoned
675 fol. 33v	For hym I ame adrede.	
101. 33v	Womans tunge is evyll to tryste; Sertys, if my lord it wyste,	knew
	Eten were all oure brede.	(see note)
	Felew, so mote I ryde or go,	may
680	Or sche weyt us with that wo,	Before she catches
	Hyrselve schall be dede."	J
	"How myght that be?" the other seyde.	
	"In hert I wold be well apeyd	pleased
COF	Myght we don that dede."	
685	"Yis syr," he seyd, "or I have wo,	
	I schall bryng hyr wele therto, Therof have thou no drede.	
	Or it pas deys thre,	Before three days pass
	In myche sorow schall sche be;	Before unree days pass
690	Thus I schall quyte hyr mede."	pay her reward
	Now are thei bothe at asente	agreed
	In sorow to bryng this lady gente —	gentle
	The devyll mote them spede!	may; aid
	Sone it drew towerd the nyght.	
695	To the soper thei were dyght,	come
	The Emperas and they all.	

	Thos two knyghtys grete japes made For to make this lady glade,	jokes (pranks)
	That was so jente and smalle.	noble
700	When that the soper tyme was don,	
	To the chamer thei went sone,	chamber
	Knyghtys clade in paule.	fine cloth
	Thei dansyd and revyld all bedene,	revelled all together
705	To bryng to deth that lady schene —	beautiful
705	To fowle mot them befalle!	To evil may they fall
	That o theff callyd a knyght	one
	That kervyd befor that lady bryght,	carved
	An erle sone was he.	
	He was a feyr chyld and bold,	
710	Twenti wynter he was old,	
	In lond was non so fre.	
	"Syr, wyll thou do as I schall sey,	
	And we schall ordeyn us a pley	devise a game
	That my lady may se.	
715	Thow schall make hyr laughe so,	
	Those sche were gretly thi fo,	
	Thi frend than schall sche be."	
	The chyld ansuerd anon ryght,	
	"Be the ordour that I bere of knyght,	
720	I wyll be wele feyn,	
	Thoff it schuld me dysses,	distress
	And it wold my lady ples,	
	To go in wynd and reyn."	
	"Syr, make you nakyd save your breke.	breeches
725	Byhind the curtayn that ye crepe,	
	And do as I yow seyn,	
fol. 34r	Sone schall ye se a joly pley."	
	"I graunte," this yong knyght gan sey,	
	"Be God and Seynt Germayn."	
730	Thys yong knyght thought of non yll;	
	Of he cast hys clothes styll,	
	Behynd the curteyn he wente.	
	They seyd to hym, "What so befalle,	
	Com not owte or we calle."	before
735	He seyd, "Seres, I grante."	
	They rewellyd forth a gret whyll;	reveled
	No man wyst of ther gyle	
	Save thei two, verament.	truly
	They avoyded chamberys anon;	left

740	Child ther they left alone, And that lady gente.	
	The lady ley in bed and slepe; Of treson toke sche no kepe, For theroff wyst sche nought.	
745	This chyld had gret wounder among That the knyghtys taryed so long; He was in many a thought.	delayed
750	"Lord mersy, how may this be? I trow thei have forgotyn me That me hether brought.	
	If I them call, sche wyll be adred, My lady that lygheth in hyr bed, Be hym that hath all wrought."	afraid lies
755	Thus he sate, styll as stone; He durste not styre, ne make no mon To make the lady afryght.	
	Thys fals men, thei wrought hym wo: To ther chamber gan thei go And armyd them full ryght.	
760	Lordys of beddys gan thei calle, Bothe the grete and the smale: "Arme you anon, that ye were dyght	[out] of beds prepared
765	And helpe to take a fals traytour That with my lady is in bowre, Hathe pleyd hym all this nyght!"	bedroom enjoyed himself
	Sone thei were armyd everychon; With the traytorys gane thei gon, Lordys that ther were.	
770	To the Emperas chamber thei com ryght, With suerd and with tourchys bryght Brynnand them before. Behynd the curteyn thei went: Thys yong knyght, verament,	Burning
775	Naked founde thei there. That o knyght with a suerd of werre Throughe the body gan hym bere, That werd spake he no more.	[So] that he spoke not a word again
fol. 34v	The lady awoke and was afryght When sche se the grete lyght	afraid
780	Befor the bede syde. Sche seyd, "Benedicité!	Bless us Dear
	Leve serys, what men be ye?"	Dear

	And wounder loude sche cryed.	
	Hyre enmys ansuerd ther,	
785	"We ben here, thou fals hore.	
	Thy dedys we have askryed.	discovered
	For thou hast ben a hore to my lord,	
	Thow schall have wondryng in this werld;	suffering
	Thi name schall spryng full wyde."	be widely known
790	The lady swore, "Be Seynt John,	
	Howre was I never none,	
	Ne never non thought to be!"	
	"Thow lyghest," thei seyd, "thi worschipe is lorn."	honor is lost
	The corse thei leyd hyr beforne:	corpse
795	"Lo, here is thi leman fre:	sweetheart
	Thus for thee we have hym hytte.	
	Thi hordom schall be full wele quyte;	repaid
	Fro us schall thou no wey fle."	
	They bound the lady wonder fast	
800	And in a depe doungyon hir cast;	
	Grete dole it was to se.	
	Leve we now this lady in kare,	
	And to hyr lorde wyll I fare,	
	That ferre was hyr fro.	
805	On a nyght, withouten lette,	without fail (truly)
	In his slepe a swevyn he mette;	he had a dream
	The story tellys us so.	
	Hym thowght ther were two wyld bore	
	That his wyfe had all to-tore	torn apart
810	And rofe hyr body in two.	ripped
	Hymselfe was a myghty man,	11
	And by that dreme he trowyd than	believed
	His lady was in wo.	
	Erly when the dey was clere,	
815	He bad his men all in fere	together
	To buske and make them yere.	hurry; ready
	Cartys he lete go before,)
	And charyetys stuffyd with store	
	Were twelve score myle and more.	
820	He trowyd wele in his herte	believed
	That his wyff was not in quarte;	safety
	His hert was in care.	sayory
	He never stynt tyll he was dyght,	ceased; prepared
	With erlys, barons, and many a knyght,	r. Parou
825	And home gane he fare.	
040	That nome Same he lare.	

	Nyght ne dey never he blanne,	stopped
	Tyll to that cyté he came	11
	Thar the lady was in.	
fol. 35r	Wythouten the cyté thei hym kepte	
830	For wo in herte mani one wepte;	many a one
	Ther terys myght not blyn.	stop
	They trowyd wele, if he it wyste	knew
	That his wyffe had syche bryste,	misfortune
	His joy wold be full thyne.	thin
835	They lede stedys to stalle,	
	And sone the lord to the halle	soon [lead] the lord
	To wyrschype hym with wynne.	joy
	Anon he went to his chamber fre;	
	Hym longyd his feyre lady to se	
840	That was so suete and white.	
	He callyd them that schuld hyr kepe:	
	"Wher is my wyfe? Is sche onn slepe?	
	How farys that byrd bryght?"	
	Thys traytors ansuerd anon,	
845	"If ye wyst how sche hath don,	
	To deth sche schall be dyght.	condemned
	And therfor syre, be not wroth:	
	Sche schall never were of your cloth,	wear your cloth
	Be dey nother by nyght."	
850	"What, devyll?" he seyd "How is this,	
	That deth is sche worthy to?	
	Tell me in what maner?"	
	"The yong knyght, Syr Antore,	
	That befor hyr dyd schere,	carve
855	By that lady hathe leyn.	
	In this maner we have hym slayn;	
	We fonde them in fere.	together
	Sche is in prison, verament;	assuredly (in good faith)
	The law wyll that sche be schent,	demands; condemned
860	By God that bought us dere."	
	"Alas," seyd the Emperour,	
	"Hath sche don me this dyshonor,	
	And I lovyd hyr so wele?	
	I wend for all this werldys gode	
865	Sche wold not have turnyd hyr mode	changed her mind
	My joy for to kele."	to cool (extinguish) my joy
	He hente a knyfe with all his mayn,	seized; might
	Ne knyghtys had ben, he hade be slayn:	Had knights not been [there]
	That traytorys have unsell.	May these traitors have unhappiness

870	For bale abrod his armes he spred And felle in swone uppon his bed; Ther men myght se grete dole.	For sorrow he spread his arms out wide
875	On the morew, be one asente, On hyr thei sett a parlement Thorow all the comon rede. They myght not fynd in ther consell With no law, withouten feyll,	with all agreed trial public agreement Any law
880	To save hyr fro the dede. Than ther spake an old knyght: "I have wonder, be Godys myght, Offe Syr Antore that is dede.	death
fol. 35v	In chamer thoff he nakyd were, They lete hym gyff non answer, Bot slew hym in that stede.	chamber place
885	"Ther was never, sykerly, That found hyr with vylony, Save thei, I der wele sey.	never [anyone]; certainly discovered; in shame
890	Be som hatryd it may be; Therfor, lord, do after me, For my love I you praye: No mo wyll preffe it bot thei two.	By follow my advice prove
	We may not save hyr fro wo, For soth, as I yow sey, In hyr quarell, bot we fynd	proce
895	A man that is so gode and hend Durst fyght agen them two."	noble
000	All thei assentyd to his saw; They thought he spake reson and law. Than spake the kyng with crowne, "Four falls these for though a ways."	advice Control Control
900	"Feyr falle thee for thyne avyse." He callyd knyghtys of nobull price And bade them be redy boune: "Loke ye cry thorow all this lond,	Good fortune to you quickly prepared
905	Both be se and by sond. If ye fynd anon A man that is so mych of myght That for this lady dere take fyght, He schall wynne his waryson."	shore reward
910	Messengerys, I understond, Cryed thorow all the lond In many a rych cyté. If any man durste prove his myght	

915 920	In trew quarell for to fyght, Avansyd schuld he be. The Erle of Tolous herd this telle, What angour that lady befelle, And thought it gret petie. If he wyst sche had do ryght, He wold aventour his lyff and hyght To fyght for that lady so fre.	Advanced [in rank] proclamation misfortune pity knew; done risk; delight
	For hyr he mourned profit and day:	
	For hyr he mournyd nyght and dey; Unto hymselfe he gane sey	
	He wold aventer hys lyfe.	
	If he may wyte that sche be trew,	
925	Tho that hyr acusyd sore schuld them rew,	77.7
	Bot thei stynt of ther stryffe. The Erle seyd, "Be Seynt John,	Unless; stop
	Into Almayn wyll I gon,	Germany
	Ther I have fo men ryve.	many foes
930	I praye God full of myght	,
	That I have trew quaryll to fyght,	just cause
	Fro blame to bryng that wyfe."	
	He rode on huntyng on a dey;	
	A merchant he mett by the wey,	
935	And askyd hym whens he was.	from where
fol. 36r	"Lord," he seyd, "of Almayn."	,
	Anon the Erle gan hym freyn	inquire
	Of that ilke cas:	same event
0.40	"Wherfor is your emperas	
940	Pute to so gret dystres?	
	Tell me, for Godys grace, Is sche gylty, so mote thou thé?"	may you prosper
	"Nay syr, by hym that dyghed on tre,	may you prosper
	And schape man after his face."	
0.45	m ri i si . i	
945	The Erle seyd withouten lett, "Qwhen is the dey therof sett	without hesitation (immediately) When
	Brynte that sche schall be?"	Burnt
	The merchant seyd, "Sykerlyke,	Danie
	Evyn this dey thre weyke;	From this day
950	Therfor full wo is me."	•
	Than seyd the Erle, "I schall thee telle	
	What gode hors I have to selle	
	And stedys two or thre.	
055	Sertys, myght I them sell ther,	
955	Thether with thee wold I fare That syght for to se."	
	That sygnition to se.	

	The marshant anguered with wonder hand.	
	The merchant ansuered with wordys hend: "Into that land of yourned."	gracious
	"Into that lond yf ye wynd,	go han a Ga
960	It wyll be for your prow: Then we may sell them at your wyll "	benefit
900	Ther ye may sell them at your wyll."	
	Anon the Erle seyd hym tyll,	
	"Syr, herkyns to me nowe:	,
	Wylte thou this jorney with me duell?	accompany
005	Twenti pownd I schall thee tell	promise
965	To mede, I make a vow."	As reward
	The merchant grauntyd anon.	
	The Erle seyd, "Be Seynt John,	
	For thi wyll I thee alow."	approve
	The Erle told hym in that tyde	
970	Wher he schuld hym abyde,	
	And homewerd wente he.	
	He buskyd hym that no man wyst —	dressed himself so that; knew
	Bot on that he muste tryst —	Except to one
	And seyd, "Syr, go with me."	
975	With them thei toke stedys sevyn;	
	Ther were non feyrer under hevyn	
	That never no man myght se.	
	Into Almayn gan thei ryde	
	On coursers of mykell pride;	large horses
980	Theye semyd well to be.	
	The merchant was his trew gyde;	
	The Erle and he together gan ryde	
	Tyll thei com to that plas.	
	A myle besyde the castell	
985	Ther the Emperour gan duell,	
000	A rych abay ther was.	abbey
	Of the abot he leve gate	got permission
	To foragyn and make ther hors fate —	forage; fat
	That was a nobull kace!	event
fol. 36v	The abote was the Ladys eme:	uncle
991	For hyr he was in grete wandryng,	confusion
001	And mekyll mournyng he mas.	mourning he makes
	Tyll it befell upon a dey,	
	To chirche the Erle toke the wey	
995	Messe for to here.	
333	He was a feyre man and hey;	tall
	Als sone as the abot hym sey,	tati
	He seyd, "Syr, com me nere.	
	Syr, I yow praye when messe is don	
1000	For to ete with me at non,	
1000	FOI TO CIE WITH THE AT HOH,	noon

	Syr, and your wyll it were." The Erle grante hym all with gam. After messe thei wesche in same And dyned both in fere.	pleasure washed together together
1005	And after mete, as I you sey, Into an horsched thei toke the wey, The abot and the knyght. The abot seyd, and syghed sore,	horse shed
1010	"Sertys, Syr, I lyve in care For a lady bryght. Sche is acusyd; myn herte is wo. Wherfor sche muste to dethe go	
1015	All agen the ryght? Bot sche have helpe, verament, In a fyre sche schall be brent And to hyr deth be dyght."	Unless burnt condemned
1000	The Erle seyd, "So have I blys, Me thinke of hyr dole it is, Trew if that sche be."	I think it is a pity for her
1020	The abot seyd, "Be Seynt Paule, For hyr I durste ley my saule That never gylty was sche. Syche werkys sche never wroght,	pledge my soul
1025	Nother in dede ne in thought, Save a ryng so fre To the Erle of Tolous sche gafe with wyn, In es of hym and for no syn; In schryft thus told sche."	joy For his comfort confession
1030	Than seyd the Erle, "Seth it is so, God wreke hyr on hyr fo, That bought hyr with his blod. Syr, and ye wyll kep counsell,	avenge
1035	Of a ryng I wyll yow tell; I trow that may do gode. Syr," he seyd, "withowte lesyng, I ame he sche gafe the ryng; Hold consell, for the rode.	lying (in truth) cross
1040	"I ame com hether, lefe syr, For to take the batell for hyr — God stond with the ryght!	dear
fol. 37r	Bot fyrst myselve I wyll here schryfe, And if I fynd her clen of lyffe, Than wyll my herte be lyght.	her confess guiltless

1045	Late do me in a monkys wede	Let me be dressed; clothes
1045	What tyme sche is in moste drede,	danger
	Unto hyr deth to be dyght.	prepared
	When I have schryve hyr, withowtyn feyle For hyr I wyll take the bateyle,	
	As I ame trew knyght."	
	As I ame trew knyght.	
1050	Than the abot was never so glad;	
	Well nyghe for joy he wex ryght mad.	
	The Erle gan he kys.	
	All that seven nyght he duellyd ther,	
	And made myrth withouten care	
1055	And joy withoutyn mys.	
	Whan the lady schuld be brynte	
	The Erle with the abot went	
	In monkys wede, iwys.	
	To the Emperour he knelyd belyve,	willingly
1060	That he myght the lady schryve;	
	Anon resavyd he was.	received
	He freyned of hir full wytterly,	questioned; intelligently
	Bot as it seyt in the story,	says
	Sche was withouten gylte.	
1065	Sche seyd, "Be hym that dyghed on tre,	
	Trespas was never in me	Transgression
	Wherfor I schuld be spylte,	condemned
	Safe ons, withoutyn lesyng,	Except once, without a lie
	To the Erle of Tolous I toke a ryng;	1
1070	Asoyle me if yow wylte."	Ab solve
	He solyd the lady with his hand,	absolved
	And sone up pertly gan he stond	boldly
	And seyd, "Lordyngys, pes.	botaty
	Ye that have acusyd this lady gente,	gentle
1075	Ye were worthy to be brynt."	gennie
1073	That one theff made a rehers:	retort
	"Thow, chorle, with all thi gynne,	trickery
	Those your abot be of hyr kynne,	family
	Hyr sorow schall thou not cees.	cease
1080	Ryght the same wey wold thou seyn,	teuse
1000	And all your covent had by hir leyn,	If; convent (monastery)
	So be ye fykell and fals."	ij, convent (monastery)
	The Fyle enguesed with wonders from	
	The Erle ansuerd with wordys fre,	
1005	"Syr, the one I trow thou be	[TA7] 1]
1085	This lady acusyd has.	[Who] has accused
	Those we be men of relygyon,	

1090	Thow schall do us bot reson, For all the fayr thou mas. I prove on hyr thou seys not ryght. Lo, here my glove: with thee to fyght	treat us only reasonably fuss you make
fol. 37v	I undertake hyr case. As fals men I schall you kene; In rede fyre ther schall ye bryne, Therto God grante me grace."	reveal
1095	All that ever were in that place Thankyd God of his grace, Withouten any feyle. The two traytowrys were full wroth:	
1100	"He schuld be ded!" thei made ther othe, Bot it myght not aveyll. The Erle went a lytell besyde And armyd hym with nobull pride, His enmys to aseyll.	
1105	Manfully, when thei were mette, They smote thorow helm and basenet And martyrd many a male.	basinet (helmet) destroyed; chain mail
1110	Thus togeder gan thei ryde, The Erle bare the one asyde, The tother feyled tho. The Erle smote hym with his spere, That throwe the body he gan hym bere; To the grownd than gan he go.	knocked one aside The other; then [So] that
1115	That saw the tother and fast gan fle; The Erle overtoke hym under a tre And wrowght hym mykell wo. Ther the traytour hym yeld, As overcom in the feld; He myght not fare hym fro.	surrendered himself
1120	Befor the Erle thei wente, And ther he made hym, verament, To tell for the nons Werefor thought he this lady to spylle. "Lord, for sche wold not grante owre wyll,	truly tell immediately disgrace
1125	That worthi was in wonus." The Erle ansuerd them then: "Falls traytores, therfor schall ye bren In fyre both at ons."	behavior burn
1130	The Erle a fyre dyd make, verament; Therin the two traytorys were brynt, Both body and bones.	

	When thei were brynt bothe two, The Erle prively awey gan go	in secret
	To the rych abbay.	1 11
1135	The lady was fette into the towne With gret joy and processyon,	brought
	With myrthe, as I telle may.	[And] with mirth
	Than the Emperour was never so glad. "Feche me that monke," anon he bad.	
	"Why wente he so away?	
1140	A bysschoperike I schall hym geve,	
	My helpe, my love, whyll that I lyve,	
	Be hym that dyed on tre."	
	The abot knelyd on his kne	
	And seyd, "My lord, went is he	
1145	Into his awne lond.	
fol. 38r	He dwellys with the pope in Rome;	
	He wyll be glad when he is come, I do yow to understond."	has returned
	"Syr abote," seyd Sir Emperour,	would have you understand
1150	"To me it were a dyshonour.	
	Sych wordys I rede thou wonde:	stop
	Fast anon that I hym se,	•
	Or thou schall never have gode of me,	
	And therto here my hond."	you have my hand (my promise)
1155	The abot seyd "Now it is so,	
	After hym that I schall go.	
	Ye muste make me surté,	surety (promise)
	In case that he have ben your fo,	
1100	Werefor ye schall do hym no wo.	*
1160	And than, so mote I thé,	may I prosper
	After hym wyll I wende, So that ye wyll be his frende,	
	Lord, and thi wyll be."	
	The shot sayd "So mate I th 4	
1165	The abot seyd "So mote I thé, Lord, I trust ryght wele in thee	
1105	Ye wyll do as ye sey.	
	It is Syr Barnard, the Erle of Tolous,	
	The wych hath thus honouryd us,	Who has
	That hath do this jorney."	
1170	"Ye, sertys," seyd the Emperour,	
	"Hath he do me this grete honour?	
	Anon now I pray thee	
	After hym that thow wylte wend,	

1175	And we wyll kys and be gode frend, Be hym that dyed on tre."	
	The abot after the Erle wente, And by the hond he hym hente And seyd, "Syr, go with me.	
1180	My lord and ye, by Seynt John, Ye schall be made both at one And hole frendys be."	reconciled
	Than the Erle was never so feyn. The Emperour com hym agene, And seyd, "My frend so fre,	glad
1185	My wreth here I thee forgyve, My helpe, my love, whyll that I lyve, Be hym that dyghed on tre."	anger
1190	Louely togyder gan thei kys. All men had joy, withouten mysse — The story tellyth so.	Lowly (humbly) without exception
1100	He made hym stewerd of hys lond, And sezsed agene into his hond That he had refte hym fro.	returned What he had taken
1195	The Emperour lyved bot yeres thre; Be eleccyon of hys lordys fre, The Erle toke thei tho,	
fol. 38v	And chese hym for emperour, For he was styff in ilke stoure To fyght agens his fo.	powerful in every battle
1200	He wedyd that lady to hys wyffe; In joy and blys thei led ther lyffe Twenti yere and thre. Betwen them chylder thei had fiftene:	
1205	They were doughty knyghtys and kene And sembly for to se. In Rome this geste crownakyld is; A ley of Bryten callyd is,	chronicled Breton lai
1210	And ever more schall be. Jhesus that is heven kyng, Grante us all thi blyssing. Amen, for charyté. AMEN QUOD RATE	
	00 1	

20. Lybeaus Desconus

Lybeus Dysconius Jhesu Cryst owre savyowre

5	And his moder, that swete flowre, They sped them in ther nede That lystyns of a conquerour, Wytty knyght and gode weryour, And doughty mane of dede. Hys name was callyd Gyngeleyn;	[May] they help Those who will listen Intelligent; warrior
	Getyn he was of Sir Gawyne	Begotten
10	By a forest syde. A beter knyght, ne more profetabull, With Arthor at the Rownd Tabull,	worthy
	Herd I never of rede.	I never heard spoken of
15	Gyngeleyn was feyr and bryght, Gentyll of face and body ryght, Basterd thoff he were. His moder hym kepte with alle hyr myght That he schuld se no knyght	although
20	Armyd on no maner, For he was so savage And lyghtly wold outrage To his felows in fere. For doute of wyked lose His moder kepyd hym close, As worthy chyld and dere.	would do harm company fear; reputation
25	For he was so feyr and wyse, His moder named hym Beuys, And non other name.	(see note)
30	And hymselve was so nyse That askyd never, iwys, What he hyght of his dame.	naive (innocent, simple) indeed was named
fol. 39r	Tyll it befell upon a dey, Gyngeleyn wolde hym to pley, To se wyld dere bename. He fond a knyght wher he ley	wild animals captured
35	In armour that was stoute and gey Sleyn and made full tame.	harmless
40	He dyd of that knyghtys wede And therin he gane hym schred In that rych armour. And when he hade done that dede,	took off; clothes (armor) dress
	Than to Glastunbery he yede, And ther ley Kynge Arthore. When he was within the halle,	went lived
45	Ymonge lordys and ladys alle, He grete them with honour,	Among

	And seyd, "Arthor, my lord,	
	Sofer me to speke a word,	
	I pray yow, par amour.	for love
	"I ame a chyld uncouthe,	unknown (uncivilized)
50	And com nowte of thee soughte;	by request
	I wold be made a knyght.	
	Ten yere olde I ame,	
	Of werres wele I cane;	fighting; am I capable
	Grawnte me aryght."	now
55	Then seyd Arthor the kynge,	
	"Tell me, chyld, withoute lesynge,	lying
	What is thi name iplyght?	truly
	For sene that I was borne,	since
	Saw I never here beforne	
60	No chyld so feyre of syght."	to look upon
	The chyld seyd, "Be Seynte Jame,	James
	I ne wote what is my name;	know
	I ame the more nyse.	foolish (innocent)
	Bot whyle I was at home,	·
65	My moder onne hyr game	in her sport
	Callyd me Beuys."	•
	Than seyd Arthour the kyng,	
	"That is a wonder thing,	
	Be God and Seynt Denys,	
70	That thou woldyst be made a knyght	
	And wotyst not what thou hyght,	know; are named
	And so feyre and wyse!	
	"I schall hym gyffe a name	
	Amonge you all in same,	all together
75	For he is so feyr and fre.	
	Be God and by Seynt Jame,	
	So callyd never his dame,	
	What woman so ever sche be.	
	Calle hym in your use	
80	'Lybeus Disconyus'	(see note)
	For the love of me.	
fol. 39v	Loke ye calle hym in same,	
	In ernys and in game,	earnest and in jest
	For sertys, so hyght schall he."	J
85	Kyng Arthour anon ryght	
	Lete make the chyld a knyght	
	On that ilke dey.	same
	He gafe hym armour bryght;	
	0 / / / /	

90	With a suerd of myght He gyrd hym, soth to sey. He caste on hym in a pylte A ryche scheld overgylte With a gryffyn gay.	in a stroke (see note) gilt
95	He toke hym to Ser Gawyn To teche hym upon the pleyn Of every prinsys pley.	field Of all princely sports
100	When he was knyght made, Full sone the kyng a boune he bade, And seyd, "My lord so fre, In herte I were full glad	favor he asked
105	The fyrst fyght that I had, That men do aske thee." Then seyd Arthour the kynge, "I grante thee thine askynge, What batell so ever it be.	
105	What baten so ever it be. Bot ever me thinke thee to yyng To do a gode feyghtyng Be ought that I can se."	too young engage in a good combat By anything
110	Ryght withouten reson, Doke, erle and baron Wesche and went to mete. Of wyld dere and venyson, As lordys of grete renowne,	i.e., Without further discussion Duke
115	Ynoughe thei hade to ete. They hade setyn bot a while, Bot the space of a myle; At the tabull as thei sytte, Ther came a dwerffe in ryde,	sat i.e., time taken to ride a mile riding in
120	And a damsell by his syde, All be-swete for hete.	covered in sweat
	That meyd hyght Hendy Elyn; Bryght sche was and schene, A lady as messyngere.	maiden was called Courteous Elaine beautiful
125	Ther was never cowntas ne qwene That was so sembly on to sene Bot sche myght ben hyr pere. The may that was so schen, Schowers clethyd in group	countess nor beautiful to look upon equal maiden
130	Sche was clothyd in gren And furred with blaundyner. Hyr sadell was overgylte And wele hernest with sylke;	white fur
	Whyte was hyr deyster.	equipped horse

fol. 40r	The dwerfe was clothyd in ynde Befor and all behynde;	blue cloth
135	Stowte he was and perte. Amonge a Crystyne kynd, Syche one schuld no man fynd, He was so stoute in herte.	Princely/Fierce; bold people
140	His sercote was yalow as floure, And within of an other colour Wele furryd aboute with merte. With gold his schone was dyght,	overcoat marten shoes were made
	And cowpyd were as a knyght; Ther semyd no poverté.	slashed
145	Wyndeleyn was his name; Wyde sprong his fame Est, west, northe and southe.	Widely known
150	Myche he couthe of game, Sotell, sawtre in same, Herpe, fidyll than wele he couthe He was a gode gestoure	knew of entertainment Citole [and] psaltery (stringed instruments) together . could [play] storyteller (jester)
	With ladys in ther bowre, A mery man of mouthe. He seyd to the meyd, "I wene,	rooms believe
155	To tell the tale bedene Tyme it is, for sothe."	immediately
	The meyd knelyd in halle Amonge the lordys alle And seyd, "My lord Arthor,	
160	A case ther is now to werd: Was ther never non so herd, Nor of so grete dolour.	take up difficult sadness
165	My Lady of Synadon Is brought in gret prison, That was of grete valour, And prays yow of a knyght That in werre ware wyght	is brave
	To wyne hyr with honour."	rescue (win)
170	Up sterte the yong knyght — In herte he was full lyght — And seyd, "Arthour, my lord,	jumped
	I schall do that fyght And wynne that lady bryght, Yyff thou be trew of word."	
175	Quod Arthour, "That is sothe; Sertys, withouten othe,	

	Therto I bere record.	bear witness
	God gyf thee strenth and myght	strength
	To wyn that lady bryght	
180	Thorow dynte of spere and swerd."	blow
	The may began to shyd	maidan, aamblain
	The may began to chyd, And seyd, "Alas that tyde	maiden; complain
	That I was hether sende!	time sent here
fol. 40v	This wyll spryng wyde	
185	And lorne is, kyng, thi pride,	[news] will spread widely lost
103	And all thy lordys is schent	disgraced
	That thou wold send a chyld	uisgruceu
	That thou word send a chyrd That is wytteles and wyld	stupid
	To dele mannes dynte,	deal a man's blow (i.e., do man's work)
190	And hast knyghtys of mayn,	strength
100	Persyvall and Ser Gawayn,	Strength
	Full wyse in tournament."	
	,	
	The duerfe with grete errour	fury
	Sterte to King Arthour	Leapt (approached)
195	And seyd, "Thou konyng kyng!	wise
	This chyld to be a waryowre	
	And to do sych a labour	
	Is not worth a ferthing.	farthing (fourth of a penny)
	Or he that lady se,	Before
200	Batelys two or thre	_
	He must do, without lesyng.	lying
	At the Poynte Perelus	Perilous Bridge
	Besyde the Chapell of Antrus,	
	Ther schall be his begynyng."	
205	Syr Lybeus than answerd,	
	"Yit never was I aferd	afraid
	For dred of mannys saw.	words
	Somwhat have I lernyd	
	To pley with a swerd	
210	And hath had many a blaw.	blow
	A man that fleye for a threte,	flies (flees) from
	Other be wey or be strete,	i.e., anywhere
	I wold he were to-draw.	torn into pieces
	The batell I undertake,	
215	And never non of them forsake,	
	For sych is Arthor law."	Arthur's
	The meyd ansuerd full snelle,	quickly (fiercely)
	"That besemyth thee ryght wele,	1 1 1
	Who so lokyght on thee.	befits looks
	who so lokygin on thee.	tooks

220	Thou ne durste, for all the werld, Abyd the wynd of a suerd,	dare wind [made] by a sword
225	Be ought that I cane se." Than seyd the duerfe in that stownd, "The ded men in the grownd Of thee aferd may be.	place (time)
	Now I rede thee in game,	
	Go home and sowke thi dame,	suckle
	And ther thou wyne the gré."	prize
	The Kyng seyd anon ryght,	
230	"Here getys thou non other knyght.	
	By hym that bought me dere,	
	If thou thinke not hym wyght,	brave
	Get thee another were thou myght That is of more power."	where you can
fol. 41r	The mey for ire styll sate.	maiden sat silently in anger
236	Sche wold nether drinke ne ete,	, ,
	For all that ther were.	
	Sche sate doune, evyll payd,	ill pleased
	Tyll the bord was up-brayd,	table was taken up (see note)
240	Sche and the duerfe in fere.	together
	King Arthour in that stound	
	Comandyd of the Tabull Round	
	Fowre of the best knyghtys,	
	In armour hole and sound,	
245	The best that may be found,	
	To arme the child at ryghtys.	immediately
	He seyd with the grace of Crist	
	That in flome was baptyst,	river
950	That he schuld hold his ryghtys	
250	And become a gode champyon	
	To the Lady of Synadon,	alou his force
	And sle his foys in fyghtys.	slay his foes
	Syr Persyvall and Ser Gaweyn,	
	To arme hym thei were full feyn,	eager
255	In that semly sale.	handsome hall
	The thyrd was Syr Eweyn,	
	The fourth was Syr Geffreyn –	
	So telys the French in tale.	
	They cast onne of sylke	put on [him]
260	A ryppon whyte as mylke,	ribbon (ornament)
	Emong them chosyn saun fayle,	without a doubt
	And an hambreke bryght	coat of mail (hauberk)

	That full rychely was dyght With nayles gret and smale.	made studs
265	Gaweyn, his awne fere,	companion
	Honge aboute his swer	neck
	A scheld with a gryffyn. A helme of rych enter	ornamentation
	That was stele and no ire.	not of iron
270	Persyvale sett on crowne.	placed
	Gefferen brought with hym a sper	
	That was gode in every were, And a fell fanchon.	keen curved sword
	Eweyn brought with hym a sted	Noon can can accord
275	That was gode at every nede	
	And eger as any lyon.	fierce
	The knyght to hors gan sprynge,	
	And rode to Arthour the kyng,	
280	And seyd, "My lord with crowne,	
200	Gyff me thi blyssing; Withouten any lesing	Without argument (delay)
	My wyll is gode to gone."	eager to go
	Arthour his hand up-haffe	raised
285	And his blyssing he hym gafe As a king full kynd,	
200	And seyd, "God gyffe thee grace	
	To hafe spede and spas	fortune and time
	To borow that lady hend."	rescue; courteous
fol. 41v	The meyd that was so gay	
290	Lepe on hyr palfray;	horse
	The duerfe rode hir besyd.	Fourthwest days (see mote)
	Tyll upon the third dey, Sone upon the knyght	For three days (see note)
	Fast than gan thei chyd,	
295	And seyd, "Loryll, katyff,	Fool, wretch
	If thou were worthy sych fyve, Lorn than is thy pride:	Even if; five times more worthy Lost would be
	This wey kepys a knyght	Lost would be
	That with every man wyll fyght;	
300	Hys name is sprongen wyde.	widely known
	"He hyght Wylliam Dolebraunche.	
	His warre may no man staunche;	fighting; withstand
	He is werryour out of wytte. Both thorow hert and hanche	out of his senses (enraged)
305	Full sone he wyll thee lance,	haunch
	,	

	All that he may hytte."	
	Quod Libeus Disconeus,	
	"That wey wyll we aventour us.	risk ourselves
	If we may hym mete,	
310	For ought that may betyde,	regardless of what may happen
	Agens hym wyll I ryde	8 7 7 11
	To loke if he wyll sytte."	see if he will stay seated on his horse
	Theiryden fortheall three	
	Thei ryden forthe all thre On a feyr cause	caucarnan (hridaa)
315	Besyde the Chapell of Antrous.	causeway (bridge)
313	A knyght gan thei se	
	In armour bryght of ble	abboaranca
	Upon the Poynt Perelus.	appearance
	He bare a scheld of gren	
320	With thre lyons of gold, I wene,	believe
340	Prowde and precyous.	Detie Ut
	Wele was armyd that knyght,	
	For soth at all ryght,	
	As it was his use.	
325	When he saw Syr Libeus in syght,	
	He rode to hym full ryght	
	And seyd, "Ho, my bew pere!	Halt, my pretty friend
	Whoso ryde here dey or nyght,	J1 J3
	With me he must fyght	
330	Or leve his armour here."	
	Quod Libeus Disconeus,	
	"For the love of Jhesus,	
	Late us pas here.	
	We be fer fro frend	
335	And hath ferre to wend,	
	I and this mey in fere."	together
	Syr Wylliam ansuerd tho,	then
	"Thow schall not scape me so,	escape from me so [easily]
	So God gyff me gode reste.	
340	We schall or we go	before we depart
	Feyght betwyx us two	
	A forlong here be weste."	furlong to the west
fol. 42r	Quod Libeus, "Now I se	
	It wyll non other be;	
345	Go forth and do thi beste.	
	And take thi course with thy schafte,	
	Yiff thou be man of crafte,	skill
	For myn is here all preste."	ready

	They wold no lenger byde:	delay
350	Together gan thei ryde	
	With full grete rawndon.	speed (violence)
	And Lybeus in that tyde	moment
	Smote Wylliam in the syde With a spere so longe.	
355	Bot Willam sate so faste	sat so firmly [in his saddle]
000	That his sper all to braste,	shattered
	Be God and be Seynt Jhon.	
	Than he began to stoupe,	fall
	And felle over his hors crowpe	hindquarters
360	Into the feld adoune.	down
	His stede rane away.	
	William not long lay,	
	Bot stert up anon ryght,	rose
	And seyd, "Be my fay,	faith
365	Never or this dey	
	Fonde I non so wyght.	brave (strong)
	Now my stede is away;	
	Fyght on fote, I thee pray,	
370	As thou arte jentyll knyght."	
370	Quod Libeus Disconeus, "For the love of suet Jhesus,	
	Therto than wyll I lyght."	dismount
	Together gan thei sprung	rush
	Together gan thei spryng; With suerdys on to dynge	strike
375	Thei faught ferly faste.	wonderfully vigorously
010	Dyntis gan thei dynge;	Blows
	The fyre, without lesyng,	sparks
	Oute of ther helmys braste.	burst
	Bot William Dolebraunce	
380	To Lybeus gan lance	
	Thrught his scheld in haste,	
	That one cantell fell to ground	[So] that; corner (slice)
	And Libeus in that stound	moment
	In herte was agaste.	
385	Syr Libeus all with myght	
	Defendyd hym anon ryght,	
	As waryour wyght and sle.	knight strong and skillful
	Barbe and crest down ryght	Chin strap and plume down immediately
900	He made fle with myght	He cut off mightily
390	On Williamys helme on hyghe.	From
	The poynt than of his suerd	01 1
	Schefe Williamys berd	Shaved

	And com the flesch not nyghe.	
	William smote Libeus so	
395	That his swerd brast in two,	broke
	That many a man it syghe.	[So] that; saw
	Thus William gap sw	
	Thus William gan cry,	
	"For the love of Mary,	T
6.1.40	On lyve late me pas.	Let me escape alive
fol. 42v	It were gret vylonye	disgrace
401	To make knyght for to dyghe	
	Wepynles in the place."	this place
	Quod Libeus Disconeus,	
	"For the love of Jhesus,	
405	Of lyfe getyst thou no space,	
	Bot if thou suere to me anone,	
	Or that thou hens gon,	Before you leave here
	Here befor my face.	
	"Fast thou knele adoune,	
410	And suere on my suerd broun.	shining
	Thow schall to Arthor wend	go
	And sey, 'Lord of renowne,	0
	As overcomyn person	overcome (vanquished)
	A knyght me hether send	
415	That men calys thus:	
110	Syr Libeus Disconeus,	
	Unknawyn knyght and hend.'"	noble
	William on kne hym sette,	noon
	And swore as he hym bede,	commanded
420	And forth he gan wende.	communaea
	Thus partyd thei alle;	
	Home to Arthours halle,	
	He toke the ryght wey.	
	A case ther began to falle:	An event began to unfold
425	Thre knyghtys prowd in paule	fine cloth
	He mette that ilke dey.	same
	The thre knyghtys in fere	together
	Were his emys sones dere	uncle's sons (cousins)
	That were stoute and gay.	
430	When thei se Willyam bled,	
	Thei come to hym with dred	
	And made full grete deray.	outcry
	They seyd, "Eme William,	Uncle
	Who hath do thee thys grame?	injury
435	Why bledyst thou so yern?"	fast
	/ /	J

	He seyd, "Be Seynt Jame, One that is not to blame,	
	A strong knyght and sterne. Libeus Dysconeus he hyght;	valiant
440	To felle his foys in fyght	
	He is not to lerne. A dwerfe hym rode befor,	needs no teaching
	His squyer as he were;	
	Thei rydyn forth full yerne.	fast
445	"Bot one thing grevyd me sore:	
	He made me to suere	
	On his suerd bryght	
	That I schall never more, Tyll I com to Arthour,	
450	Stynte dey ne nyght.	Stop
	To hym I muste me yeld	surrender
	As overcom in the feld	
	Be power of his knyght,	By
fol. 43r	Never agen hym to bere	
455	Nether scheld ne spere.	
	Thus I have hym hyght."	promised
	Than seyd the knyghtys thre,	
	"Thou schall wele avengyd be,	
	Serteyn, withouten feyle,	
460	He one agens us thre	a a
	Is not worth a fle	flea
	For to hold bateyle. Go and do thy othe,	fight
	And thof the thefe be wrothe,	although; angry
465	We schall hym asayle.	attack
	Or he this forest passe,	Before; leaves
	We schall his hamberke unlace,	coat of mail cut through
	Thof it be doubull nayle."	double riveted
	Hereof wyst not that wyght,	knew; man
470	Libeus, that jentyll knyght;	
	He rod forth pace by pace.	step by step (comfortably)
	He and meyden bryght	
	Made together that nyght Game and grete solace.	entertainment
475	And mercy sche gan hym crye,	entertainment ask
1.0	For sche had spoke hym vylanye,	usn
	And he forgafe her trespas.	offense
	The dwerffe was hys squyre,	JJ

480	And servyd fere and nere Of all that myster was.	necessary
	On the morne, when it was dey, They rode furth on ther wey Toward Synadon.	
485	Than thei se in ther wey Thre knyghtys stowte and gey Com ryding fro Skarlyon. To hym thei cryed anon ryght,	
490	"Turne agene, tratoure, and fyght! For thou schall leve thy renowne, And that meyd bryght That is so feyre in syght We schall lede to the towne."	lose
	Syr Libeus than he cryde, "I ame redy to ryde	
495	Agene yow all in same!" As prince prowd in pride He prikyd his sted that tyde In ernyst and not in game.	together moment
500	The eldyst brother gan bere To Sir Libeus a spere; Syr Banerer was his name. Syr Libeus rode to hym anone And lefte hym ther as lame.	
fol. 43v 506	The knyght hym mercy gan crye; Syr Libeus sykerly Held hym fast adone. The duerfe, mayster Wyndeleyn, Toke the stede by the reyn	surely
510	And lepte in the sadyll aboven. He rode than with that To the mey ther sche sate, So feyre of facyon.	appearance
515	Than loughe the mey bryght, And seyd, "This yong knyght Is a gode champyon!"	laughed
520	The mydlest brother beheld His brother in the feld And lorn meyn and myght. He smote, so it is telled, Syr Lybeus in the scheld With a spere anon ryght.	[who had] lost strength

	Lybeus awey gan bere	
	With the poynt of his spere	
ror	The helme of that knyght.	
525	The yong brother gan forth ryde,	, ,
	And prikyd his stede that tyde	spurred
	Egyr as lyon wyght.	brave
	He seyd to Syr Libeus anon,	
	"Syr knyght, be Seynt John,	
530	Thou arte a fell champyon.	fierce
	Be God that dyghed on tre,	
	Just I wyll with thee;	Joust
	I trow to bere thee doune."	hope
-0-	As warryour out of wytte	out of mind (enraged)
535	On Libeus gan he hytte	
	With a fell fauchon.	keen sword
	So styff his strokys he sette	
	Throught helme and basnete	
	He kerfe Syr Lybeus crone.	cut into; head
540	Than was Syr Libeus agrevyd	
	When he felyd on his hede	felt
	The suerd of egyr mode.	fierce courage
	His suerd abowte hym he hevyd;	struck
	All that he hytte he clevyd	
545	As werryour unwyse and wode.	enraged and insane
	Than he seyd so:	
	"One agayn two	
	To fyght it is not gode."	
	Fast thei hewyd on hym,	struck
550	And with strokys grym	
	Styfly agens them stode.	[He] stoutly faced them
	Bot through Godys grace	
	He smote the mydlyst in that place	
	Under the ryght arme so	
fol. 44r	He feld hym in that place.	felled
556	In that ilke space,	
	His ryght arme fell hym fro.	
	The yongyst saw in syght	
	That he had nother mayn ne myght	
560	To fyght agens his fo.	
	To Lybeus he gan upyeld	surrender
	His spere and his scheld;	
	Mersy he cryed tho.	then

565	Lybeus seyd, "Nay, Thow schall not go so awey, Be hym that bought mankynd. Thou and this brother trees.	
	Thou and thi brether twey, Ye schall plyght me your fey; Ye schall to Arthour wend.	two pledge your honor
570	So ye schall sey, 'Lord of renoun, As overcomen person	
	A knyght us hether send	
	To yeld yow towre and towne, And be at your renoun	surrender to you in your power
575	Ever withouten ende.'	in jour pouci
	"Bot if ye wyll do so,	Unless
	Certys I schall you slo	slay
	Long or it be nyght." The knyght swore it schuld be see	before
580	The knyght swore it schuld be so: They schuld to Arthour go	
500	Ther trowth to hym thi plyght.	
	Libeus and that mey	
	Went on ther jorney	
	Thyder as thi were tyght	bound
585	Tyll on the thyrd dey	
	They ryden in game and pley,	.1 (1:1)
	He and that byrd bryght.	maiden (bird)
	They ryden ay west	continually
	Into a wyld forest	
590	And myght not com to towne.	
	They wyst not what was best;	knew
	For nede thei must rest,	1 1
	And ther he lyght adoune.	leapt down
595	In the gren grevys They byged them with levys,	groves
333	With suerd bryght and brown.	built shelter for themselves shining
	Therin thei duellyd all nyght,	Shining
	He and that byrd bryght	maiden
	So fayre of facyon.	appearance
600	And ever the duerfe gan wake	kept watch
	That no thefe schuld take	
	Awey ther hors with gyle.	
	For dred he gan quake:	
cor	A grete fyre he saw make	
605	Fro hym not a myle.	
fol. 44v	"Rise," he seyd, "syr knyght, To hors that we were dyght	b.,,,k
	To hors that we were dyght	preprared

	For doute of peryll.	fear
	Syrtys I here grete boste,	outcry
610	And I have saver of roste,	scent of a roast (i.e., meat)
	Be God and be Seynt Gyle."	
	Syr Lybeus was stowt and gay,	
	And lepe on his palfrey	
	And hent scheld and spere.	seized
615	As he went forth fast,	
	Two gyantys he fond at the last	
	When he com to the fyre.	
	The one was blake as pyche,	
	The other was red and lothlyche;	loathsome
620	Full fowle thei were of chere.	demeanor
	The blake gyant held in his arme	
	A feyre meyden by the arme	
	Bryght as ros onne brere.	rose on the briar
	The red gyant full yerne	quickly
625	Aboute he gan turne	
	A wyld bore on a spyte.	
	The fyre fast gan bryn;	
	The meyden cryed full yern	loudly
	For som man schuld it wytte.	take notice
630	Sche seyd, "Welywey,	
	That ever I bode this dey	lived
	With two devyles to sytte!	
	Helpe now, Mary myld,	
	For love of thi chyld,	
635	That I be not foryeytt!"	forgotten (abandoned)
	Quod Libeus, "Be Seynt Jame,	
	To bryng this mey fro scham	
	It were grete prise."	victory
	He toke hys course with his schaft	
640	As man that couth his craft,	knew
	And rode both ryght and wyse.	
	To fyght with them in same	together
	It was no chyldys game,	children's
	They be so grym and gryse.	fearsome
645	The blake gyant he smot smert	
	Thrught lyver and herte	
	That never myght he ryse.	
	Than flew that meyden schen,	be autiful
	And thankyd Heven Quen	
650	Sych grace sche had hir sent.	

	Than cam that meydyn Elyn,	
	Sche and the duerfe bedene,	together (immediately)
	And by the hand hyr hente. They went than to the grevys	took
655	And leyd them in the levys	groves
	With full gode intente.	
	They than besought Jhesus	beseeched
	To helpe Lybeus Dysconeus	
	That he schuld not be schent.	killed
fol. 45r	The rede gyant smote ther	
661	To Syr Libeus with a bore,	[i.e., the spit and roast boar]
	As wolfe that were full wode.	wild
	His dyntys he sett so sore	blows
	That Syr Libeus stede therfore	
665	Dounne to the ground he yode.	went
	Syr Lybeus than full smerte	
	Oute of his sadyll sterte	jumped
	As sperkyls doth on gled.	As sparks leap from a fire
	Eger as any lyon,	
670	He smote with his suerd broune	shining
	To quite the gyant his mede.	pay; reward
	The gyant spyte, sykerlye,	
	Was more than a coltré,	ploughshare
a =	That he had on the bore.	
675	He leyd on Libeus faste	laid on (attacked)
	While the sper wold last,	
	Ever more and more.	
	The bore was full hote than;	
690	The grece on Lybeus ran,	grease
680	And that grevyd hym sore.	
	The gyant was styff and strong And fiftene fote he was long;	tall
	He smote fast with the bore.	tati
	The smole last with the Bore.	
	And ever the gyant smote	
685	To Libeus, wele I wote,	know
	Tyll hys spyte brake in two.	
	As man that was unsaught,	hostile
	A tronchon he up kaught	took up
	To fyght agens his fo.	
690	With the ende of the tre	
	He smote Libeus scheld in thre;	
	Than was Libeus full wo.	

	Or he his schaft up caught,	Before
605	Libeus a stroke hym raught	gave
695	That his ryght arme fell hym fro.	
	The gyant fell to grownd,	
	And Libeus in that stownd	moment
	Smote of his hed full ryght.	off
	In Frenche boke as it is in found,	
700	To that other he went that stound	place
	And servyd hym so, aplyght.	served him in the same way, truly
	Than he toke the hedys twey	two
	And bore them to the feyr mey	
705	That he wan in the fyght.	
703	The mey was glad and blythe, And thankyd God fele sythe	many times
	That ever he was made knyght.	mony times
	78	
	Quod Libeus, "Jentyll dame,	
	Tell me what is your name	
710	And wher that ye wer borne."	
	She seyd, "Be Seynt Jame,	
	My fader is of ryche fame	
C-1 45	And wounes her beforne.	dwells
fol. 45v 715	An erle and wyde knaw knyght That is a man of myght	widely known
713	That is a man of myght, Hys name is Anter.	
	And my name is Vyolete,	
	That the gyant hath besette	trapped
	That was of so grete power.	11
720	"Yesterdey in the evyning,	
	As I went on my pleyng,	playing
	No evyll than I thought.	
	The gyant than, without lesyng,	
705	Owte of a buske gane spryng	thicket
725	And to the fyre me browght.	diamaged (billed)
	Of hym I had be schent, Had not God me socoure sent,	disgraced (killed) help
	That all the werld wrought.	[God] who made all the world
	He yeld thee thy mede	[May] He give you your reward
730	That on the rode gan blede	cross
	And with hys blode us bought."	
	Withouten more talkyng,	
	To hors gan thei spryng	
	And rode forth all in same,	together
735	And told the erle tyding,	report

	How he savyd with fyghtyng	
	Hys doughter fro wo and schame.	
	Than were the hedys sente	
	To Kyng Arthour in presente	
740	With myche gle and game.	
	Than in Arthours courte dyd rys	rise (spread)
	How Syr Libeus was of price	noble reputation
	And of worthy fame.	1
	The erle for hys gode dede	
745	Gafe Lybeus to mede	Gave; as reward
	Scheld and armour bryght,	
	And also a nobull stede	
	That was gode at nede	
	In travyll and in fyght.	
750	Syr Libeus and that mey	
	Rode forthe on ther wey	
	Thyder as thei had tyght.	been directed
	Than thei saw in a perke	park
	A castell styff and sterke	strong
755	That grysly was dyght.	dreadfully; built
	Wallyd it was with ston —	
	Syche saw I never none —	
	With tourys styff and stoute.	
	Quod Libeus "Be Seynt John,	
760	This is a worthi wone	dwelling
	To hym that hath grete doute."	
	Than lewgh that mey bryght	laughed
	And seyd, "This awys a knyght,	possesses
	The best here aboute.	
765	Who so wyll with hym fyght,	
	Be he baron or knyght,	
	He doth hym low to lowte,	bow down (fall)
fol. 46r	"For the love of hys leman	sweetheart
	That is so feyr a woman	
770	And worthely in wede.	worthy in dress
	Who so bryngys a feyrer one,	
	A joly faucon whyte as fome	falcon; foam
	He schall have to mede.	as reward
	And sche be not so feyre of syght,	
775	With Gefferon he must fyght.	
	Yyff he may not spede,	If; succeed
	Hys hede hym schall be rafte	taken
	And sette hye on a schafte,	
	To se in lenth and in brede.	To see in length and breadth

780	"The soth thou mayst se wele, That on ilke a cornelle One hode on two awasht."	each spear
785	One hede or two aryght." Quod Libeus al so snelle, "Be God and be Seynt Myghell, With Coffeen and Liberty	quickly (fiercely) Michael
763	With Gefferon wyll I fyght, And chalenge that joly faucon, And sey I have in towne A leman twys so bryght.	
790	And yff he wyll hyr se, For sothe, I wyll bryng thee, Be it dey or nyght."	
	The dwerfe seyd, "By Jhesus, Gentyll Libeus Disconeus, Thow putys thee in grete perelle.	
795	Gefferon LeFroudeus In fyghting hath an use Knyghtys to begyle." Syr Libeus ansuerd ther,	skill outsmart
800	"Therof have I no kare, Be God and be Seynt Gyle. I shal se his face Or that I passe thys place, Fro this crité a pyelo."	Before
	Fro this cyté a myle." Withouten more reson	discussion
805	They bode styll in the towne All that nyght in pesse. On the morne Lybeus was bowne For to wyn his renowne,	dwelled peace ready
810	Sertys, withouten les. He armyd hym full sure In that ylke armour	
815	That Kyng Arthours was. A sted he began to stryd; The dwerfe rode hym besyde Unto that prowd palace.	bestride
010	Gefferon LeFreudeus Arose, as it was hys use,	
990	In the morow tyde To honoure suet Jhesus.	morning time
820 fol. 46v	And Libeus Disconeus Com prikyng as prince in pride. Wythowten more abode Agens Libeus he rode,	spurring delay

825	And loude to hym he cryd With voys scherpe and skryll: "Comyst thou for gode or yll? Tell me and nought thou hyde."	shrill
	Quod Libeus all tytte, "I have grete delyte	quickly
830	With thee for to fyght. Thou seyst a foule dyspite: No woman is so whyte As thyn be dey or nyght. I have one in the towne	insult [That]; fair
835	That is ryght feyr of facyon, In clotys and sche were dyght. Therfor the joly faukon To Arthour kyng with crown I schall bryng with ryght."	appearance If she were dressed [well] in rags falcon
840	Quod Gefferon, that gentyll knyght, "Were schall we preve aplyght Whether feyrer be?" Quod Libeus, "With all my myght,	Where; truly Which [she] is fairer
845	In Cardull cyté with ryght, That all men may se, In myddys of the merkete, Ther thei schall be sette To loke on them so fre.	[So] middle of the marketplace
850	And yiff my leman be brown, To wyn thi joly faukon Just I wyll with thee."	i.e., less beautiful Joust
	Quod Jefferon al so snell, "Hold thi grant I wyll.	quickly (fiercely)
855	Todey at under-tyde, Be God and by Seynt Myghell, Out of this castell To Kardell wyll I ryde." Ther glovys up thei held	in the morning time
860	That forwerd to be fullfyllyd, As princys prowd in pride. Syr Lybeus, or he wold lyne, He rode into his inne And wold no lenger byde.	promise before he would cease
865	He seyd to meyd Elyn That bryght was and schen, "Loke thou make thee bowne."	ready

	He seyd, "Be Heven Quene, Gefferonus leman, as I wene,	believe
	Todey schall come to towne	
870	In the mydys of the syté,	middle
	That men may yow se	
	Both togeder in fassyon.	appearance
	And yiff thou be not so bryght,	
	With Gefferon I wyll fyght	
875	To wynne the joly faucon."	
fol. 47r	The dwerfe ansuerd and seyd,	
	"Thow doyst than a herdy dede.	do
	For every man that ever was born,	
	Thow doyst be no mans redde,	You act on no one's advice
880	Bot thou feyrest in thi chyldhede	But you act in your childishness
	As man that wold be lorn.	lost (destroyed)
	Therfor I thee praye	
	Wend we forth owre wey,	
	That we com not hym beforn."	[So] that
885	Libeus seyd, "That were grete schame.	
	I had lever," he seyd, "Be Seynt Jame,	rather
	With wyld hors to be torne."	
	The meyd feyr and fre	
	Hyghed hyr sykerly,	Hastened
890	That sche were atyred	[So]; attired
	For to do his profyte	him honor
	In kercheffys feyr and whyte	
	Areyd with gold wyre.	thread
	A vyolet mantyll full gey	
895	Furred with grys, soth to sey,	gray fur
	Sche cast aboute hyr swyre.	neck
	The stonys aboute hyr mowld	head
	Were presyows endentyd with gold,	precious [and] inlaid
	The best of all that schyre.	shire (land)
900	Syr Lybeus sett that mey	
	Úpon a god palfrey;	good palfrey (horse)
	They ryden forth all thre.	
	Every man to other gan sey,	began to say to each other
	"Here comys a full feyr mey,	- •
905	A sembly one to se."	beautiful (seemly)
	Into the merketplace he rode	-
	And ther boldly he abode	waited
	In myddys of that syté.	
	Than thei se Gefferon com ryde	

910	With two squyres be his syde And with no mo meyné.	no more of a retinue
	He bore a scheld of grene That wele was dyght, I wene;	made; I believe
915	Of gold was the border, And of the same colorus Dyght with other floures	
	Was geyer than any trumpour. Two squyres with hym gan ryde:	Trumpeter
	The ton bare be hys syde	The [first] one carried by
920	Thre schaftys gode and suer.	sure
	The other bare, redy bone,	readily prepared
	The gentyll joly faucon, The two ladys waygewr.	wager
	Therafter com ryde	
925	A lady full of pride	
fol. 47v	Clothyd in purpull paule.	fine cloth
101. 477	The pepull was gederyd full wyde To se bothe bake and syde,	
	So gentyll was and smalle.	So noble and slender [she] was
930	Hyre mantyll was of reyfyen,	striped cloth
	Furred wele with armen Riche and ryall,	ermine
	The bond aboute hyr mold	band; head
	Of perles and of gold	[Was made]
935	With many a rych jewell.	
	As rose hyr rud was rede;	complexion
	The here schon on hyr hede As gold that were full bryght,	
	Hyr browys as sylkyn thred	[were as] silken
940	Bent in lenth and brede.	Curved
	Sche was full feyre in syght:	
	Hyr eyn ware gray as glas,	eyes
	Whyte was hyr face,	
045	Hyr nose it was ryght,	straight
945	Hyr swyre was long and small. Hyr beuty to tell all,	neck; slender
	For soth, no man myght.	
	Than sche mayde to bryng	
050	Two cheyres into the chepyng,	marketplace
950	Ther beutys to discry.	beauties to examine
	Than seyd bothe old and yenge, "For soth, withouten lesynge,	
	30011,	

955	Betwyx them is partye. Jefferonus leman is clere, As bryght as rose on brere, For soth, and not to lye.	Between them there is a great difference
	Elyn the messynger Were worthy to be a lawnder Of hyr noryssery."	washerwoman By her upbringing
960	Quod Gefferon LeFreudeus, "Be the love of Jhesus, The faukon hast thou lorn." Quod Lybeus Disconeus, "The transport of the service of the ser	lost
965	"That was never myn use; Juste we wyll therforne. And thou fell me doune, Take my hed and thy fawcon As covant was beforn.	If the agreement
970	And yff I bere doune thee, The fawcon schall go with me, Thoff thou be wroth therforn."	
	No more tale thei tellyd, Bot went into the felyd	
975	With full grete partye. With strokys styff on scheld, Ather to other held With full grete invye. Ther sperys broke in sonder,	combat Each to the other struck hostility asunder
980 fol. 48v	The strokys faryd as thunder That com out of the eyre. Mynstrellus and trumperus, Herperus and gesterus, Ther strokys gan dyscry.	air trumpeters storytellers did proclaim
985	Than gan Gefferon speke: "Gyff me one that wyll not breke, A god schaft therwithall.	
000	Se this yonge freke Syttys in hys sadull steke As ston in castell walle!	Look at; warrior fixed
990	I schall make hym stoupe Over hys hors croupe And gyffe hym an evyll falle,	fall hindquarters
995	Thoffe he were wyghter Than Alysander or Arthour, Lanslate or Persyvale."	stronger

	The knyghtys both two	
	The knyghtys both two Ryden togeder tho	
	With full grete rawundon.	violence
	Lybeus smote Gefferon so	violence
1000	That hys scheld fell hym fro	
1000	Into the feld anone.	
		I I J
	They laught all that ther was	laughed
	And seyd, withouten les,	
1005	Duke, erle and baron,	
1005	That never are thei se	That they had never seen before
	That man that myght dre	survive
	A stroke of Syr Gefferon.	
	Gefferon rode to hym swythe,	immediately
	For soth, full felle sythe,	many times
1010	For he myght not spede.	succeed
	He rode agens hym as gode;	as well
	He leyd at hym as he were wode,	
	As man that had grete nede.	
	Bot Lybeus sate so faste	sat so firmly
1015	That Gefferon ther he caste,	overthrew
	Both hym and hys stede,	
	So that hys bake he brake	
	That men myght here the crake	
	Both in lenth and brede.	
1020	All seyd that ther weren	
	That Gefferron had lorn	lost
	The gentyll joly faucon;	
	With Lybeus he was bore.	carried
	They wente bothe les and more	
1025	With hym into the towne.	
	Gefferon and hys scheld	
	Were bore oute of the feld	
	With many a bold baron.	
	The jentyll faucon sent was	
1030	Be a knyght that hyght Lucas	was named
	To Arthour, kyng with croune.	
	The knyght forth he yede.	
	With hym than he gan lede	
	The faukon that Libeus wan;	won
fol. 48v	To Arthour he hym bare.	won
1036	Than the kyng he swere,	
1030	"Syr Libeus of wer wele can!	is skilled in war
	He hath me sent with honour	sent me [tribute] with honor
	Of dyverse batels fowre	sem me promej wat nonor
	or ay verse paters rowre	

1040	Sen that he fyrst begane. I wylle send tresoure For to spend with honour, As fallys to sych a mane."	Since
1045	An hundred pownd honeste Of florens of the beste He sente to Cardull toune. Syr Libeus made a feste	excellent (fine) florins (coins) feast
1050	That fourty deys leste With lordys of grete renown. And at the six wekys ende They toke ther lefe to wende, Duke, erle, and barone. Syr Libeus and that mey	lasted
1055	Rode on ther jorney Towerd Synadone.	
	As thei ryden onne the row, Hornes they herd blaw And hundys on grete gale. The duerfe seyd in a thraw,	hounds; cry (barking) instant
1060	"The horne wele I knaw. To sey withouten feyle, Syr Otys it blew so wele, That servyd my lady some while	
1065	Sembly in hyr sale. When sche was take with wyle, He fled for dowte of perylle West into the vayle."	Capably; hall guile valley
1070	As thei stode talkyng, Ther com a rache rynning Ryght into the wey.	hunting dog
	They seyd, withoute lesyng, Seth thei were fyrst begynyng, Saw thei non so gay. For he was of all colours	Since
1075	That men se on the flowrys Betwyx Mydsomour and May. The meyd seyd full sone, "I saw never none	
	So mekyll to my pay.	much to my liking
1080	"Wold God," sche seyd, "that he my were." Syr Libeus toke the hunde ther And gafe hym to meyd Elyn.	were mine

	Thei ryden forth all sawght	They rode forth peacefully
	And told how kempys faught	warriors
1085	For byrdys bryght and schene.	maidens
	They ryden bot a while,	[had] ridden
	The space of a myle,	
	In that forest grene,	
fol. 49r	They saw a hynd come stryke	[When]; hind (female deer) come dashing
1090	And two grewhundys evyn lyke	
	The rache that I of mene.	I spoke of
	They hovyd under a lynde	waited under a bough
	To se the course of the hynde,	Ŭ
	Syr Libeus and hys fere.	companions
1095	Than come after the hynde	1
	A knyght clothyd in inde	blue
	Upon a bay deyster.	war-horse
	Hys bugyll gan he blaw	
	For that his men schuld knaw	
1100	In what sted that they were.	place
	He seyd "Be Seynte Martyne,	1
	That ilke rache was myne	hunting dog
	Not fully gon a yere.	Not more than a year ago
	,	,
	"Gode frend, late the hund go."	
1105	Syr Libeus ansuerd tho,	
	"That schall never betyde,	happen
	For with my handys two	
	I toke hym the meyd to	gave him to the maiden
	That stondys here besyde."	
1110	Quod Syr Otys de la Byle,	
	"Thou puttys thee in perelle,	You put yourself in danger
	Sertys, and thou abyde."	Certainly, if you stay
	Syr Libeus seyd, "Be Seynt Gyle,	
	I gyff not of thi gyle,	give (care); cunning (skill)
1115	Carle, thoff thou chyde."	Churl, though
	Quod Syr Otys in that while,	
	"Sertys this wordys ben vyle!	
	Carle was I never none:	
	An erle my fader was welle;	
1120	The countas of Carlehyll,	Carlisle
	Sertys, sche was my dame.	mother
	Yif I were armyd now	
	Als redy as thow,	As ready as you [are]
	Fyght we wold in same.	together
1125	Bot thou that rache leve,	Unless; give up

	Thou schall pley or eve A wounder wyld game."	before evening
	Quod Libeus "Do thi beste	
	In hast yff thou lyste;	Right away if you like
1130	Thys rache with me schall wend."	will go with me
	They toke the wey weste	
	Into the wyld foreste	
	As the duerfe them kende.	guided them
	Syr Otys with grete errour	anger
1135	Rode home in that stowre,	time
	And aftyr hys frendys send,	
	And told them anon ryght	
	Of Arthouras halle is a knyght	1. 1
	Schamefully had hym schend	disgraced
1140	And his rache refte hym.	robbed him of his dog
	They seyd all and some	
	That traytour schuld be take.	captured
fol. 49v	Thei seyd thei schuld hym hyng	hang
	Thoff he were als strong	as
1145	As Lanslate the Lake.	Lancelot [of]
	They dyght them full wele	armed
	In irene and in stele	
	As warre schuld awake.	stir up
1150	Bothe knyghtys and skuyres	,
1150	Lepte on ther deystyres	war-horses
	For ther lordys sake.	
	Fer uppon a hyll so hye	
	Syr Libeus thei gon sye	see
	Ridyng forth hys pase.	way
1155	To hym gan thei cryghe,	
	"Traytour, thou schall abyghe	pay
	Todey for thi trespas."	
	Libeus stode and beheld	
	How full was the feld,	
1160	So myche folke ther was.	So many people
	He seyd to meyd Elyn,	
	"For this rache, I wene,	I think
	Here comys a sory case.	
	"I rede that ye withdraw	I advise
1165	Under the wode schaw	wood's shade
	Youre hedys for to hyde.	
	The soth for to seyn,	
	Thoff I schall be sleyn,	

	Them all I schall abyde."	await (repay)
1170	Into the forest he rode	
	And boldly ther he abode	
	As prince prowd in pride. With bow and with arow blaste	
1175	To hym thei schot full faste	and a
1173	And made hym wondys wyde.	wounds
	Syr Libeus stede so rane	
	He bore doune hors and man;	
	For nothyng wold he spare.	
1100	All the men seyd than,	
1180	"This is the fend Sathan!	
	Oure kynd he wyll forfare."	destroy
	Whom that Sir Libeus raught,	struck
	He slew with his draught	blow
1185	And slew for ever more. And thus sone he was besette	
1165		
	As the fysche in the nette	Garage Nauman officers
	With grymly gromys there.	fierce young officers
	Twelve knyghtys all preste	prepared
	Com oute of the foreste	
1190	In armour clere and bryght.	
	All that dey had thei reste	
	And byden in the foreste	waited
	To sle Libeus the knyght.	
	In armour thei were twelve:	
1195	One was Otys hymselve,	
	In romans to rede ryght.	As one rightly reads in romance
	They smote to hym at ons;	_
	They thought to breke his bonus	bones
	And sle hym in that tyde.	
fol. 50r	Ther myght men here ryght	hear
1201	Strokys sadly lyght	heavily landed
	Among them alle in fere.	together
	For sothe, withoute lesyng,	
	The sperkyllys out gane spryng	sparks; flew
1205	Throught helme and basnet ther.	helmet
	Syr Libeus slew knyghts thre	
	And foure awey gan fle,	
	Ne durste thei com hym nere.	
	The lord faught in that stoure	time
1210	With hys sonnys fowre	
	To helpe them in fere.	

	Syr Libeus leyd on strokys ryve;	plentiful
	He one agens fyve	
	Faught as he were wode.	
1215	Togyder gan thei dryve	
	As beys about an hyve;	bees
	Of hym rane the blode.	From him the blood ran
	When Syr Libeus was ney spylt,	nearly dead
	Hys suerd brake in the hylte;	
1220	Than was he mad of rede.	angry in mind
	The lord a stroke hym sette	
	Throught helme and basnet,	
	That to the flesch it bode.	reached
	He swonyd and fell adoune	
1225	Over hys hors crowpon	hindquarters
	As man that were amate.	exhausted
	Hys fo men were all bowne	ready
	To pare of hys crowne	pare off (cut off) his head
	Thorow helme, basnet, and plate.	1 00 00
1230	When he sore gane smerte,	suffered severe pain
	He plukyd up hys herte;	i.e., summoned his courage
	He coveryd upon hys state.	recovered his bearing
	He hent an ax that hong hym ne	grabbed; nigh (near)
	He smote the knyght don be the kne	down by
1235	Thorow habergon and plate.	coat of mail
	He styred hym ther as a knyght,	
	That thre knyghtys doune ryght	
	He slew at dyntys thre.	
	When the lord saw that syght	
1240	Of his hors he gan lyght;	
	Aweywerd he gan fle.	
	Syr Libeus no lenger abode;	
	Faste as he were wode	
	After hym rode he.	
1245	Under a cheston tre he had hym quellyd,	chestnut; would have killed him
	Had he not to hym ayelde	surrendered
	At his wyll for to be,	
	And, be a serteyn entent,	And [yielded] by clear decision
	Tresoure, londys, and rente,	, ,
1250	Castellus, halle and boure.	
	Therto Libeus asente,	
	In forwerd that he wente	[With the] promise that he would go
	Unto the Kyng Arthour,	- 1
fol. 50v	And sey, "Lord of renoune,	
1255	As overcome person	
	_	

	I ame to thyn honour."	
	The lord grantyd hys wyll,	
	Bothe loud and styll,	i.e., in all ways
	And lede hym to hys towre.	,
1260	The duerfe and meyd Elyn	
	Went with Libeus, I wene,	
	Unto Syr Otys castell.	
	Sche and the duerfe bedene	together
	Told of Syr Libeus dedys kene:	fierce
1265	Of Libeus how it fell,	happened
	And of the prisoners fowre	•
	That he sent to Artour,	
	That he wane ryght wele.	
	The lord was glad and blyth,	
1270	And thankyd God a hundred sythe,	
	And also Seynt Myghell,	Michael
	That sych an herdy knyght	
	Schuld wyne in fyght	
	Hys lady feyre and hend.	
1275	To kovyr meyn and myght	recover strength
	Fourti deys with the knyght	
	Ther than he gon lende,	delay
	And helyd hym every wonde	
	That he was hole and soune	[So] that he was whole and sound
1280	Be the fourti deys ende.	
	Than Libeus and that mey	
	Toke the redy wey	
	To Synadon to wend.	
	The lord withoute lettyng	delaying
1285	Went to Arthour the kyng	
	And for prisoner hym yeld.	gave himself up
	He told unto the kyng	
	How suche a knyght yeng	young
	Wan hym in the felde.	Overcame
1290	Kyng Arthour hade gode game	
	And hys knyghtys in same	
	That herd that tale itold.	
	And ther they chos hym, profytabull,	worthy
	A knyght of the Rownd Tabull	
1295	To fyght with spere and scheld.	
	Now reste we a whyle	
	Of Syr Otys de la Lyle,	
	A	

And tell we forth our tales.

Syr Lybeus rode many a myle 1300 In aventour and peryle	leaves grow green m] in beautiful halls
That tyme gan Libeus ryde Be a ryversyde 1310 And se a feyr syté fol. 51r With palys prowde in pride And castels hyghe and wyde	city walls
And gatys grete plenté. He askyd what it hyght. 1315 The mey seyd anon ryght, "I wyll gladly tell thee: Men calys thys Yl d'Ore; Here is fyghtyng more Than is in many cuntré.	many gates Isle of Gold
1320 "For a lady of price — Hyr rudde is reder than the ryse — This cuntré is all in doute. A gyant that hyght Magus —	gentility cheeks; rose fear
Hys pere not fownd is — 1325 He hath her besett abowte. He is blake as any pyche; In all this lond is non so stoute. The knyght that passyth this bryge Hys armour he muste doune lyge	trapped fierce lay
1330 Or to the gyaunte loute. "He is of thryty fote longe, For sothe also stronge	bow tall
As other knyghtys fyfty. Syr Lybeus, thinke on thy suete That thou not with hym mete, For he is full grymly.	suit (purpose)
The here of hys berd gryme Be like the brystelles of a suyne, For soth wytterly. 1340 Hys bonys are full long And hymselfe full strong, And sleys all that com hym by.	of his fearsome beard swine (boar) In certain truth

	"For soth he is as grymly,	
	As I telle thee vereley	truthfully
1345	And also pardye,	certainly
	As any ox or cow.	
	For soth as I sey yow,	
	An asse or any nete	An ass or cattle
1950	With carte styffe and gode	sturdy
1350	Uneth, be the rode,	Scarcely (with difficulty), by the cross
	Mey hym and hys gere lede.	Can pull him and his gear
	He is styff and sture;	fierce endure his blows
	Ther may no man hys dyntys dore, So than are thei grete."	enaure nis viows
	30 than are thei grete.	
	Quod Libeus, "Meyd hend,	Noble maiden
1355	My wey wyll I wynd	
	For all his strokys yll.	
	Yiff God wyll me grace sende,	
	Or this dey be at the ende	
	With fyght I schall hym spylle.	kill
1360	I have sene grete okys	oaks
	Fall with wynd strokys	
	And smale stond full stylle.	
	I sett not by hym a myte,	
fol. 51v	And let God do hys wylle."	
1365	Thei ryden forth all thre	
	To that feyre syté	city
	That men callyd Yl d'Or.	
	Than Magus gan thei se	
	Upon the bryge of tre,	wood
1370	Bold as any bore.	
	Hys scheld was blake as pyche —	
	Lybeus saw never non syche —	
	Fowre mawmentys therin were.	idols (i.e., pictures of idols)
	Ther no whyle he stode;	not long
1375	To Lybeus sone he rode.	
	He was blake as any bere.	
	When he saw Libeus with syght	
	He seyd to hym anon ryght,	
	"Tell me, what arte thow?	
1380	Turne agen al so tyte	quickly
	For thine awne profyte,	1 3
	Yif thou love thi prow!"	well-being
	Syr Lybeus seyd iplyght,	truly
	"Kyng Arthour made me knyght	•
1385	And to hym I made a vowe	

	That I schuld never turne bake For thee, thow fend blake; Make thee redy now."	From
1390	Magus on fote forth yede And Lybeus rode to hym on stede, For soth, than full ryght. Lordys and ladys	In truth, right away
	Rode in ther curyculys To behold that syght.	chariots
1395	They prayd God of his wyll, Both lowd and styll, To save that Crystyn knyght,	i.e., in every way
1400	And gyff grace that the gyant That levys of the Termegant Thys dey be sleyn in fyght.	believes in a heathen god day
	Ther schaftys brake in sonder,	asunder
1405	Ther strokys faryd as thunder, The sperkyllus gan out spryng. They drew suerdys bothe	sparks; flew
	As men that were wroth And gan togeder dynge. Every man had wounder tho	strike blows
1410	That Syr Lybeus was not smyte in two At the fyrst begynyng. Syr Libeus smote Magus tho, That hys suerd flyye hym fro And fro hym it gan swyng.	
	Syr Magus dyde quyte hym tho,	repay
1415	And smote Lybeus stede so That he sched hys breyn. Syr Libeus nothing he seyd,	horse lost his head
	Bot up he sterte in a brayd Ryght full sone agene.	moment
fol. 52r 1421	An ax he hente full sone That hang by hys croupon And smote hym with meyn, That a pese of hys scheld	grabbed [horse's] hindquarters strength
1425	Fell doune in the feld And fell doune on the pleyn.	
	Togyder onne fote thei gan fyght That no man dyskryve myght	describe
	The strokys betwyx them two, For thei were unsaught.	hostile

1430	Depe wondys thei raught Ayther other to slo.	attempted Each other
	Fro the owre of prime	early morning (approx. 6 a.m.)
	Unto the evynsong tyme	evening services
	In fyght were thei tho.	
1435	Syr Lybeus a-thurstyd sore,	
	And seyd, "Magus, thi ore!	your grace (mercy)
	To drynke thou late me go.	
	"And I schall grante thee	
	What boune so thou aske me,	request
1440	Syche grace may betyde.	repay
	Grete schame it were thee to	1 7
	A knyght for thyrst to slo,	slay
	And full lytell profyte."	honor
	Magus grantyd hys wyll	
1445	For to drinke hys fyll	
	Withouten more delyte.	delay
	As Lybeus ley on the banke	
	And thrught hys helme he dranke,	
	Magus gan hym smyte.	
1450	Into the ryver he fell,	
	Hys armour every dele	every bit
	Wette and evyll dyght.	badly made
	Up he stert full snell	quickly (fiercely)
	And seyd, "Be Seynt Myghell,	1 50
1455	Now ame I to thee lyght!	ready for you
	Wenyst thou, fendys fere,	Did you think, friend of the devil
	Uncrystend that I were?	
	To thee my trought I plyght:	pledge my word
	I schall for thi baptyse	baptism
1460	Wele quyte thee thy servys,	Pay you well for your service
	Throught helpe of God almyght."	
	Than a new fyght began	
	And ayther to other rane	each to the other
	And gafe ther dyntys strong.	
1465	Many a gentyll man	
	And ladys whyte as swane	swans
	For Lybeus ther hondys wrong,	
	For Magus in the feld	
	Cleft Syr Libeus scheld	
1470	Throught dynte of armys strong.	
	Than Lybeus rane awey	
	Ther Magus scheld ley	[To] where Magus's shield
	And up he gan it fong.	took it

fol. 52v 1475	And Libeus rane to hym agene And smote hym with meyne; Ayther other gan aseyle.	vigor Until
	To the dey was dyme, Besyde the water bryme	bank
1480	The knyghtys held bateyle. Syr Libeus was weryour wyght And gane strokys of myght Throught plate and male And throw his schulder bone, That hys ryght arme anon	a strong warrior
1485	Fell in the feld withouten feyle.	
	Tho gyant gan to se That he sleyn schuld be; He stode to fense ageyne. And at the secund stroke,	fight
1490	Syr Lybeus to hym smote And brake hys arme in tweyn. The gyant ther he levyd, Lybeus smot of hys hede; Therof he was full feyn.	left off
1495	He bore the hed into the toune; With a feyr prosessyon The folke come hym agene.	
1500	That lady was whyte as flowre That men callyd Denamowre, Reseyved hym full sone And thankyd hym with honour	(see note) [She] received
	That he was hyr socoure Agene the gyant so fell.	aid cruel
1505	To a chambyr sche gan hym lede And changyd ther all his wede; In paule sche clothyd hym welle. Sche proferd hym at a word Ever more to be hyr lord Of cyté and of castell.	clothes fine cloth offered
1510	Lybeus grantyd hyr in haste And love to hyr he caste. For ever at the last	swiftly granted her [desire] (see note)
1515	Sche dyd hym traye and tene: Fully thre wekys and more Sche made hym to duell thore And also meyden Elyn, That he ne myght oute breke	betray and harm

	For to helpe ne wreke The lady of Synadowne.	avenge
1520	For that feyre lady	
	Couth more of sorsery	Knew
	Than other sych fyfe.	five other such [ladies]
	Of many a dyverse melody	
1505	Sche mad hym mynstralsy	
1525	That myght no man dyscry.	tell of
	For when he saw hyr face	
	Hym thought that he was	
fol 59n	In paradys onne lyfe.	illusions and faim (manis)
fol. 53r 1530	Wyth fantasy and feyrye Sche bleryd hys eye,	illusions and fairy (magic) blinded
1550	That evyll mote sche prove.	attempt
	That evyn mote sene prove.	инетр
	Tyll it befell onne a dey	
	He mette Elyn the mey	
	By a castell towre.	
1535	To hym sche gan sey,	
	"Knyght, take hede to thi ley	pledge
	Agens Kyng Arthor!	To
	For the love of a woman	
	That mych of sorsery can,	knows
1540	Thow doyst thee dyshonour.	
	That Lady of Synadon	
	May long lyghe in prison;	
	That is full grete dolour!"	
	When that he herd hyr speke	
1545	Hym thought hys herte wold breke	
	For that gentyll dame.	
	He toke with hym hys stede,	
	Hys armour and hys other wede,	
	And rode forth in same.	together
1550	The ladys stewerd hend	
	He made with hym to wend;	
	Syr Gesloke was hys name.	
	They roden forth talkyng,	
	And so thei dyde syngyng,	
1555	And lewgh and made gret game.	laughed
	Syr Lybeus and that mey	
	Rode over ther jorney	
	On stedys bey and browne.	
	Tyll the thyrd dey	
1560	They se a cyté gey.	

1565	Men callyd it Syndoune, With castellus hyghe and wyde And palsyd prowde in pride, And werke of feyr facyon. Syr Lybeus askyd that mey Whos was that castell gey That stode ther in that towne.	splendidly enclosed with walls appearance
1570	And sche hym telyd anon; "Syr," sche seyd, "by Seynt John, It is my ladys fre. In yon feyre castell	
1 2 7 2	Wounys a gyaunt felle, For sothe wytterly. Hys name is callyd Lamberte,	Dwells; fierce verily
1575	Of all this lond stewerte, Sertys as I tell thee. And whoso comys into that gate	
	To aske herborow therate Just with hym wyll he."	lodging Joust
1580	Quod Lybeus, "Be my lewté, That wold I blythly se For ought that may betyde. Thof he be never so stoute,	faith
1585	Forsoth I schall make hym to lowte, So schall I to hym ryde.	bow down
fol. 53v	Therfor meyden Elyn, Ye and the duerfe bedene In the towne ye mey me byd."	together wait
1590	Forth than the meyd rode; The duerfe not abode, He rode nyghe be hyr syde.	did not wait
	Syr Lybeus seyd to Geslake tyte, "To me it were grete dyspyte To lett for any man of lyve	immediately dishonor hesitate
1595	To do Kyng Arthour profyte. And to wyn that lady bryght Thether wyll I dryve.	
	Syr Gesloke, make thee yare Wyth me for to fare	ready
1600	Hastely and belyve." They ryden forthe all hate To the castell gate With feyr schaftys fyve,	busily hot (eager)

	And askyd ther hostell	lodging
1605	At the feyr castell	
	For two of Arthorus knyghtys. The porter feyre and welle	
	Lete them into the castelle	
	And askyd them anon ryghtus	
1610	Who was ther governour.	
	And thei seyd, "Kyng Arthour,	
	Man of most myghtys,	
	Kyng of all curtasy,	
	Flowre of all chevalry,	
1615	Hys fo men to fell in fyght."	
	Than the porter profytabull	worthy
	Unto hys lord constabull	
	This tale sone he tolde.	
1000	He seyd, "Withowtyn fabulle,	fable (a lie)
1620	Ther be of the Round Tabulle	
	Two knyghtys fers and bold.	
	The one is armyd sure In full rych armour	
	With thre lionus of gold."	
1625	The lord was glad and blyth	
	And seyd al so swyth	quickly
	With hym juste he wold.	1 7
	The porter went agen ryght	
	And seyd to the gentyll knyght,	
1630	"For nothyng that thow lete,	delay
	Loke your scheldys be strong	
	And youre sperys long,	
	Or your deth ye gete,	
	"And rydys into the feld;	
1635	My lord with spere and scheld	
	With yow he wyll pley."	
	Syr Lybeus spake wordys bold:	
	"Thys be wordys wele told	
1640	And lykyng to my pey."	pleasure
1640	Into the feld thei ryden	
	And ther boldly abyde— Went thei not awey.	
fol. 54r	Lanbert sent after hys stede,	
	Hys scheld and hys other wede;	
1645	Hys atyre was full gey.	

1650	A scheld he bere full fyne: Thre borys hedys were dynt therin Blake as brond brend, The borderes were of ermyn. Saw he never so queynte a gyne	set burnt wood so marvelous a work
1655	In lond werein he wente. Than two sqyres went be his syde; Thre shafftys thei bore that tyde To dele doughty dynt. He was wonder gay	
	And also large of pay In werre and in tournament. The thanks Son Landbart	generous
1660	That hyght Syr Lambert Was armyd at all ryghtys. He rode into the feld werd Prowde as any lyberd To abyde the knyghtys. He sey Lybeus that tyde	toward the combat field leopard wait for
1665	And fast to hym gan ryde When he hym se in syght. He than to hym bare A scheld that was square, As man of mych myght.	strong
1670	Ayther smote other in the scheld, That the pesys flow in the feld With ther strokys bedene. Every man to other told, Bothe yong and old,	pieces flew together
1675	"Thys yong knyght is kene." Lambert hys course rode And gryned as he were wode For ire and full of tene. He seyd, "Bryng me a schafte,	grinned anger
1680	And if he cane hys crafte Sone it schall be sene."	knows his art (i.e., fights well)
1685	Than toke thei schaftys rownd With hedys scherpe wele grounde And rode with grete rawndon. They prikyd in that stounde To dele depe wond, Eger as any lyon. Syr Lybeus smote Lambert so That his scheld fell hym fro	sharp points violence place

1690	Into the feld adoune. So herd onne hym he hytte That he myght not sytte; Of hys hors he was bowne.	Off; sent
1695	Hys scheld he smote so herd; Syr Lybeus smote Lamberte On hys helme so bryght. Peyzen, vynteyl, and gourger Flew with the helme in fere And Lambert flew upryght.	[Fragments of] armor around the neck and throat together
fol. 54v 1701	Syr Lambert thought to juste better; A new helme ther was fette Ayther onne other sette Strokys grym and grete.	joust fetched
1705	Than the constapull Syr Lambert	constable (steward)
1705	Fell over hys hors bakewerd Withowtyn any lete. Syr Lambert suere full sone, "By hym that made son and mone, He schall my lady gete!"	without fail
1710	Syr Lambert was aschamyd. Syr Lybeus seyd, "Be not agravyd." And he ansuerd, "Ney, For sen that tyme that I was born	aggrieved
1715	Saw I never knyght me beforn So strong be this dey. Be thoght that I was inne, Yyff thou were of Gaweyns kynne, That is so stoute and gey."	until this day I had a thought (I wondered) kinship
1720	"Arte thou he," seyd Lybeus tho, "That hath don so mykyll wo To the quen of Synadon? Tell thou me or we hens gon,	holova rua go further
	Or I suere be Seynt Jhon	before we go further
1725	That I schall pare thy croune." The stewerd ansuerd and seyd,	cut off your head
	"Syr, be not yll apayd, For sche is my lady. Sche is quen of all this lond	ill pleased
1730	And I hyr stewerd, I understond, For soth wytterly."	truly
	, ,	J

	Syr Lybeus ansuerd tho, "I wold feyne wyte who Hath brought hyr in dolour?"	know
	Syr Lambert seyd tho,	
1735	"They ben clerkys two	
	That do that dyshonour."	
	Anon meyd Helyn	
	Was sent after with knyghtys kene	
1740	Befor Syr Lamberte.	
1740	Sche and the duerff, I wene,	, ,1
	Told the dedys bedene That their had thydarward	together
	That thei had thyderwerd.	[in going] to there
	And told how Syr Lybeus	
	Faught with many schrewus	villains
1745	And hym grevyd nothyng.	
	Than were thei all blythe	
	And thankyd God fele sythe,	many times
	Jhesus hevyn kyng.	
	Anon with myld chere	
1750	They were sett to sopere	
	With myche gle and game.	
	Lybeus and Lambert in fere	
	Of aventurys that were	
	They told both in same.	together
fol. 55r	Syr Libeus seyd, withoutyn fabull,	
1756	To Sir Lambert the constabull,	
	"What is the knyghtys name?"	
	"Syr," he seyd, "be Seynt John,	
	Knyght ther is none	
1760	That durst hyr awey lede.	
	Two clerkys ben ther fone,	foes
	Fals of blode and bone,	
	That hath don that dede.	
1765	They ben men of mastrye,	great power
1703	Klerkys of nygromansye, Sertys ryght to rede.	necromancy (black magic) to recount rightly (in truth)
	Irain is the o broder,	to recount rightly (in trush)
	Mabon is the oder;	
	For theym we bene in dred.	
1770	"Irain and Mabon	
1770	Made a hous of ston	
	A place queynt of gyne.	skillfully (cunningly) made
	Ther nis nether erle ne baron	J J (6)/

1775	That beryght herte as a lyon That ons durste cum therinne.	Who bears a heart like a lion's Who has once dared come therein
	"Therin is a prisone, And the lady of Synadowne Ther within is dyght. Oft we here hyr crye,	placed (condemned)
1780	Bot to se hyr with eye Therto have we no syght. Thys Mabon and Irain Hath swore ther othys sertan To deth thei wyll hyr dyght,	condemn
1785	Bot sche grante theym tyll To do all ther wyll And gyff them all hyr ryght.	Unless; to them
1790	"Of al this kyngdom feyre Than is my lady eyre To weld all with wyne." Quod Lybeus Dysconeus, "For the love of Jhesus, That lady wyll I wynne!"	heir rule; pleasure
1795	Ther was no more tale In the castell of gret ne smale, Bot suppyd than bylyve. Baronus and burges fele in fay Com to that sembly say	[they] dined without delay (joyfullly) many in faith handsome hall
1800	For to lysten and lyth When that the prowde stewerd That men call Syr Lamberd With Libeus hys case gan kythe.	hear
1805	They fonde them at soper And made them nobull cher Knyghtys both stute and stythe.	inform stout and strong
	Ther than gan thei duell In that ilke castell All the long nyght.	
fol. 55v 1810	On the morow Libeus was preste In armour of the beste;	ready
	Full fresch he was to feyght.	eager
	Syr Lambert lede in the gate Ryght unto the castell gate That stode uppe full ryght.	way gate
1815	Ferthyr durst he hym not bryng,	dared

	For soth withouten lesyng, Baron, burges ne knyght.	
1820	And turnyd hym agene Syr Gesloke, Lybeus sueyne, With hym feyn wold have ryde.	turned back again swain (squire) [Although] he wanted to ride with him
	Syr Libeus swer in serteyn He wold se Syr Geslokys breyn Yyf he wold ther abyde.	i.e., split his head open
1825	On to the castell agen he rode And with Syr Lambert abode. To Jhesu fast thei cryed That he schuld send them tydingys glad Of hym that long had Thyder sought full wyde.	back again he (Sir Gesloke) rode
1830	Syr Lybeus, knyght curtays, Rode into the pales And at the haule he lyght. Trumpys, pypus, and schalmes He herd befor the dese	dismounted Trumpets, pipes, and shawms (oboes) high table
1835	And se theym with syght. In mydys of the haule flore He saw a fyre sterke and store Was tend and byrned full bryght.	strong and fierce alight
1840	And ferther in he yede And toke with hym hys stede That was full gode in feyght.	
1845	Lybeus forth gan passe Forth into the plas Ther the fyre was in haule. Nether of more ne les	
1013	He ne saw in the face Bot mynstrellus clothyd in paulle. With fydell and with sautré And ilke maner of mynstralsé	(i.e., saw at all) fine cloth psaltery (stringed instrument) every
1850	Grete gle made thei all. Herpe, pype, and rote, Orgeynus mery of note, Was within the walle.	stringed instrument Organs
1855	Befor iche mynstrell gode A torch brynand ther stode Was tend and byrnand bryght. Syr Libeus in he yode	ignited went
	To wytt with egyr mode	learn; spirit

fol. 56r 1861	Who schuld with hym fyght. He wente abowte in the halle To behold the pyllers alle That were so feyre of syght; Of jasper and fyne crystall Were their wrought all	
1865	Were thei wrought all, That were of mych myght.	of great skill
	The dorys thei were of bras,	doors
	The wyndew were of glas Wroght with ymegerry.	imagery
1870	The haule so peyntyd was That never non feyrer was That he hade sene with yghe.	eye
	He sette hym onne the deyze;	high table
	The mynstrallys were in peys, That were so sturdy.	silent loud
1875	The torchys that were bryght	
	They wente oute anon ryght; The mynstrellus were awey.	
	The dorys and the wyndos all	
1880	They hytt into the haule As it were dynte of thonder.	shut
1000	The stones in the walle	
	On hym gan thei falle;	
	The ortho borns to quake	
1885	The erthe began to quake, The deyze began to schake	high table
	As he sate ther under.	0
	The haule roffe also	roof
	Hym thought wold cleve in two As it schuld in sonder.	
1890	As he sate thus and seyd He thought he was betrayd,	said [to himself]
	Stedys herd he nye.	Steeds he heard near
	Than was he better payd,	pleased
1895	And to hymselve he seyd, "Yet I hope to pley."	
1000	As he lokyd into the feld,	
	He saw with schaftys and scheld	
	Men of armys twey	
1900	In full gode armour Was legud with trapor	[That] was covered with cloth
	With gylden garlond gay.	golden garlands

	The one rod into the halle And loude he gan to calle:	
	"Syr knyght aventorys,	adventurous
1905	Syche a case ther is befalle	It is such that
	Thof thou be prowd in paule	Although; proudly dressed
	Fyght thou must with us.	
	I hold thee quente of gyne	clever in your tricks
	Yif thou that lady wyne	
1910	That is so presyos."	
	Quod Lybeus anon ryght,	
	"Redy I ame to fyght,	.11
	Be the leve of Jhesus."	will
	Syr Libeus with a gode herte	
1915	Into the sadyll he sterte;	leapt
	A spere in hond he hente	grabbed
fol. 56v	And smertly rode hym tylle	
	Hys fo men for to kylle.	
1000	He had grete talente;	
1920	When thei togedyr smyte	
	On ther scheldys thei hytte	
	With sperys and doughty dynte. Mabonus schaft braste;	
	Than was he sore agaste	
1925	And held hym schamly schent.	disgraced
	, ,	o
	With hys spere felon	fierce
	Lybeus bare hym downe	
	Over hys hors tayll.	
1000	That hors he bore to grownd	
1930	And Mabon fell that stound	id and fail (and la)
	Into the feld saunfeylle. Nygh hand he hade hym sleyn,	without fail (truly) Nearly
	Bot than came Irain	iveariy
	With helme, hamberke, and male.	armor
1935	Full fresche he was to fyght;	eager
	Syr Libeus anon ryght	8
	Thought hym to aseyle.	
	Syr Lybeus was of hym were,	aware
	And hys spere he to hym bere	
1940	And left hys brother stylle.	
	Syche dyntys he gaffe ther	
	That Iramus hambreke he tere	coat of mail he tore
	And than he lykyd yll.	was angry (discomforted)
	Ther suerdys drew thei tho	
1945	And brake ther suerdys in two	

	With hertys grym and grylle. Togyder gan thei fyght;	fierce
	Ather preved ther myght Other for to spyll.	kill
1950	As thei togyther gan hew, Mabon, the more schrew, Than full sone he ros.	wicked
	He herd and welle knew	
1955	That Irain gaff dyntys few; Therfor hys herte aros.	courage revived
	To hym he went full ryght To helpe and to fell in fyght	
	Syr Lybeus of nobull los. Lybeus faught with them bothe	reputation (honor)
1960	And kepyd them in clos.	close by
	When Irain saw Mabon	
	He smot a stroke felon To Syr Lybeus with ire,	wicked
1965	That evyn he cleft down With hys suerd broune	So that he even cleaved
1303	Syr Lybeus stedys swyr.	steed's neck
	Lybeus was waryer slye, And smote atwo hys thye	warrior skilled
fol. 57r	And kerfe bothe bone and lyre. Ther helpyd hym not hys armour,	flesh
1971	Acaton nother his charmour;	Padded jacket nor his spells
	So he quitte hym his hyre.	i.e., paid him back
	Libeus of his hors was lyght With Mabon for to fyght	dismounted
1975	In feld bothe in fere.	together
	Sych strokys thei dyght That the fyre sprong out ryght	
	Of scheld and helme clere. As thei togyder streke,	struck
1980	Ther suerdys together mette As ye may lysten and lere.	learn
	Mabon smote to Lybeus full swythe	readily
	And brake Lybeus suerd that was stythe.	strong
1005	O love was ther no word!	Of love (peace)
1985	He rane to Mabon ryght;	
	Full faste gan thei fyght, As gestours tellys at bord.	storytellers; table

1990	And ever faught Mabon As it were a lyon Syr Lybeus for to slo. Bot Lybeus kerve adone Hys scheld with hys swerd browne That he toke hys brother fro. In ryght tale as it is tolde,	
1995	The ryght arme with the schelde He bare awey also. Than seyd Mabon hym tyll, "Thy strokys beyn full yll! Gentyll knyght, now qwho!	ho! (stop)
2000	"I wyll me yeld to thee, With body and castellus fre Schall be at thi wyll. And that lady fre	
2005	That is in my posté Take I wyll thee tyll. For throught thi suerd dynte Myn one hand have I tynte That well nyghe wyll me spylle.	power (control) lost kill
2010	Therfor, thou save my lyve, And ever withouten stryffe At thi wyll I schall be."	[if] you save
2015	"Nay," quod Lybeus, "be my thryft, I wyll not of thi gyfte For all this werld to wyne. Turne thee, thefe, and fyght,	fortune will not [accept any]
	For I schall as I hyght Hew thy hede of thi chyn." Than Mabon and Syr Lybeus	promised
2020	Full fast togeder hewus; They let not for no synne. Syr Libeus was more of myght, And clefft his hed doune ryght And smot it of by the chyn.	struck i.e., nothing stopped them
fol. 57v 2025	Than Mabon was sleyn, He ran towerd Irain With his swerd in syght For to se hys breyn. Ltell yow for system	When
2030	I tell yow for syrteyn, For to fyght more hym lyst. And when he come ther Awey he was bore	he desired

2035	To some place that he ne wyst. Than he swet for the nons Both in flesch and in bonus; In trewth full wele he tryst.	moment bones
	And when he myght not fynd Irain, He yede agene serteyn And he syghed full sore.	went back [to the hall]
2040	And seyd in dede and thought, "It wyll be dere bought That he is fro me fare,	cost me dearly
	For he wyll with sorsery Do me grete turmentry And that is my moste care."	torment
2045	He satte full styll and thought What he best do mought; Of blys he was full bare.	might
2050	As he satte thus in the haule Oute of the ston walle A wyndew feyre unfold.	opened
	Grete wonder withall In hys hert gan falle, And sate and gan behold.	[he] sat
2055	A worme ther out gan pas With a womans face Yong and nothing olde. Hyr body and hyr wyngys Schon all thingys As it were gleterring gold.	dragon (serpent) Illuminated
2060	Hyr tayll was unmete, Hyr palmys grym and grete, As ye mey lysten and lere. Syr Lybeus suette for hete	huge paws hear
2065	As he sate in hys sete, As he had be in fyre. So sore he was agast, Hym thought hys herte brast As sche neyghed hym nere.	drew near him
2070	And or Syr Lybeus wyst, The worme with mough hym kyst And hang aboute hys swyre.	before; knew mouth clasped his neck

And after that kyssyng Both the tayll and wyng Sone thei felle hyr fro.

2075 fol. 58r	So feyr in all thing Woman, withoute lesyng, Saw he never tho. ¹	
2080	Bot sche was all nakyd As the clerkys hyr makyd; Therfor Lybeus was wo.	
2000	Sche seyd, "Knyght gentyll, God yeld thee thy wyll; My fo men thou wold slo.	
2085	"Thow hast sleyn, for sothe,	has and
2000	The clerkys that well couthe Of sorcery be the fend.	knew from the devil
	Est, west, north and soughthe,	from the devu
	With maystery of ther mouthe	i.e., with their spells
	Many men thei schend.	ruined (killed, disgraced)
2090	Throught ther conjurment	magic
	To a worme thei had me schent,	disgraced
	Ever in wo to wende	to remain (wander) in misery forever
	Tyll I had kyssed Gaweyn	
	That is full doughty, serteyn,	
2095	Or some of hys kyne.	
	"For that thow hast savyd my lyfe,	
	Castellus fyfty and fyve	
	Take I wyll thee tylle,	I will give to you
	And myselve to wyfe,	,
2100	Styll withoutyn stryffe,	Peacefully
	Yiff that it be your wyll."	
	Lybeus was glad and blythe,	
	And lepe onne hys sted suythe	quickly
	And left that lady styll,	
2105	And seyd he dred Irain,	
	That he had hym not sleyn;	
	With spyte he thought hym to spyll.	kill
	Syr Lybeus, the knyght gode,	
	Into the castell yode	
2110	To seke after Irain.	
	He lokyd into the chambour	
	Ther he was in towre,	Where he was in a tower
	And ther sone he hym wane.	conquered
0115	He went into the towre	
2115	And in that ilke chambour	
	He saw Irain that man.	

 $^{^{-1}}$ Lines 2075–77: In truth, a woman so fair / In every way / He had never seen before

	He drew hys suerd with myght And smote of hys hede with ryght, For soth, of Irain than.	off
2120	Fro the castell than he rode. Ther all the folke hym abode; To Jhesu gan thei crye.	waited for him
fol. 58v	Lybeus to Lambert tolde	
0105	And to other knyghtys bold	1 . 1
2125	Hys tale full pretely: How Mabon was slayn,	charmingly
	And woundyd was Irain	
	Throught myght of God and of Mary,	
	And that lady bryght	
2130	To a dragon was dyght	turned
	Throught myght of sorcery.	power
	And with a kys of a knyght	
	A woman sche was aplyght,	truly
	A comly creature.	
2135	"Bot sche me stode before,	
	Nakyd as sche was bore,	[when] she was born
	And seyd, 'now ame I sure	
	"'My fo men thou hast sleyn,	
	Bothe Mabon and Irain;	
2140	Therfor joy God thee send."	
	When Lybeus in that forwerd	agreement
	Had told to Syr Lamberd	
	Both word and ende,	
	A robe of purpure pryce	fine purple
2145	Furred wele with gryce	gray fur
	He send hyr to begynyng.	as a start
	Kercheffys and garlondys ryche	
	He sent hyr privylyche;	privately
0150	A meyden gan them bryng.	4 16 1 1 1 1
2150	And sche was redy dyght, Sche went with men of myght	And [when]; dressed
	To hyr awne duellynge.	
	Than all the folke of Synadon	
	With a feyr processyone	
2155	That lady gane home bryng.	
	When sche was com to town	
	Of gold and presyous stones a crown	
	On hyr hed was sette.	

2160	They were glad and blythe, And thankyd God felle sythe That hyr balys were bette.	many times sorrows were better
2165	Than all the knyghtys doughty Send umage to that lady As it was law in londus. Sevyn deys thi made ther sogour With Syr Lambert in the towre; All men bowyd to hyr hondys.	homage custom in [those] lands sojourn (stay)
2170	And when thei had thus don They toke leve and went son, All the folke in same. Than went thei with honour Unto Kyng Arthour	soon together
2175 fol. 59r	With myche gle and game. They thankyd God of his myghtys, Kyng Arthour and hys knyghtys, That sche had no schame. Arthour gave belyve Syr Lybeus that mey to wyve, That was so jentyll a dame.	That she had been saved from shame gave joyfully wed
2180	The myrthe of that brydall	bridal feast
2185	May no man tell with tale, Ne sey in no geste. In that sembly sale Wher brydys grete and smale And ladys full honeste.	tale Were maidens
2103	Ther was many a man, And servys gode wone Both to most and leste, For soth the mynstrallus all	in goodly abundance
2190	That were in that halle, And gyftys of the beste.	gifts
2195	Syr Lybeus moder so fre Come to that mangeré; Hyr rudd was rede as ryse. Sche knew Lybeus wele be syght, And wyst wele anon ryght That he was of mych pryse.	feast complexion; rose excellence
2200	Sche went to Syr Gawen And seyd, "Withouten leyn, Thys is owre chyld so fre."	lie

000*	Than was he glad and blyth And kyssed hyre many a sythe, And seyd, "That lykes me." Syr Gawen, knyght of renown,	pleases
2205	Seyd to the Lady of Synadon, "Madame, treuly, He that hath thee wedyd with pride, I gate hym under a forest syde Of a gentyll lady."	begot
2210	Than that lady was blyth And thankyd hym many a syth, And kyssed hym sykerly. Than Lybeus to hym wan, And ther he kyssed that man,	brought Lybeus to him
2215	Forsoth, treuly.	
	He fell on kneys in that stond — Lybeus knelyd on the ground — And seyd, "For God all welding, That made the werld rownd,	all powerful
2220	Feyr fader, wele be ye fownd! Blysse me with your blyssyng."	
	That hend knyght Gawen Blyssed hys son with mayn	courteous strength
2225	And made hym up to stond. And comandyd knyght and sweyn To calle hym Gyngelayn That was lorde of lond.	swain (squire)
fol. 59v	Forty deys ther they duellyd	
2230	And grete fest thei held With Arthour the kynge.	
	As the gest hath told, Arthour with knyghtys bold Home gan hym bryng.	story
2235	Ten yere thei lyved in same With mekyll gle and game, He and that suete thyng.	together much joy and pleasure
	Jhesu Cryst, owre Savyour, And his moder, that suete floure, To heven blys us bryng.	
2240	Here endys the lyfe, I tell yow, withouten stryfe,	
	Of gentyll Libeus Disconeus. For his saule now byd ye	

2245	A Pater Noster and an Avé, For the love of Jhesus, That he of hys sawle have pyté,	Ave Maria (Hail Mary)
	And of owrys, if hys wyll be, When we schall wend therto. And ye that have herd this talkyng,	story
2250	Ye schall have the blyssing Of Jhesu Cryst allso.	,
	AMEN QUOD RATE	
	21. SIR CORNEUS	
	All that wyll of solas lere,	entertainment hear
	Herkyns now and ye schall here —	Listen
	And ye kane understond —	If
	Of a bowrd I wyll you schew,	joke; tell
5	That ys full gode and trew,	
	That fell sometyme in Ynglond.	happened once
	Kynge Arthour was of grete honour,	
	Of castellus and of many a toure,	
	And full wyde yknow;	known
10	A gode ensample I wyll you sey,	example (story, lesson)
	What chanse befell hym onne a dey —	
	Herkyn to my saw.	Listen; story
	Cokwoldys he lovyd, as I you plyght;	Cuckolds; promise
	He honouryd them both dey and nyght,	· 1
15	In all maner of thyng.	
	And as I rede in story,	
	He was kokwold sykerly —	truly
	For sothe it is no lesyng.	In truth it is no lie
	Herkyngys sires what I sey:	Listen
20	Here may ye here solas and pley,	entertainment
	If ye wyll take gode hede.	
fol. 60r	Kyng Arthour had a bugyll horn	(see note)
	That ever more stod hym beforn,	That always stood before him
	Were so that ever he yede.	Wherever he went
25	For when he was at the bord sete,	at the table
==	Anon the horne schuld be fette,	fetched
	Therof that he myght drynke.	jetenea
	For myche crafte he couth therby,	much skill (tricks) he knew
	joine draite he doddi therby,	messer sieve (er vene) ne ninew

30	And ofte tymes the treuth he sey; Non other couth he thynke. ¹	saw
	If any cokwold dryke of it, Spyll he schuld withouten lette;	should drink without fail
35	Therfor thei were not glade. Gret dispyte thei had therby, Because it dyde them vilony And made them oft tymes sade.	shame dishonor upset
40	When the kyng wold hafe solas, The bugyll was fett into the plas To make solas and game. And than changyd the cokwoldys chere; The kyng them callyd ferre and nere, Lordyngys by ther name.	brought into [that] place Gentlemen
45	Than men myght se game inowghe, When every cokwold on other leughe, And yit thei schamyd sore. Wherever the cokwoldys were sought, Befor the kyng thei were brought, Both lesse and more.	enough laughed [were] shamed sorely
50	Kyng Arthour than, verament, Ordeynd throw hys awne assent — Soth as I yow sey — The tabull dormounte withouten lette; Therat the cokwoldys were sette To have solas and pley.	truly Commanded by his own decision Truly as I tell you permanent (fixed) table without fail seated
55	For at the bord schuld be non other Bot every cokwold and hys brother — To tell treuth I must nedys. And when the cokwoldys were sette, Garlandys of wylos schuld be fette,	table I must seated willows; fetched
60	And sett upon ther hedys. Of the best mete, withoute lesyng, That stode on bord befor the kyng, Both ferr and nere,	food; lying (i.e., in truth) on [the] table
65	To the cokwoldys he sente anon, And bad them be glad everychon, For his sake make gode chere.	commanded; everyone

¹ He knew no other means [to obtain this knowledge]

	And seyd, "Lordyngys, for your lyves, Be never the wrother with your wyves,	Gentlemen
	For no maner of nede.	angrier reason
70	Of woman come duke and kyng,	[Born] from woman
	I yow tell without lesyng;	
	Of them com owre manhed."	manhood
fol. 60v	So it befell, serteynly,	
	The Duke of Gloseter com in hyghe	solemnly
75	To the courte with full gret myght.	
	He was reseyved at the kyngys palys	
	With mych honour and grete solas,	,
	With lordys that were wele dyght.	arrayed
0.0	With the kyng ther dyde he duell,	
80	Bot how long I can not tell:	
	Therof knaw I non name.	no information a remarkable event
	Of Kyng Arthour a wonder case,	a remarkavie eveni
	Frendys, herkyns how it was, For now begynnes game.	
	For now begyinnes game.	
85	Uppon a dey, withouten lette,	without fail
	The duke with the kyng was sette	J
	At mete with mykell pride.	great
	He lukyd abowte wonder faste,	looked about very intently
	Hys syght on every syde he caste	
90	To them that sate besyde.	
	The kyng aspyed the erle anon,	earl (see note)
	And fast he lowghe the erle upon,	laughed
	And bad he schuld be glad.	commanded
	And yit for all hys grete honour,	
95	Cokwold was kyng Arthour,	
	Ne galle non he hade.	Nor did he have any courage to resist
	So at the last the duke he brayd,	spoke up (exclaimed)
	And to the kyng this wordys spake —	
	He myght no lenger forbere —	stay silent
100	"Syr, what hath this men don,	these men
	That syche garlondys thei were upon?	upon [their heads]
	That skyll wold I lere."	reason; learn
	The kyng seyd the erle to,	
	"Syr, none hurte thei have do,	
105	For this was thrught a chans.	on account of a chance [event]
	Sertys, thei be fre men all,	Certainly

POEM 21: SIR CORNEUS 167

	For non of them hath no gall; Therfor this is ther penans.	
110	"Ther wyves hath be merchandabull, And of ther ware compenabull; Me thinke it is non herme. A man of lufe that wold them crave, Hastely he schuld it have,	ready for business (cheap) generous of their wares It seems to me no harm
	For thei couth not hym wern.	could not refuse him
115	"All ther wyves, sykerlyke, Hath usyd the baske fysyke Whyll thes men were oute. And oft thei have draw that draught. To use wele the lecherus craft,	certainly bitter (strong) medicine these men poured that potion lechers' art
120	With rubyng of ther toute.	buttocks
	"Syr," he seyd, "now have I redd, Ete we now and make us glad, And every man fle care."	explained
125	The duke seyd to hym anon, "Than be thei cokwoldys everychon?" The kyng seyd, "Hold thee there."	each of them Be still
fol. 61r 130	The kyng than, after the erlys word, Send to the cokwoldys bord To make them mery amonge All maner of mynstralsy	table
	To glad the cokwoldys by and by, With herpe, fydell, and song.	
135	And bad them take no greffe, Bot all with love and with leffe, Every man with other. For after mete, without distans, The cokwoldys schuld together danse, Every man with hys brother.	willingly Each [should act] to each other hesitation
140	Than began a nobull game: The cokwoldys together came, Befor the erle and the kyng. In skerlet kyrtells every one, The cokwoldys stodyn everychon, Redy unto the dansyng.	scarlet tunics stood each one of them
145	Than seyd the kyng in hye, "Go fyll my bugyll hastely,	at once

150	And bryng it to my hond. I wyll asey with a gyne All thes cokwold that here is in; To knaw them wyll I found."	discover with a device endeavor
	Than seyd the erle, "For charyté, In what skyll, tell me, A cokwold may I know?"	With what method
155	To the erle the kyng ansuerd, "Syr, be my hore berd, Thou schall se within a throw."	hoary (white) beard see in a moment
160	The bugull was brought the kyng to hond. Than seyd the kyng, "I understond Thys horne that ye here se, There is no cokwold fer ne nere Hereof to drynke hath no power, As wyde as Crystianté.	Who has any power to drink from it
165	"Bot he schall spyll on every syde, For any cas that may betyde, Schall non therof avanse." And yit for all hys grete honour, Hymselfe noble Kyng Arthour	fail No matter what shall happen No one shall be successful
170	Hath forteynd syche a chans. "Syr Erle," he seyd, "take and begyn." He seyd, "Nay, be Seynt Austyn, That were to me vylony. Not for all a reme to wyn	Has encountered such a fate by Saint Augustine dishonor realm to win
	Befor you I schuld begyn, For honour of my curtassy."	
175	Kyng Arthour ther he toke the horn, And dyde as he was wont beforn, Bot ther was yit gon a gyle. Bot he wend to have dronke of the best, Bot sone he spyllyd on hys brest,	accustomed to before a trick Although he thought
180	Within a lytell whyle. The cokwoldys lokyd yche on other, And thought the kyng was there awne brother,	
fol. 61v 185	And glad thei were of that. "He hath us scornyd many a tyme And now he is a cokwold fyne, To were a cokwoldys hate."	[Suited] to wear a cuckold's hat

190	The quene was therof schamyd sore; Sche changyd hyr colour lesse and more, And wold have ben awey; Thorwith the lyng gap byr beheld	sorely shamed
190	Therwith the kyng gan hyr behold, And seyd he schuld never be so bold The soth agene to sey.	To speak against the truth
195	"Cokwoldys no more I wyll repreve, For I ame one and aske no leve, For all my represent londys	ask no permission (exception)
193	For all my rentys and londys. Lordyngys, all now may ye know That I may dance in the cokwold row And take you by the handys."	
900	Than seyd thei all at a word	at once (in unison)
200	That cokwoldys schuld begynne the bord, And sytte hyest in the halle.	begin the table (be seated foremost)
	"Go we, lordingys, all same, And dance to make us gle and game,	together
	For cokwoldys have no galle."	no courage to resist an affront
205	And after that sone anone,	
	The kyng causyd the cokwoldys ychon	each one
	To wesch, withouten les.	To wash, in truth
	For ought that ever may betyde,	No matter what happened
010	He sett them by hys awne syde,	1
210	Up at the hyghe dese.	dais (high table)
	The kyng hymselff a garlond fette;	fetched
	Uppon hys hede he it sette,	
	For it myght be non other.	Because it could not be otherwise
215	And seyd, "Lordyngys, sykerly,	certainly
213	We be all of a freyry: I ame your awne brother.	brotherhood
	"Be Jhesu Cryst that is aboffe,	
	That man aught me gode loffe	owes me good love
	That ley by my quene.	O
220	I were worthy hym to honour,	I would be worthy to honor him
	Both in castell and in towre,	
	With rede skerlyt and grene.	red and green [clothes]
	"For he me helpyd when I was forth	when I was away
	To cher my wyfe and make her myrth,	make mirth [for] her
225	For women lovys wele pley.	
	And therfor, syrys, have ye no dowte,	sirs

	Bot many schall dance in the cokwoldys rowte, Both by nyght and dey.	company
230	"And therfor, lordyngys, take no care: Make we mery, for nothing spare, All brether in one rowte." Than the cokwoldys were full blythe, And thankyd God a hundred syth, For soth withouten doute.	for nothing hold back brothers in one company times
235	Every cokwold seyd to other, "Kyng Arthour is owr awne brother; Therfor we may be blyth."	
fol. 62r 240	The Erle of Glowsytour, verament, Toke hys leve and home he wente, And thankyd the kyng fele sythe.	truly
210	Kyng Arthour left at Skarlyon, With hys cokwoldys everychon, And made both gam and gle.	many times remained at Caerleon each one
245	A knyght ther was, withouten les, That servyd at the kyngys des: Syr Corneus hyght he. He made this gest in hys gam, And namyd it after hys awne name, In herpyng or other gle.	dais Sir Corneus was his name this story performance
250	And after nobull Kyng Arthour Lyved and dyghed with honour, As many hath don senne, Both cokwoldys and other mo.	afterwards since
255	God gyff us grace that we may go To hevyn. Amen, Amen.	
	22. THE JEALOUS WIFE Lordyngys curtase and hende,	Gentlemen; gentle
5	Lystyns how this tale schall ende That I wyll yow seyne. And if ye wyll with gode wyll here, Gret gode ye may therin lere, In hert, if ye it leyn.	tell to you learn attend to
	I schall tell wyffe and man How Owre Lady helpe can	
10	That to hyr clepe at nede. Thar schall no man, sykerly,	call [at times of] need

Do nought for owre dere Lady Bot he schall have his mede.¹ Thys schall I preve thorow a skyll; explanation Herkyns if it be your wyll Thys gest for to here: 15 story A feyr merakyll of a knyght, And of hys lady feyr and bryght, That was hym leffe and dere. beloved A knyght wonyd her besyde, dwelled near here That had inoghe of gret pride 20 enough; satisfaction Unto hys lyffys ende. A lady he had to hys wyffe, fol. 62v That he lovyd as hys lyffe, Was com of nobull kynde. Was born; family 25 Syche a grace God them gafe, That thei myght no chyld have Of all a seven yere. Therfor the knyght and hys lady Both thei were full sory, And changyd oft ther chere. 30 Nevertheles, the knyght and hys wyffe Both thei were of gowd lyffe. good faith To God thei made a bone plea That he schuld them some chyld send; 35 Jhesu Cryst, that is so hend, courteous God grantyd them well sone. So long together thei gan praye, That he sent them childer tweve twoOf ther awne blode. 40 The knyght and hys lady were full blythe, And thankyd God many a sythe timeOf hys sond gode. message (gift) Thus the knyght and hys wyfe Lyved mery in clen lyffe, wholesome life With joy and grete solas, 45 pleasure Tyll sche was with the thyrd chyld. Well oft thei thankyd Mary myld

That sent them that grace.

¹ Lines 10–12: Surely, any man who shall / Do anything for our dear Lady / Shall have his reward

50	Than thei were both blyth and glad; Iche to other grete joy made, Both erly and late. The devell therof had envy, And went aboute as a spy, Ther trew lufe to abate.	to end
55	Thus dyd the fend, the fowle wyght; He was about dey and nyght In bale to bryng them bothe. Bot he myght never be the more, In all the types them before	creature sorrow the more [successful]
60	In all the tyme ther before, Ons to make them wrothe.	Once; angry
65	Sych a maner had the knyght, In serteyn usage every nyght Thorow the longe yere, Into hys chapell for to wend Befor Owre Lady gode and hend To make hys prayer.	
70	Befor Oure Lady suete and dere, Ther he made hys prayer With full gode wyll. Hys lady never ondername When he yede ne when he came,	noticed when; returned
	Bot ley and slepyd wyll styll.	well (very) peacefully
	The fend of hell fondyd fast If that he myght wordys cast	attempted immediately
75 fol. 63r	For to wrothe them atwyn, And for hys wyked intysment, Well nyghe thei had both be schent — Herkyns, I schall yow seyn.	divide them with anger enticement ruined
80	Upon a dey, as ye may here, The knyght and his lady dere Sate in solas, And ther feyre chylder twey Went afore them for to pley, In that iche place.	same
85	The thyrd was in hyr wome, iwys;	womb, indeed
	The knyght therof had joy and blysse, And his lady in that stownd. "Leff syr," seyd sche,	condition Dear

90	"Lovyst thou any thing beter than me, That owhere may be fond?"	anywhere
	"Sertys, dame," he seyd, "nay, In no thing me nevyn may I ne have so grete lykyng,	I can name
95	Bot of a woman that I wote I love wele more, God it wote, Than any erthly thyng."	know
100	"Ye, ye!" than seyd sche, "Lovyst thou another better than me?" And thought a lyther gyn. And wend that hyr lord than Had lovyd some other woman, In the maner of synne.	evil scheme thought
105	Nay, be God, it was not so, It was another worth the two That he lovyd in lede. It was Owre Lady that he ment, And els thei had both be schent At ther most nede.	in the land otherwise; ruined In their greatest [time of] need
110	The devyll of hell wyst wele this, That hyr herte wrethyd is, And thought it schuld be more. To helle he went withouten feyle, At the fendys to take counseylle What hym best do were.	knew angered
115	Thorow counsyll of the fendys felle, The most schrewe that was in helle Went withouten feyll;	fierce most wicked [creature]
120	To a wych in the toune he wente, That was out of the ryght entent, And told hyre hys counsell.	witch i.e., was evil-minded
	"Sey, woman," than seyd he, "Wyll thou wynne gold and fe? Hast thou therto nede?	gold and fee (reward)
125	Inowghe I schall thee gyfe of tho, That thou of myn erand go, And do als I thee rede.	those [rewards] advise
	"To a castyll I wyll thee send; To the lady gode and hend,	gentle

	Go thou now forth rathe.	quickly
fol. 63v	Sche is a party of my kyn,	ally of my family
131	Wherfor I wold with som gynne	scheme
	Warn hyr of hyr skathe.	injury (i.e., done to her)
	"Sche is led with grete unryght:	treated; injustice
	Hyr lord aryseth every nyght,	
135	And fro hyr goth full styll.	quietly
	To another woman wendys he,	
	That he lovys more than such thre,	
	And pleys with hyr hys fylle.	
	"All cold he comys agen hyr to.	
140	Go to hyr and sey hyre so;	
	No word thou schalt lye.	
	The next nyght that schall com,	
	He schall do that he is wone—	accustomed
	Loke that sche aspye.	
145	"Sey hyr that sche schew hym nought,	Tell her; tell (reveal)
	So myght sche sone to deth be brought.	
	Byd hyr lye full styll.	
	If thou do as I thee rede,	
	Thow schalt have rych mede,	reward
150	Of rede gold thy fylle."	red (bright)
	"Yis," sche seyd, "well glad am I	
	For to go to my lady;	
	I schall be ther full rathe.	quickly
	Sche hath do me full mykyll gode;	
155	I ame full joyfull in my mode	mind (heart)
	To wern hyr of hyr skathe."	injury
	Thorow the devyllus intysment,	
	To the castell sche is went,	
	And salewygh the lady ther.	salutes (greets)
160	"Leffe madam," seyd scho,	
	"I wold speke a word with yow,	
	If it your wyll were.	
	"Comly lady, gent and fre,	
	I wold thee tell a privyté,	secret
165	If thou me not bewrye.	betray
	Thow schall leve onne my lare;	take heed to my instruction
	Thyng that thow ne wyst are,	did not know before
	Herkyns now, I schall thee sey.	

170	"Thy lord that thow lovys so myche, He betrays thee, sykerlych, And doyht thee vylony. He gose fro thee iche nyght ons To a woman in hys wonys; Luke that thow aspye.	does; dishonor once as is his custom
175	"The next nyght that schall come, He schall do as he is wone, By hyr for to lye. Bot that thou schew hym nought —	accustomed of that tell
180	So myght thou sone to deth be broght — Styll that thow lye."	
fol. 64r 185	The lady spake wordys no mo. "Woman," sche seyd, "if it be so, Thow schall have thi mede." Crystys cursse on ther hedys than, The wych and hyr lorys-man, For that ilke dede.	teacher
190	The fyrst nyght that after cam, The knyght wente to bede anon, And hys lady dere. Styll sche ley as sche slepe, For that sche wold take kepe, The soth how it were.	take heed (keep watch)
195	Hyr lord wend sche had slepe tho, And ros up and gan to go, Als he was bowne. Into his chapell he gan wend To pray to Owre Lady hend, That bare Godys son.	thought prepared to go
200	When the lady wyst tho That hyr lord was fro hyr go, Sche seyd "Alas!" that whyle. "Now I wote that soth it is That the wydew seyd me, iwys, My lord had do me gyle.	indeed
205	"He lovys another better than me. Alas, alas!" than seyd sche, "Myn herte is full of care! The werke that he wyrkys now,	

210	It schall not fall for hys prow; It schall hym rew full sore."	turn out to his benefit he shall regret
215	Thus sche gan alon speke, And thought how sche myght it wreke, To schend hyrselve that tyde. Sche drew a knyfe, soth to seyn, And slew hyr feyr chylder tweyn That ley be hyr syde.	avenge destroy
220	When sche had this werke wroght, Sche seyd "Alas!" and hyr bethought, "Myn hert is full of sorow. Wyte my lord what I have don, He wyll me scle ryght sone, That no man schall me borow.	thought to herself [When] my lord knows slay rescue
225	"Ney, that schall not be so; Wers I schall myselve do, What ever therof fall." With a knyffe was kene and scherpe She smote hyrselve to the herte — That was werst of all.	
230	Now was this a rewfull syght, In that chamber that same nyght, The man that myght behold. The lady and hyr chylder twey, In hyr wombe the thyrd I sey, All thei were wele cold.	pitiful
fol. 64v 236	The fend of hell was glad of this, For he wend wele iwys Of them he schuld not feyle. Bot ye schall here in a whyle	believed well indeed
240	How that he was begyle, And lest all hys traveyle.	beguiled lost; work
245	For the knyght, as ye may her, Ley welle fast in hys prayer, With full gode wylle. When hys prayers were a-done, To hys chamber he went sone, Hymselve alone wele stylle.	fixed deeply
	To the bed the knyght gan go; He fond hys wyfe, hys chylder two,	

250	Ded thei ley ther. The bede was spred with ther blode. The knyght for sorow wex ne wode, And wonderyd on that fare.	nearly went mad event
255	"Lady, mersy!" seyd the knyght, "Who has ben here this nyght And done this rewfull dede? Lady, helpe — I ame forlorn, Bot ye that I have ben beforn Helpe me at this nede!	lost
260	"Thys woman hath hyrselve schent Thorow the fendys entysment — Lord how may this be? If I be takyn in this lede,	killed manner
	I schall be hangyd for this dede — Whether may I fle?	To where
265	"Thys castell is so strong withall, I ne mey owte at the wall Nouwher aboute	cannot get out
270	Tyll tomorn that it be dey, Bot I may than skape awey; Of my deth I doute."	escape fear
275	Thus he wepyd and made wo. To Owre Lady he clepyd tho — In herte had he no game. As he was gyltles of that dede, He prayd her helpe hym in that nede, And scheld hym fro schame.	joy
280	To the chapell he went in haste, And prayd Our Lady swyth faste Send hym of hyr grace. What for sorow and for wepe, Sone he fell fast on sclepe In that same plas.	Deliver him weeping
285 fol. 65r	Owre Lady forgate hym nothing, Ne hyr sone, heven kyng, To helpe at that nede. Ther schall no man, sykyrly, Do nought for owre dere Lady, Bot he schall have his mede.	forgot him not at all

How that they went oute of hell, So lothe their were to tyne. A thousand went on a raw, For their wend in a throw The sawle have to pyne. Som were ragyd and long tayled, Scharpe clawyd and long nayled, The fendys every-ichon. Som had hornes grete and long, Oute of ther mouth the fyre sprong — Withouten lake were non. Than this was a grysly syght, Who so had sen them that nyght, Com rakyng on a raw. Lystyns now and herkyns game, How all ther joy was ternyd to schame In a lytell throw, Thorow the myght of meyd Mary, That sche com doune from hevyn hy Agene the fendys felle. Sche seyd, "Fendys, fle awey, For her ye have tyned your pray; The saule schall with me duelle." "Ney, for soth," seyde Sathanas, "Hyte hath hyr happyd a foule cas; Thou feylest of thi arte. Sche slew hyrselve with myght and onde, Maller to the deprived of fa soul row in the believed; instant for believed; instant for believed; instant for punishment disfigurement (fault, sin) disfigurement (fault, sin) ### dispiration of the deprived of fa soul] ### dispiration of the deprived of fa soul] #### dispiration of the deprived of fa soul] #### dispiration of the deprived of fa soul] #### dispiration of for punishment ##### dispiration of for punishment ##### dispiration of for punishment ##### dispiration of for punishment ########## dispiration of for punishment ###################################
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For her ye have tyned your pray; The saule schall with me duelle." "Ney, for soth," seyde Sathanas, "Hyte hath hyr happyd a foule cas; Inc., she has earned an evil fate Thou feylest of thi arte. Sche slew hyrselve with myght and onde, "Mere; lost i.e., she has earned an evil fate power sche slew hyrselve with myght and onde,
"Ney, for soth," seyde Sathanas, "Hyte hath hyr happyd a foule cas; i.e., she has earned an evil fate Thou feylest of thi arte. power Sche slew hyrselve with myght and onde, malice (envy)
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· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
And han abulden with han bend.
And hyr chylder with hyr hond;
Of them thou hast no parte." share
The quen of heven stude full styll,
320 And sofyrd them to sey ther wyll; allowed
Therof sche gan smyle.
"He that lyght in my servys, lies (acts within)
It schall be at hys asyse; judgment
He schall not tyn hys whyle." lose (waste) his time
325 The fendys cryed as thei were wode, insane
"Go we hens with body and blode;
No lenger wyll we duelle!"
Fowre thousand fendys and one

330	Wend to take hyr and gone Withoute lettyng to helle.	Thought hindrance
335	"Late be, fendys, your feleny; Wene ye for to have mastry At your awne wyll? Fyrst we schall speke wordys mo, That schall yow lyke non of tho,	Think; power
	Bot make your hertys gryll.	grieve
fol. 65v	"I congour thee, fend, that thou me sey, That thou ne lete for love ne aye, How came this sorow in place, And in what maner it fyrst began,	order; tell hold back; fear How this sorrow happened here
341	Whether that it were thorow fend or woman — Tell me or thou passe."	before you go
	"For soth, lady," seyd he,	
345	"It com thorow a wych and me; I may it not forsake. Boldly I have it wroght;	disavow
	Ther pays for to make "	i
	Ther pays for to make."	journey
350	"Ney, ther me thinke thou doyst wrong, When ye hyr chermyd to your hond That lyved in pese and gryght. Take ye," sche seyd, "that ye have wrought, And leve that my sone hath bought, And delyth no more them wyth.	amity
355	"Nay, I you sey sothly, Whyll sche dyd this foly,	
	Hyr lord was my servant. And thorow hyre lordys besekyng They schall have lyffe and gode endyng,	
360	Thorow my sones grante."	
365	The fendys lowd thei gan crye, And seyd, "Late be that, Mary, Hens I rede thou fle. Sche dyd it thorow a myschans, Without schryft and repentans; Our sche schall be."	an evil deed
	Than ansuerd the quen Mary, "Late be this noys and this cry;	

370	It helpe you ryght nought. Hyr lord and sche be of a blode, And thorow his werkys trew and gode To lyfe thei schall be brought.	i.e., linked by blood
375	"And ches tham at ther fre wyll, After that they thinke skyll, To whom thei wyll them hold: With my son for to duell, Or with you fendys of hell, That makys you so bold."	According to what they think reasonable
380	When the angellus began to sey The bodys schuld on lyve be Thorow Oure Ladys saw, Every angell a devyll hente, And thyrst them that ther rybbys bent, For tene of ther plaw.	judgment seized squeezed them so that anger; argument
385 390	The fendys saw that they had lorne. Every fend had other torne With a mody chere. Never thei stynte ne blane, To thei to the wych came, And sette hyr house on fyre.	lost a different course angry heart stopped nor delayed
395	The fyre was blo as brymston; They brake the wychys bakebone, Oneth on lyffe hyr lete. Hyr neyghbors ther besyde Dorste no lenger abyde, Bot fled awey full sore 23. THE INCESTUOUS DAUGHTER	blue Scarcely alive they left her
fol. 66r 120	"That I schall never with thee dele At bede, at bord, mete ne mele; My synne I have forsake."	at the table abandoned
125	"A!" sche seyd, "thou wyked man! Haste thou here abowte gon? Evyll it schall thee lyke. Thow hast me made my moder sle, And my chylder all thre, And wold me thus beswyke.	i.e., reversed yourself please you slay children betray

	"Now," sche seyd, "seth it is so, Otherweys it schall go,	since
	Or tomorow prime.	Before; morning
130	Thow hast brought me in all thi gyle,	deceit
	And evyll thou schall have the whyle, When that I se my tyme."	in time
	When that the nyght was icom, The god man gan to bede gon,	
135	His reste for to take.	
	For erly he wold in the dey	
	On pylgrymage wend his wey For his synnes sake.	go
140	Thorow the fendys egyng,	fiend's urging
140	Hys doughter thought another thyng Wers for to do.	
	When hyr fader on slepe was,	
	Hys doughter went a wele god pace	went quickly
	And kerve hys throte in two.	
145	And toke hyr tresoure ther,	
	Al so myche as sche myght bere,	
	And other felos thre.	companions
	They went sone out of the town	
150	To a syté of grete renown,	dwelled
130	And wonyd in that syté.	ашенеа
	Of that tresowre thei spendyd faste,	
	Whyles that it myght laste,	
	With grete bobans of pride.	vain display (ostentation)
155	Gentyll men of that contrey Com fast with hyr to pley,	
100	Yern onne every syde.	Eagerly
	All the women that wold be folys,	fools (see note)
	Fast thei com unto hyr scolys,	schools (see note)
	Fast many and fele.	worthy
160	Sche forsoke nether preste ne clerke,	refused
	Ne non that were brech ne scherte,	wore breech nor shirt
	That with hyr wold dele.	have sex
	Upon a dey throught Godys sond,	mission (will)
105	An holy buschop of that lond	
165	Preched in a cyté.	
	And all the gode men of the toune	

	Com for to here hys sermon, Hym for to here and se.	hear
fol. 66v	All, bot that woman alone	
170	And hyr feleys everichon	each one
	Duellyd at ther in.	Stayed; inn
	Wo was them that ylke dey:	same
	Ther com no man with them to pley;	
	No sylver they myght wynne.	
175	Sche seyd to hyr feleys anon,	
	"I rede that we to the chyrche gon,	
	And haste us in the wey.	
	Ther we schall som yong man fynd	
100	That is both god and kynd,	
180	And with us wyll pley."	
	To the chyrch thei forth wente,	
	Thorught the grace of God omnipotente	
	And hys modour Mary.	
	The holy bysschop ther he stode,	
185	He prechyd wordys well gode;	
	On hyr he cast hys ey.	
	Fowre devylles that were fals	
	He se hang aboute hyr hals,	saw hanging; neck
	And by cheynes hyr lede.	
190	Be every cheyn stede hyr one.	At every chain one stood by her
	The holy man sey them everychon;	
	Grete wonder therof he hade.	
	Abowte hyr neke a coler strong,	collar
	The fendys lede the cheynes long,	
195	Behynd and before.	
	Wele the byschop wyst than	knew
	That sche was a synfull woman;	
	For hyr he syghed sore.	
	Sche pukyd a squyre and on hym lew,	picked a squire; smiled
200	And be the sleve sche hym drew,	•
	And other yonge men mo.	
	They bade hyr leve and go hyr wey,	
	For it was on God Frydey —	
	With hyr thei wold not go.	
205	When the bysschop sey all this,	
	In his hert was sory iwys,	indeed

210	When he upon hyr sey. Of the fendys he wold be wreke; Of Godys mersy he gan speke, Both lowd and hyghe.	avenged
	Thorow the grace of God allmyght, A word in hyr herte lyght That the bysschop spake,	landed
215	That a tere fell fro hyr eye And be hyr lares it gan don fle, And the coler brake.	cheeks broke
fol. 67r	The fendys fley and were adrad;	fled and were afraid
	The byschop therof was full glad And thankyd God full styll.	quietly
220	The holy man prechyd of Godys lore, The woman sate and syghed sore, And wepyd all hyr fylle.	quiety God's religion (teachings)
225	So bytterly sche wepyd withall, By hyr lyres the terys gan fall Fast on ylke a syde. The byschop therof was full glad; The fendys fley and were adrad — No lenger ther durste byde.	cheeks every
230235	Sche sett hyr don onne hyr kne. To God sche besought in Trinyté; Mersy gan sche crave. Sche seyd, "Sir Bysschop, I ame sche — All this dey thou hast spoke of me And here thou mayst me have. "I have don all dedly synne That ever myght woman begynne	may behold me
940	Ageyn Godys law. By my fader I dyde foly: Thre knave chylder I had hym by,	alain
240	And all I have them slaw.	slain
	"My modour I stykyd with a knyffe, My fader I rest hym hys lyffe, Bysschop, I thee sey.	robbed him [of]
245	And now in this sted, for charyté, Swythe of schryft, I pray thee, For sorow or I dyghe."	place Be quick to confess before I die

	The bysschop seyd anon ryght, "Woman, abyde a lytell wyght, Tyll my sermon be done."	time (a moment)
250	Sche was so full of sorow and care,	
	She fell adoune befor them ther;	
	Hyr hert braste in two.	broke
	When the bysschop had seyd hys wyll,	
	He bad the folke sytte and be styll,	
255	And to hyr he lepe,	leapt
	And gan on hyr to clepe and call.	-
	He fond hyr ded among them all;	
	Full sore for hyr he wepe.	
	He bade the folke that ther were all	
260	On ther kneys thei schuld fall,	
	A bede for to seyne:	prayer
	That God schuld them wyte and wys	reveal and inform
	Whether the saule were in blys	
	Or in hell peyn.	
265	When thei had made ther oryson,	prayer
	A voys com fro hevyn don	
	That thei myght here,	
	And seyd, "The saule of that synfull wyght	creature
	Is now in hevyn bryght	
270	Befor Jhesu full dere."	
fol. 67v	Crysten men, I wern you all	
	That non of you in wanhop fall,	despair
	They ye be in synne.	Although
	Who so wyll of a preste be schryfe,	confessed
275	And do penans by his lyfe,	
	Hevyn he may wynne.	
	Thoff a man had don alone	Though; by himself
	All the synnes evrychon	
	That ever yit were wrought,	
280	And he may in his last dey	
	To a preste his lyve sey,	i.e., confess his life's sins
	God wyll forgete hym nought.	
	And if a man have no preste,	
	To a man that sytte hym nexte	
285	Yerne to hym schryfe.	Eagerly confess to him
	And if he may do no more	

Bot for hys synnes rew sore, sorely regret God wyll hym forgyffe. Kyng that is of myghtys moste, 290 Fader and Son and Holy Goste, Yiff us myght and space, Give us ability and the opportunity When we have do oure ende, i.e., arrive at our deaths Unto joy that we may wende, Lord, for thi holy grace. **AMEN** 24. SIR CLEGES Lystyns, lordyngys, and ye schall here gentlemen Of ansytoures that befor us were, Of ancestors Bothe herdy and wyght, braveIn tyme of Uter and Pendragon, Uther Pendragon (see note) Kyng Artour fader of grete renoune, Arthur's father A sembly man of syght. handsome He had a knyght hyght Sir Clegys; namedA doughtyer man was non at nedys in [times of] need Of the Ronde Tabull ryght. He was man of hy statour, tallAnd therto feyre of all fetour, features

> More curtas knyght than he was one In all this werld was ther non;

A man of mekyll myght.

He was full of plenté.

5

10

15 He was so gentyll and fre. gracious To squyres that traveyled in lond of werre war-torn lands And were fallyn in poverté bare, He gaff them gold and fe. fee Hys tenantys feyr he wold rehete; encourage (support) 20 No man he wold buske ne bete; harry nor beat Meke as meyd was he.

fol. 68r Hys mete was redy to every man food That wold com and vyset hym than;

25 The knyght had a gentyll wyff, A better myght non be of lyfe, Ne none semblyer in syght. more attractive Dame Clarys hyght that lady; was named Of all godnes, sche had treuly

30 Glad chere bothe dev and nyght. Grete almysfolke bothe thei were, givers of alms Both to pore man and to frere; friar

35	They cheryd many a wyght. For them had no man ought lore: Whether thei were ryche or pore,	cheered; person any harm
33	Of hym thei schuld have ryght.	
	Every yere Sir Clegys wold In Crystynmes a fest hold	
	In the worschype of that dey.	
40	Ryche and pore in that contré	region
	At that fest thei schuld be;	
	Ther wold no man sey nay. Mynstrellus wold not be behynd;	neglected
	Myrthys were thei may fynd,	Where they may find mirth
45	That is most to ther pay.	to their liking
	Mynstrellus, when the fest was don,	
	Schuld not withoutyn gyftys gon	
	That were both rych and gode: Hors and robys and rych thyngys,	
50	Gold and sylver and other thyngys	
	To mend with ther mode.	restore; spirits
	Ten yere or twelve sych festys thei held	
	In worschype of hym that all weld	rules
55	And for us dyghed upon the rode. Be than his gode began to slake,	Cross By they his goods: diminish
33	Sych festys he gan make,	By then his goods; diminish
	The knyght of jentyll blode.	
	To hold hys feste he wold not lete.	cease
CO	Hys rych maners to wede he sete;	offered his rich manors as collateral
60	He thought hymselve oute to quyte. Thus he festyd many a yere	get himself out of debt
	Both gentyllmen and comener	
	In the name of God allmyght.	
	So at the last, soth to sey,	
65	All hys gode was spendyd away;	
	Than he had bot a lyte.	little
	Thoff hys god were ne hond leste, In the wyrschyp he made a feste;	Though his goods; nearly lost
	He hopyd God wold hym quyte.	repay
70	Hys ryalty he forderyd ay	royal estate; spent continually
	To hys maners were sold awey,	Until
fol. 68v	That hym was left bot one. And that was of lytell valew,	[So] that only one was left to him
101. 007	That he and hys wyfe so trew	
75	Oneth myght lyfe therone.	Scarcely; live upon it

	Hys men, that were so mych of pride,	
	Wente awey onne every syde;	all around him
	With hym ther left not one.	
	To duell with hym ther left no mo	remained no more
80	Bot hys wyfe and his chylder two.	children
	Than made he mekyll mone.	
	It fell on a Crystenmes Eve	It happened [that] on
	Syr Clegys and his wyfe	
	They duellyd by Cardyff syde.	
85	When it drew toward the none,	drew towards noon
	Syr Clegys fell in suownyng sone.	swooning
	Wo bethought hym that tyde:	he thought to himself; time
	What myrth he was wonte to hold,	accustomed
	And he had hys maners solde,	
90	Tenandrys and landys wyde.	Holdings
	Mekyll sorow made he ther;	
	He wrong hys hondys and wepyd sore,	
	For fallyd was hys pride.	
	And as he walkyd uppe and done,	
95	Sore sygheng, he herd a sowne	sound
	Of dyverse mynstralsy,	
	Of trumpers, pypers, and nakerners	trumpeters; drummers
	Of herpers notys and gytherners,	harpers' and gitterns' (guitars') notes
	Of sytall and of sautrey.	citole and psaltrey
100	Many carrals and grete dansyng	carols
	In every syde herd he syng,	
	In every place, treuly.	
	He wrong hys hondys and wepyd sore;	
105	Mekyll mon he made ther,	moan
105	Sygheng full pytewysly.	piteously
	"A, Jhesu, heven kyng,	
	Of nought thou madyst all thyng;	
	I thanke thee of thy sonde.	grace
	The myrth that I was won to make	accustomed
110	In this tyme for thi sake!	
	I fede both fre and bond,	bondsmen (serfs)
	And all that ever com in thi name;	. 3
	They wantyd nother wylde ne tame	wild nor domestic game
	That was in any lond.	O
115	Of rych metys and drynkys gode,	
	That longys for any manus fode,	Whatever belongs to any man's meal
	Of cost I wold not wonde."	spare
		•

	Als he stode in mournyng so, Anon hys wyfe com hym to;	
120	In armys sche hym hente.	held
	Sche kyssed hym with glad cher, And seyd, "My trew wedyd fere,	combanion
	I herd wele what ye ment.	companion expressed (contemplated)
fol. 69r	Ye se wele, syr, it helpys nought	expressed (contemplated)
125	To take sorow in your thought;	
143	Therfor I rede ye stynte.	stop
	"Be Crystys sake, I rede ye lyne	advise you to cease
	Of all the sorow that ye be ine	,
	Agene this holy dey.	Against (on)
130	Now every man schuld be mery and glad	
	With sych godys as thei had;	
	Be ye so, I you pray.	
	Go we to our mete belyve,	without delay
	And make us both merry and blythe,	•
135	Als wele as ever we may.	
	I hold it for the best, trewly.	
	I have made owre mete, treuly,	
	I hope, unto your pay."	liking
	"Now I assent," quod Clegys tho.	then
140	In with hyr he gan go,	
	Somwhat with better cher.	
	When he fell in thought and care	
	Sche comforth hym ever more,	
	Hys sorow for to stere.	restrain
145	After he gan to wex blyth	
	And wyped hys terys blyve	cheerfully
	That hang on hys lyre.	cheeks
	Than thei wesch and went to mete,	
	With sych god as thei myght gete,	
150	And made merry chere.	
	When thei had ete, the soth to sey,	
	With myrth thei drofe the dey awey,	passed
	The best wey that they myght.	
	With ther chylder pley thei dyde,	
155	And after evensonge went to bede	
	At serteyn of the nyght.	At an appropriate time
	Thei sclepyd to it rong at the chyrche	slept until it rang
	Godys servys for to wyrche,	
	As it was skyll and ryght.	reasonable
160	Up thei ros and went thether,	

	They and ther chylder together, When thei were redy dyght.	dressed
165	Syr Clegys knelyd on hys kne; To Jhesu Cryst prayd he, Be chesyn of hys wyfe. "Grasyos Lord," he seyd tho, "My wyfe and my chylder two,	For his wife's sake Gracious; then
170	Kepe us out of stryffe." The lady prayd hym ageyn: Sche seyd, "God, kepe my lord fro peyn, Into ever lastyng lyffe." Servys was don and hom thei wente; Thei thankyd God omnipotent. They went home so ryfe.	prayed to Him quickly
175	When he to hys palys com, He thought his sorow was overgon;	gone forever
fol.69v	Hys sorow he gan stynt. He made hys wyfe befor hym gon, And hys chylder everychon.	did cease
180	Hymselve alone he wente Into a garthyn ther besyde. He knelyd a-don in that tyde And prayd to God verament.	garden moment
185	He thankyd God with all hys hert Of all desesyd in poverté That ever to hym he sent.	For all those who wretched in poverty That He had ever sent to him
190	As he knelyd onne hys kne Underneth a chery tre Makyng hys praere, He rawght a bowghe in hys hond To ryse therby and upstond; No lenger knelyd he ther.	grabbed a bough
195	When the bowghe was in hys hond, Gren levys theron he fond And ronde beryes in fere. He seyd, "Dere God in Trinyté! What maner beryes may this be That grow this tyme of yere?	round berries in abundance
200	"I have not se this tyme of yere That treys any fruyt schuld bere, Als ferre as I have sought." He thought to tayst it yff he couthe: One of them he put in hys mouthe;	i.e., As far as I have seen

	Spare wold he nought.	
205	After a chery it relesyd clene,	Like a cherry it tasted exactly
	The best that ever he had sene	
	Seth he was man wrought.	Since
	A lytell bow he gan of slyfe,	began to split off
	And thought he wold schew it hys wyfe;	
210	In hys hond he it brought.	
	"Lo, dame, here is a newylté:	novelty
	In our garthyn upon a tre	
	I found it, sykerly.	
	I ame aferd it is tokenyng,	an omen
210	Because of our grete plenyng,	complaining
	That more grevans is ny."	
	His wyfe seyd, "It is tokenyng	
	Of more godnes that is comyng:	
	We schall have more plenté.	
215	Have we les or have we more,	
	Allwey thanke we God therfore;	
	It is the best, treulye."	
	The lady seyd with gode cher,	
	"Late us fyll a panyer	basket
220	Of the frute that God hath sente.	
	Tomorow when the dey do spryng	rises
	Ye schall to Cardyff to the Kyng,	
	Full feyre hym to presente.	
	Sych a gyft ye may hafe ther	
225	That we schall the beter fare,	
	I tell you, verament."	
fol. 70r	Syre Clegys grantyd sone therto:	
	"Tomorow to Cardyff I wyll go,	
	After your entent."	According to your will
230	The morne, when it was dey lyght,	
	The lady had the panyer dyght.	
	To hyr eldyst son seyd sche,	
	"Take up this panyer gladly	
005	And bere it at thy bake esyly,	
235	After thi fader so fre."	
	Syre Clegys than a staff he toke —	
	He had no hors, so seyth the boke,	
	To ryde hys jorneye.	
0.40	Nether sted ne palferey,	steed nor riding horse
240	Bot a staff was his hakney,	hackney (horse, i.e., transport)
	As a man in poverté.	

	Syr Cleges and hys son gent The ryght wey to Cardyfe went On Crystenmes dey.	gentle (noble)
245	To the castell gate thei com full ryght, As thei were to mete dyght At none, the soth to sey.	ready to eat a meal noon
250	As Syr Cleges wold in go, In pore clothyng was he tho, In a symple aray. The porter seyd full spytously, "Thow schall withdraw thee smertly, I rede, withoute deley.	then dress scornfully quickly
255	"Els, be God and Seynt Mary, I schall breke thi hede smertly. Go stond in begers route. If thou draw any more inwerd,	the beggars' crowd
260	Thow schall rew it afterwerd, I schall thee so cloute." "Gode syr," seyd Syr Cleges tho, "I pray you late me in go. Thys is withouten doute:	knock
265	The Kyng I have a present browght Fro hym that made all thinge of nought. Behold and loke aboute."	
	The porter to the pannyer wente. Sone the lyde up he hente; The cherys he gan behold.	raised
270	Wele he wyst for his comyng, For hys presente to the Kyng, Grete gyftys have he schuld. He seyd, "Be hym that me dere bought,	he [the porter] knew for his [Cleges'] arrival
275	In at this gate comys thou nought, Be hym that made this mold, The thryd parte bot thou grante me Of that the Kyng wyll gyff thee, Whether it be sylver or gold."	earth Unless you promise me a third
fol. 70v	Syr Cleges seyd, "Therto I sente."	I agree
280	He gave hym leve, and in he wente Withouten more lettyng. In he went a grete pas; The offycer at the dore was	obstruction way
285	With a staff standyng. In com Sir Cleges so wyght. He seyd, "Go, chorle, out of my syght	brave

	Without any more lettyng. I schall thee bete every lythe, Hede and body, withoutyn grythe, And thou make more presyng."	delay limb mercy If; advance further
290	"Gode syr," seyd Sir Cleges than, "For hys love that made man, Sese your angry mode. For I have a presante brought	Cease
295	Fro hym that made all thyng of nowght And dyed upon the rode. Thys nyght this fruyt grew. Behold whether I be fals or trew:	cross
300	They be gentyll and gode." The usscher lyfte up the syde smertly. The feyrest cherys that ever he sey He mervyllyd in his mode.	admired in his mind
	The usscher seyd, "Be Mary suete, Thou comyst not in the halle on fete,	during the feast
305	I tell thee, sykerly, Bot thou grante me, without wernyng, The thyrd parte of thi wyneng	Unless; without refusal
010	When thou comyst ageyn to me." Syr Cleges sey non other wone, Bot ther he grantyd hym anon;	saw no other choice
310	It wold non other weys be. Than Syr Cleges with hevy chere Toke his son and his panyer; Into the hall went he.	
315	The stewerd stert fast in the hall, Among the lordys in the halle	jumped up
	That weryd ryche wede. He went to Syr Cleges boldly And seyd, "Who made thee so herdy	wore rich clothing
320	To come hether or thou were bede? Cherle," he seyd, "thou arte to bolde:	before you were asked
	Withdraw thee with thi clothes olde Smertly, I thee rede." He seyd, "Syr, I have a presant brought Fro that Lord that us dere bought	Quickly
325	And on the rode gan bled."	
	The stewerd stert forth wele sone, And plukyd up the lyde anon Als smertly as he mought.	quickly as he might

0.00	The stewerd seyd, "Be Mary dere,	
330	Thys saw I never this tyme of yere	
fol. 71r	Seth I was man iwrought!	
101. 711	Thow schall cum no nere the Kyng, Bot if thou grante me myn askyng,	
	Be hym that me dere bought.	
335	The thyrd parte of the Kyngys gyfte	
333	I wyll have, be my thryfte,	by my fortune
	Or els go truse thee oute."	throw you out
	of the go trust thee oute.	inrow you out
	Syr Cleges stode and bethought hym than:	
	"And I schuld parte betwyx thre men,	If
340	Myselve schuld have nothyng.	
	For my traveyll schall I not gete,	get nothing
	Bot if it be a melys mete?"	Except for a meal's food
	Thus thought hym sore sygheng.	
	He seyd, "Herlot, has thou no tong?	He [the steward]; Harlot (Churl)
345	Speke to me and tary not long!	delay
	And grante me myn askyng	
	Or with a staff I schall thee twake	beat
	And bete thi raggys to thi bake	
	And schofe thee out hedlyng."	shove; headlong
950	C - Cl 1 - 1	1
350	Syr Cleges saw non other bote.	remedy
	Hys askyng grante hym he mote,	demand; must
	And seyd with syghyng sore,	
	"What that ever the Kyng rewerd,	
977	Ye schall have the thyrd parte,	
355	Whether it be lesse or more."	
	When Syr Cleges had seyd that word,	1
	The stewerd and he were acorde,	agreed
	And seyd to hym no more.	[he] said nothing more to him
260	Up to the Kyng sone he went;	
360	Full feyr he proferd hys presente	
	Knelyng onne hys kne hym befor.	
	Syr Cleges uncoveryd the panyer	
	And schewyd the Kyng the cherys clere,	
	Upon the ground knelyng.	
365	He seyd, "Jhesu, our Savyoure,	
	Sente you this fruyt with grete honour,	
	Thys dey onne erth growyng."	
	The Kyng saw the cherys fressch and new	
	And seyd, "I thanke thee, suete Jhesu!	
370	Here is a feyre newyng!"	novelty
	He comandyd Syr Cleges to mete,	dine
	and a syr eneges to mote,	ante

	A word after with hym to speke Without any feylyng.	Without fail
	The Kyng therfor made a presente	
375	And send unto a lady gente	gentle
	Was borne in Corneweyle.	
	Sche was a lady bryght and schen,	beautiful
	After sche was hys awne Quen, Withouten any feyle.	Later
380	The cherys were served throughe the hall;	
	Than seyd the Kyng, a lord ryall,	royal (excellent)
	"Be mery, be my conseyle!	
fol. 71v	And he that brought me this present,	
385	I schall make hym so content, It schall hym wele avayle."	hanafit
303	it schan hym were avayle.	benefit
	When all men were merye and glad,	
	Anon the Kyng a squyre bade:	
	"Bryng hym me beforne,	
390	The pore man that the cherys brought." Anon he went and taryd nought;	dolowed
330	Withouten any scorne	delayed
	He brought Cleges befor the Kyng.	
	Anon he fell in knelyng;	
205	He wend hys gyft had be lorn.	though; lost
395	He spake to the Kyng with wordys felle:	worthy
	He seyd, "Lege lord, what is your wylle? I ame your man fre borne."	Liege
	"I thanke thee hertely," seyd the Kyng,	
	"Of thi grete presentyng	
400	That thou hast to me do.	
	Thow hast honouryd all my feste	daintias
	With thi deyntys, moste and leste, And worschyped me allso.	dainties honored
	What that ever thou wyll have,	10110100
405	I wyll thee grante, so God me save,	
	That thin hert stondys to,	your heart desires
	Whether it be lond or lede,	people
	Or other gode, so God me spede, How that ever it go."	
410	He seyd, "Garemersy, lege Kyng,	Grant mercy
	Thys is to me a hye thing,	high honor
	For sych one as I be,	
	For to grante me lond or lede,	
	Or any gode, so God me spede.	

415	Thys is to myche for me. Bot seth that I schall ches myselve,	too much
	I aske no thyng bot strokys twelve.	
	Frely now, grante ye me	
400	With my staff to pay them all,	
420	Myn adversarys in this hall,	
	For Seynt Charyté."	
	Than ansuerd Uter the Kyng:	
	He seyd, "I repent my grantyng,	regret my gift
	The covenand that I made."	promise
425	He seyd, "Be hym that made me and thee,	
	Thou had be better take gold or fe;	
	More nede therto thou hade."	
	Syr Cleges seyd withouten warryng,	without hesitation
400	"Lord, it is your awne grante;	
430	It may not be deleyd."	
	The Kyng was angary and grevyd sore.	<i>il.</i>
	Nevertheles, he grante hym thore	there
	The dyntys schuld be payd.	blows
fol. 72r	Syr Cleges went into the hall	
435	Among the grete lordys all,	
	Withouten any more.	more (delay)
	He sought after the stewerd:	
	He thought to pay hym his rewerd,	
	For he had grevyd hym sore.	
440	He gafe the stewerd sych a stroke	
	That he fell doune lyke a bloke	block
	Among all that ther were.	
	And after he gaff hym strokys thre,	
4.45	He seyd, "Syr, for thi curtassie,	
445	Stryke thou me no more."	
	Out of the hall Sir Cleges wente;	
	To pay mo strokys he had mente,	
	Withowtyn any lette.	
	To the usscher he gan go:	
450	Sore strokys gaffe he tho	
	When thei togeder mette,	
	That afterwerd many a dey	[So] that
	He wold wern no man the wey,	refuse
1	So grymly he hym grete.	greeted
455	Syr Cleges seyd, "Be my thryfte,	
	Thou hast the thyrd parte of my gyfte,	
	Ryght evyn as I thee hyght."	promised

	To the porter com he yare.	readily
	Foure strokys payd he thare;	
460	His parte had he tho.	
	Aftyrwerd many a dey	
	He wold wern no man the wey,	
	Nether to ryde ne go.	
	The fyrst stroke he leyd hym onne	
465	He brake a-two hys schulder bone	
	And hys ryght arme also.	
	Syr Cleges seyd, "Be my thryfte,	
	Thow hast the thyrd parte of my gyfte;	
	Covenant made we so."	
470	The Kyng was sett in hys parlere	
	Myrth and revell for to here;	
	Syr Cleges theder wente.	to there
	An harper had a geyst iseyd	story told
	That made the Kyng full wele a-payd	well pleased
475	As to hys entente.	to his liking
	Than seyd the Kyng to this herper,	
	"Mykyll thou may ofte tyme here,	You may often hear much [news]
	For thou hast ferre wente.	, <u>, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , </u>
	Tell me trew, if thou can,	
480	Knowyst thou thys pore man	
	That this dey me presente?"	presented [a gift to] me
	He seyd, "My lege, withouten les,	
	Som tyme men callyd hym Cleges;	Some time [ago] men
	He was a knyght of youre.	yours
fol. 72v	I may thinke when that he was	I can recall
486	Full of fortone and of grace,	
	A man of hye stature."	
	The Kyng seyd, "This is not he, indede.	
	It is long gon that he was dede	
490	That I lovyd par amour.	dearly
	Wold God that he were wyth me!	,
	I had hym lever than knyghtys thre —	rather
	That knyght was styff in stoure."	staunch in battle
	7.6	
	Syr Cleges knelyd befor the Kyng,	
495	For he had grantyd hym hys askyng;	
	He thankyd hym curtasly.	
	Spesyally the Kyng hym prayd,	asked
	The thre men that he strokys payd	
	Wherfor it was and why.	
500	He seyd, "I myght not com inwerd	
	To I grantyd iche of them the thyrd	Until

505	Of that ye wold gyff me; Be that I schuld have noght myselve. To dele among them strokys twelve, Me thought it best, trewly."	
	The lordys lewghe, both old and yenge, And all that ther were wyth the Kyng, They made solas inowghe.	laughed
510	They lewghe so thei myght not sytte. They seyd, "It was a nobull wytte, Be Cryst we make a vow!" The Kyng send after hys stewerd	joke
515	And seyd, "And he grante thee any reward, Askyth it be the law." The stewerd seyd and lokyd grym, "I thynke never to have a-do with hym.	If he granted
	I wold I had never hym knaw."	
520	The Kyng seyd, withouten blame, "Tell me, gode man, what is thi name, Befor me anon ryght."	
320	"My lege," he seyd, "This man you tellys, Som tyme men callyd me Syr Cleges; I was your awne knyght."	
F0F	"Arte thou my knyght that servyd me,	
525	That was so gentyll and so fre, Both strong, herdy and wyght?"	brave
	"Ye, lord," he seyd, "so mote I thé,	may I prosper
	Tyll God allmyght hath vyset me; Thus poverté hath me dyght."	Until; afflicted treated
530	The Kyng gaffe hym anon ryght	
	All that longys to a knyght To aray hys body with,	belongs dress
	The castell of Cardyff also,	Wress
	With all the pourtenas therto,	appurtenances (other properties and rights)
535	To hold with pes and grythe.	order
fol. 73r	Than he made hym hys stuerd Of all hys londys, afterwerd,	
	Of water, lond and frythe.	forest
	A cowpe of gold he gafe hym blythe,	cup
540	To bere to Dam Clarys hys wyfe, Tokenyng of joy and myrthe.	
	The Kyng made hys son squyre,	
	And gafe hym a coler for to were,	
	With a hundryth pownd of rente.	

545	When thei com home in this maner,	
	Dame Clarys, that lady clere,	
	Sche thankyd God verament.	
	Sche thankyd God of all maner,	
550	For sche had both knyght and squyre Somwhat to ther entente.	to the in liking
330	Upon the dettys that they hyght,	to their liking owed
	They payd als fast as thei myght,	owea
	To every man were content.	Until everyone was satisfied
	A gentyll stewerd he was hold;	
555	All men hym knew, yong and old,	
	In lond were that he wente.	wherever
	Ther fell to hym so grete ryches	
	He vansyd hys lyne, more and les,	advanced his line (lineage)
	The knyght curtas and hend.	gracious
560	Hys lady and he lyved many yere	
	With joy and mery chere,	
	Tyll God dyde for them send.	
	For ther godnes that thei dyd here,	
	Ther saulys went to heven clere,	
565	Ther is joy withouten ende.	
	AMEN	
	25. THE FEASTS OF ALL SAINTS AND ALL SOULS	
	Festum Omnium Sanctorum	Feast of All Saints
	Jhesu Cryst of myghtys most,	
	Fader, Sone, and Holy Gost,	
	Be at our begynneng,	
	And save mans kynd fro spyllyng.	damnation
5	And gyfe us grace after to fynde,	receive grace afterwards
	Holy Chyrch to have in mynde,	
	And do therafter and to wyrche	
	As teches us Holy Chyrch.	
	Feyr it is on to se	
10	Of holy seyntys that have be,	that have been
	And have ther festys in the yere	feasts
	As is wryten in kalender.	liturgical calendar
	Som be halowyd and are sought	sought [in pilgrimage]
6.1.50	And sum also be halowyd nought.	
fol. 73v	Many thousandys, as I fynd,	,
16	In kalender have no mynd,	no description (memorial)
	Ne be wryten hye ne low	i.e., anywhere
	Ther holy deys for to know.	F 1. 1
	Oute-take one thei knaw all:	Except for one [day]

20	All Halow Dey that men call, A dubull fest and ever schall be	double
	Thorowout all Chrystyanté.	
	Wele aught we halow this fest deve	observe
25	Of All Seyntys that lastys aye. In heven thei be befor Jhesus,	forever
23	And as we do, thei pray for us.	
	Lystins now, for Godys grace,	
	How this feste com into place,	
	How it is fond, on what maner,	is established
30	And dubull holy among us here.	
	In Rome, that holy cyté, som tymes	at one time
	Was a temple of Saryzens,	Saracens
	Of pagaynus and Saryzens stoute and stern,	pagans
35	And all that were of myssebelevyn. To that temple thei gan draw	
33	To that temple their gain than To wyrschyp their godys in their law.	religion
	That temple was callyd Panteon;	Pantheon
	In all this werld was not sych one.	
	Panteon is, to sey in Greke,	
40	Of all godys and devellus eke.	devils also
	Thus was ordeynd this temple hous	have their quetoms
	Of all devyllus to have ther cours. In the syté of Rome that tyme was	have their customs
	The holy Pope Bonyfase.	
45	He was the forth pope, sothly,	fourth
	After Seynt Gregory.	·
	Of this errour he han envy	was hostile to
	For to destrew that mawmentry	destroy; idol worship
50	That was ageyn the ryght beleve	
30	And Holy Chyrch began to greve. That temple son in that cyté,	
	He thought it schuld amendyd be.	
	He com befor the emperour	
	And prayd, for hys grete honour,	
55	Grante hym this temple, withouten more,	without delay
	In the syté that was ther,	
	To do therwith what he wold,	hinder him
	That no man lete hym schuld, Crystindom to encres sone	increase (spread) quickly
60	And that fals errour to fordone.	destroy
	Than the emperour and kyng	
	Grantyd the Pope hys askyng	
	For to have ever fre	free (from other claims)
C.F	To Holy Chyrch and Chrystianté.	
65	Pope Bonyfas son anon	

	To that place he gan gone,	
fol. 74r	And toke hys clergy and hys power	legal authority (military force)
	For to make that temple clere,	
	And pute oute all that tyrandry,	evil authority (outrage)
70	And sette therin hys clergy.	
	He wessche the temple within and owte,	washed
	And halowyd the cherch all aboute.	blessed
	Thys holy chyrch he made holy	
	In the worschyp of Seynt Mary,	
75	Angellus, patriarkys, prophetys mo,	
	Apostellus and martyres also,	
	Confessorys, vergynes that holy were.	
	All Hallow Chyrch was made ther	
	As Crystenmese Dey holy in the yere,	As holy as Christmas Day
80	The fyrst dey of Novembyre,	
	And dowbull fest for to last ay,	forever
	And was callyd All Hallow Dey.	
	The Pope and hys clergy wyse	
	Ordeyned for that dey servys.	[a] service
85	Als Holy Chyrch berys wytnes,	
	The Pope sang ther the fyrst mes	
	Of All Hallowys and gafe perdon	
	Thorow the grete cyté of Rome.	
0.0	Thys fals errour gan to sese,	cease
90	And Crystendom for to encres.	
	Thrughe the werlyd, in every lond,	world
	Pope Bonyfas sente his sond.	message
	He commandyd to kepe hys heste:	proclamation
0.5	All Hallow Dey a dowbull feste	
95	Fro any seculer werkys told,	any kind of secular business
	Withouten ende for to be hold.	
	For grete skyll ordend it was	merit (power)
	For them that had don trespas	those who
100	Ageyn the commandmentys of Holy Chyrch,	
100	That on the holy dey dyde wyrche	Who
	Slauth in Godys servys and in fastyng,	Sloth
	In byddyng ther bedys and in lettyng.	praying their prayers; neglect
	Thys All Hallow Dey be skyll;	powerful (effective)
105	He may amend hym if he wyll	
105	To com to Holy Chyrch in clenesse	purity
	At evensong, matyns, ourys, and messe.	
	All trespas befor than is forgyffen,	TC C 1
	And he be in gode lyffe and clen schryfen.	If; confessed
110	All gode seyntys, for to sey,	
110	To Jhesu Cryst schall for hym pray	
	To com to the joy aboven	
	That thei be in with Cryst alon.	

The joy and blys within that place, God grante us for his holy grace.

115	Crystyn man, for Godys ore,	mercy
0.1	Herkens now and here more:	Listen
fol. 74v	The solempnyté of this feste,	
	How hye it is thorow Godys heste.	God's commandment
	As I fynd in boke and rede,	
120	God was payd with that dede.	pleased
	And that it schuld ever be do,	so that it should always be done
	Of his grace he grantyd therto.	
	To save mans saule fro pyne and sorow,	punishment
	All Saule Dey uppon the morow	on the next day
125	Was ordenyd, as ye may here,	
	To be a fest on this maner.	
	In Rome that tyme, as I yow tell,	
	A holy man ther dyd duelle	
	In a hous of relygeon,	i.e., a monastery
130	A munke of grete devocyon.	
	He lovyd God and kepyd hym clen,	himself pure
	And God lovyd hym, and that was sene.	evident
	Of All Hallow Evyn in honour,	In honor of All Hallows' Eve
	As he ley in hys dortour	dormitory
135	With hys brether in slepyng,	,
	Ther com an angell fro heven kyng,	
	And toke the saule of hys bodye	
	And bere it into hevyn on hye	
	Befor God in magesté,	
140	And bade hym loke aboute and se.	
110	He saw ther a blyssfull thyng:	
	In magesté a worthy kyng.	
	Forthermore he dyd sene	
1.45	Befor the kyng ther com a quen —	
145	Upon hyr hede a crowne of gold,	
	And with hyr meydens manyfold.	numerous
	When sche was com before the kyng,	.1 1
	Sche saluted hym in thankyng	thanksgiving
150	With grete honour in that tyde,	
150	And stude by the kyngys syde.	
	Sethyn the meydens dyd them schew	Then; brought themselves forth
	And worschyped the kyng on a rew.	honored in an orderly way
	Joy and blys among them was;	
	They stude up and toke ther place.	
155	Semly men cum sone twelve,	Handsome; soon came
	And worschyped the kyng be themselve.	
	And fore thei wold be nyghe at hond,	nearby
	Besyde the kyng thei gan stond.	

	Therafter, sone ryghtys,	soon
160	Com a compeny of knyghtys	
	And stode together in a rowte	crowd
	And worschyped the kyng aboute.	
	Anon after the saule gane se	soul (i.e., the monk)
	Of clerkys a grete compené.	crowd
165	In whyte was all ther clothyng;	
	They knelyd done befor the kyng	
	And worschyped hym and dyd hym grete,	greet (salute)
	And after stude upon ther fete.	
	The angell stud the saule besyde	
170	And seyd to hym in that tyde,	spoke
fol. 75r	And bad he schuld not adrede be,	afraid
	For the joy of God he schuld se.	,
	The prinsypall of the twelve than	
	Matyns of the dey began.	Morning services
175	Than was the fest of them all	8
	To worshype God in hys halle.	
	A joyfull servys was seyd ther	
	Of all the seyntes that ther were.	
	,	
	With joy and myrth in that nyght	
180	The saule had a joyfull syght,	
	Yit he wold wyte more.	know (learn)
	The saule seyd to the angell ther,	
	"What may all thys mervellus be	marvels
	Of this peple that I se?"	
185	The angell seyd to hym anon,	
	"Thys kyng that thow seys in trone	
	Is Jhesu Cryst, owre savyour,	
	That all the peple doys honour.	
	The quen that stondys hym bye	
190	Is hys modour Seynte Marye.	
	Fore all mankynd sche do praye	
	That worschype hyr this ilke deye.	
	Thes meydens that with hyr geyth	go
	Be holy vergyns that sofferd deth	
195	And kepyd them clen in chastyté;	
	In heven therfor thei ever schall be.	
	Some in erth hath no mynd,	have no memorial
	Ne fest dey among mankynd	
	Bot this dey that is holy;	Except
200	Therfor thei make this melody	1
	And pray for them in all wys	all ways
	That worschype this dey servys.	
	Thes twelve that stond so neyghe above	
	Be apostellus with God alone.	
	1	

They pray fore them that worschype doyth. The feyre knyghtys that thow sene, Holy martrys thei bene, And sofferd in erth mekyll angwys; And sofferd in erth mekyll angwys; And sofferd in erth mekyll angwys; Clerkys, in clothyng whyte as floures, Be holy byschopys and confessoures That kepyd them ever in clenes And pute ther bodys in grete destres, And pute ther bodys in grete destres, In wakyng, fastyng, and in prayer; Therfor thei be in joys here And pray for them to our lord Jhesus That worschype them in erth thus. More now yit I schall tell thee Of many seyntys that here be And hafe no fest dey in mynde Bot this fest dey, as I fynde, Among all crystend that ther is. Therfor thei make this joy and blys fol. 75v And pray to God soverandly Of all crystend to have mersy, In clen lyfe All Hallow Deye. He that begynes matyns of the twelve 330 Is Seynt Peter all hymselve. All crystend be in hys power, And all chyrches ferre and nere. Now pray I God of hys grace Restore the saule into hys place 335 To the body that it was ine, To have the strenghe of mankyne, And tell the pepull, to and fro, What thou hast herd and sen also. Bot yit or thou departe fro me, And tell the pepull, to and fro, What thou hast herd and sen also. Bot yit or thou departe fro me, To a place of mervellyng The angell dyde the saule bryng, Als he wold at hys wylle, And brought hym to a hye hylle; 445 Aboute the hylle he gan ryn. It myght be no wey be slakyd. Many men ther were in nakyd, Overall thyke every dele ### thick in every way (i.e., crowded)	205	The Holy Gost is with them, sothe;	truly
The feyre knyghtys that thow sene, Holy martrys thei bene, And sofferd in erth mekyll angwys; anguish (pain) Therfor thei be here in blys. Clerkys, in clothyng whyte as floures, Be holy byschopys and confessoures That kepyd them ever in clenes And pute ther bodys in grete destres, In wakyng, fastyng, and in prayer; Therfor thei be in joys here And pray for them to our lord Jhesus That worschype them in erth thus. More now yit 1 schall tell thee 220 Of many seyntys that here be And hafe no fest dey in mynde Bot this fest dey, as 1 fynde, Among all crystynd that ther is. Therfor thei make this joy and blys fol. 75v And pray to God soverandly Of all crystend to have mersy, In worschype of them that hallow aye In clen lyfe All Hallow Deye. He that begynes manyns of the twelve Is Seynt Peter all hymselve. All crystend be in hys power, And all chyrches ferre and nere. Now pray I God of hys grace Restore the saule into hys place 235 To the body that it was ine, And tell the pepull, to and fro, What thou hast herd and sen also. Bot yit or thou departe fro me, 400 What thou hast herd and sen also. Bot yit or thou departe fro me, To a place of mervellyng The angell dyde the saule bryng, Als he wold at hys wylle, And brought hym to a hye hylle; Aboute the hylle he gan ryn. Water and fyre together gan bryn; It myght be no wey be slakyd. Many men ther were in nakyd, Overall thyke every dele Whick in every way (i.e., crowded)	203	•	
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And sofferd in erth mekyll angwys; anguish (pain) Therfor thei be here in blys. Clerkys, in clothyng whyte as floures, Be holy byschopys and confessoures That kepyd them ever in clenes And pute ther bodys in grete destres, In wakyng, fastyng, and in prayer; Therfor thei be in joys here And pray for them to our lord J hesus That worschype them in erth thus. More now yit I schall tell thee 220 Of many seyntys that here be And hafe no fest dey in mynde Bot this fest dey, as I fynde, Among all crystynd that ther is. Therfor thei make this joy and blys fol. 75v And pray to God soverandly 226 Of all crystend to have mersy, In worschype of them that hallow aye In clen lyfe All Hallow Deye. He that begynes matyns of the twelve 230 Is Seynt Peter all hymselve. All crystend be in hys power, And all chyrches ferre and nere. Now pray I God of hys grace Restore the saule into hys place 235 To the body that it was ine, To have the strenghe of mankyne, And tell the pepull, to and fro, What thou hast herd and sen also. Bot yit or thou departe fro me, And brought hym to a hye hylle; And brought hym to a lye hylle; And brought hym to a lye hylle; Aboute the hylle he gan ryn. Water and fyre together gan bryn; It myght be no wey be slakyd. Many men ther were in nakyd, Overall thyke every dele ### And thick in every woy (i.e., crowded) ### And tell thick in every woy (i.e., crowded) ### And tell thick in every woy (i.e., crowded) ### And tell thick in every woy (i.e., crowded) ### And tell thick in every woy (i.e., crowded)			
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Water and fyre together gan bryn; burn It myght be no wey be slakyd. slaked (extinguished) Many men ther were in nakyd, Overall thyke every dele thick in every way (i.e., crowded)		And brought hym to a hye hylle;	
It myght be no wey be slakyd. Many men ther were in nakyd, Overall thyke every dele slaked (extinguished) thick in every way (i.e., crowded)	245	Aboute the hylle he gan ryn.	to go
It myght be no wey be slakyd. Many men ther were in nakyd, Overall thyke every dele slaked (extinguished) thick in every way (i.e., crowded)			
Many men ther were in nakyd, Overall thyke every dele thick in every way (i.e., crowded)			slaked (extinguished)
Overall thyke every dele thick in every way (i.e., crowded)			
, , ,		,	thick in every way (i.e., crowded)
450 As in the se is gravene.	250	As in the se is gravelle.	- ·

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255	In the water som were ine Depe pute unto ther chyn, Turmentyd so thei had no reste. And sum stond up to the breste, Som unto the fete were schove, And som unto the kneys aboven. Thus he merveld of that syght. The angell led hym forth ryght; To another hylle wente he	thrust
260	Mo merveyles for to se. Ther was joy inowghe to sene: A suete medew feyr and grene. It was closyd for the nonys All aboute with presyous stones.	enclosed for the occasion
265	In this medew was to behold Setys schyneng all of gold. Beddys of gold many ther were That were ordeynd to be ther —	Seats shining Beds
270	Bryght and suete of savour More than any lycour. The sall merveyled of this aray. As he stud, thus more he sey: Of feyr yong men grete compeny	smell soul; decoration saw
275	Com into this medew sothanly, All of an age, for to abyde. Thyke thei com in every syde, Al so thyke semyd they As the sterres in the sky. They pleyd and song among;	suddenly the same age
280 fol. 76r	Of joy and myrth was all ther song. To sytte in the setys some caste, And sum in the beddys for to reste. Joy and blys over all was In that medew in every plas.	
285	As thei were glad in ther setys, Ther were ordeynd dyverse metes. Full suete metys delysyous Com befor them in every course;	foods
290	Ther couth no man telle aryght The kynd of that mete how it was dyght. As thei sate and ete there, Sothanly com them before, When thei were most in ther gladyng,	could prepared rejoicing
295	Mekyll peple come on begyng. So many thei were in dele That no man myght tell them wele. They stude withoute the medew clos;	begging in number count outside the meadow's walls

300	For to bege was ther pourpos. They begyd fast and cryed herd; No man toke of them werd, Bot lete them stond ther alon —	i.e., no one listened
305	For them made no man mone. Than seyd the saule with grysly chere, "Lord God, what do I here? So many mervellus be schewyd me to	No man lamented on their behalf unhappy mood
303	I know not how it is do." Than spake the angell to hym anon,	how it is done (i.e., what it means)
310	"I schall thee schew everychon. Thys medew that is so gren this tyde Is paradys with grete delyte. Ther Adam the fyrst fader was;	explain time
315	He was pute oute for hys trespas. Thys men that thou seys in water here Be saulys to make hem clere. Water and fyre that thow hast sene, Of pourgatory it is the peyne. Holy wryte therof hath mynde:	punishment Holy writ (the Bible); recalls
320	In the Sauter, as we fynde, David the prophete, seys the letter, Seys he passyd fyre and water: 'Lord and thi wyll be, Thy mersy thou grante me.'	Psalter (Psalms) scripture
325	Every man, when he schall dyghe, Hys saule fro the body schall flye, And if he be in gode speranse And underfonge gode penans That his body had not fullfylled,	hope (trust, faith) received
330	The saule he schall have the gylte. In this fyre he schall be so,	soul it shall [pay for] the guilt
330	To his penans be all do. When it is don, all entere, And the saule be made clere, He schall com to the wele,	Until; done completely joy
335	Into paradys of hele — The medew that thow se befor That all this men in were.	health (forgiveness)
fol. 76v	They be saules that clene be In paradys that is so fre. Thes setys and beddys of ryches,	
340	They be for saules of bodys. Ther schall ther saules be hente To the dey of jugement. When this dey is com so neghe, Of jugement of Owre Lord so fre,	taken Until

345	Than schall thei all, God wote whyder, Body and saule cum togeder. All maner men that ever were,	knows from where
	Or ever schall be, lesse or more,	
	That dey thei schall cum thus,	
350	Body and saule, befor Jhesus.	
	All that have servyd on this wyse	in this way
	Go into the joy of paradys. They schall have onour of hys —	honor
	In hys blys, befor hys face —	nonoi
355	Aye lastyng lyfe and God ther frend,	Ever
	Joy and blys withouten ende.	
	All that dyde not on this wyse	
	In pourgatory and in paradys	
0.00	Deservyd never for to com.	
360	Other wey thei schall be nome,	taken
	Depertyd fro God that ilke dey, To the peyne of hell that lastys aye."	forever
	The angell seyd the saule untylle,	forever unto
	"In the fyre thou saw are-whyle,	saw earlier
365	Thow saw men in fyre up to the breste	
	And other penans — thei had no reste.	
	In erth thei have frendys trew	
	That thynke of them and of them rew,	pity
050	In almus dede and offeryng,	almsgiving
370	In praying and messe synging,	
	And other god dedys that they fynd Of ther frendys that be kynd.	good deeds
	That makys ther saules soner slake	sooner relieved
	And to paradys the wey take.	Some Tenevea
375	Ther thei be, as I sey how,	
	In merth and in joy inow.	enough
	"Thes men that stond and fast callys	
	Withoute paradys wallys,	
	That be nedfull of beggyng	
380	And no man bed them nothing,	offers
	Thei be the saules of thes men:	
	In erth hemselve wold not ken,	would not recommend themselves
	Ne to ther neyghbourus wold be kynd;	
385	Therfor no man have of hem mynd. God send them catell, grete plenté,	
303	To do with, and thei wold not se	
	Nether to gyff nether to lene ¹	lend
	07	

 $^{^{\}rm 1}$ Lines 385–87: God sent them goods and great abundance / To use, and they did not choose / Either to give or to lend

	To helpe ther neyghborys that were pore men, Nether gyffe ther tythes to Holy Chyrche —	
390	They lovyd that not for to wyrch.	did not like to do that
fol. 77r	For Godys love, thei myght not spede	assist
	That were pore men that had nede.	Those who were
	Riches and catell was all ther thought,	property
	And for seke men and pore thei had nought.	sick
395	Thys was ther lyfe to the ende;	
	Therfor here have thei no frende.	
	The bodys be dede, the catell ago,	property gone
	Ther saules be in care and wo.	
	In defaute of helpe and prayer	lack
400	They stond and bege in myscheff here	misfortune
	Withouten paradys gate —	
	To bege here it is to late."	
	Than seyd the angell the saule tylle,	to the soul
	"I have thee schewyd all thi wylle.	explained all you wished for
405	Now pray I God, most of myght,	
	Into thy body thi saule myght lyght	return
	And go and tell the holy Pope	
	What thou hast sene with gode hope.	
	As he hath ordeyned All Hallow Dey	
410	To be wyrschyped ever and aye,	
	So onne the morne, among mankynd,	So [too] on the morning after
	All Crysten saules to have ther mynd,	remembrance
	Ther dey to be halowyd so,	
	And namely to servys be do.	be reserved for worship
415	It is Godys wyll and hys beheste	
	Crysten saules to have ther feste,	
	So that they that no frendys have	
	Thys is helpe withouten crave	
	Of ther peynes to have pardon	
420	To com to salvasyon."	
	Anon the angell, as he thought,	
	To the body the saule he brought	
	And lefte them ther alyfe togyther,	
	And toke hys wey, God wote whyder.	God knows where
425	Of this monke, the holy man,	
	When fro the body the saule was tane	from the body the soul was taken
	In tyme of All Hallow Nyght,	
	The monkes to the chyrch hem dyght,	took themselves to church
	Als thei were wonte ther bokys brynge	accustomed
	, , ,	

Lines 417–20: So that for those who no friends have, / This [day] can help, without their asking, / To pardon them from punishment / In order to come to salvation.

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	To sey ther matyns and to syng.	430
Before	Or thei began ther servys than,	
1	They myssed ther brother, that holy man.	
he was accustomed	For every nyght that usyd he	
	The fyrst at matens he wold be.	195
1	For wyrschype of hym and honour,	435
dormitor cel	They sought hym in ther dortour. When thei come to hys caban	
cei	Ther thei fond this holy man	
	Feyre colouryd whyte and rede,	
	And ley as he had ben dede.	440
not otherwise	The body was dede, it was non other;	
	They made grete sorow for ther brother.	
	And as thei wepe and handys wrong,	
	They toke ther consell them among	
	Where thei wold this body berye,	445
so excellen	That was so holy and so merye.	
they made their decision	In serteyn place thei toke ther wytte,	
	And dyged ther and made a pytte.	
	When this pytte was redy ther	fol. 77v
bie	They sette the body on a bere	450
down	And sete it done the pytte besyde,	
	And seyd ther servys in that tyde.	
	With solempne devosyon	
	As is the maner of relygeon, They stade all abouts the bare	455
lamen	They stode all aboute the bere	433
tamen	And made full grete dole ther. When thei had ther servys seyd,	
	The body schuld in grave be leyd.	
returne	His saule into the body lyght	
alive immediatel	And stude up quyke anon ryght.	460
-	Thes monkys were adred sore	
i.e., run awa	And wold have go ther wey therfore.	
[in a] friendly [manner	He seyd unto them lovelyke,	
aliv	And seyd, "Breder, I ame now quyke;	
	Be no aferd that I ame thus —	465
	It is the grace of our lord Jhesus.	
before we depar	I praye you all or that we gone	
	Brynge me to the Pope anone.	
	Where I have bene, in what maner,	
togethe	I schall you tell all in fere."	470
	The abot anon and hys covent	
	With ther brother forth thei wente.	
	To the Popys palys wente he	
	With full grete solempnyté.	
	When thei com befor hys face,	475

	The holy Pope Bonyfas,	
	The munke knelyd son adoune.	
	The Pope gafe hym hys benyson.	benediction
	Anon the abote in knelyng	beneaution
480	Told the Pope of ther comyng:	
400		
	"Reverand fader," seyd he,	
	"Thys monke, our broder, that ye se,	
	On this holy All Hallow nyght,	1.6
405	When we were to our matyns dyght,	ready for our matins
485	We myssed hym at that stond —	time
	Dede in our dortour we hym fonde.	
	We couth non other our state to save,	knew no other way to keep our honor
	Bot seyd hys dyregy and mad his grave.	Dirige (funeral Mass)
	When we schuld into the grave hym do,	
490	He rose up quyke and spak us to.	
	A comforth us with a gode chere	He comforted
	And bad us bryng hym to you here.	
	We mervellyd gretly in this case:	
	What he wold and why it was.	
495	He has lovyd God ever in clenesse;	
	At evynsong, matyns, oures, and messe	hours (daily prayers)
	Fyrst at the cherch he wold be.	
	Oft tyme be hymselve we myght se	
	In his bedys and hys prayers.	prayers
500	Wyte ye hys wyll now he is here?"	[Will] you learn his desire
	Thys holy Pope Bonyface	
	Was amervylled of that case:	amazed
	How this munke schuld be blyve	willing (able)
	When he was dede to cum to lyve.	atterns (acto)
fol. 78r	He schewyd to hym with grete wyte	examined
506	And spake to hym of holy wryte,	caammaca
300	Namly, for hys saule evyn,	orderly coul
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	orderly soul
	Yiff he were in gode belevyn,	faith
510	And after if any wyked sprete	then; spirit
510	Had brought hym in myssedelyte.	sinful pleasure
	The munke ansuerd and seyd this thyng:	11 . 1 .
	"I beleve in God all weldyng,	all mighty
	Fader and Son and Holy Goste.	
	I beleve that God is moste;	greatest
515	He made this werld all of nought.	
	Message fro hevyn I have brought —	
	Holy Fader, I tell thee ryght.	
	As I ley this All Hallow nyght	
	In oure dortour in sclepyng,	
520	Ther com an angell fro heven kyng.	
	The saule he toke fro my body	

	And lede it into hevyn onne hye	
	Befor God in hys magesté,	
525	And all seyntys ther I se. Grete joy thei made of that feste	
343	That is ordand at thy beheste."	command
	Thus the munke all hys wey	all his journey
	To the Pope he gan sey:	<i>y y</i>
	Of joy and peynes, all in fere,	all together
530	All together as ye may here,	Ç .
	And as the angell dyde hym charge	
	To the Pope he seyd large.	spoke freely (at length)
	"Holy Fader," seyd he,	
	"The angell bade me sey to thee	
535	As thou hast ordeynd All Hallow Deye	
	To be wyrschyped and halowyd aye,	
	So on the morne among mankynd	1
	All crystynd saules to have in mynd	have memorial
540	And ther dey be ordend faste. Thys word he send at the laste,	
310	After he made me with hym gon,	
	And toke to my body the saule anon	
	And made us ther togeder quyke,	
	And went hys wey privylyke.	mysteriously
545	Hys message now I do fullfylle —	,
	God gyf us grace to do hys wylle!"	
	Thys holy Pope Bonyface	
	Of this tydingys glad he was.	this message (news)
	He knelyd doune on hys kne	
550	And thankyd God in Trinyté	_
	That he wold have rememorans	remembrance
	Of that grasyos ordynans.	gracious command
	He sought after ferre and ney,	far and near (everywhere)
555	After all his grete clergy, To all the bysschopys that were wyse,	
333	Thys dey to orden the servyse.	ordain the service
	When thei were com togeder clene,	entirely
	The Pope ther he held hys sene	synod
	And told them of this encheson	cause
560	Of ther congregasyon.	
fol. 78v	Thei were glad of this tyding	
	And thankyd God, heven kyng,	
	That seyntes ther schuld have ther mynd	
	And all saules among mankynd.	
565	Ryght as the Pope wold do,	
	All thei assentyd therto.	
	The Pope anon, be all asent,	by everyone's agreement

boast

Ordeynd be hys comandment Thorowoute all Crystyanté 570 All Halow Dey to halowyd be. Double fest to be ever more The fyrst dev of November, Men for to hallow fro all werkys To here servys of prestys and clerkys. 575 All Salle Dey be onne the morow [He ordained] All Souls' Day to be Fro peynes of purgatory them borow, to rescue them And ever more among mankynd To praye for them and have in mynd. As all seyntys be halowyd ryght 580 To pray for us to God allmyght, So all saules in ther maner Be relesyd throw prayers here, released And com to joy of paradys clere, Ther to lyve ever in fere together 585 To that it be Domes Dev. Judgment Day And than to be in other aray costumeThe saule with body throught Godys heste by God's command And cum befor hym at ther feste. In heven above, ther he is, 590 That is full of joy and blysse. Ther is no tong that may telle The joy and blys ther is to duelle. God grante us all here to do That we may cum that joy unto, 595 Into that joyfull place That he hath ordend with his grace provided For lufe to save all mankyne, Withouten ende to duell therine. Wyth gode hert that it so be, 600 Sey we Amen, for charyté. AMEN

26. THE KING AND HIS FOUR DAUGHTERS

5

Jhesu Cryst, hevyn kynge,
Be at my begyninge.
Ther is no man that may yelpe,
Bot he hath nede of Godys helpe.
Fader and Sone and Holy Goste,
One God of myghtys moste,
He helpe us at oure nede;
Withouten hym may we not sped.

	I sate and lokyd on a romance	vernacular text
10	Was made in the lond of France;	
	Grostyd it made out of dyvine,	Grosseteste; theology (scripture)
	All in French out of Latyne.	
fol. 79r	He saw all men hade not vertu	ability
	To know Latyn, Ebrew and Grew;	Hebrew and Greek
15	Therfor in French he mad it ther	
	That men myght wyte what it were.	So that men might know
	Yit may not all men French understond,	
	And namely men of Ingelond;	
	Therfor soth, as I thee tolde,	Therefore truly
20	Ryme on Inglych make he wolde	wished
	That men myght have therof solace.	enjoyment
	Now God therto gyfe us grace.	
	De principio creationis mundi	Of the Beginning of the World's Creation
	Now at the fyrst begyninge	
	I schall tell of the werld makyng,	
25	And how it was fyrste gyven to Adam	
	Of whom our fyrst synne came,	
	And also of paradys, iwys,	indeed
	That was full of werldys blys,	
	And of heven that is so hye,	
30	How it was lorne thorow folye,	lost
	How it come after to mankynd	
	As ye may afterwerd fynd.	
	Within six deys ryght	
	All the werld was idyght.	was made
35	Allmyghty God that is the beste,	
	The seven dey he gan reste;	
	Therof ye have herd telle —	
	God kep us fro the peyn of helle.	
	When God allmyghty of nought	
40	Hevyn and erth all hade wrought,	
	With all the pourtynans small and grete,	appurtances (accompaniments)
	Lord, that was feyr and swete.	
	Now is the son clere and lyght;	
	That tyme it was seven so bryght.	seven times as bright
45	The mone that schynes now by nyght,	O
	Than it schone al so bryght	
	As do the sone now onne deye,	
	And sey therof no man naye.	
	I tell yew now sothlye,	
50	It wytnes the prophet Isaye,	Isaiah witnesses it
50	And at hym I take wytnesse	13ผนเก นายาย5353 เก
	That every thyng more and lesse	
	In erth, in ayer, water and flode,	
	in crait, in ayer, water and node,	

55	Seth Adam synned was not so gode Als it was fyrste beforne,	Since
55	Or Adam and Eve were forlorne.	Before; condemned
	Lorne was Adam and all hys kynne	Lost
	For that ilke foule synne, And all ther kynne, as I yow telle,	
60	Everychon, thei went to helle.	Every one
	Wrong was it not, bote skyll —	reasonable
	So every man may that se wyll.	n · 1, · 1
	Gode is to thinke theron aryght For to love God allmyght.	It is good to consider
	8	
fol. 79v	De medio mundi et de fine	Of the Middle and End [Times] of the World
65	When that God the werld had wrought So that ther ne feyled nought,	lacking in nothing
	Nether of more ne lesse,	itacking in noming
	Bestys and treys, frute and grasse,	
	Fowlys in the eyer, fyssches in flode,	waters
70	Sterrys and mone, sone feyre and gode,	
	At the laste, after all thys,	
	Than made he Adam, iwys,	truly
	In the veyll of Ebron of cley gent,	valley; noble clay
75	Lyke hymselve verament. After the holy Trinyté	In the manner of
75	He made hys saule, I telle thee.	In the matther of
	In the body he dyde a lyving goste,	placed a living spirit
	Of all bestys power gafe hym moste.	[he] gave him the greatest
	That was love and grete grace	
80	To make hym lyke hys awne face.	
	He made hym wytty and wyse,	clever
	And led hym into paradyse.	
	Than thought God allmyghty ther He wold not he alone were.	
85	When that God thus thought and seyd,	commanded
	Clepyd he Adam ther he was leyd.	He called Adam where
	Of hys lefte syde he toke a rybe bone;	
	Therof he made Eve anone.	
	Eve befor Adam he brought	
90	To wytte how he by hyr thought.	
	Than seyd Adam and thought it gode:	
	"Thys is my flesch and my blode."	<i>t</i> :
	In paradys in that stounde Ther was wedloke fyrst ifonde.	time founded
95	For that skyll every man of lyfe	reason
	Is holden to love hys wyfe	bound
	After that sche is worthey —	According to her worth
	That wyll God allmyghty.	God Almighty desires that

	God gaf than Adam wytte and skylle,	
100	Grete power and fre wylle,	
	Power over all erthely thyng,	
	And gaff hym lyfe withouten endyng.	
	Of paradys he made hym fre	
	Over all thyng save a tre.	
105	He gafe hym tyme to be therine —	
	If that he had don no synne —	
	Withouten hete, withouten chele,	
	Ther to a lyffyd in long wele	to have lived in enduring happiness
	Withouten wo and seknes,	
110	With mekyll joy and bryghtnes.	
	Sevyn so bryght he schuld hafe bene	Seven times
	As is the sone that now is sene.	
	Syche a blys God had hym lente,	given
	And at the last to hevyn have went.	[would] have gone
115	Now was ther a feyr franches	privilege (freedom)
	That was ordenyd to Adam and all hys,	
fol. 80r	Sych an herytage ever mo	inheritance
	To have wonyd in withouten wo.	dwelled
100	In paradys Adam had two lawys,	
120	As we telle in owre sawys:	stories
	He schuld have kepyd in hys lyfe	
	The naturall and the posytyfe.	natural and positive laws
	The naturall law was skyll and ryght:	reasonable
105	To be buxsom to God all myght	obedient
125	That dyde hym that grete curtasy,	
	Of paradys gave hym the masterry.	[And] of paradise
	A commandment onne hym he leyde	
	And of all hys frute: he seyde,	
100	"Bot a tre I thee forbyde;	one tree
130	Ete thou not therof for non nede.	for any reason
	If thou ete therof, I thee sey,	7.
	Sone therafter thou schall dey.	die
	If thou my commandment kepe in pese	
105	Than thou schall have that ilke grace;	
135	Paradyse and bestys, water and londe,	
	Schall be obedyent to thi honde."	
	Of all the blys of paradys	wining (Land Land Lite)
	Adam had seseyn iwys.	seisin (legal ownership)
140	All the joy that he had the	gone
140	All the joy that he had tho.	
	Alas, therfor, may we synge	
	And sore wepe and handys wryng.	
	Oure herytage we schuld have And we hade not don that skathe.	
145		wrong
145	The comandment we dyd nought;	

	Therfor sore it was bought,	sorely; paid for
	And for that trespas that was done	
	All we were made thrall full sone.	captives (slaves)
150	The naturall and the posytyfe	
150	Adam breke for lufe of hys wyfe.	
	Buxumer he was for to do	More willing
	The dede that hys wyfe bad hym do	commanded him to do
	Than to God that hym hade wrought;	
	Alas, therfor — what was hys thought?	
155	Than was he oute and had lorne	lost
	The sesyn that he had beforne.	seisin (rights)
	Hys herytage was hym benome	taken from him
	And all them that after hym come	
100	Oute of joy into grete care,	1. (1 1 .)
160	Hys selve and hys kyne to fare.	kin (descendents)
	With swynke and suete was he bonde;	labor and sweat
	Wher schall any hele be fonde?	remedy
	Alas, that synne it was so stronge:	
105	For among all thing it sprong,	spread
165	Both the sterres, sone, and mone,	7
	Of that synne thei had to done.	share
	Foulys in the eyer, bestys in lond,	
C 1 00	All thei had therof a onde.	an injury
fol. 80v	Fysschys, erbys, frute and tre,	plants
170	All the wers for to be.	
	Every thyng both more and les	1
	For that synne lest ther godnes.	lost
	Adam for hys defaute, iwys,	11.1: 6
175	Lost hys herytage and all hys.	all his [property, joy]
175	For synn is non other thyng	f.:I
	Bot for defaute of wele doyng.	failure
	For defaute he lefte the joys suete,	:t
	And that was skyll — so do men yete.	just — so men do still
180	For defaute every wyght	failure; person
160	Hys herytage may lese ryght	
	At kyngys courte in every londe,	Man still, established
	Yit men have sych lawys fonde. For defaute Adam les	Men still; established
	That he myght have levyd in pes.	lost
185	, , ,	
100	Alas, that was grete pyté; Now be we thrall that are were fre.	clarice that formarly rieve free
	Thrall he is, that to hym longys	slaves that formerly were free [rightfully] belongs
	What servys he underfongys.	receives (as a duty)
	He that is so thrall becom,	receives (as a any)
190	Hys power is hym benome.	taken from him
130	When he servys in servage	taken from him
	He had no franches of herytage;	local right to inh wit
	The had no francies of herytage,	legal right to inherit

	Than when he is all thrall becom,	
	His fre herytage is hym benome.	deprived him
195	He may not pleyn in non wys	complain [legally] in any way
	With whom he is in sych servys.	
	He ne schuld no thyng be herd;	in no [legal] matter be heard
	His wordys be all isperd.	spurned (ignored)
	His herytage if he wyll wynne,	
200	He behovys to do another thyng.	It behooves him
	He muste seke, if he may fynd,	
	A man that borne is of fre kynd,	
	And that he be of ryght lynage	
005	For to clame his herytage,	
205	And that he may well and wele cane,	
	And that he be a gode fre man,	
	That he not of that appull ete	
	That Adam thought fyrst so suete.	. 1
010	He behoveth to be withoutyn synne,	must be
210	And all our law ys hym withine —	
	The two lawys of paradys, sykerly,	o: ·
	And that of the mounte of Synay	Sinai
	That had beld a seen with sector lar	i.e., the Ten Commandments
915	That he held never, withouten les,	
215	In him who was oure wekyd wrynke. ¹	W/L 11 :
	Of sych a man who myght thinke,	Who could imagine such a man
	That myght be withouten synne	
	Hys herytage thus to wynne?	my tout down!!
220	Hereon schall my mater duelle.	my text dwell
440	For a tale I wyll you telle That accordus to sych a man	refere (is sombarable)
	That acordys to sych a man. Now wyll I tell you if I canne.	refers (is comparable)
	Now wyll I tell you if I canne.	
fol. 81r	It was a kyng nobull and riche	
	That had a sone that was hym lyche.	like him
225	Of wytte and power lyke hym he was,	
	Like the fader in all case.	
	That the fader wyst, the son thought;	What the father knew
	All thorow the sone the fader wrought.	By means of the son
	What the fader wold have wrought,	
230	The sone it dyde, for he knew his thought.	his [father's]
	In his kyngdom all nedys	
	Were fullfylled thorow hys dedys.	
	Foure doughteres had the kyng,	
	And everych of them had some thyng	each; some aspect
235	Of hys wyte and hys powere,	
	Iche one as thei had myster,	particular duty

¹ Lines 214–15: [And] that he never owed allegiance, truly, / To him [Satan] who was our evil beguiling

	A., d.,,,,,,,	
	And nevertheles all was the kyngys,	,
	The foure doughtures with all ther thyngys.	powers
940	For withouten them every dele	all together
240	Myght he not reule hys kyngdom wele.	
	Feyre names thei had everychon;	
	I schall them telle ryght anone.	_
	The fyrst doughter hyght Mersy —	was named
	That is a feyre name, sykerly.	
245	The secund douter hyght Sothnes,	Truth
	And the thyrd Ryghtfullnes.	Righteousness (Justice)
	The fourth doughter hyght Pese —	Peace
	Feyr names, withouten lese.	doubtless
	Withoute the foure that I named	
250	May nothing ryght be demed.	judged
	Thys ryche kyng had a man	
	Thorow whom mych wrech began,	$\it mis for tune$
	And hym lovyd wele the kyng,	the king loved him well
	And made hym mayster of mych thyng.	<u> </u>
255	Bot a comandment he hym toke,	gave to him
	And seyd when he that forsoke	O
	He schuld to turment, understond this,	[fall] to torment
	Oute of hys courte and all hys.	his [bliss]
	Thys servant yede forth with that;	went; that [command]
260	Hys commandment sone he brake.	
	Jugement on hym was leyd	
	After that the kyng had seyd.	According to what
	To four turmentowres he was take,	tormentors; committed
	Hys jugement on hym to make.	tormentors, commence
265	The turmentowres, as bad the kyng,	as the king ordered
403	They schuld hym do an evyll dubyng.	dubbing
	The one schuld hym depriven faste,	
	*	rob
	The other hym sle whyll hys lyfe laste,	slay
970	The other hym strangyll ryght also,	
270	The other hym fetyr — so dyde thei tho.	fetter (chain)
	Mersy, the doughter, all this sey and herd	
	How he was in prison sperd.	locked
	To hyr fader sche com anone	
	And askyd hym what for to done.	what to do
fol. 81v	"Thy doughter, Fader, thou wote I ame;	
276	Mersy I hyght, of thee I came,	
	Of thi gifte, I understode,	gift (dispensation)
	To have mersy with myld mode.	
	Therfor, Fader, I pray thee here	
280	That thou herkyn my prayere.	
	Have mersy of that ilke wyght	person
	That in prison is evyll dyght.	condemned
	Hys enmyse dyd to hym trespas;	legal wrong
	-	

005	Fader, of hym have mersy and grace.	
285	Hys enmyse for envye	enemies
	They dyde hym that trecherye.	. And I was and
	Do now, Fader, that I crave,	what I request
	Yiff thou wyll me thi doughter have.	:11 fl1
900	Mersy I ame: yff thou wyll me,	will [have] me
290	Thou must have mersy and pyté.	
	With gode skyll he muste be savyd,	reason
	For I thi doughter have thee cravyd. For hym mersy schall be my crye	
	Whyll that I may fynd mersy."	
	whyn that I may lynd mersy.	
	Misericordia et veritas obviaverunt sibi	Mercy and Truth have met each other
295	Sothnes, hyr syster, this pleynt herd.	Truth; complaint
	Sone sche com and ansuerd:	
	"Fader what may this pleynt be	
	That Mersy my syster makys to thee?	
	Wold sche for hyr myld herte	
300	Bryng this prisoner owte of smerte?	harm
	Sche wold he were fro peyn ibrought,	
	Bot I, Sothnes, wyll it nought.	
	A trew thyng, Fader, I tell thee:	
	Yiff all thyng myght savyd be	
305	For whom my syster wyll praye,	
	Schall non of them stond aye.	ever stand (follow the law)
	I ame Sothnes — herkens to me —	
	And that name I hade of thee.	
	Men callys me kyng in every kythe,	land
310	And yiff Sothnes wones thee wyth,	dwells with you
	Mersy of hym may thou have none,	
	Bot I, Sothnes, fro thee gone.	
	Pyté of hym may non be wroght,	
0.15	For hymselve wyll it nought.	
315	Kyng of Sothnes, do than ryght	10 1
	And late avenge thee of that wyght."	avenge yourself on that man
	The syster Ryght theder gan gone;	Righteousness (Justice)
	Thys wordys sche herd everychone.	5
	When sche the pleynte onderstode,	understood
320	Sche ansuerd with myld mode.	
	"Fader, my name is callyd Ryght;	
	That name I hade of thy myght.	
	Seth I ame Ryght and thou hast me,	Since; begot
	As Soth it seys, it muste be.	O
325	For Ryght wyll in non wyse	wishes in no way
	That servant wer in yse.	ease (unpunished)
fol. 82r	That Soth hath seyd, I, Ryght, it wyll,	-

330	For it is reson and skyll. Late thou hym in prison be Tyll thou hym juge befor thee. For Ryght wyll have all onder hond That he soth do onderstond.	in [her] control So that he will understand the truth (Truth)
335	Ryght gyffes iche man be sothe his rede, Be it to gode, be it to quede. Whyll that he thyn hest held We were with hym with spere and scheld, Both Mersy, Soth, and Ryght,	judgment according to truth evil commandment
340	And Pese, my syster, with all our myght. Us all four he hath forsake; Right wyll therfor vengeans take."	ab and one d
345	Non god word was ther speke When that Mersy was oute steke. Than was that wrech with peynes schent, Hys god benom, hys clothes rente. In peyn was he many folde,	shut out afflicted taken; torn many times
	As Soth and Ryght bothe it wolde, And also that of hym com — All thei had the same dome. Soth and Ryght, withouten les,	(i.e., his descendents) judgment
350	Went without Mersy and Pes, And be contré as thei wend, All that wreches kynd thei schent. So fast thei gan them don dryve	as they traveled in the land wretch's kin they destroyed strike down
355	That thei left never one of lyve. A flode over all dyd go, Eight that left of lyve and no mo: That was Noe and his thre sones — Ther were no mo left in no wonys —	anywhere
360	In Noys schype with ther wyves, Wherin thei savyd ther lyves. That was than a reufull syght, And yit it was bote soth and ryght. The syster Pese myght nowher be;	pitiful
365	Sche was sent out contré, For sche may for nothyng Be among wreth and werryng. Than was Pes in mych care When sche saw the werld thus fare. To byr fader byr wey sche levd	wrathful and warring (situations)
370	To hyr fader hyr wey sche leyd, And com to hym sone and seyd, "Fader, I ame thi doughter Pes; I aught be at thy dese. Thou arte kynge of pes so dere—	dais (throne, high table)

	My fader, than must thou here.	
375	My two systeres Soth and Ryght	
	At Pes and Mersy thei hold fyght.	With; make war
	All without our asente	
	They don all ther jugement.	
	I, Pese, and my syster Mersy bothe,	
380	We com not heder consell to noye,	disturb
fol. 82v	And we foure awt be all at one;	ought to be in agreement
	Thys thyng, Fader, may not thus gone.	
	I, Pes, wyll abyde with thee	
	Tyll all pese among them be.	
385	All godnes thorow pes to end is brought;	
	Who so hath pes, he feylys nought.	
	Withouten pes is wroght nothyng,	
	Be it never so grete doyng.	
	Whosoever aboute wyll wend,	
390	Pese schall folow at the ende.	
	Soth and Ryght, it is ther fe	fee (obligation)
	For to kepe the name of me,	uphold my name
	For thei have non other nede	no other task
	Bot pes to kepe in every lede.	land
395	Why schall I than be forsake	
	When thou pes for me gan take? ¹	
	Bot I have Mersy my syster with me,	
	I may not els savyd be.	otherwise saved
	Seth thou arte kyng of pes in lond,	Since
400	My word awt to be understond.	
	Of thes foure systers a resyn clere	
	Now ryght wyll I schew here: ²	explain
	Thorow us foure schall all be wrought	
	In unyté, is all my thought.	in my opinion
405	All we foure, verament,	truly
	Schall make one jugement;	
	Therfor, jugement aught be nought	
	Tyll we foure at one be brought.	be brought to agreement
	All we behovyth togeder take	
410	Ryght jugement for to make.	
	Thys servant onne non wyse	in no way
	May be levyd in that unyse.	left in that unease (harm)
	Withouten my syster Mersy and me,	,
	Jugement may non gyven be.	
415	Mersy, my syster, cryes ever mo,	
	Mersy for hym that is in wo.	
	Therfor, I, Pes, at the endes	

¹ Lines 395–96: Why should I be lost then, / When you began to accept peace for my sake?

² Lines 401–02: A clear reason for [the existence of] these four sisters / I will correctly explain here

	Schall fond to make them frendys."	endeavor
	The kyngys son, both wyse and queynt,	clever
420	Herd the four systeres pleynt.	
	Withouten hym on non wyse	in no way
	Acord may not ryght aryse.	
	"Fader," he seyd, "thyn I ame;	
	Of thee, fader, fyrst I com.	
425	Wysdom, fader, my name it is,	
	For whom was made this werldys blys.	
	Thou and I, fader, all one we be	
	In wytte and myght and dygnyté.	
	Of this contuke that I here	debate that I hear
430	Mersy hath told me reson clere,	
	Wherof, Fader, I have pyté	
	That servant in peyn schall so be.	
	Thy servant clothing take I wyll,	
	Both with sothnes and with skyll.	truth (justice) and with reason
fol. 83r	That jugement I wyll onderfonge	take on (accept)
436	And all that ever to Ryght wyll longe.	belongs to Right (is just)
	I schall cry pes, withouten mys,	without fail
	And Ryght and Pese I schall do kys.	make kiss
4.40	All contake leyd schall be;	debate shall be laid aside
440	My wyll it is I schall save thee."	
	Iusticia et pax osculate sunt	Justice and Peace have kissed
	27. YPOTIS	
	All that wyll of wysdom lere,	learn
	Lystyns to me and ye schall lere	
	Of a tale of holy wryte.	holy writ (scripture)
	Seynt John the apostyll wytnes ite,	witnesses it
5	How it befell in grete Rome,	
	The chefe cyté of Cristyndom.	
	A chyld was send of myghtys moste,	sent; greatest power
	Thorow the vertu of the Holy Goste,	
	To the Emperour of Rome than —	
10	Hys name was callyd Syr Adryan.	Hadrian (see note)
	When the chyld of grete honour	
	TAT 1 1 1 C 1 D	
	Was brought befor the Emperour,	
	On hys kne he hym sette	
15	On hys kne he hym sette And feyre the Emperour he grete.	greeted
15	On hys kne he hym sette And feyre the Emperour he grete. The Emperour, withouten les,	truthfully
15	On hys kne he hym sette And feyre the Emperour he grete. The Emperour, withouten les, Asked the chyld of when he was.	truthfully from where he came
15	On hys kne he hym sette And feyre the Emperour he grete. The Emperour, withouten les, Asked the chyld of when he was. The chyld ansuerd son aplyght,	truthfully
15	On hys kne he hym sette And feyre the Emperour he grete. The Emperour, withouten les, Asked the chyld of when he was. The chyld ansuerd son aplyght, "Fro my Fader I com ryght,	truthfully from where he came
15 20	On hys kne he hym sette And feyre the Emperour he grete. The Emperour, withouten les, Asked the chyld of when he was. The chyld ansuerd son aplyght,	truthfully from where he came

	"Than arte thou wys, wysdom to teche?" The chyld ansuerd with myld speche, "He is wyse that heven may wyne And kepe hym oute of dedly synne."	
25	"What," he seyd, "may heven be?" "Syr," he seyd, "Godys privyté." "What," he seyd, "is God allmyght?" The chyld ansuerd anon ryght, "He was withouten begynnyng.	he [the Emperor] God's mystery
30	"He was withouten begynnyng, And schall be withouten endyng." The Emperour seyd, "That is selcouthe. What com fyrst of Godys mouthe?" The chyld ansuerd sone anone, "Theref spekes the expectall John	marvelous
35	"Therof spekys the apostell John In hys gospell, all and some:	all together
	In principio erat verbum. Thys was the fyrst begynnyng That ever spake oure heven kyng.	In the beginning was the Word (John 1:1)
fol. 83v	With that Word was Fader and Sone	
40	And the Holy Gost togeder wone;	found
	Thre persones in a Godhede,	in one
	Als clerkys in bokys rede.	read (tell)
	"That joy may no man dyscryve,	
	Lernyd ne lewyd that is on lyve.	Learned nor unlearned
45	That our heven is gostly wrought,	made spiritually
13	Withouten joy it is nought.	i.e., There are no joys it does not include
	That joy may no man telle	i.e., There are no joys a abes not include
	Tyll domes dey thofe he spelle. ¹	
	The thyrd heven schynes as crystall,	
50	Full of joys grete and small.	
	For confessorys that place is dyght,	prepared
	That serve God full of myght.	1 1
	The forth heven is gostlyche,	spiritual
	And full of presyos stones.	•
55	For innocentys that place is dyght;	prepared
	Ther ever dey and never nyght.	[is] always day
	The fyfte is long and brode	
	And full of Godys manhode.	God's humanity
	And if Godys manhode nere,	if it were not [for] God's humanity
60	All this werld forlore were.	lost
	Thorow his Passyon and hys manhed	
	Hevens blys schall be oure mede.	reward
	The sexte heven Holy Chyrch is,	

¹ [Even] if he wrote about them until judgment day

	Full of bryght angellus, iwys,	indeed
65	That syngys both dey and nyght	Who sing
	Of Godys strenth and of hys myght.	
	The sefynte heven, as sey the story,	seventh
	Is paradys after purgatory,	
	When the saules have do ther penans	have done
70	Ther to lyve withouten stans.	discord
	Thys be our hevyns, Syr Emperour,	
	That hath Jhesu, oure savyour."	
	The Emperour seyd anone ryght,	
	"How many orders be of angellus bryght?"	
75	The chyld ansuerd ageyne,	
, 0	"Nine ordoures of angellus ther bene.	
	The fyrst ordour is Jerubyn,	cherubim
	And the other Serafyne.	cieciacin
	The party thridde of ordourys is Thrones,	
80	The forte is Dominaciones,	fourth
	The fyfte Princypaciones,	journi
	The sext Potestates.	
	The sefeynte order Vertutes is,	
	The eyghth Angelica, iwys.	
85	The ninthe ordour is Archangelus,	
	And every prince hath hys partys.	
	Many thousandys of thes ther be	
	To serve Jhesu both ferre and ne.	near
	The tenthe ordour schall mankynd bene,	
90	To fullfyll that place agene	
fol. 84r	In hevyn that is large and wyde	
	That Lusyfer lest for pride.	lost
	Ther schall the manhed of God almyght	
	Be oure joy, as it is ryght."	
95	The Emperour seyd, "I thee praye,	
50	What made God the fyrst dey?"	
	The chyld ansuerd full evyn,	
	"Angellus and archangellus in hevyn,	
	That werke of nobulnes to sey,	
100	God made on the fyrst dey.	
100	The Mondey after, verament,	truly
	God made the fyrmament,	
	Sone and mone to schyn bryght,	
	And the sterres he made ryght.	
105	The Towysdey, I understond,	
	He made both water and lond,	
	Wellys feyre and wateres fressch,	Springs
	To temper the erth herd and nessch.	hard and soft
		rear a area obje

110	The Wednesdey made God almyght Fyssches in flodys and foules in flyght, And bad them aboute the werld wynd For to helpe all mankynd.	in the waters ordered them to travel
115	The Thurysdey God made tho Bestys by downes and dalys also And gafe them ther mode And bad them turne all men to gode. On the Frydey God made Adame; After hys lyknes he made hym man.	hills and dales appearance (character)
120	He mad hym man of myghtys moste, And gafe hym lyfe of the Holy Goste. A gret lord he gan hym make,	. 1.
125	All paradys he gan hym take. The Saterdey God forgate nought All the werkys that he had wrought, That dey blyssyd them loud and styll,	gave to him [But he] blessed them that day
140	All hys werkys with gode wyll.	[2 at not occased them that day
190	He bade them wex and multyplye, Every thing in hys partye. Upon the Sondey God rest toke,	part (domain)
130	As we fynd wryten in boke. On the Sondey schuld no man wyrche, Bot serve God and Holy Chyrche, And kepe hym fro dedly synne And loke that he fall not therine."	
135	The Emperour seyd, "This may wele be,	
	Bot one thyng, chyld, tell thou me: What man dyed and was not borne?" The chyld ansuerd hym beforne,	form on (fort)
140	"Adam our fourmer fader, iwys, That gode lyve had in paradys. He was not borne, I understond, Bet God made have rich has beed."	former (first)
fol. 84v	Bot God made hym with hys hond." The Emperour therof was glad.	
145	Chyld Ypotys sone he bad If that he couth tell hym ought Of how many thyngys man is wrought. The chyld ansuerd and seyd, "Of seven;	asked could tell him anything
	Whych thei be, I schall them nevyn.	name
150	The erth slyme was one of tho, Water of the se God toke also, Of the sone and of the wynd, And of the cloudys, wryten I fynd, And of the stones be the se coste, And also of the Holy Goste.	mud; those sun

155	Of the erth he made hys flesch,	
	And of the water hys blod so nesch;	fluid
	Of the son hys hert and hys bowellys,	
	And of hys other gode dedys;	
	Of the cloudys hys wyttis beste,	wits (senses, intelligence)
160	And of the wynd breth of breste,	
	And of the stone he made hys bone,	
	And the Holy Gost hys saule alone.	
	Lo, Syr Emperour Adryan,	
	Of thes thyngys is made man.	
165	And therfor thei that be here	
	Be made of dyverse maner.	
	Man that is made of erth moste,	[A] man who is composed
	He schall be hevy, wele thou woste,	melancholy; know
	Hevy in thought and dede,	Melancholy
170	And in other thyngys, as we rede.	
	A man that hath most of the se	
	Ever in travell he schall be,	toil (motion)
	And covet mych of lond and lede,	land and people
	And all schall feyll hym at his nede,	fail; at his time of need
175	For it farys be an ebe and flod,	moves by
	As it doth be the werldys gode.	by the world's wealth
	Whoso of the wynd hath most myght,	
	Be ryght reson he schall be lyght,	cheerful (unsteady)
	Merry in herte and thought,	
180	And speke wordys that turnys to nought.	
	Whoso of the cloudys hath most seyson	seisin (claim)
	He schall be lyght be reson,	
	And be lyght in word and dede,	
	And in other thingys, as we rede.	
185	Whoso of the son hath most plenté,	sun
	Hote and hasty he schall be,	
	And stalworth man of mayn and myght,	strength
	And be reson he schall be lyght.	
	Whoso of the ston is most wrought,	
190	He schall be stedfast in thought,	
	And in travell trysty and trew,	trustworthy
	And be reson pale of hew.	complexion
	Whoso hath most of the Holy Goste,	
	He schall have in hert moste	
195	Gode wordys and gode thought and dede,	
	And the pore cloth and fede,	
	And love well God and Holy Chyrch,	
	And sofer penans and penans wyrch."	perform penance
fol. 85r	The Emperour sey with wordys myld,	
200	Anon ryght to the chyld,	
	. •	

	"Tho spake ryght now of the se;	sea
	I wold wyte what it may be."	
	The chyld seyd. "Withoute lesyng,	lying
	It is a wyld wey of wendyng.	traveling
205	Sych a wey thou myght wynd therine	travel
	That thou schall never lond wyne."	make land
	The Emperour seyd, "I thee pray,	
	Tell me withouten deley	
	What tyme dyde Adam amys	did Adam fail
210	Wherfor he lest paradys?"	
	The chyld seyd, "At morow tyde;	In the morning time
	At myd-dey he lost hys pride.	
	An angell drofe hym to deserte	
	With a bryght brynneng suerd	burning
215	To be in sorow and in wo ther,	
	He and his offspryng, forever more."	
	"Alas," seyd the Emperour for dole,	sorrow
	"That Adam was so gret a fole!	
	How many synnes dyde Adam	
220	Wherfor he lost hys kyngdam?"	
	"Seven," he seyd, "withouten mo:	
	Sacrilege was one of tho,	
	Fornycacion was one of thys,	
	Averys and covetys,	
225	In glotony and in pride;	
	In this seven Adam dyed.	(see note)
	In pride Adam syned ylle	
	When he wrought hys awne wylle	followed his own will
	And nat after the hest of God;	command ment
230	He held not well hys forwerd.	promise
	In sacrylege he syned sore	
	When he wroght after the fendys lore,	fiend's teaching
	And fullfylled hys awn talent,	own desire
	And dyde the fendys commandment.	
235	Man-sleyr he was inowghe	Manslayer
	When he hys awne soule slewghe,	slew
	And all that ever to hym com	
	The fend with hym to hell he nom.	took
	Thefe he was ageyn God	Thief
240	When he stole that he was forbede;	what
	Sertenly, I thee sey,	
	Worthy he was for to dey.	die
	Lechery he had in hond	
	When he wrought after the fend	
245	And held that God was fals.	
	In averys he syned als	avarice; also

	When he covet more to have Than he hade nede for to crave,	
	And paradys was at hys wyll.	at his command
250	No wondour was if he lyked yll	was ill pleased
	When he that appull gan take	
	That God forbed hym and hys make.	mate
fol. 85v	Sleuth he dyde werst of all:	Sloth
955	When he into that lust gan fall	
255	He hade no grace for to aryse. God come to Adam in this wyse,	
	And seyd, 'Adam what haste thou don?'	
	Adam ansuerd with wo anon,	
	'Lord, I here thee speke aplyght,	indeed
260	Bot of thee I have no syght.	
	Oure Lord to Adam seyde,	
	'Man, why dyde thou that dede?'	
	Adam ansuerd with wykyd wyll,	
965	'The eddyr he tysed me thertyll.'	snake; enticed me thereto
265	Oure Lord seyd to the edder tho, 'Fond, why dyde they by that we?'	then
	'Fend, why dyde thou hym that wo?' The fend ansuerd with avarysy,	avarice
	'For I had to hym envye,	www
	That thei schuld have that blysse;	
270	Therfor I tysed them to do amysse.'	
	Oure Lord seyd than to Adam,	
	For thi gylte, synfull man,	
	Thou schall gete thi mete with suete,	food; sweat
A=2	And sufer both cold and hete.'	
275	To Eve seyd Our Lord, heven kyng,	
	Woman, for thy wyked tysyng,	enticing
	Ever thou schall be mans thrall, In sorow and travell withall,	servant labor
	And bere thi fruyt with grefe and care,	iaooi
280	Thow and thy ofspryng forever more.'	
·	Oure Lord seyd to Sathan,	
	'In forme of a worme thou temptyd them,	snake
	On thi wombe thou schall glyde,	belly
	And all that so be, be any syde,	i.e., whoever lives
285	Of thee they schall be sore aferd	
	When thou comyst into mydell erde.	middle earth
	A meyden schall bere a byrth blyth That all this party scholl destroyers?	joyful birth
	That all thi posty schall destreysse.' Thus Adam lyfed in erth here	power; destroy
290	Nine hundreth and thre and thritty yere.	
-00	When he was dede to hell he name,	went
	And all that ever of hym come,	
	Ther soulys were in hell ther	

295	Foure hundred yere and a thousand more And foure yere and two deys evyn. And throw the myghty kyng of heven, Als he was man of myghtys moste, He sente Adam the Holy Coste	
300	He sente Adam the Holy Goste, And fette out Adam and Eve And all that were hym leve. Moyses, David and Abram,	brought out dear to him
305	All that were god with hem he nam, And led hem to paradys Ther joy and blysse ever more is. Lo, Syr Emperour Adrian, This is the begynnyng of Adam."	He took all who were good with them
fol. 86r 310	The Emperour seyd, "Be heven kyng, This was a feyre begynnyng! Tell me chyld if thou kan, Wherwith the fend begyled man? And I thee pray thou me tell, What drew mans saule to hell?"	How did the fiend beguile man
315	The chyld seyd, "Synne fyve — Among mankynd thei be full ryve: Wyked thought of mans herte Whyle that he is hole in quert. Manslaughter is another schame	abundant health (fortune)
320	And bryngys man in mekyll blame; Bot he fyrst ther of make hym clere, He goth els to hell fyre. Pryde also is another, And glotony the thyrd his brother.	
325	Lechery, that is the forth And the werst abovyn erth: The lecher wenes that lyve non is So mery as hys awne is. Covetys the fyveth; I thee tell Thys do wynne man saule to hell.	believes that no life fifth This brings
330	Seynt Paul seys in his story Of the peynes of purgatory For covetys be hymselve is dyght A whele of bras brynning bryght, And full of hukys abofe and under;	the covetous man; prepared burning hooks
335	When it goth, it rowtes as thunder. As full of saulys it is hynging As any may be of other thyng. Wyld fyre among them rynnes, And what it takys, it forebrynes. Why covetyse is lykend to a whele	sounds hanging i.e., as full as it can be runs burns up

340	A sample I canne thee schew wele:	
	A man in youth settys grete prise	sets great value
	And gyffys all to covetyse,	
	And in age he wyll not lyne,	cease
0.45	Bot ever he ledys hys lyfe therine.	
345	For covetys now I thee telle,	
	Whoso it doth, he gos to helle.	
	Now I have told thee every dele	
	Why it is lykend to a whele.	
	In pride therof, thei be bold:	
350	That is wers be a hundreth fold.	
	Angellus that were in heven lyght,	
	That were both feyr and bryght,	
	For pride God gan wrech take,	vengeance
	And son thei were fendys blake,	
355	And fell doune, as I thee tell,	
	Into the depyst pytte of hell.	
	And som be yit among mankyn,	
	And tyse them to dedly synne.	entice
	Therfor, man, schryve thee thi pride,	confess yourself
360	For wormes schall crepe be thi syde	Ų ,
	When that thou lyght in ground	lie in the ground
	And thi saule in wo is bound.	
fol. 86v	Sore may thei than smerte	
	That kepyd grete pride in herte.	
365	For pride is most aplyght	indeed
	That grevys Jhesu full of myght.	
	Lechery, it is the forth,	
	One of the werst aboven erth.	
	In holy wryte it is sette	
370	Lechery is the fendys nette.	
	Glotony, I schall deserne,	describe
	Among mankynd it is full yern.	virulent
	Therof the fend takys bale	deals out evil
	When men be dronke of wyne or ale.	wears our evil
375	They suere than as thei were wode:	swear; insane
373	'Be Crystys Passyon!' and 'Be hys blode!'	swear, insane
	And upbrayd hym of hys Passyon;	mock
	Therfor thi have hys malyson.	
		curse
380	Bot thei schryve them of ther glotony,	hailiruish (domain)
360	In hell schall be ther baly."	bailiwick (domain)
	The Emperour seyd, "That is a herd chans.	fate
	Bot what letys man to do penans?"	keeps man from doing penance
	"Slauth it is, withouten stans,	in truth
	That drawys man fro hys penans;	
385	Therfor it is, withouten fabull.	in truth
	•	

390 395	Bot thi God is mersyabull: He wyll of synfull take no wrech Yif thei take schryft to ther lech." The Emperour seyd, "Thus it is. What bryngys man to heven blys?" The chyld ansuerd thus and seyd, "Gode word and thought and gode dede. Ther was never no gode doyng Bot godnes were at the begynnyng. A gode dede is full of myght For to ples God that is so bryght.	vengeance doctor (i.e., confessor)
	A man may with his gode dede Wynne heven blys to hys mede."	as his reward
400	The Emperour seyd, "I thee pray, Tell me one thyng if thou may: How many synnes be unschryven Agens God be not forgyven?" The chyld seyd, "Synnes two. Mysbyleve ys one of tho:	
405	Many man wyll for no reson Beleve onne the carnacion And that he dyghed on a tre. And he wyll not beleve that, sothlye, Sertenly as I thee telle,	i.e., not be persuaded by reason in the incarnation
410	Body and saule he goth to helle. Wanhope is not to leve ther synne That many man is bondyn ine: Many man wyll not mersy crave, For he trow ys non to have."	Despair bound by beg for mercy believes there is none
415	The Emperour seyd, "Seth it is so, Tell me, chyld, or that thou go,	Since
fol. 87r 420	Wherwith a man may hym were That the fend schall not hym dere." The chyld seyd, "With god devocion Thynke on Chrystys Passyon. Man, thynke onne hys wondys smerte	How; guard himself harm wounds
	And have his passyon in thyn herte."	
425	The Emperour with wordys myld Askyd a mand of the chyld: "Why men fast the Frydey commonlyke, More than other deys in the weke?" The chyld ansuerd hym ageyn,	question

¹ Lines 401–02: How many unconfessed sins / Against God cannot be forgiven?

	"For thretene resons that ther bene.	
	The fyrst reson telle I canne:	
430	On the Frydey God made man.	
	The secunde reson I telle thee:	
	Of a rybbe Eve made He.	
	The thryd reson wote ye wele:	
	On a Frydey Caym slew Abelle.	
435	The forte resone is full suete:	
	How Gabryell Our Lady grete	greeted
	On a Frydey with myld mode:	greetea
	Jhesu toke both flessch and blode.	
	The fyft reson I tell thee beforn:	
440	Jhesu was of Mary born.	
110	The sexte reson is gode praysed:	
	That Jhesu Cryst was conseyved.	conceived (see note)
	The sevent reson tell I canne:	conceived (see noie)
	That Seynt Stephyn, the holy man,	
445	On a Frydey was stonyd to ded	stoned to death
113	Throw Herod and hys fals rede.	
	·	judgment
	The eight reson I wyll you telle	liston a manant (assessta)
	If that ye wyll a stound duelle.	listen a moment (see note)
450	The ninth resone is full gode:	
430	That Jhesu dyed onne the rode.	
	On the Frydey was Our Lady Assumpsyon:	
	That is callyd the tenthe reson.	
	The eleventh, of Seynt Andrew, that holy man,	
122	How he sufferd hys martyrdom.	
455	The twelfth reson, with myld mode,	
	How Seynt Elyn fond the rode.	
	The thretenth reson, verament,	truly
	That God on efter dey schall gyff jugement.	the last day
	On the Frydey with drery mode	sad heart
460	Oure Lord bought us with hys blode.	
	Man, thou have Frydey in mynd	
	For this resons wryten I fynd.	
	The Saterdey after, sertenly,	
	Is gode to faste for Oure Lady."	
465	The Emperour seyd, "I conjure thee	urge
	In the name of the Trinyté,	_
	And of the Passyon of Jhesu Cryste,	
	Of hys deth and his upryste,	uprising
	That thou me the soth sey	1
470	Or that thou wend fro me awey,	Before you go
	Whether thou be wykyd angelle or gode."	, , ,
	The chyld ansuerd with myld mode,	
	, , ,	

fol.87v	"I ame he that thee hath wrought And on the rode dere have bought."	cross dearly
475	The chyld went to heven tho,	
	Unto the blys that he com fro.	
	The Emperour knelyd on the grounde	
	And hansyd God that blyssed stounde.	blessed occasion
480	And becom a gode man, as we rede, In prayer and in almus dede.	alms giving
100	Seynte John the Wangelyst,	Evangelist
	That was in erth with Jhesu Cryst,	
	Thys tale he wrote in Latyn.	
	In holy wryte and in perchemyn	parchment
485	He commandyd all mankynd	
	The Passyon of Cryst to have in mynd.	
	Amen, Amen, for charyté, God grante us that it so be.	
	Her endys this talkyng;	Here; story
490	God grante us all hys blyssyng.	11070, 0007
	28. THE NORTHERN PASSION	
	Passio Domini Nostri	The Passion of Our Lord
	Lystyns lordyngys, I wyll yow tell	
	Of mekyll peté, I may you spell	[A matter] of great pity; tell
	Of Jhesu that us all hath wrought	. 1 1 / /
5	And seth oure saules dere hath bought. For he wold not oure saules tyne,	since; dearly (at great price) Because; lose
3	Withouten gylt he sofferd pyne.	punishment
	Of hys Passyon I wyll you tell;	paraermen
	Theron I muste a stond duell.	dwell a while
	As Marke and Mathew, Luke and John,	
10	All thei acorde into one,	are in agreement
	For to fullfyll the olde lawys,	
	Jhesu fastyd fourty deys.	
	Hys vertues thei sprong wyde, Bothe fer and nere on ilke-a syde.	were widely known everywhere
15	The Jues hade to hym envye	malice (envy)
10	And sey he dyde grete felonye.	mattee (energy
	They gederyd hem togeder stylle	gathered themselves privately
	To speke of Jhesu all ther wylle.	all their plans
	They come together at a feste,	feast
20	Riche and pore, most and leste.	
	Of Seryzens the prinsys alle,	heathens
fol. 88r	The Jues dyde befor hem calle.	magtast masters, which
101. 881	The most masteres of that lawys Dyspysed Jhesu in ther sawys.	greatest masters; religion counsels
	Dyspysed Juesu III thei sawys.	counsets

25	"If that we late hym thus gon,"	
	They seyd among them everychon,	everyone
	"All our folke wyll leve on hym	believe in
	And owre lawys schall be benyme."	taken away
	Cafas was bysschop in that tyme;	Caiaphas
30	In prophesy he gan it ryme.	explain
	He seyd to the prinsys all,	
	"Ye wate not what may befall.	know not
	A man schall dyen us beforne	Allow Not
	That the folke be not forlorne —	[So] that; lost
35	Thous seys the prophesye."	Thus
33	The Jues toke it to envye.	1 mus
	Of hymselve he had it nought;	From himself
	The Holy Goste hade it hym brought.	Trom nimsetj
	The Jues fro that ilke deye	
40	Jhesu to sle thei thought aye.	almana
40	- ,	always We do not rugat
	"We wyll not," thei seyd hem among, "That Romans com to do us wrong."	We do not want
		at hand (duancing magn)
	A grete feste ther was in hond	at hand (drawing near)
45	That Paske was callyd in that lond;	Passover
45	The Jues honouryd that ilke feste,	
	Riche and pore, most and leste.	. 1
	At that feste thei spokyn same	spoke together
	Jhesu Cryste for to blame.	
- 0	All thei thretyn hym to slo	slay
50	And seth dyde hym to sofyr wo,	then made him
	Bot thei seyd thei wold abyde	
	To that feste were over-glyde,	Until; was past
	That no sclander schuld ryse	slander
	Among the folke in non wyse	no way
55	That thei hade withouten rede	without judgment (a fair trial)
	Do that dey a man to dede.	Put a man to death that day
	The sexte dey befor that tyme,	sixth
	Jhesu, of whom is made this ryme,	
	To a cyté he gan draw	
60	Ther he thought to duell a thraw.	$a\ while$
	Of hys dyssypullus he clepyd two	called
	And bade thei schuld hys erand go,	
	"Into the myddys of yon syté	yonder
	That ye may befor yow se.	,
65	Ther schall ye fynd withine the walle	
	A myld beste stondyng in stalle,	
	An asse bondyn with her fole,	bound
	To lowys hyr men schall you thole.	release her; allow
	, ,	

70	That best ye bryng hether to me	beast
70	For I wyll wynd to yon syté."	$will\ go$
	Than hys dyssypullus gan forth wend	
	To that syté feyr and hend.	noble
	They dyde as Jhesu them bade:	
	They dyde the asse befor hym lede,	
75	Theronne sate Jhesu feyr and hend.	
	To that syté he gan wynd.	
fol. 88v	The chylder of Ebrew herd sey	children of the Hebrews
	That Jhesu schuld com that wey.	
	They com agen hym in the towne	to him
80	With wele feyre processyon.	very elegant
	Som of them befor hym yede	went in front of him
	Ther clotys befor hym to sprede.	clothes
	They spred ther clothys hym ageyn —	before him
05	Of hys commyng so were thei feyn.	eager
85	Some brought flowres feyre and suete	
	To strew afore hym in the strete.	TI.
	Tho pore men with herte so fre	Those
	Brake the branch of the palme tre.	
00	They began to sey and crye, "Save us, Lond, on that we dise!"	1
90	"Save us, Lord, or that we dye!"	lest we die
	Jhesu lyght doune wele styll And blyssed them with gode wylle.	dismounted; humbly
	And blyssed them with gode wyne.	
	He passyd forthe in the wey	
	To he com to Beteny.	Bethany
95	Be a strete in that sythe	time
	He resyd Lazer fro deth to lyve.	Lazarus
	When he had Lazer reysed,	
	Therfor was he mekyll prased,	praised
	Of Martha and Mary Maudelen also,	
100	For thei saw hym that dede do.	
	Jhesu and hys dyssipullus meke	
	Went to the toune ther mete to seke.	meal
	They com to a gode mans hous;	
	Hys name was Symon Leperous.	
105	He fedde them ther, all bedene,	all together
	And ther come Mary Magdylene;	1.1
	In holy wryte of hyr men redys	holy scripture
	That sche had don synfull dedys.	, 1.0 1.0
110	Sche knelyd doune hyr bote to crave:	to ask for relief
110	Of Jhesu sche wold mersy have.	
	With the terys that sche wepe	
	Sche sette hyr done and wessch hys fete,	
	And kyssed them with full gode wyll,	

	And for hyr trespas sche lyked yll,	for her sins she was ashamed
115	And wypyd them with hyr here	hair
	And for hyr synne hyr herte was sore.	
	An oyntment sche brought hyr with;	good suill
	Sche drew it oute with gode gryth. Sche anoyntyd hys fete that were sore,	good will
120	And ever sche cryed "Jhesu, thyn ore!"	mercy
140	Jhesu wyst hyr wylle full wele,	mercy
	And forgaffe hyr ylke-a dele.	in every way
	That untment it was so suete	ointment
	That sche untyd onne hys fete,	anointed
120	In that hous it spred wyde	[the scent] spread widely
	Overall aboute on ilke-a syde.	everywhere
	A dyssipull was therine,	
	He was combyrd all in synne:	mired in sin
405	Judas Scaryot was hys name.	Judas Iscariot
125	He dyd hys lord mykell schame:	
fol. 89r	He spake to Jhesu with mastry	pride
	Wordys full of felony.	
	He seyd, "Jhesu, thou doyst ille That thou latys thus this ontement spylle.	
130	It myght be sold for penyes gode,	
100	And gyfe pore men for to fode."	given in order to feed poor men
	Therfor Judas seyd it nought,	For that reason
	For onne the pore was not hys thought.	
	He was terrand and a theffe;	cruel
135	To geder penys he was full leffe.	eager
	Jhesu ansuerd to that saw	advice
	Wordys that were full of law:	wisdom
	"Pore men ye schall have	
	Your almus dede for to crave;	
140	If ye wyll do after my wylle	
	Late them not for hungour spylle.	die
	Me ye schall not have here long.	
	Agen this woman ye do wrong: Sche hath don a well god dede;	
145	It schall be hyrs at hyr nede.	in her [time of] need
1 10	Hyr lyve schall be wryten in story,	Her life; legend
	Ever to have in memory."	
	Judas herd this wordys meke;	
	Hys awne sore he gan seke.	own grief; sought
150	He mevyd and seyd in thought,	He considered
	"All this schall helpe thee nought:	
	To the Jues I schall thee selle,	
	Sych masters for to telle."	
1	Judas wold no lenger duelle;	
155	He sought the wey that ley to helle.	

	He yede and sought, and sone he fond The most prinsys of that lond.	greatest
	He seyd, "And ye wyll gyfe me mede, Unto Jhesu I wyll you lede,	reward
160	To Jhesu that I lufe nought.	
	To sell hym is my thought."	
	When the Jues thes wordys herde,	
	With mekyll joy all thei ferde.	they went
105	They gafe for hym, feyre and fre,	
165	Thyrty platys of gode moné.	coins; money
	The platys sone anon he toke; Ther was non that he forsoke.	Laft habined
	Ther was non that he forsoke.	left behind
	When Judas had don that folye,	
	He sought Jhesu with grete envye.	
170	When he was com to hys feloys,	companions
	They wyst not of hys pleys.	tricks
	He sett hym doune among hem all	
	With hert byterer than the galle.	D 11
175	Of Paske was that feste hend That These was betrayd and toned	Passover; noble taken
173	That Jhesu was betrayd and tened. Hys dyssypullus com hym nere	disciples
	And askyd hym with gode chere,	uiscipies
	"Syr, were wyll ye hold your feste?	where
	We wyll make redy your beheste."	command
fol. 89v	Jhesu ansuerd sone anone,	
181	And clepyd hym Peter and John:	
	"Go," he seyd, "and ye schall mete	
	A man with water in the strete.	
105	The hous that he goth to with gryth,	humility
185	Folow hym and go hym wyth.	
	The lord of that hous ye schall fynd	Massad
	A sympull man of sely kynd. To hym ye schall speke and sey	blessed
	That I com sone in my wey	
190	For to feste in the halle	
	And my twelve dyssypullus alle.	
	The dey is come, the tyme is nere,	
	Among my frendys to make my soper.	
	Ther I wylle my Paske make,	
195	And at my frendys my leve take.	from my friends
	Ther ye schall dyght our mete	prepare our food
	Of all gode as we may gete."	
	Peter and John, thei were hende; To the syté thei gan wende.	ready
200	All thei fownd as Jhesu bade.	
400	They dyde all with herte glade:	
	,, ac all In her to Shade.	

	They ordeyned mete grete plenty	
	For Jhesu and hys meny.	companions
	Jhesu, when the bord was spred,	table
205	He turnyd as the boke us seyd,	taught us
	And sette hym downe at the bord	
	And bade them sytte at a word.	at once
	They sette all withoutyn lettyng;	without delay
	He dyde mete befor them bryng.	had food; brought
210	Judas saw them sytte all;	
	Befor hem he gan downe fall	
	That he myght with them ete —	
	Hys treson wold he not forgete.	
	He stole owte of hys lordys dyssche	
215	The best morsell of fysche.	
	Jhesu toke brede and leyd hym by,	set [it] near him
	And blessyd it with melady.	song
	After he brake it with hys handys	
000	And gaffe it to hys gode frendys,	
220	"Ete," he seyd, "of this brede;	
	It schall yow save fro evyll dede.	
	It is my flesch that I yow gyffe;	
	Therfor ye may the better lyffe."	
995	Sethyn he toke the wyne clere	
225	And blyssed it with myld chere.	
	"Drynke," he seyd, "it doth you gode;	
	The drynke of lyfe, it is my blode.	(
	Who so unworthy my flesch etys	(see note)
230	Hys awne dampnacion he etys,	
230	And drynkys my blode so hend He schall be dampped withouten ende	noble
	He schall be dampned withouten ende.	
	The body that ye here se	
	For yow betrayde it schall be	
235	For to make you clen of synne And other mo that be therine.	
fol. 90r	Als oft as I schall be take	As often (see note)
101. 501	Mournyng of me ye schall make.	113 Often (see note)
	The ryght law this schall be;	
	I wyll that ye hold it of me.	
240	For with yow I ete no more	
410	To I have ben wyde-where.	Until; afar
	Ther ageyn may no man stryve,	Against this
	For I schall sone be brought of lyve.	killed
	The prophesy seys of me	пинеи
245	That I schall hong upon a tre.	
_ 10	The tyme is com that a trayter bold,	traitor
	One of you, me hath sold.	2, 20001
	For me be the penys takyn,	
	Tor me be the penys takyn,	

250	And one of you hath me forsakyn. For soth I wern hym wele beforn He were better be unborn."	to have been unborn
	When hys dyssypullus herd this tale,	
	They were abayschyd, grete and small.	abashed; in every way
055	All thei caste up a cry,	
255	And seyd, "Lord, that is not I!"	
	Than spake Jhesu wele styll, And seyd anon after hys wyll,	
	"He it is that with me etys;	
	To fyll hys wombe he not forgetys.	belly
260	Thorow hym trayd I schall be;	betrayed
	All ye may hym knaw and se."	, and the second se
	Als sone as Judas herd that word	
	He ros and sterte up fro the bord.	
	Judas anon he made a cry:	
265	"Master," he seyd, "was it ought Y?"	
	Jhesu ansuerd and seyd, "Iwys,	Indeed
	Thow it seys thiselve it ys."	
	Seynt John at the soper sate;	
	Mete and drynke he forgate.	
270	He lenyd hym to Jhesus breste,	leaned
	For he sate hym alther nexte.	nearest of all
	Sone anon he fell one slepe.	
	Of mekyll selcouth he gan mete:	great marvel[s]; to dream
055	An angell toke hys saule wele evyn	
275	And bare it into the blys of hevyn,	
	And ther he lete hym se	Calla canata
	Mekyll of Godys privyté. He sey ther many wonder thyng	God's secrets
	As he was in hys metyng.	dreaming
280	His wytte, it was so gode	areaming
	All that he sey he understode;	
	When he was wakyd feyr and wele,	
	He couth record it every dele,	
	And he it wrote in letter,	
285	As clerkys have it in scryptour.	
	The boke is callyd the Apocalyps,	
	Full of selcuth thingys iwys.	marvelous
	On this I wyll no lenger duell;	
	Another thyng I wyll you tell.	
290	Als Jhesu sate at the cloth,	
	Hys dyscypullus wex wroth.	grew angry
fol. 90v	Some of them began to stryfe	quarrel
	And gret contek for to dryfe	to make a great argument

	Whych of them schuld have mastrye,	preeminence
295	Of mastry and of dygnyté.	pride
	Bot Jhesus godnes was not forgete:	
	He brought a chyld that was meke;	
	That chyld he sette hem among.	
	"Me thinke," he seyd, "that ye do wrong,	
300	For this stryffe may helpe you nought.	
	Ye must turne you to other thought.	
	For as myld ye behovys to bene	
	As this chyld that here is sene.	
	He that berys hym hyest of all,	
305	Of his baly he sone schall fall.	From his authority
	I com not hyther with mastrye	
	To bere hey with invye.	act arrogantly; envy
	He that berys hym feyre and styll	peacefully
	In the last schall have hys wyll.	
310	I ame redy to serve you all	
	Of what thyng ye wyll to me call.	
	For ye must all buxsum be;	humble
	Take ye all exsampull be me.	
	Yow behovys to soffer pyne;	
315	So I schall do for all myne."	
	Jhesu spake with myld mode	
	To Seynt Peter ther he stode:	
	"When thou schall se that I ame takyn	
	And among my frendys forsakyn,	ab and one d
320	Comforthe thou thy brethyrn all	
	That non of them in synne fall."	
	When Jhesu had seyd all this,	
	And all hade etyn iwys,	
	He gyrd hym with a cloth of lynne.	wrapped; linen
325	And seth he toke a feyre basyn	
	With water he brought afor them all,	
	And on hys kne he gan downe fall.	
	Afor Seynt Peter he wold sytte.	
	He seyd he wold wessch hys fete,	
330	And Seynt Peter suere "Nay,	
	Thow schall not," he seyd, "be this dey.	
	It fallys not, thinkys me,	It is not filling, it seems to me
	Sych servys to have of thee.	
	Lord," he seyd, "wessch not my fete,	
335	Bot my hondys and my hede."	
	"Peter, for soth I telle it thee,	unless
	Bot if thi fete wessch be,	
	Thou getys no parte of my blys."	get no share
	Peter seyd, "That wyll I not mys."	_
340	Peter seyd and other mo,	

	"That parte wyll we not forgo; Wessch fete and hondys, we pray thee,	
	That no thyng unwessch be."	
quickly	Jhesu Cryst swyth anon	0.45
each of them	Wessch ther fete everichon,	345
not loath [to do]	And seth he wyped them with a cloth — That servys he was not loth.	fol. 91r
entirely	When he had wessch ther fete bedene,	
	He sette hym downe hem betwene.	
	To them he seyd, as he downe sate,	350
You know not what I have done	"I have do ye wote not what.	
	Ye have callyd me your lord all,	
know not	Ye ne wote what schall befall.	
	If I be master and lord also,	
	Here I have you knelyd to.	355
treat each other	So ye schall do iche man to other	
	As iche were other brother.	
low	Of hyghe and law, more and les,	
humility	No thing is beter than buxsumnes.	9.00
	Another I schall tell yow all	360
	That among us schall befall:	
sorely afraid	Ye schall todey be sore dred When I schall be fro you lede.	
	Ye schall sone fro me fle,	
	And som of yow forsake me.	365
shepherd goes far away	When the herd goth fer besyde,	303
very	Hys bestys spred swyth wyde;	
shepherd	I ame the herd, ye be the schepe.	
be taken before	I schall be take or tyme of slepe;	
put to death	For yow I schall be do to ded —	370
Jews' judgment	Sych is now the Jues red.	
die; law	I schall dyghe and breke the ley,	
	And ryse upon the thyrd dey.	
	Than ye schall me fynd and se	
	In the lond of Galylé."	375
frank	Than seyd Peter wordys fre:	
	"As thou seyst, Lord, may it not be.	
	I schall folow thee were thou wyll gon,	
foes	Among thy frendys or thi fone.	
	I wyll for thee grete peyne take,	380
	To prison go for thy sake.	
I will take death with you	I wyll with thee take the dede —	
[May] no man give me [other] advice	Beryth with me no man that rede."	
	And thus seyd the apostellus all,	
	That sate with Jhesu in that hall.	385
knew well	Jhesu ansuerd as he wele couth,	

	And spake to Peter awne mouth: "Peter, for soth I tell it thee, Thus pusht they scholl foresolve me	i.e., own face
390	Thys nyght thou schall foresake me (I wote wele here inow) Thrys or the coke hym crow. Bot do as I wyll thee telle;	I know well enough here Thrice before the cock crows
395	It is for gode I schall thee spelle. For dred of them that wyll yow dere, Suerdys all ye schall bere."	instruct harm
	They seyd that sate hym neghe besyde, "Syr, for thing that may betyde, We have redy suerdys two And other reasons gode also."	тау һарреп
fol. 91v 401	And other wepyns gode also." Jhesu ansuerd, feyre and fre, "That is inoughe, if it so be. Sytyh up and folow me —	Sit
	Here wyll we no lenger be."	
405	To a towne thei toke the gate, That men callyd Bethany the Bate. Jhesu spake wordys stylle	way
410	To hys dyscypullus with god wylle: "Here ye schall me abyde Whyle I go here a lytyll besyde.	
410	Ther I have a lytell to seyn; When I have do, I com ageyn." He toke with hym thre men wele hend,	say am done virtuous
415	And with them he gan forth wende. (Peter and John and hys brother, He lovyd iche more than other.) He led them forth with wordys suete Onto the Mounte of Olyvete.	
420	Than seyd Jhesu to them thre, "Here ye schall abyde me. Slepes not, bot be wakyng; My flessch for dred is quakyng." When he was fro them gon,	
425	On kneys he fell and kysyd the ston. After sone he gan call Hys Fader name, hyghest of all. "Fader," he seyd, "if it may be, Thou late this deth passe fro me.	
	And if I may non other do Bot that I must nedys therto,	But what I must do
430	I ame redy to do thi wyll Her onne erth, bothe loude and styll." When this was done he syghed sore;	loud and silent (i.e., in all ways)

	Hys angwys was mekyll the more.	anguish
	The boke it seys, welle I wote,	well I know
435	Blod and swete ran doune to hys fote.	
	Ther com downe an angell bryght,	
	Fro heven to erth he lyght,	landed
	To comforth Jhesu well styll;	
	So it was hys Faderys wyll.	
440	After that he rose anone;	
	To hys dyssypullus he gan gon.	
	They were wery of wakyng	weary
	And had take a grete slepyng.	•
	When he found hem slepyng all,	
445	Peter fyrst he gan call:	
	"Thys," he seyd, "is not the dede	
	That I command you when I yede.	
	A lytell thraw may ye not wake	while
	Of my sorow for to slake?	lessen
450	Wakys and pray heven Kyng	
	That ye fall not in foundyng."	temptation
	Thus he seyd. Son anone,	Soon
	He toke the wey were he had gon,	
fol. 92r	To that hyll that he come fro;	
455	He yede alone with other no mo.	
100	On kneys he fell doune wepand,	weeping
	For hys tyme was nygh comand.	coming near
	He prayd hys Fader in Trinyté	coming near
	That he myght that peyn fle.	escape that punishment
460	Seth he rose and yede anon	escape inai panisimeni
100	To hys dysypullus: thei slepyd ichon.	
	Jhesu wold not them calle;	
	He yede and lete them slepe alle.	
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
465	The thyrd tyme agene he yede	massaga (huanan) ta daliman
403	Hys erand fully for to bede.	message (prayer) to deliver
	"I have servyd no dede,	deserved; [punishment of] death
	Bot do I wyll after thi rede.	according to thy judgment
	If it may non other be,	
470	Fader, do thy wyll with me."	
470	He yede myldly withall	
	Hys dyssypullus for to calle.	
	Fyrst he clepyd Peter and John;	
	After, he spake to hem ichon:	
	"Ye have restyd and slepyd wele,	
475	Bot Judas slepyd never a dele.	not a bit
	To the Jues he hath me solde,	_
	And for me be the penys tolde.	counted
	Syte up, for my sake;	
	I wote thei com that wyll me take.	

480	Now Peter," he seyd, "I rede thee That thou be redy for to fle. Sathanas is thi frend nought; He wyll thee dryfe in wekyd thought. When I have dyghed on the rede tro	Satan afflict
485	When I have dyghed on the rode tre, Mykell schall be feld of hys posté. Bot ever what schall befalle, Comforth thou thy brether alle."	cross power whatever shall happen
490	After that, they toke the strete Ther thei schuld hys fo men mete. Judas com wyth grete rowte, And he sette Jhesu all aboute With suerdys, gleyves, and masys gode, And blew ther hornes as thei were wode.	foes a great crowd surrounded spears and maces
495	In lanternes thei brought lyght, For it was wele in the nyght. The Jues seyd hem betwen To that traytour Judas so kene, "Wherby schall we thi lord knaw?	crazy
500	Som of us hym never saw." "Of hym," seyd Judas, "Ye schall not mysse: Take hym," he seyd, "that I schall kysse." Jhesu wyst hys wyll full wele;	not miss
fol. 92v 505	He soferd them every dele. He yede among them — he dred hem nought. He seyd then, "What have ye thought?" They ansuerd hym that was meke, "Jhesu of Nazareth we seke." "If ye wyll Jhesu aseyle, I ame he, withouten feyle."	in everything
510	For drede thei were so hevy as lede: They fell doune as thei were dede. Seth thei ros and stod styll. Jhesu to them seyd his wyll:	as heavy as lead
515	"What seke ye fast als ye have gon?" The Jues seyd, sone anon, "Jhesu of Nazareth we seke." Than spake Jhesu wordys meke: "I seyd yow fyrst that I ame he; Ferther wyll I not fle.	as fast as (so quickly)
520	Yiff I be sought with you in ylle, Late thes men in pes go stylle." "Welcom, master," Judas gan calle. The Jues com aboute hym alle. They leyd hondys on Jhesus clothys,	in evil peacefully
525	And suore hys deth with many othys.	

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	Jhesu seyd to Judas,	
	"Thys treson procuryd thou has.	
	Thou hast betrayd me, iwys;	
	Wherto com thou me to kys?"	Why
530	Hys dissypullus that were ther,	Ź
	Iche one of them had gret care.	
	Fro Jhesu thei fled everychon,	
	All bot Peter and Seynt John.	
	Peter thought to do hym gode:	
535	He drew hys suerd as he were wode,	
	And smote a man swyth sore,	very severely
	And refte hym hys ryght ere.	cut from him
	Jhesu sey this dede idon.	saw; done
	He seyd to Peter sone anon,	
540	"Pute up thy suerd and smyte no more;	
	Me for-thinkys that thou smytys so sore.	I regret
	Whoso with suerd wyrch bale,	works evil
	He schall have the same gale.	meet the same fate
	Trowys thou nought and I wold crave,	Do you not trust that if I asked
545	Help of angellus I myght have?	· ·
	Twelve thousand of angellus bryght	
	I myght have here this same nyght	
	Fro my Fader me to defend,	
	And wele mo he wold me send	
550	My party for to susten	My friends; support
	Agen the Jues that be so kene.	
	Than were not the profesye	would not [be true]
	That seys of me that I schall dye;	
fol. 93r	It behovys, nedys to be,	
555	All that ever is wryten of me."	
	Jhesu yede hem beforn;	
	He toke the ere that was of-schorn.	cut off
	He yede to hym that was bledand;	bleeding
	Hys ere he helyd, wele farand.	acting well
560	For all this thei lovyd hym nought;	
	Thei dyde with hym as thei ne rowght.	cared not [for him]
	They bonde hys hondys faste,	
	Whyles the bondys myght laste.	
	Jhesu seyd, "Ye bynd me fast here	
565	As I were a thefys fere.	thief's companion
	To me ye don gret unryght	injustice
	Thus to fare with in the nyght.	treat
	Ye do me schame, all that ye may;	
	Feyrer it were to do be dey.	
570	Oft tyme I have befor you ben;	
	In all the tempull ye myght me sen.	
	Why had ye me not ther take?"	

575	The Jues to hym nought thei spake. They wold hym ansuer nought, Bot dyd as thei had in thought.	
	They led hym a wele god pas	pace
	To the bysschop, Syr Cayfas,	Caiaphas
	And began to hym wrye	accuse
580	Of Jhesu, both styll and hye.	soft and loud (i.e., in every way)
360	Peter folowyd sone anon Hys lord Jhesu, so dyd Seynt John.	
	John entryd with other mo,	
	For he was ther long or tho.	long before then
	Peter stod withoute the gate,	8 J
585	For no man wold hym in late.	
	Als sone as he was were of John,	aware
	He clepyd to hym sone anone.	
	John spake with the porter styll;	
× 00	Ther Peter enteryd at hys wyll.	
590	What thei wold to Jhesu do,	they [i.e., the Jews]
	The one beheld, the other also.	washed in a deah
	John stude in a mantyll fold; On hym the Jues gan behold,	wrapped in a cloak
	And to hym thei gan chyd.	chide (accuse)
595	Als the Jues dyde hym besyde,	took him aside
	The lape of that mantyll gode	edge
	They drew as thei were wode.	grabbed; crazy
	John saw men wold hym take;	,
	He had lever hys mantyll forsake.	rather abandon his cloak
600	He lepe awey with grete tene,	fear
	And set the mantyll hym betwen.	
	Jhesu stod that ilke thraw	same moment
	Among the Jues on a raw.	group
	Nought was fond hym within	
605	Thing that touchyd unto synne.	Anything sinful
fol. 93v	Two Jues stode hym bye;	
	On Jhesu thei made a crye:	
	"Thys man seyd that stode here, A wonder thyng ye may here: ¹	
610	That he may fall done in a throw	cast down an instant
010	Thys tempull that ye all knaw,	tast as an an an instant
	And sethyn within the thryd dey	
	Reys it up new wele he may.	He may raise it well anew
	Thys wytnes we well, for soth:	Ź
615	He seyd it with hys awne mouth!"	

 $^{^{1}}$ Lines 608–09: This man who stands here said / A wondrous thing that you may hear

	Cayfas seyd in that thraw, And spake to Jhesu with hys law.	
	He seyd to Jhesu ther he stode, "Thynke thou that this pleynt is gode?"	accusation
620	Jhesu ansuerd hym ryght nought, For he was grevyd in thought.	aggrieved
	Cayfas to Jhesu that dey Cryed to hym sone on hey: "If thou arte Godys awne sone,	in high voice (i.e., loudly)
625	Have now done and sey us sone!"	Have done with it and tell us now!
	Jhesu spake with myld chere: "Godys sone thou seyst here, And for soth I sey thee, In heven men schall me se	
630	To deme men after ther dedys; He is unwyse that it not dredys." Cayfas herd this wordys styll;	judge men according to their deeds
	He thought it was not after hys wyll.	to his liking
	Hys clothys he brake for tene,	tore in anger
635	And after seyd wordys kene:	
	"Hys wordys," he seyd, "is sone gon,	are soon gone (i.e., empty)
	Bot other wytnes hath he none.	
	Jues," he seyd, "what is your rede?"	
640	All thei seyd, "Do hym to dede!"	, ,
640	They gon spyte on hym all, All that stod in that hall,	spit
	And seth with palmes in that place	
	They bette Jhesu in the face.	
	They bette frest in the face.	
	Peter drew among them bold,	
645	And the weder wex wele cold.	weather grew cold
	He sey a fyre that was made on heye;	Ö
	Als he durst, he drew hym neye.	As he dared
	Among the Jues Peter stode styll	
	And wermyd hym after hys wyll.	warmed himself
650	Ther com a meyden sone anon	
	To loke what Jhesu schud be done.	what would be done to Jesus
	Sche sey Peter stond at the fyre;	
	Sche lokyd on hym with evyll chere.	
CFF	"Man," sche seyd, "what arte thow?	
655	Arte not thou a dyssypull of Jhesu?"	
	Peter ansuerd son anon: "For soth" he sayd "thou hast mysgon	hamaham mistal
fol. 94r	"For soth," he seyd, "thou hast mysgon Of thyng that thou onne me leyst;	have been mistaken
101. 9 4 1	I ne wote what thou seyst."	accuse me of
660	Peter thought non other wone,	no other hope
000	reter thought non other wone,	no oiner nope

	Bot the meyd forth gan gone	
	To another sted ther besyde.	
	Ther he herd men gon chyde —	
aware (i.e., he hid his face)	Of hys face he was werre —	
[they] spoke to him	And spake to hym wordys there.	665
i	"Sertys," thei seyd, "thou arte one	
accustomed to go with Jesus	That arte wonte with Jhesu gon."	
<i>g</i>	Peter began to suer nay,	
	He sey hym never to that dey.	
struggle unhappily	Peter gan to stryve ille;	670
quietly	He wold have gon thens full stylle.	
1	Prevyly he went out at the gate	
	Betwen two men that sate therate.	
Up to him; fierce	Ageyn hym com Jues kene,	
I believe	The bysschopys men thei were, I wene.	675
	Ther Malcus came hym beforn	
cut of	That he had hys ere of schorn.	
strong words	He spake to Peter wordys grete,	
threaten	And he began hym to threte.	
	He seyd, "Felow, arte thou not he	680
	That my ryght ere toke fro me	
	When we com thi master to take?	
renounce	Thys may thou not forsake.	
renderies	Thy master helyd it anone;	
thought to leave unscathed	Therfor he wend quyte to gone.	685
inought to teace unseather	I folowyd hym betwene;	000
I believe	I wys he is thy lord, I wene."	
1 000000	Peter stod adred full sore;	
regretted	He forthought that he com ther	
daze	As he stod in swevne streng.	690
tro-se	"Man," he seyd, "thou hast gon wrong.	000
	I ne sey hym never yite,	
	Nor I knaw not that prophete."	
cocks to crow	Than began the kokys to craw,	
lou	Wel sone, both hyghe and law.	695
<i>10</i> tt	Jhesu turnyd sone anone	000
looked upon Peter	And he lukyd Peter apone.	
lookea apon 1 eter	Peter sey Jhesu on hym blynke;	
2001	Anon he began hym to thinke	
	And that word in mynd gan take	700
	That Jhesu seyd Peter schuld hym forsake.	,00
	Therof myght he do no more,	
	Bot wepyd fast and syghed sore.	
	Befor the bysschop Jhesu stode.	
	He was ever myld and gode.	705
	He askyd Jhesu of hys dedys,	

Of hys techyng and of hys lore, And of hys dyscypullus that were ther. 710 "That thing myght not wele be hyde; It awght to be rede wele wyde. 601. 94v Wythin the tempull I have bene; Erly and late ye myght me sene. Men I taught of my sawys 715 For to kepe my Faders lawys. In privyté aught it not be leyd, For in scryptour it schall be seyd. What askys thou sych thyng of me When other men kane telle thee?" 720 Up than ros a felon theve; He ros up as he were wode, And smote Jhesu ther he stode, And smote Jhesu ther he stode, And seyd, "Why ansuerys thou so 725 The bysschop that thou speke to?" Jhesu stode wele styll that tyde And lokyd on hym that dyd hym smyte. He seyd to hym, "Evyll mote thou thé. Agen the ryght thou smytys me. 730 If that I seyd ought yll, Smyt me after thy wyll. Seth that I seyd no thynge bot gode, With wrong thou mengys my blode." Cayfas, upon that grownd, 735 Spake to Jhesu in that stond: "Sey us now for soth, iwys, If thou com fro heven blys."
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If thou com fro heven blys."
Jhesu seyd, "Bote is ther non There is no remedy
For to plete ageyn my fone. There is no remarky plead; foes
740 It nede not tell yow no tyding — story
Ye leve no word of my seyng. believe
Ye schall, so it may betyde, as it may happen
Se me be my fader syde. All the posty schall be myn power
All the posty schall be myn power 745 To deme after ther synne. judge according to
Than I schall my fo men deme
That wyll me now of lond fleme." put to flight
When this was seyd, the Jues all
On Jhesu thei gan fast calle.
Anon thei gaff hym dyntys ther, blows And gaff hym wondys sore. wounds
Upon hym loud gan thei cry,
"What helpys now thy prophesy?

755	Tell now who smote thee, And we schall leve on thee." Thus thei fayred all the nyght	believe in
760	Tyll it sprong the dey lyght. When it was dey, thei toke rede For to pute Jhesu to dede. They bounde hym with ropys sore.	rose made the decision
fol. 95r	Ther thei wold duell no more; Anon thei toke ther gate To thei com to Sir Pylate.	way
765	Withouten hym thei durst not do Thyng that fell the crowne unto, For he was man of grete baly; In all that lond he hade mastry.	pertained to the crown (royal authority) power jurisdiction
770	Now at Judas I wyll duelle, All of hys sorow for to telle. For the treson that he made, All hys games wex unglade.	schemes turned out poorly
	When hys game was all agone, In wanhope he fell anone.	despair
775	He wolde of Jhesu no mersy crave, For he wend non to have. He yede to the Jues kene	believed
	And seyd to them all bedene, "I have synned in envy,	together
780	I have don grete foly. Sertys, Jhesu I forsoke For the penys that I toke. Withouten gylt I have hym sold;	Certainly
785	My synne is turnyd manyfold." Than ansuerd the Jues all, To Judas thei gan calle:	numerous (magnified)
703	"We have nothing to do Of thyng that thou spekys us to. Whyll thou sey thyn awne dede,	
790	Thow awys it most to drede. If thou hast do hym unryght,	You ought
	On thee fallys wrech aplyght. When thou hym us sold,	vengeance in full
	Gode money for hym thou told. Thou were payd and so were we;	counted
795	Ther may non other mendys be." Judas herd this wordys ill;	amends
	Of hys lyve he gan to spyll. Be the tempull ther he stode, He gan to quake as he were wode.	began to ruin

Out of hyr lape he them schoke And threw them awey Befor the Jues on hyghe. And sethyn he gan gon; 805 Anon he thought yll to done. Into a privye stede he drewht, Ther he had hys wyll inough. Within a pytte of a privé, He hong hymselff on either tre. 810 Hys wombe cleft in two full skete; Hys bowellus hong downe to hys fete; Body and salle he was forlorn. Alas that evyr he was born! In wanhop hys saule is tent; 815 Withouten ende to hell he wente. The Jues sey that sylver bryght; They toke it up with herte lyght. Sone anone thei gane to stryve, And grete contek thei dryve 820 What were best therwith to do. Som seyd ther rede, so and so, Sum seyd it aught nought Into the tempull to be brought, Ne be done in tresory, 825 For it was full of felony. That stryff was feld sone anone; They toke counsyll everychon With that sylver to by lond For to hold in ther hond 830 To strew Jues for ther synne When thei went on this wyse Anon thei made merchandys: They bought the Mounte of Calvery 835 For to hold in ther hond 840 Fyrst therfor, were penys told When Judas had Jhesu sold; Sethyn therwith that place was bought That Jisen was unto deth brought. That steed, who so understod, That steed of Blood. 840 Fyrst, therfor, were penys told When Judas had Jhesu sold; Sethyn therwith that place was bought That Jisen was unto deth brought. That steed, who so understod, Judae 840 Field of Blood.	800	The thryty platys that he toke,	thain flat
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	Of Jhesu that was herd besette,	fiercely afflicted
	And befor Pylate was fette.	fetched
850	The Jues began on Jhesu crye,	jetemea
	And grete lesyng on hym lye.	slanders
	"We have," thei seyd, "befor you brought	Statistics.
	A man that mekyll wrong hath wrought.	
	He makys folke to beleve on hym;	
855	Therof he wyll never blynne.	cease
	And yete he seys another thyng:	coust
	That he is God and of Jues kyng.	
	Every man that seys this thyng,	
	He spekys ageyn Sesar the kyng."	against Caesar
	The spenys age, it sessar the nying.	against Gatsar
fol. 96r	Pylat spake with myld mode	
861	To Jhesu Cryst ther he stode:	<u>.</u>
	"If this wytnes be trew,	testimony
	Thow speke and ansuer to us now.	
0.05	Arte thou Godys sone of heven?"	
865	Jhesu ansuerd with myld steven,	voice
	"Thow it seys I ame he;	
	I ame present here to thee."	
	Pylate seyd a party lowde	somewhat loudly
o = o	To the Jues kene and prowde,	
870	"Sykerly, be my leuté,	by my faith
	That Jhesu seys, it may welle be.	
	I fynd in hym no gylte	
	Wherfor that he schuld be spylte."	killed
. = -	The Jues thei gan to cry,	
875	"Syr Pylat, thou seyst foly!	
	Owre folke were in beleve gode	in good belief
	And he hath changyd of ther mode.	changed their minds
	Mych folke he hath turnyd us fro	
000	In this cuntré and other mo	
880	All this thre yere, as I wene,	
	Al so wyde as he hath bene,	
	That is now fro this syté	
	Into the lond of Galylé."	
	Pylat seyd to the Jues all,	
885	The wysest of them he gan calle,	
	"Wyteh ye sone and wern me,	Learn; tell
	If he were born in Galylé."	
	Than ansuerd one sone anone	
200	Of hym he was avysed long gone.	warned long ago
890	Pylat seyd, "If it be so,	
	Wele I wote what longys therto.	i.e., know what must be done

895	Kynge Herod of that lond The reme he holdys in hys hond. He is man of more posté; The dome fallys not to me. Lede ye hym to Herod the kyng, And sey I send hym gretyng.	realm power judgment
900	Byde hym do all hys wylle Of this mater that ye wyll spelle." The Jues toke Jhesu anon, And to Herod thei gan gon. To hym thei com a wele gode pase Into the cyté ther he was.	describe pace
905	Herod sey Jhesu command; He yede agen hym, wele lykand. Mekyll he desyred hym to se, More than I can tell thee.	saw Jesus coming He went to him, desiring much [to see him]
fol. 96v 911	The Jues cam rynnyng full tyte And fell before Herodys fete, And ther mesage thei gan tell — Lothe thei were long to duell. Befor Herod in hys hall Ther wylle of Jhesu thei speke all.	quickly
915	Herod seyd, "Welcom, Jhesu; I ame glad I se thee now. I thanke hym that thee hether sente; I schall quyte hym hys talente.	pay him his due
920	Pylat hath do now ryght wele; My wreth I forgyff hym every dele. And sethen thou arte com to me, Sey me some dele of thy posté. I have herd speke in callyng	I completely forgive him for my anger power
925	That thou doyst many selcuth thing: The blynd men thou doyst to seyn, The dome to speke, the defe to heren; Crokyd men thou makys to gone; Wode men thou makys hole anone. And now for the lufe of me,	marvelous caused to see dumb; hear Crippled Insane
930	And now for the fifte of me, Some meracle that I may se." Jhesu Cryst was grevyd sore. He wold be taryd than no more. He ansuerd not, bot stod styll;	delayed (hindered)
935	He gaff not of Herodys wyll. Herod gan hym for to prechen; He dyd hym spoyll and seth beten. When he was betyn of them all, Herodys men that sate in the halle,	cared not for exhort had him stripped and then beaten

	They clothyd Jhesu than with clothys,	
	And suore hys deth with grete othys.	
940	, , ,	
940	Herod seyd, "Jhesu I forsake;	
	They that hym brought, thei schall hym take.	
	To Pylat agen ye schall hym lede,	
	For he knawys most of hys dede.	
0.45	Of this man ye do your wylle,	
945	Whether ye wyll hym save or spylle."	
	The Jues anon toke ther gate	
	To thei com to Syr Pylate.	
	They told hym tyding glade,	
050	How Herod and he were frendys made:	
950	"Of Jhesu he bade thee do thi wylle,	
	Whether thou wylt hym save or spylle."	condemn
	Pylat anon gan calle	
	The masters and the princes alle.	
055	He seyd to hem, "Ye be to blame;	
955	Ye do Jhesu mekyll schame.	
	I canne nothing in hym fynd	
	Werefor men schuld hym bete or bynd."	
	Pylat seyd, "Lystyns to me,	
0.1.0-	I wyll you tell wordys thre:	
fol. 97r	It is custom of this lond	
961	Of Paske dey that is nere hand	near at hand
	If any man in prison be	
	For manys-slaughter or feloné	
	Of prison delyverd he schall be,	released
965	And withouten dome to pas fre,	punishment
	And sethyn do hym of land fle."	exile him from the land
	The Jues gan to cry lowde,	
	"Nyme hym of hys wordys prowde!	Take him for
	If that he dyd not ylle,	
970	We wold not hym spylle."	
	Pylat was a party grevyde,	somewhat aggrieved
	For thei cryed lowde in hys hede.	
	He toke Jhesu and wente aboute,	
	And askyd hym thyng that was in dowte.	
975	Jhesu ansuerd in evyn wey	i.e., calmly
	To all that Pylate couth sey.	could ask
	Whyll Jhesu and Pylate stod ther,	
	I wyll you telle of treson more.	
	The princys and the masterys alle,	
980	Styll thei lystend in the halle.	
	They callyd forth the Jues kene	
	And toke concell hem betwene,	
	A delyverans for to have	

985	Of Pylate for to crave. ¹ They had in prison Barabas: Both tratore and thefe he was.	
	Delyver hym thei wold ichon, Bot Jhesu Cryst thei wold slone.	each one wanted slay
	Pylat anon com hem to:	stay
990	He seyd to hem, "What wyll ye do?	
	If ye wyll do after me,	
	Jhesu schall delyverde be."	
	The Jues cryed and seyd "Nay,	
	He schall dyghe this same dey.	
995	Bot ther is Barabas the thefe —	
	Delyver hym as he is lefe."	as he desires
	Lystyns now a lytell spas,	little while
	I wyll yow tell of Sathanas:	
	He thought wele that Godys sone	
1000	Was come in erth for to wone.	to dwell
	He wyst if Jhesu were not slone,	slain
	He schuld have saules many one.	
	For Jhesu with hys deth myght bye	
	All the saulys in hys balye.	authority
1005	A treson he thought to do,	treacherous deed
	If he myght have com therto.	be able to do so
	All that nyght he yede styll;	traveled quietly
	Hys thought he soundyd to fullfylle.	plan he examined
1010	He com to Sir Pylatys wyfe;	
1010	He wold have savyd Jhesus lyfe.	
	Ther sche ley in slepe faste;	
6.1.05	A grysly loke he on hyr caste.	
fol. 97v	"Awake," he seyd, "and speke with me.	7
1015	Of thy herme I werne thee.	harm
1015	Byd thy lord with gode rede	
	That he do not Jhesu to dede. The men that procure hym to fall,	
	They schall be confondyd all.	condomned (cursed)
	For he was take with no treson,	condemned (cursed)
1020	With wrong he was pute in prison.	
1040	He that this treson fyrst begane,	
	The peyn of hell he hym wane."	won (earned)
	Pylatys wyfe herd this wordys ther;	won (carnou)
	Sche durst not speke a word for fere.	
1025	Anon sche yede to Syr Pylate	
	Ther he sate in domes sete,	judgment seat
	Als he schuld deme Jhesu.	• 0

¹ Lines 983–84: To ask Pilate for / A prisoner to be released

	"With Jhesu," sche seyd, "what wylte thou do?"	
	Sche seyd, "I hold thee for wode	mad
1030	If thou do Jhesu ought bot gode.	
	Leve not on the Jues rede	Believe
	For to do Jhesu to dede.	
	Slepand it come, I may you telle,	Sleeping it came
	A gost — I wene he com fro helle.	• 0
1035	Loythely he masyd me;	Loathsomely; frightened
	For Jhesu sake that dyde he.	
	They that brought Jhesu thee beforne,	
	Withouten end thei be forlorne.	lost (damned)
	That gost was well grysly;	
1040	Sey I never non so ugly.	
	I was never so sore adred	
	Seth I was of my moder fede.	
	Delyver anon Jhesu fro thee	
	So that the gost may love thee."	
1045	Pylat herd the Jues alle,	
	How hy thei gan with wordys calle.	loudly
	They seyd, "We wyll have our wylle	
	Of Jhesu that hath don ylle.	
	He seys us schame and schond,	dishonor
1050	And defame us in every lond.	
	And yit he seys other foly,	
	That he hath of us mastry.	power over us
	Kyng of Jues he dyde hym calle;	
	Sych are hys dedys alle."	
1055	Pylat seyd unto Jhesu,	
	"They love thee nought, what thei sey now.	
	In pes thou myght be for me,	
	Bot for the folke of this contré.	
	The bysschop of the law with envy	
1060	Thinkys to do thee vylonye.	
	No thing this fawte is in me,	In no way is the blame upon me
	And that thee schall sone se."	
fol. 98r	He callyd forth a wyked squyre	
	And bade hym fete water clere.	fetched
1065	When the water was to hym brought,	
	He wessch hys hondys as he thought.	
	He seyd to the Jues kene,	
	"Of this gylte I wyll be clene,	
	And in the spyllyng of hys blod.	
1070	I fynd in hym no thing bot gode."	
	Than ansuerd the Jues kene,	
	"All hys blode on us be sene,	
	And all the synne myght falle	

1075	On us and of oure chylder alle." Than spake Pylat ther he stode To Jhesu Cryst with myld mode. "Jhesu," he seyd, "behold and se All this folke be hold onne thee	set against you
1080	For thou teches new lawys That were unseyd be olde deys." Jhesu seyd anon hys thought: "Of your wordys I gyfe nought. I wyll make her no mastrye;	in olden days here
1085	In other sted is my balye. My kyngdom is heven bryght, Ther I was this same nyght. Yiff that my kyngdom were here,	In another place is my jurisdiction
1090	Angellus of heven schuld me were. Agen the Jues thei myght me were, That non of them schuld me dere. Bot my reme is ferr me fro; My Fader wyll it schall be so." Pylat seyd, "Than arte thou kyng	guard injure realm
1095	In this werld of all thyng?" Jhesu seyd, "Thou seyst wele so; In this werld I have to do, And in this werld I was borne.	have to be
1100	I com to seke that was forlorne, Nother to fyght, nether to suere, Bot of sothefastnes wytnes bere. And every man that lovys sothnes In me wones more and les."	seek what was lost to bear witness to truth truth dwells
1105	Pylat seyd, "I byde thee, What is sothfastnes, tell thou me?" At this word Jhesu stod stylle, And seyd nether gode ne ille. Pylat was full of thought; What he myght do he wyst noght.	
1110	Anon he seyd the Jues to, "What wyll ye with Jhesu do? Synne it were to spyll his blode; I fynd in hym nothing bot gode.	
fol. 98v 1115	I rede that we late hym go Into the lond that he com fro." The Jues seyd to Pylate,	
	"Yiff that thou late hym thus scape, Sezars frend wyll thou not be. For we have do as we told thee, Deylver us Barabas the thefe	escape Caesar's have done

1120	And pute Jhesu to peynes greffe.	grievous
	Bot if thou do as we thee sey, Thou schalt an a evyll deth dey."	Unless
	Pylat than dred them sore.	greatly feared them
	He toke Jhesu afor them ther,	g , <i>j</i>
1125	He toke hym to the Jues all.	
	"Now loke," he seyd, "what wyll befalle."	
	Than began the Jues kene	
	Dyspoyle Jhesu hem betwene.	Disrobe
1130	They pute of hym all hys clothys And suore hys deth with many othys.	took off from him
1130	They bond hym to a pylere	
	And toke scorgys strong in fere.	scourges (whips); together
	They bete hym, whyll the schorgys laste.	0 1 7 0
	The blod ran don by hym faste;	
1135	Jhesus body, ther he stode,	
	Was all coverde with hys blode.	
	Seth thei bonde hys fete faste With strong condys whyll thei myght laste	
	With strong cordys, whyll thei myght laste. Thei honge on hym a purpull palle	fine cloth
1140	And fell onne kneys befor hym alle.	Jene Com
	All thei seyd in ther schorging,	
	"Welcom, Syr Jues Kyng!"	
	After thei toke thornes kene,	
1115	They made a garlond bedene	ready
1145	And sett it upon hys hede.	1.0 : 4
	Ther was no mercy with hem leved. The thornes made woundys grete;	left in them
	The blode ran doune with grete hete.	
	They toke scorges and bete hym sore;	
1150	All that he sofferd and mych more.	
	Besyde Pylat Jhesu stode;	
	All he was berune with blode.	covered
	Pylat seyd, "I have mervell of thee	,
1155	That thou bydys no man helpe thee, And why thou makys no more crye	ask
1133	On them that doys thee this vylonye.	
	Whens arte thou? What is thi name?	
	Strong thou arte to sofer schame.	
	I rede thou cry us mersy all,	advise
1160	For thy profete so may befalle."	You may fare better for that
	Jhesu stod styll and seyd nought.	
C 1 00	Pylat seyd "What is thi thought?	,
fol. 99r	Ne gruche thou nought to speke with me	grudge
1165	Whyll thou arte in my posté? Wenyst thou not that I wele may	power Know
1100	Do thee to deth this same dey?	Know
	/	

	Or I may do thee to the dede	to death
	As it is the Jues rede. Of thy body I have posté	
1170	For to hong thee on a tre."	
	Jhesu seyd to Pylat tho,	
	"All thi posté thou schall forgo.	lose
	Posty hast thou non of me,	
1177	Bot that fro heven is grantyd thee;	Except for that [power which] from heaven
1175	Therfor, he hath more synne That gaff me to you herine "	herein
	That gaff me to you herine." Pylat lede Jhesu withoute;	петет
	The Jues gatherd all aboute.	
	Anon Pylat lowde gan cry,	
1180	"Thys is your kyng in my baly."	control
	The Jues seyd, "We byde thee,	command
	Gyff hym dome to hang on tre."	Sentence him to
	Pylat seyd, "Is this your cry To deme hym, bot ye wote why?"	condamn; although you know not ruly
1185	The Jues, all that ther stode,	condemn; although you know not why
1100	Cryed on hym as thei were wode;	
	All thei seyd with o voys,	one voice
	"Gyff hym dome to hong onne cros.	
	Of the lawys we have rede,	
1190	The law wyll that he be dede.	
	He dyde all that to foly fallys When he by he kyng of Lucy callys "	pertains to folly
	When he hym kyng of Jues callys." Pylat seyd, "I can no rede,	I know no judgment
	Bot do ye hym to the dede."	1 know no jawymeni
1195	Than ansuerd the folke of helle,	
	"It fallys us no man to quelle.	kill
	The dome fallys be gyne of thee:	by your working
	Gyff thou hym dome to hong onne tre."	
1900	Pylat seyd, "This is a strange thing.	
1200	Wyll ye sle your awne kyng?" The Jues ansuerd sone,	
	"Other kyng than Sezar we have non.	Caesar
	Grante us hym for Sezar sake,	addition, and a second of the
	And Baraban out of prison take."	Barabas
1205	Pylat seyd, "If it be so,	
	What wyll ye with Jhesu do?"	
	All thei seyd with o voys,	
	"Gyff hym dome to hong on cros."	
1210	Pylat grantyd hem ther wyll. Than gafe he dom Jhesu to spyll;	condemn
	Barabas comandyd he	Condensit
	Anon delyverd for to be.	released
	Purpull paull Jhesu stod ine;	Fine purple cloth

	Thei drew it of withouten wynne.	off; joy
1215	All hys clothys of thei gan take;	
	Agen thei clothyd hym for schame sake.	
fol. 99v	Thei drew hym as thei were wode,	dragged
	And thretyn hym to hong on rode.	
	"The dom is gyfyn: hangyd is he,	
1220	Bot we have no rode tre."	
	Than seyd hem Syr Pylate,	to them
	"Go," he seyd, "fro gate to gate,	
	Tyll ye fynd some rode tre	
1008	Wereon he may hongyd be."	
1225	Forth thei yede; at the laste	
	A long tre thei fownd in haste.	tall
	Whens that ilke tre com ther,	
	It is not told everywher.	1 - 1
1000	Therfor, I wyll a stond duelle;	a while
1230	Of that tre I wyll you telle.	
	Davyd the kyng, in hys lyfe,	
	He sett that tre for to thryfe	planted; thrive
	Of thre branchys that he found;	From
	The branchys all togeder he wond.	grafted
1235	In a stoke of sedyr tre	trunk; cedar
	He sett this branchys all thre.	
	The branchys were of grete price;	
	They com oute of paradys.	
	They were take withouten stryfe,	
1240	And were corve of the tre of lyfe.	carved
	On that tre that appull grew	
	That made us all to change new.	
	For that appull, thorow Evys rede,	
	Was Adam brought to dede;	
1245	Forthy it was a well gode thought	Therefore
	That deth was thorow the appull brought,	[Since] that death
	That lyfe schuld of that tre	
	In som time tokyn be.	Eventually be taken
	David the kyng the branchys sette,	
1250	And in the rote togeder thei mette.	root
	Be that the yere was all gon,	By the time that the year
	They stode and wex everychon.	grew
	Of thre maner treys thei were	
1055	That stode and wex together ther;	
1255	Therupon grew all our bote.	remedy (cure)
	Of sedyr was the fyrst rote;	cedar (see note)
	The form shift I tall these	1.
	The feyr olyff, I tell thee,	olive
	They wex together feyr and spred;	flour is hed

1260	Therof the keng grete joy made.	king
	Thyrty wynter all bedene	together
	They wex feyr and lyke gren.	green
	Within the tyme that I telle thee,	
1265	It was wax a well fayr tre. Ther it stod and fast gon spred	
1403	Unto that Kyng Davyd was dede.	Until
	For hym was made grete mournyng;	Onin
	Salamon after was made kyng.	Solomon
	He was hys son and of age;	Solomon
1270	Therfor he bore hys herytage.	received his inheritance
	Anon he thought to make a werke	
	To serve in both preste and clerke.	For priests to perform services in
fol.100r	Men he had of mastery;	skill
	They made the werke to reys on hy.	rise
1275	In Jherusalem, that cyté bryght,	
	They made that werke a wele gode syght.	
	When the temple was up reysed,	
	Of a tre thei were deseyved.	cheated (i.e., lacking)
1000	Sone thei yede befor the kyng	
1280	And told hym of that thyng.	1 .
	Salamon seyd he ne rowght;	cared not
	Of that tre he was bethought.	remembered
	In hys yerd, ther it grew, All it was of one hew.	
1285	He sey that tre was long inowghe;	
1400	He dyd it fell, every boughe.	had it felled
	When it was feld thei gan it wyrche;	naw w fewera
	They bere it to the feyr chyrche.	
	Als thei drew that tre onne hyghe,	
1290	Ther werkys wex unslyghe:	became inept
	The tre was schorter than the marke	•
	Be four fote mette to take.	By four feet [in] measure
	Grete wonder thei thought withall;	
	For tene thei lete it doun fall.	For anger
1295	Bot yit thei thought hem among	
	They had take the mete wrong.	measurement
	After thei gan mette to take,	
	Than was it lenger than the marke	
1300	Be thre fote large and more.	
1300	They suere that it schuld be ther.	skill
	As thei drew it up with mastrye, Thei lokyd theronne ever on hye;	skui looked on it on high
	They wend to have sped wele.	thought to have succeeded
	The mette thei toke, it wold no dele:	would not [fit] at all
1305	Than it was schorter than the merke.	
	Awey thei drew it fro the werke.	
	,	

	They sought another thei myght;	they might [use]
	To that werke it wold not ryght. Another werke it wold abyde;	would not [fit] right await
1310	Ther fro myght no man it hyde.	uwan
1010	Abyd it wold another honour:	
	To bere Jhesu, owre savyour.	
	Than it was layd over a pytte —	
	Then myght no man it flyte —	remove
1315	Over a strem of water clene,	
	In the sted of a bryge, I wene.	
	Sone after in a lytell stond, It sonke doun into the grond,	
	And ther it ley long also;	
1320	Toke ther no man hede therto.	
	God that know of all dedys	
	Honoryd that tre for mans nedys.	mankind's needs (i.e., redemption)
	God honoryd that ilke tre;	
1005	Also, I may telle thee,	
1325	Every dey fro heven lyght	from heaven's light
	God send thether an angell bryght; The angell made that water flowe.	
	When he gan therin rowe,	to swim
	Men that were that streme besyde	
1330	Therin thei se an angell glyde	
fol. 100v	At a tyme every dey;	
	When he hade done, he went awey.	
	Whoso myght anone ryght	
1995	Bathe hym after the angell bryght,	
1335	And yefe he were ryght seke withall, Hys seknes schuld fro hym falle.	if; sick
	Of every maner evyll sore	
	Men had ther bote ther	cure
	For that holy treys sake,	tree's
1340	For it was withouten make.	equal
	When the tyme was com of that tre,	
	The Jues it toke in ther posté.	
	They drew it up as thei were wode;	pulled it from the ground in a frenzy
1945	Anon thei made therof a rode.	
1345	With wordys sone, feyre and styll,	
	Of that rode tell you I wyll. That rode anon the Jues gan make	
	That Jhesus lymes myght theron take.	nail
	Bothe the hondys thei schud take	, and
1350	To the rode withouten lake,	without fail
	And both hys fete to the nether ende	lower
	They schuld be nayled, that were so hende.	noble

1355	Of what maner tre it was all, Anon I you telle schall: The over tre that hys armes ley onne Of olyf it was purvyd anon, For it was feyre and a bryght tre	olive; purveyed (made)
1360	That men myght it well ferre se. The end on the grownd was seder gode, For it schud not rote ther it stode. They boryd holys theron withoutene wynne, For it was to dryve nayles ine.	cedar rot where joy
1365	Thei thought God was mekyll and long also. Borys thei toke no mette therto; A bore to the one, a bore to the other, A bore to bethe hys fete; wold thei non other.	tall Boreholes; measurement they would [make] no other
1370	When it was made for to se, Than thei wantyd nayles thre. The Jues thei made Jhesu wrothe; To make the nayles forth thei gothe.	
1375	Than fond thei a smyth welle sone; They bade hym, be sone and mone, That he schuld hy hym well faste To make foure nayles that wold laste To nayle with Jhesu on the rode —	by sun and moon hurry
1373	So thei cryed as thei were wode. The smyth therfor was ryght wo Aboute the nayles for to go; To Jhesu he hade wyll full gode.	truly upset (woeful) goodwill
1380 fol. 101r	Jhesu he lovyd, and understode That Jhesu was a trew prophete; Loth he was to nayll hys fete. He ansuerd with herte fre,	·
1385	He thought Jhesus frend to be; Thus seyd he to the Jues alle. Another smyth thei behovyd to calle. "Foure nayles we must have! Of thee, smyth, we do crave."	
1390	"Nay," he seyd, "so mote I thé, Thys dey gete ye non of me." In hys bosom he pute hys hond	so may I prosper
1395	And seyd he hurte it with a brond. Than ansuerd the Jues kene To the smyth with grete tene, "Now we wote thou fenys thee: Draw oute thi hond and late us se.	brand anger feign
	Draw oute thi hondys of thi clothys Or that we suere be grete othys	Before we swear

	Bot it be soth as thou hast suorne,	
1400	Thy lyve sone thou schalt lorne."	lose
	Thus thei thret hym in ther saw;	speech
	Hys hondys thei made hym forth draw.	
	Than was ther in a lytell space	
	Gret tokenyng thorow Godys grace:	
1405	Hys hondys before had not sore bene;	sign (miracle)
	God made sorys on them be sene.	
	It fared as it hade be sore,	
	Bot it was never the more.	i.e., never afterwards
	Forth than com the smythys wyfe;	
1410	With mekyll care sche led hyr lyfe.	
	Befor the Jues ther sche stode,	
	Sche spake her husband lytell gode.	
	"Syr," sche seyd and cryed on hye,	loudly
	"How long hast thou had this maladye?	
1415	Yister evyn when the dey was gone	Last night
	On thi hand had thou none.	
	Where hast thou ben among thi foys	foes
	Seth todey that thou roys?	Since you rose today
	The nayles for defaute of thee	
1420	They schall not unmade be." ¹	
	Sche toke the wey to the stythé	anvil
	Ther sche thought for to be.	
	Sche broke four pesys of the irene;	four pieces
	Therof sche made four nalys evyn.	
1425	Sche made the nalys to hyr wyll;	
	Durste non sey that sche dyde yll.	None dared say she worked badly
	The Jues and the smythys wyffe	
	With the smyth were at stryffe;	in conflict
	The smyth durst sey ryght nought,	
1430	Bot cursyd hem in hys thought.	
	Forth the Jues yede ther gate;	took their way
	Loth thei were to com overlate.	They were loath to be late
	They com to Pylat ther he stode	
	And to Jhesu myld of mode.	
fol. 101v	Besyde them sate Jues kene	
1436	In a consyll them betwene.	
	Sone anon thei toke rede	
	For to do Jhesu to dede.	
	Than began thei fast to stryve	argue
1440	And grete contek for to dryve	make a great quarrel
	Among them as thei were wode,	
	And askyd who schuld bere the rode.	

 $^{^{\}mathrm{1}}$ Lines 1419–20: The nails will not be left unmade / On account of your infirmity

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1445	Some seyd, "Who bot he That theron schuld hongyd be?" Than the Jues, everychon,	
	All thei acordyd into one: Jhesu thei made the rode to bere —	agreed as one
	Gode wyll thei had hym to dere.	injure
	They led hym withoute the syté;	outside
1450	Wold thei no mersy on hym se.	
	Two thevys thei lede also	
	That schuld with hym to deth go. Men folowyd hym with grete route,	in a great crowd
	Sore wepand all aboute.	weeping
1455	Wyfys and meydens wepyd sore;	
	For Jhesu thei couth do no more.	could
	Jhesu sey women wepe sore. He spake to them wordys ther:	saw
	"Women," he seyd, "of Bethleme	
1460	And meydens of Jerusaleme,	
	Wepe ye not for me,	
	For nothing that ye on me se; For yourselve ye may wepe,	
	And for your chylder terys lete.	shed tears for your children
1465	The deys are comyng faste	J J
	That ye schall your joys caste.	cast [away]
	Upon your faderys ye schall crye,	
	And onne your moderys with envye, 'Fader, wherto were we borne?	
1470	Mych sorow is us beforne.	
	Moder whereto were we forth brought?	
	We were better to be nought.'	
	Ye schall to the montans sey, Ther thei stond withouten nay,	mountains
1475	'Montaynus we wyll that ye fall	without dispute
	To felle us to deth all.'	
	And yit it may fall so kene,	happen so cruelly
	More wonder with you schall bene."	
	The Jues folowyd Jhesu with ire,	
1480	So dyde Pylate, the grete syre.	
	As thei lede hym in the strete A bold man thei gan mete.	
	Symon was hys name, serteyn;	
	He com rynand, soth to seyne.	running; to tell the truth
1485	The Jues perseyved hym all;	
	Anon thei gan hym to calle. "Master," thei sayd, "thou byest faster	
	"Master," thei seyd, "thou hyest faste; Well mette arte thou at the laste.	run

fol. 102r 1490	A man is here among us lede; He is wery and all for-blede,	bloody
	And berys hymselve that ilke tre Wereon he schall hangyd be.	
	Wyll thou now, for oure sake,	
1495	Take the crosse on thy bake And bere it ther it schall be,	
1100	And mekyll we wyll thanke thee."	
	Symond ansuerd and seyd, "Ney,	
	I ne may be this dey." The Jues seyd sone anon,	
1500	"Of this herlote is grete scorne,	coward
	That thou forsoke to bere the tre	refuse
	That we have iprayd thee. Take up the cros and forth gone,	asked
	Or we schall breke thy bake bone."	
1505	Symond sey non other bote;	remedy
	At ther wyll forth he mote. Symon toke the rode anone,	must
	And leyd it onne hys schulder bone.	
	They made hym bere it with envye	
1510	To the Mounte of Calverye; Ther thei sette the rode tre.	
	Of Jhesu had thei no pyté:	
	Thei dyspulyd hym all nakyde.	disrobed
1515	When thei hade that sorow makyde,	Lata (magaza)
1313	Lottys thei leyd of hys clothys And suere hys deth with grete othys.	Lots (wagers)
	Withouten seme hys clothys were	seam
	That thei hade among hem ther.	.1 1
1520	Sethyn thei dyde Jhesu on rode; Withoutyn gylt thei sched hys blode.	placed
	How he was on the rode done,	placed on the cross
	I wyll you telle ryght sone.	
	They toke the rode with sturdy wyll	
	And leyd it on the grounde well styll.	firmly
1525	They toke Jhesu ther he stode And leyd hym upon the rode.	
	To the borys thei leyd hys armys suete	holes; sweet
	For to loke if it were mete.	to see if they fit
1530	As thei gone ther merkys al so, Hys armes myght not rech therto.	made their measurements reach
1000	Be a fote, withoute lesyng,	геасп
	They myght not hys armes bryng.	
	The Jues sey that and gan thynke That thei had so lorn ther swynke.	lost their work
	That the had so form the swylike.	tost their work

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1535	They were loth other holys to make;	
1333	Therfor two ropys thei gane take.	
	Thei dyde ropys on hys hondys;	
	The blode broke out for strenthe of bandys.	
	They gan hys body all todraw	draw abort
1540	To thei myght bryng the handys therto.	draw apart
fol. 102v	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	Until they could
101. 104v	The semys thei byrst also; Lyth fro lyth thei were undo.	sinews; burst
	,	Limb from limb; undone
	Thei toke the nayls told be tale,	as told in the story
1545	And drew hym by the handys smale. Thei lokyd to hys fete so bryght	noble
1343	And sey thei ley not aryght.	nooie
	Thei toke a cord at the laste	
	And tyde it on hys fete wele faste,	
	Another on hys brest with grete wronge,	
1550	And drew hym to the pynnes longe.	nails
1330	Hys leggys blede — wo was he begone —	пшиз
	Pyté of hym hade thei none.	
	They toke hys fete that were clene	
	And leyd hem over the bore bedene.	together
1555	They toke two nayles swyth grete	together
1000	And drove them thorow both hys fete.	
	The blode rane of hys body tho;	
	Was never man so wobego.	woebegone (miserable)
	Ther was not hym so mekyll levyd	woevegone (miseraote)
1560	Wheron he myght rest hys hede, ¹	
1000	Bot leyd it on the schulder bone.	[he] laid
	Of hym mersy hade thei none.	For
	Some of the Jues a cloth gan take	10,
	To hyll hys membyrs for schame sake.	To cover
1565	And when that they hade thus done,	10 0000
1000	The rode thei hevyd up well sone.	
	Upon the Mounte of Calverye	
	Thei sette it up with grete invye	
	And ramyd it in a pytte,	
1570	For that non schuld it hene flytte.	take it away
10.0	Seth on kneys thei gon falle.	Than
	To Jhesu with scorne thei gan calle:	
	"Lyght doune," thei seyd, "of that heyghe tre,	Jump down; from
	Kyng of Jues if that thou be,	j j
1575	And beleve we schall apon thee ryght	
-	That thou arte man of grete myght."	
	Anon Pylate a letter wrote	
	(So seys Seynt John that wele wote);	who knows well
	One a bord of palme tre	
	ı.	

 $^{^{-1}}$ Lines 1559–60: There was not so much left for him / [As a place] whereon he might rest his head

1580	He dyde it festyn with herte fre.	fasten
	He sette it aboven the rode tre That men myght it rede and se.	wad
	That men myght it rede and se. That wryte seyd mekly iwys,	read sign said simply indeed
	"Jhesu of Nazareth he is,	sign sawa simply inacca
1585	Kyng of Jues," theron was wryte.	
	What it seys men may wele wyte.	know
	Grew and Ebrew and Latyne	Greek and Hebrew
	Was wryten ther in that perchemyne.	parchment (text)
	Nazaret was Grew, Jhesu Ebrew,	
1590	Kyng of Jues was Latyn to yow.	
	What Pylat betokyn in this wryte,	signified
0.1	I wyll you tell all my wyte:	[with] all my intelligence
fol. 103r	The palme is a sympull tre	
1505	That betokynys pes to be.	betokens (promises) peace
1595	Pylat seyd with hys word It schall be festynd on palme bord.	
	They thought when Jhesu was dede	
	That thei hade bene oute of drede,	
	That no folke schuld turne them fro,	turn against them
1600	Bot be in pes ever more so.	
	The Jues when thei the letter rede,	
	Thei were not payd of that dede.	pleased with that deed
	Before Pylat thei gan crye,	
	"Thow hast wrote grete foly!	
1605	Wryte not that he is Jues kynge —	
	Who so it seys, it is lesynge."	it is a lie
	Pylat seyd, ther he stode,	
	To the Jues, "Ye be wode.	
1610	With wronge ye blame me;	
1010	Als it is wryte, so it schall be." Yit the Jues cursyd and kene	cruel
	Made a stroblyng hem betwen.	distraction (quarrel)
	They hong two thevys Jhesu bye	distraction (quarret)
	To do hym schame and vylonye.	
1615	The one theff gan to cry,	
	"Save me, Jhesu, when I dyghe!"	
	The other theve seyd anone,	
	"Helpe of hym getyst thou none.	
	How myght he helpe thee?	
1620	Hys awne deth he may not fle."	not escape
	Yit he cryed Jhesu mersy,	6.11
	And spake to hys feley that hang hym by,	fellow
	"Wrech," he seyd, "thou arte wode.	
1625	That man dyde never thyng bot gode; He is not worthy to sofure dede,	does not deserve to suffer death
1043	He is dampnyd with fals rede.	judgment
	110 to dampiny a with faits rede.	juigmeni

1630 1635	And we have don grete folye, Ryght it ys that we abye. For soth, this man is full of myght; He may us grante heven bryght." He seyd, "Jhesu, I praye thee, A place in heven thou grante me." Jhesu seyd myldly iwys, "Thys dey I grante thee paradys." Of this I wyll no more telle — The other theff toke the wey to helle.	suffer
1640	Jhesu wyst all that was done And that he schuld deyghe sone. He seyd to the Jues thore, "Sertys," he seyd, "me thyrstys sore." The Jues herd hys wordys all; Asell thei toke hym mengyd with gall. They putte it up unto hys mouth; That dwyrke was hym not couthe	there I thirst sorely Vinegar; mixed with gall
1645	That drynke was hym not couthe. Jhesu forsoke that drynke so felle That thei bede hym for to smelle.	courteous to him fierce ordered
fol. 103v	He seyd to them, feyre and hende, "Thys dede is don and brought to ende."	
1650	Than ther stode besyde the rode Thre maner women gode: Jhesus modere, mayden clene, So dyde Mary Magdelyne,	
1655	And Mary Cleophe, that suete wyght, And Seynt Jon the Evangelyst. And Oure Lady wepe wele sore; Was ther non had sorow more. Jhesu lokyd doune anone	sweet creature
1660	And sey hys modere and Seynt John. Jhesu seyd to John wordys new: "Now behold thi modere trew. Mary schall thi modere be, And thou hyr sone after me."	saw
1665	Mary herd this wordys suete; Terys of blode sche gan lete. Hyr eyghen were all hyd in blode When sche beheld upon the rode. Jhesus wordys John understod;	shed eyes; covered
1670	To Mary he had wyll full gode. He toke Our Lady to kepe schen, For thei were both vergyns clene. Jhesu spake well myldly	pure

	To the folke that stode hym by:	
	"Ye that be this wey pas,	
	Abyde and behold my face,	
1675	And loke yff any other pyne	
1075	Be so bytter as is myne."	
	The holy wryte seys nay,	
	No pyne to hys be lykyd may.	can be compared
	It was aboute the hyghe myddey.	tan ve tomparea
1680	Also, yow tell I may,	
1000	Bryght and feyr the son schon:	
	That for leste hys lyght anon.	lost
	, , ,	
	Jhesu began grete pyne to thole. The son wex blake as do the cole,	suffer
1685		as a coal
1000	The dey turnyd into the nyght,	last
	And the sterrys lest ther lyght. Gret wonder befell allso:	lost
	The great tempul cleft in two.	ablit abant
1690	The elementys their offe that dey;	split apart
1090	That was grete marvell for to sey.	
	The stonys thei broke for hete;	
	Strong it was, that storme so grete.	
	Men that were dede ther beforne,	1.6 61 : 1
1605	A hundreth wynter or God was borne,	before Christ
1695	For that hete thei gan up ryse	
	Oute of ther graves on dyverse wyse	
	And yede forth to the syté	
6.1.104	That men myyht hem both here and se.	
fol. 104r	All were this dedys done	2.00
1700	Betwyx mydey and none.	3:00 p.m.
	That tyme of dey, Jhesu so gode,	
	Als he hong upon the rode,	
	Lowde he cryed, "Hely, hely,"	Eli, Eli
	And also, "lamazabatany."	lamma sabacthani
1705	What this wordys be to mene	
	I schall yow tell as I wene:	
	"Fader and God in Trinité,	
	Why haste thou forsakyn me?"	
	The Jues stode ther besyde;	
1710	They were schent in ther pride.	damned
	They wende he hade clepyd "Hely,"	thought
	That was a man of that contry.	
	Thei seyd yf Hely take hym done,	
	With schame schall he com to towne.	
1715	Yit seyd Jhesu meke and styll,	
	"Fader, I have don thi wyll.	
	Here I ame com thorow thi rede;	
	With wronge I ame pute to dede.	

1720	All my fo men wele thou knawyste; Do them mersy yf thou awyste. Fader, I take thee my goste,	ought entrust you with my soul
	For it is tyme, well thou woste."	
	He bowyd hys hede done wele stylle.	
1725	Hys spryte passyd after hys wylle. After, the wey he toke to helle;	according to his desire
1723	Myght no thyng make hym hene duelle.	remain away
	The gatys he broke that were stronge;	,
	Agayn hym thei were schyte with wronge.	shut unjustly
1730	The devyllys of hym were sore drede;	
1730	If they myght thei wold have flede. Sathanas he bonde fast	
	With chanys of iren that wold laste.	iron
	For soth he schall lye bondyn aye,	bound perpetually
1705	To that it be domys deye.	Until it is Judgment Day
1735	He toke with hym Adame and Eve, And other mo that were hym leve.	dear to him
	Anon he lede them oute of helle;	aear to nim
	How many thei were I cane not telle.	
	He lede them into paradys,	
1740	Ther joy and blys ever more ys.	
	Besyde the Rode ther stod a man,	
	Hys ryght name telle you I can.	
	A gret cry he gan make	
15745	When he sey the woundys slake.	slacken
1745	Centyr, that was hys name; For hys cry the Jues gane schame.	Centurion
	He seyd "This is Godys sone!"	
	Therfore thei dyd hym in prisone.	
fol. 104v	The other dey aboute none,	That day
1750	When that dey was all done,	
	Ther com a man of ryche se, That duellyd in that contré.	
	Joseph was hys name ryve;	well known
	He lovyd Jhesu as hys lyve.	
1755	Forth anon he wente hys gate	way
	To he com to Syr Pylate.	Until
	He seyd, "Syr Pylat, I praye thee, Jhesus body thou grante me.	
	Soffer me to take hym done	down
1760	Or that I hens gone."	Before I go from here
	Syr Pylat seyd "I grante thee;	_
	We wyll wyte fyrst if he dede be."	learn
	He callyd forth knyghtys hende With Joseph for to wende.	
	9 I	

	"Go," he seyd, "unto Jhesu	1765
	And loke that he be dede now.	1705
	Yiff he be dede take hym doune stylle	
	And late Joseph have hys wylle."	
	The knyghtys thei gan forth gone;	
	To the rode thei com anon.	1770
:		1770
i.e., the two thieve	Fyrst thei com the Jues to;	
thigh	Bothe ther theys were broke in two.	
	Seth thei stode in that place	
	And beheld Jhesu in the face.	
	Thei sey well that Jhesu was dede;	1775
	To breke hys bonys it was no nede.	
cros	Besyde the rude stude a knyght	
los	That longe hade forgon hys syght.	
Longinu	Longeus was that knyghtys name;	
	He was bothe blynd and lame.	1780
	They made hym under Jhesu stond	
	And pute a spere in hys hond.	
	They leyd the spere to Jhesu syde;	
Raise [it] up; whatever may happer	"Pute up," thei seyd, "what so betyde."	
	Longeus pute the spere hym fro;	1785
	To Jhesus herte it gan go.	
	The blode gan anon oute spryng	
flow	And the water anon oute wryng.	
·	Fro synne we were with hys blod bought,	
	And fro hell than we were brought.	1790
	Longeus stode welle styll than;	
	By hys fyngerys the blode ranne.	
	With that blode he wyped hys face;	
i.e., he regained his sigh	Than of hys syght he hade grace.	
i.e., he regained his sign	On hys kneys he gan doune falle	1795
	And of Jhesu mersy calle.	1730
die	He seyd, "I wyst not what I dede,	
as others ordered m	Bot as other hade me bede."	
as others oracrea ma		
	Joseph toke done the body anon	1800
	And leyd it in a feyr stone.	
	Nychodemus, a man well gode,	fol. 105r
	To Jhesu he come with myld mode.	
spice	He brought with hym spysery	
spread	And strewyd on the body sothly,	1005
	And an oyntment the body to smere,	1805
harn	That no wormys schuld do hym dere.	
beautifu	They toke hys body schene	
wrapped; shrou	And wond it in a sendell clene.	
	Joseph the sendell with hym brought;	
	He hade it with hys sylver bought.	1810

1815	He leyd the body in the grave; He wold of Jhesu mersy have. The spysys gode with suete odour They leyd aboute our savyoure. Aboven hym thei leyd a ston faste — That was not lyght — on hym to caste. When the body was in reste, They went ther fro and dyde ther beste.	
1000	Seth agene the thyrd dey,	Then on the third day
1820	I cane yow tell and wele I may, Of a consyll and of a stryfe	an argument
	That was among the Jues ryve.	rife (widespread)
	Nothyng seyd the knyghtys stylle.	J \ I
	Tyll that they wyst Pylatys wylle.	
1825	Anon thei toke ther gate	
	To thei com to Syr Pylate. They seyd, "Pylate, bethynke thee now	
	Of a thyng we wern yow,	
	Jhesu seyd in hys lyve	[Something that] Jesus said
1830	That made us all for to stryve.	debate
	He seyd to hys desypullus all	
	A wonder thing if it befall:	bunch the law
	That he schuld dyghe and breke the ley And ryse agene the thyrd dey.	break the law
1835	For this thyng we drede us alle;	
	Therfore, do men befor you calle	
	And late them wake that stone	watch
	To the thyrd dey be agone,	0.4
1840	That hys dyscypullus with no reson	So that; no cause
1040	Make among them no treson To stele hys body awey be nyght,	any plot
	And bery it ther hem thinke lyght.	where they think it easy
	Than myght thei tell and sey	,
	That he were resyn and went awey;	
1845	Than were this last dede	
	More than the fyrst to drede." Pylat ansuerd sone anon,	i.e., More dangerous than the first
	"Go kepe hym wele as ye can,	guard
	Upon lond and lyfe,	8
1850	And upon shyld and wyfe."	shield and wife
	When thei were chergyd so sore,	charged (commanded)
C-1 105	Wordys thei durst speke no more.	,
fol. 105v	They chesyd foure knyghtys gode Among the Jues ther thei stod.	chose
1855	They dyde them arme swyth wele	quickly
	Both in iren and in stele.	1 2

	The second of such the second	
	The stand to have formed and have	
	The stone to kepe feyre and hend.	
1000	They kepyd that ston all the nyght	
1860	Tyll it sprang the dey lyght.	
	When it was nyght thei fell on slepe;	
	They had no power hym to kepe.	
	Jhesu in the systyrn ley,	cistern (sepulcher)
	And rose upon the thyrd dey.	
1865	The over-ston he pute besyde;	
	No lenger he wold therine abyde.	
	He toke the wey to Galylé	
	Ther men myght hym here and se.	
	To Joseph of Ramaty he schewyd hym sone	Joseph of Arimathea; appeared
1870	Ther he was put in prisone.	
	The secunde to hys moder dere,	
	And bade hyr be of gode chere.	
	The thyrd he schewyd schen	bright
	Onto Mary Magdelen.	Unto
1875	Ther he spake to hyr anone	
	And bade sche schuld hys erand gone:	go on his errand
	"Go to Mary my moder dere,	O
	And to Jon hyr trew fere,	companion
	And tell the apostyllus everychon	1
1880	That I ame ryse out of my stone."	
	Mary began forth to gon	
	And dyd hys commandment anon.	
	Sche seyd to Peter and to Mary	
	Wordys of gret curtasy:	
1885	That Jhesu was reson out of the ston	risen
1000	And into Galylé he was gone.	rison
	"For soth, I you tell may —	
	I spake with hym this same dey."	
	When hys dyscypullus this wordys herd,	
1890	With mykell joy all thei faryd.	i.e., were overjoyed
1030	with myken joy an thei farya.	i.e., were overjoyew
	Jhesu Cryst that is heven kyng,	
	Of whom is made all this spellyng,	story
	Gyve us grace of hys peyn	
	In our thought to have serteyn	certainty
1895	That it may our warant be	protection
	Agen the fend and hys posté,	power
	That we may to that joy wend	
	That ever schall last withouten ende —	
	That is, to the blysse of heven.	
1900	Amen, for hys names seven.	

> And that it myght so be, Amen, Amen, for charyté.

29. THE SHORT CHARTER OF CHRIST

6.1.106		cel 1 0 11/1
fol. 106r	Testamentum domini	The Lord's Will
	Wyteh wele all that ben here,	Know well
	And after schall be leve and dere,	be cherished and loved
	That I, Jhesus of Nazareth,	
J	For lufe of man have soferd deth	
5	Upon a crosse with wondys fyve	wounds
	Whyle I was man of lyve.	
	I have gyven and made a grante	
	To all that askys repentante:	ask penitently
	Hevenes blysse withouten endyng,	
10	Als long as I ame ther kyng.	
	Kepe I no more for all my peynes smerte	I require no more
	Bot trew lufe of manys herte,	
	And that thow be in charyté	
	And love thi neyghbour as I do thee.	
15	Thys is the rente thow schall gyff me	
	As to the cheffe lord of the fe.	fief
	If any man can sey now	
	That I ne have dyghed for manys prow,	man's benefit
	Rather than man schuld be forlorne,	lost
20	Yite wold I efte be all to-torne.	again; torn aþart
	Wytnes the dey that turnyd to nyght	<u>.</u>
	And the sone that withdrew hys lyght.	its light
	Wytnes the erth that than dyde quake	
	And the stones that all to-brake.	broke apart
25	Wytnes the vayle that than dyd ryve,	veil [of the temple]; tear
	And dede men that rosse fro deth to lyve.	L J I J
	Wytnes my moder and Seynt John	
	And other that ther were, many one.	many people
	In wytnes of that yche thynge,	that same deed
30	Myn awne sele therto I hynge.	seal; hang
		,g
	30. THE LAMENT OF MARY	
	Lamentacion Beati Mariae	Lament of the Blessed Mary
	In a chyrch as I gan knelle	began to kneel
	Thys endres dey for to here messe,	The other day (recently)
	I saw a syght me lykyd welle;	J
	I schall you tell how that it was.	
5	I saw a Pyté in a place:	Pietà (see note)
	Oure Lady and hyr sone in fere;	together
	, , ,,	Semer

	Wele oft sche syghed and seyd, "Alas, For now lyes dede my dere son dere."	beloved son at a great cost
10	Than seyd Oure Lady bothe meke and myld To all women: "Behold and se,	
	And make ye no mone for your chyld,	lament
fol. 106v	Of Godys sond if it dede be. For if ye do, ye be not wyse	If it be dead by God's command
101. 100v	To se my sone as he lyghet here.	lies
15	Now he is dede — lo, were he lyes.	
	For thi sone dyghd my dere son dere.	died
	"All mankynd behold and se:	
	My sone is nayled throught fote and hond.	
	With scharpe thornys and grete envye,	malice
20	Jues put up hys hede with poyntys strong.	
	Hys herte was persyd with a spere so long	pierced
	The blod busschyd out as ye may se here."	blood gushed
	Sche seyd, "Alas, I lyfe to long — Why ne had I dyghed with my der son dere?	live too long
25	"All women that ever be bore	born
	And have bore chylder, behold and se	children
	How my son lyes me before	
	On my skyrte, take fro the rode tre.	taken from the cross
	When ye danse your chylder on your kne,	dandle
30	Ye clyppe and kyse with mery chere.	clasp
	Behold my sone and behold me:	
	For thy son dyghed my dere son dere.	
	"O woman, now wele is thee.	
0.5	Thy chyldys cape thou doyst upon;	child's cap you place upon [him]
35	Thou pykys hys erys and behold hys ble;	clean out his ears; face
	Thow wote not wele when thou hast don.	know not well when you are done
	Bot ever, alas, I make my mone To se my sone as he lyght here.	lies
	Oute of hys hede I pyke many a thorn —	ites
40	For thi son dyed my dere son dere.	
	"Woman, a chaplyte ichos thou haste	garland chosen
	Thy chyld to were to thy lykyng.	For thy child to wear
	Thou pynyst hyr, and grete joy thou makyst,	Thou pin here
	And I sytte here full sore wepyng —	
45	My sone hath a chaplyte of thornes prikyng.	
	I clype hym and kys with carefull chere;	clasp; woeful
	Thou syttys syngyng, and I wepyng.	
	For thi son dyghed my dere sone dere.	

50	"Woman, when thu lyst to pley, Thou hast thi chyld on thi kne dansyng.	wish
30	Thou beholdys hys fase and hys aray	his face and dress
	Unto thi eye full wele lykyng.	·
	The longyst fynger of my hond beyng	longest finger that is on my hand
	Throught my sonys fete I may thyrst it here,	thrust
55	And take it oute full sore wepyng.	
	For thi son dyghed my dere sone dere.	
	"Woman, loke on me agene.	
	Thy chyld lyes sowkyng on thi pappys.	suckling on your breasts
	Therof me thynke it is grete harme	
60	In my sonys brest to se grete gappys,	gaps (wounds)
fol. 107r	And onne hys hede and body so many slapys.	slaps (blows)
	With blody lyppys I kys hym here.	
	Full herd," sche seyd, "now be myn happys —	fortune
	Why ne had I dyghed with my dere sone dere?	
65	"Woman, thy chyld is hole and sownd,	
	And myn lyeht dede upon my kne.	lies
	Thyn is lowse, and myn is bownd,	loose (free)
	And thyn hath lyfe, and dede is he.	
	And all is for the luffe of thee,	love
70	For my sone trespassyd never here.	never violated the law
	Woman, com and wepe with me;	
	For thy sone dyghed my dere son dere.	
	"Wepe with me, both man and wyffe;	
	My sone is yours and lufys you wele.	yours; loves
75	And thyn were dede and hade no lyfe,	If
	Thou cowth well wepe at every mele;	could; meal
	For my son thou wepys never a dele.	never in the least
	Thoff thou lufe thyn, myn hath no pere.	Though; peer (equal)
	Thynke my son gafe thee lyfe and hele;	health
80	For thi sone dyghed my dere sone dere.	
	"Woman, now thou canste thi wyte.	i.e., know wisdom
	Thou seyst thi chyld whether it be seke or dede.	see; sick
	Wepe thou for myn and not for it,	
	And thou schall have mych to thy mede.	much for your reward
85	Thynke my sone wyll agayn bled	bleed
	Rather than thou dampnyd were.	damned
	To this matyr thou take gode hede;	matter
	For thy son dyghed my dere son dere.	
	"Farewele, women, I may no more	no longer
90	Rehers youre chylder and your godnys.	Describe your children; good luck

POEM 31: THE DIETARY 277

> I have wepyd for my son so sore That I forgete all joy and blys. I praye you all to thynke on this: My son is your and lufys you wele. Thynke on hys passyon and hys blys; For thy son dyghed my dere sone dere."

yours; loves

i.e., before you are full

Before sleep

[Go] gladly

31. THE DIETARY

AMEN QUOD RATHE

95

5

The Governans of Man For helth of body cover fro cold thi hede. Ete non raw mete — take gode hede therto — Drynke holsom drynke, fede thee on lyght brede, And with apytyte ryse fro thi mete also. With women agyd, flesschly have not to do. have no carnal relations Uppon thi sclepe drynke not of the coppe. Glad towerd bede, at morow also, And use thou never overlate to sope. Never make a habit of dining

If so be that lechys do thee fayll, doctors 10 Make this thi governans if that it may be: ruleTemperat dyet and temperate traveyle, labor Not malas for non adversyté, [Have] not malice Meke in trubull, glad in poverté, Riche with lytell, content with suffyciens,

15 Mery withouten grugyng to thy degré. grudging; rank If fysyke lake, make this thy governans. If physic (medicine) fails

To every tale to sone gyff thou no credens;¹ fol. 107v Be not to hasty, ne to sothanly vengeable, too suddenly vengeful To pore folke do thou no vyalens. violence 20 Curtas of langage, of fedyng meserable, [Be] courteous; measurable

Of sondry metys not gredy at thy tabull, In fedyng gentyll, prudent in dalyens, conversation Close of tunge, not defameabull; Restrained in speech To sey thy best sette ever thy plesans. make it always your desire

25 Have in dyspyte mothys that be doubull; mouths; double (deceitful) Suffer at thy tabull no detrasion, slander Not supportyng the werkys that be full of trubull, discord All fals rouners and adulacion. gossip and flattery Within thy courte suffer no dyvysion

30 That within thy hous myght cause gret unes. harm (unease)

¹ Do not give credence too soon to every tale

	Of all welfare, prosperyté, and fuson, With thy neyghbors lyve in rest and pes.	abundance
35 40	Be clenly clothyd after thyn astate; Passe not thi bondys, kepe thi promys blyve.¹ With thre maner folke be thou not at bate: Fyrst with thy better bewere for to stryve. With thy suget and neyghbors to stryve it were schawerefor I counsyll to pursew all thy lyve To lyve in pese and gete thee a gode name, And thus to lyve worschypfuly with man and wyve.	according to your estate (status) do not quarrel with your betters beware a fight am; subject
45	Fyrst at morn and towerd bede at eve, Ageyn mystys blastys and the aire of pestylens Be tymly at messe — thou may the better cheve; Fyrst at thy rysing to God do reverens. Vysete the pore with intere dyligence, Upon all nedy have compassyon, And God schall send thee grace and influence Thee to increse and thy possessyon.	damp winds thrive Visit; sincere
50	Suffer no surfytys in thy hous at nyght; Were of rere-sopers and of grete excese And be wele ware of candyll lyght, Of sleuth on morow and of idelnes,	overindulgence Beware; late meals (see note) sloth in the morning
55	The whych of all vyces is chefe, as I gesse. And avoyd all lyghers and lechers, And all unthryftys — exile this excesse — And mainly dyse pleyers and hasardours.	liars unthrifty (idle) folk gamblers
60	After mete bewere: make not long slepe; Hede, fete, and stomoke preserve from colde. Be not pensyve, of thought take no kepe. After thi rent mayntayn thi housolde. Suffer in tyme, and in thi ryght be bolde; Suere non othys no man to begyle. In youth be lusty and sade when thou arte old, For werldly joy lastys bot a whyle.	i.e., Be not melancholy According to your income Swear no oaths to beguile any man vigorous; solemn
65	Drynke not at morow befor thyn apetyte; Clere ayre and walkyng makys gode degestyon. Betwyx mele drynke not for no delyte,	
fol. 108r 70	Bot thyrst or traveyll gyfe thee occasyon. Oversalte metys doth grete oppresyon To febull stomokys that can not refreyn,	Unless harm counteract (digest)

¹ Do not abandon your commitments, keep (fulfill) your promises quickly

For thyngys contrary to ther complexcion Therof ther stomokys hath grete peyn.

Thus in two thyngys stondys thi welthe Of saule and of body, who lyst them serve:

wishes to serve them

75 Moderate fode gyffes to man hys helthe, And all surfytys do fro hym remeve. Charyté to thy saule it is full dewe. Thys resate is of no potykary, Of mayster Antony ne of master Hew;

recipe (prescription); apothecary

To all deserent it is Dyatary.

80

5

15

desirous [of instruction] Here ends

EXPLICIT THE GOVERNANS OF MAN

32. MAIDSTONE'S SEVEN PENITENTIAL PSALMS

Septem psalmos penitensiales
Domine, ne in ira furore tuo arguas me,
neque in ira tua coripias me.
Lord, in thyn anger uptake me nought,
And in thy wreth blame thou not me.
For certys synne hath me throught sought
That I were loste nere helpe of thee.

reprove

Psalm 6

attacked throughout were it not [for] your help

The wantones that I have wroght Oute sette it, Lord, for thi pyté, That I be not fro blysse ibrought To the place ther that peynes be.

Forget [So] that

the place where

Miserere mei, Domine, quoniam infirmus sum; sana me, domine, quoniam conturbata sunt omnia ossa mea.² Mersy, Lord, for I ame seke.

sick shattered

Helpe, Lord: forbryssyd be all my bonys.
My flessch is freyll, my soule hath eke
Full grete matyr of mournyng monys.
Bot when my corse is cast in creke
And be dolvyn under the stones,

moans (laments)
in [a] coffin

Jhesu Lord, mersyfull and meke,

Lose; once

buried

if

Lese not that thou boughtyst ones

Et anima mea turbata est valde, set tu, Domine, usquequo?³
And my soule dystrublyd is sore — Bot Lord, how long schall it be so? For yife I synne more and more,

troubled sorely

¹ Lines 0a-b: O Lord, rebuke me not in thy indignation, nor chastise me in thy wrath

² Lines 8a-b: Have mercy on me, O Lord, for I am weak; heal me, O Lord, for my bones are troubled

³ Lines 16a-b: And my soul is troubled exceedingly, but thou, O Lord, how long?

20	Then mote I suffyr peynes mo.	I must
	I lede a lyve ageyn thi lore, So wrechyd that me is wo;	against; teaching
	Bot thy mersy me may restore,	Unless
	Ther is non helpe when that is so.	Chioss
	•	
	Convertere, Domine, et eripe animam meam;	
	salvum me fac propter misericordiam tuam.¹	
25	Turne thee, Lord, my soule to wynne,	
	And make me safe for thi mercy.	
	For fowle with fedyr, nor fyssch with fynne,	
	Is non unstedfaster than I.	less steady
fol.108v	When I thynke what is me withine,	
30	My concyens makys a carefull crye;	
	Therfor thi pyté, Lord, upspryng,	raise up
	That I may mende or I dyghe.	amend before I die
	Quam non est in morte qui memor sit tui.	
	In inferno autem quis confitebitur tibi? ²	
	For in deth is non that thee thinkys onne.	
	Who schall knawlege to thee in helle?	acknowlege (praise) you
35	When bodyes stynken under the ston,	acknowiege (praise) you
33	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	mo man
	Wher soules ben no wyght can telle.	no man
	Therfor, Jhesu, doune-fell owre fone	throw down (overcome); foes
	That all dey on us yelpe and yelle,	
40	And grante us or we hens gone	1 1: 11 6
40	That we be wessch in thy mersy welle.	washed in your well of mercy
	Laboravi in gemitu meo; lavabo per singulas noctes	
	lectum meum; lacrimis meis stratum meum rigabo.³	
	I have traveyld in my weyling;	labored
	My bed schall I wessch every nyght,	
	And the terys of my wepyng	
	My bede-straw water as it is ryght.	
45	Synne is cause of my mournyng.	
	I fele me feynt in gostly syght;	spiritual
	Therfor, I wepe and water out wryng,	_
	As I welle aught and every wyght.	I and everyone ought [to do]
	Turbatus est a furore occulus meus; inveteravi	
	inter omnes inimicos meos. ⁴	

¹ Lines 24a-b: Turn to me, O Lord, and deliver my soul; O save me for thy mercy's sake

² Lines 32a-b: For there is no one in death that is mindful of thee. And who shall confess to thee in hell?

 $^{^3}$ Lines 40a-b: I have labored in my groanings; every night I will wash my bed; I will water my couch with my tears

⁴ Lines 48a-b: My eye is troubled through indignation; I have grown old amongst all my enemies

50	Myn eyghe for angour dystrublyd is, Y eldyd myn enmys among. For welle I wote I have don mysse And grevyd God with werkys wrong. And therfor, when I thinke on this, I ne can bot cry with steven strong	for anguish is distressed I grew weak among my enemies amiss voice
55	And sey, "Jhesu Lord, kyng of blys, To thi mersy me underfong."	receive
60	Discedite a me omnes qui operamini iniquitatem, quoniam exaudivit Dominus vocem fletus mei. Ye that don wrong, goth fro me all, For God my wepyng voys hath herd. To hys fote wyll I ryght feyn fall And be chastyst with hys yerd.	eagerly chastised with his rod
	Now, curtas kyng, to thee I calle: Be not vengeabyll; put up Thy suerd. In heven when thou beholdyst alle,	vengeful
65	Late me not be ther out isperd. Exaudivit Dominus deprecacionem meam; dominus oracionem meam sussepit. ² Oure Lord hath herd my prayere	excluded from there
	And resavyd myn oryson. For all the bedys that we sey here To hym thei be full suete of sowne.	prayer prayers sound
fol.109r 70	Now, Lord that boughtyst man so dere, With blody bake and body browne, That thou wyte save so us to here, That never synne us draw adowne.	black and blue consent to hear us
	Erubescant et conturbentur omnes inimici mei; convertantur et erubescant valde velociter. ³ Sore astonyed and schamyd	
75	Mote all that my enmyse be. Turnyd and with schame atamyd Right sone be thei, Lord, I pray to thee. The werld, the fend, the flessch be namyd Agene mankynd are enmys thre; That I be not throught hem defamyd,	May tamed
80	Mersyfull God, defend thou me.	

¹ Lines 56a-b: Depart from me all ye workers of iniquity, for the Lord hath heard the voice of my weeping

² Lines 64a–2b: The Lord hath heard my supplication; the Lord hath received my prayer

³ Lines 72a-b: Let all my enemies be ashamed and be very much troubled; let them be turned back and be ashamed very speedily

	Beati quorum remisse sunt iniquitates	Psalm 31
	et quorum tecta sunt peccata.¹	
	Blyssed be thei whos werkys wrong	
	Be forgyven and synne hyde.	hidden
	For thei be of God underfonge	accepted by God
	And in hys courte full wyde ikyde.	widely known
85	Bot he that lyveth in lust longe	
	And doyth no better than beyste or byrde,	
	He may be sykyr of stormys strong	
	Ther wrechys be full wo betyde.	beset with woes
	Beatus vir cui non imputavit Dominus peccatum,	
	nec est in spiritu eius dolus. ²	
	That man is blyssed to whom God knyteth,	God unites
90	That no syn hathe in gost ne gyle.	[So] that
	For at a grete price the gode Lord settythe	
	Hym that meneth in word no wyle.	wiles (deceit)
	Bot he that consyens unknytys	loosens
	And sufyre falsyd hyte to defyle,	allows falsehood to defile it
95	Ageyn hymselve hys wepyn he whetys —	whets (sharpens)
	God wyll be wroth ryght in a whyle.	
	Quoniam tacui inveteraverunt ossa mea,	
	dum clamarem tota die. ³	
	For I was styll; therfore my bones	
	Elded whyle I schuld cry aldey.	Weakened
	I cryed and yit mote more than ones	
100	To gete forgyffnes and I may.	if I may
	I have matyr of grevus grones:	matter (cause for)
	I have trespassyd, I sey not nay.	
	I cryghe thee mersy, kyng of thrones,	
	That have made many a wyld outray.	[I] who; outrageous (harmful) act
	Quoniam die ac nocte gravata est super me manus tua;	
	conversus sum in erumpua mea dum configitur spina. ⁴	
fol.109v	For bothe be dey and nyght also	
106	On me thy hond lyghet hevyly,	lies heavily
	And I ame turned in my wo,	,
	With thornes priked grevosly.	
	Ther prykyth perylous thornes two	

¹ Lines 80a-b: Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven and whose sins are covered

² Lines 88a-b: Blessed is the man to whom the Lord hath not imputed sin, and in whose spirit there is no guile

 $^{^3}$ Lines 96a–b: Because I was silent, my bones grew old, whilst I cried out all the day long

⁴ Lines 104a-b: For day and night thy hand was heavy upon me; I am turned in my anguish whilst the thorn is fastened

110	Of synne and peyn — this fele wele I — And therfor, Lord, syth it is so, I pute me holy in thy mersy.	wholeheartedly
115	Delictum meum cognitum tibit feci et injusticiam meam non abscondi. My gylt to thee have I made knowen; I have not hyde fro thee my wronge. Throught schryft wyll I fro me ithrowen All my mysded and mournyng among. For sertys, Lord, we truste and trowe The welle of grace with stremys stronge	hidden confession; cast away from me
120	Oute of thy feyr flessch began to flow When blode out of thy herte sprong.	sprang (gushed)
	Dixi confitebor adversum me iniusticiam meam Domino, et tu remisisti iniquitatem peccati mei. ² To God I seyd I schall knawlege	acknowledge
	Ageyn myselve my wrong withine.	1 11 1 .
	And thou, Lord, as a louely leche, Forgyfe the trespas of my synne.	humble doctor it does not profit to withhold
125	Than spedyth it not to spare speche;	u aves noi proju to wiimiota
140	To cry on Cryst wyll I not blynne,	cease
	That he ne take of me no wreche	[So] that; vengeance
	For word ne werke that I begynne.	
	Pro hac orabit ad te omnis sanctus in tempore oportuno. ³ Therfor beseke I schall every seynt	
130	In tyme that is therto covenabulle.	suitable (opportune)
	For thei be trew and I ateynte;	tainted
	They be stedfast and I unstabulle.	C
	There frenschype fond I never feynte;	friendship
135	Them wyll I praye as thei ben abull That thei wyll meve my compleynte	[So] that; take up (advice)
133	To God that is so mersyabulle.	[30] mai, tane up (davice)
	Veruntamen in diluvio aquarum multarum, ad eum non	approximabunt.4
	Bot in the flode of watres fele	many
	To hym schull thei nought neghe nere.	not draw near
	Hem nedyth not that ben in wele	They who are well need not
140	The water that us wasschet here;	

¹ Lines 112a-b: I have acknowledged my sin to thee, and my injustice I have not concealed

 $^{^2}$ Lines 120a—b: I said I will confess against myself my injustice to the Lord, and thou hast forgiven the wickedness of my sin

³ Line 128a: For this shall everyone that is holy pray to thee in a seasonable time

⁴ Line 136a: And yet in a flood of many waters, they shall not come nigh unto him

	Bot we that all dey fro hym stelle	steal (hide)
	And greven God that hath no pere,	peer (equal)
	We may not us fro hermys hele,	harms
	Bot if that we wepe water clere.	Unless we
	Tu es refugium meum a tribulacione que	
	circumdedit me; exultacio mea erue me a circumdantibus me. 1	
fol.110r	Thou arte my refute in every wo,	refuge
146	That hatyth myn enmys me abowte;	punishes
	My joy, delyver me them fro	1
	That me beclype withine and oute.	seize
	The fendys fle both to and fro	fly
150	Me to dampe — this is my doute.	condemn
	Bot Lord, when I schall hens go,	
	So kepe me fro that reuly rowte.	wretched crowd
	Intellectum tibi dabo et instruam te in via hac	
	qua gradieris; firmabo super te occulos meos. ²	
	"Understonding I schall thee gyfe,	
	And I schall tech thee withall,	
155	And in the wey that thou schall wende,	
100	On thee myn eyghen sette I schall.	
	I ame thi God; have me in mynde.	
	I made thee fre ther thow were thralle;	slave
	That thee no dedly syn schende,	condemn
160	Latte wytte and wysdom be thi walle.	сопаетп
100	Latte with and wysdom be the wane.	
	Nolite fieri sicut equus et mulus	
	quibus non est intellectus. ³	4 11
	"Ne fareth not as muyle ne hors	Act not like a mule
	In whych non understondyng is.	
	For syche is folke that gyve no fors	no heed
	To lif in lust and don amysse.	[And] live in desire
165	Thynke thi courruptabull corse	body
	Is nought bot wormys mete, iwys.	indeed
	Therfore, in myrthe have thou remourse	
	And ever among, man, thynke on this."	repeatedly
	7	

In camo et fremo maxillas eorum constringe, qui non aproximant ad te.⁴

¹ Lines 144a–b: Thou art my refuge from the trouble which hath encompassed me; my joy, deliver me from them that surround me

 $^{^2}$ Lines 152a—b: I will give thee understanding, and I will instruct thee in this way, in which thou shalt go; I will fix my eyes upon thee

³ Lines 160a-b: Do not become like the horse and the mule, who have no understanding

 $^{^4}$ Lines 168a–b: With bit and bridle bind fast their jaws, who come not near unto thee

170 175	In bernacle and brydell thou constreyn The chekys of them that negheh thee nought. For sertys, Lord, bot thou refreyn, We schall forfete in every thought. Thys werld is nought bot synne and pride And wrechydnes that man hath wrought; Of this myscheve fro me thou hyde, I praye thee, Lord, that me hast bought.	bit and bridle who do not draw near to you withhold (restrict) transgress
180 fol.110v	Multa flagella peccatoris; sperantem autem in Domino misericordia circumdabit. Many one is the sore betyng That to the synfull man schall betyde. Bot he that is in God trustyng Schall mersy have on every syde. When wrechys schall ther handys wrynge That were so full of pompe and pride, Than schall the savyd sawlys syng For blys that they schall in abyde.	There is many a sore beating
185	Letamini in Domino et exultate justi et gloriamini omnes recti corde. ² In your Lord be mery and glade, They that of ryghtfull hertys be, For he that was on rode isprade Now syttys in hys fader se. In syght of hym schall we be glad As angellus that be bryght of ble.	spread on the cross see (throne)
190	Now Jhesu grante us to be lade So that we may that syght se.	appearance to be led
195	Domine ne in furore two arguas me, neque in ira twa coripias me. ³ Lord, blame me not when thou arte wrothe; Uptake me not in thi hastynes, Thogh I have lyved as thee is lothe,	Psalm 37 Chastise as is loath to thee
	Unkynd ageyn thi kyndnes. For wonton word and idell othe And many a werke of wyldnes, I drede thy dome ageyn me gothe,	judgment
200	Bot grace go with ryghtfulnes.	

¹ Lines 176a–b: Many are the scourges of the sinner but mercy shall encompass him that hopeth in the Lord

² Lines 184a-b: Be glad in the Lord, and rejoice ye just, and glory all ye right of heart

³ Lines 192a-b: Rebuke me not, O Lord, in thy indignation, nor chastise me not in thy wrath

	Quoniam sagitte tue infixe sunt michi et confirmasti super me manum tuam. ¹	
	For thy arwys ben in me ipyght; Thou hast sette fast on me thy hond. And as man withouten myght	arrows; placed
205	I wexe wayke, so is the wonde. Bot Lord, meynten thou thy ryght: Suporte thy man that may not stond,	such is the wound (spear) maintain
	And send conforth to thy knyght That ferre is flemyd of thy londe.	put to flight far from
	Non est sanitas in carne mea a facie ire tue;	pae eo jeegae jar jrone
	non est pax ossibus meis a facie peccatorum meorum. ²	
	For in my flessch is ther non hele	health
210	In presens of thi wrethly face.	angry
	My bones wanten pese and wele	
	For synne that me thus deface.	
	My wyld wylle, my wytte frele, Encombyr me when I trespas;	
215	Therfor, when deth schall with me dele,	
	I se non helpe bot only grace.	
	Quoniam iniquitates me supergresse sunt caput meum,	
f-1 111	et sicut onus grave gravate sunt super me. ³	
fol.111r	For now aboven my hede ben growyn The werkys of my wrechydnesse,	
	And upon me my synnes are throwyn	
220	As charge of grete hevynesse.	
	I may nowher me bestowen,	find shelter
	Bot hyde me fro thyn hastynes.	
	Bot Lord, take hede: I ame theyn awen; Late mersy reule ryghtwysnes.	thine own
	Putruerunt et corupte sunt sicatrices mee,	
	a facie insipiencie mee. ⁴	
225	My wondys ben all roten and ranke	
	After the face of my foly.	
	For syth that fyrst that I in synne sanke	· ·
	To late I began for mersy cry.	Too late
230	Bot Cryst that quykedyst hym that stanke, The broder of Martha and of Mary,	raised (see note)
	sacr or man and or man,	

 $^{^{\}rm 1}$ Lines 200a–b: For thy arrows are fastened in me and thy hand hath been strong upon me

 $^{^2}$ Lines 208a—b: There is no health in my flesh, because of thy wrath; there is no peace for my bones, because of my sins

³ Lines 216a–b: For my iniquities are gone over my head, and as a heavy burden are become heavy upon me

⁴ Lines 224a-b: My sores are putrified and corrupted, because of my foolishness

So bryng us fro this breyry banke thorny To be in blys aboven the sky. Miser factus sum et curvatus sum usque in finem; tota die contristatus ingrediebar. 1 I wax a wrech and all to the ende I bow a carfull hede all dey. 235 For myrthe may non come in my mynd When I thinke onne myn endyng dey. I wote wele I muste hens wend, Bot whyder ne when no wyght can sey. whither (to where) Therfor, I bow and my bake bend back 240 That God me kepe, for he best may. Quoniam lumbi mei impleti sunt illusionibus, et non est sanitas in carne mea.² For freylty hath full fyllyd my reynes, organs (kidneys, heart) And in my flessch ther is non helthe. Therfor, of grace, God, send me granes grains (small amounts) That I may fle all flesshly fylthe. 245 Late never the fend with all hys tranes fiend; tricks Styrt upon me with no stelthe, Jump (attack) To fest on me hys fyrie cheynes fasten For weldynd of this werldys welthe. use Afflictus sum et humiliatus nimis; rugiebam a gemitu cordis mei.3 I was afflycte and made full meke; 250 I roryd for weyling of myn herte. Oure forme frendys a forwerd breke; first (former); promise Therfor all we be with wo begyrte, surroundedAnd I therfor my synne eke. increase What wonder is it thou my saule smerte? 255 Therfor, Lord, I thi mersy seke, For I may not thyn hond asterte. escape fol.111v Domine ante omne desiderium meum, et gemitus meus a te non est absconditus.⁴ Lord, all my desyre is thee beforn; My weylyng is not fro thee hyde.

For if my soule schuld be lorn,

¹ Lines 232a-b: I am become miserable and am bowed down even to the end; I walked sorrowful all the day long

² Lines 240a-b: For my loins are filled with illusions, and there is no health in my flesh

³ Lines 248a-b: I am afflicted, and humbled exceedingly; I roared with the groaning of my heart

⁴ Lines 256a-b: Lord, all my desire is before thee, and my groaning is not hidden from thee

260	What were I better than best or bryde?	beast or bird
	Therfor, Jhesu of Jues iborn,	
	God and man on erth ikyde,	known
	Late never the tresoure be to-tourne	torn apart
	That thou were for so wo betyde.	so woefully afflicted
	Cor meum conturbatum est in me; dereliquit	
	me vertus mea, lumen occulorum meorum et ipsum no	on est mecum. 1
265	Myn hert in me distrubled is;	
	My vertu hath forsakyn me.	
	Myn eyghen syght with me non is;	
	My savyour may I nought se.	
	I erre all dey and do amysse,	
270	I stombyll as thei that blynd be,	
	And synne iwys is cause of this.	indeed
	Mersy, Jhesu, for thy pyté!	
	Amici mei et proximi mei adversum me appropinquav	erunt et steterunt. ²
	My neyghbourus that my frendys were	
	Noyghed and ageyn me stode.	Troubled me; against
275	In welth a man may wysdom lere,	learn
7	So wele were hym that understode	
	How frendys flokyng everywher	
	As foulys that fleyn after ther fode.	[Are] as birds
	Bot be a man dede and brought on bere,	bier
280		oue i
200	Wele many be feynt and few gode.	
	Et qui iuxta me erant de longe steterunt;	
	et vim faciebant qui querebant animam meam.³	
	They stode aferre that were me neyghe,	near me
	They strenthyd them that my soule sought.	strengthened
	The werld is fals, the fende is sleghe,	sly
	The flessch dyde so that me forthought.	acted so that I regretted
285	And therfor to my God I fley;	fly
	With louly hert I hym besought	3,7
	To gife me comforth fro hevyn on hey	
	To werkys, that he with hondys wroght.	To influence [me], whom he made
	Et qui inquirebant mala michi locuti sunt	
	vanitates, et dolos tota die meditabantur. ⁴	
	And thei that thought to do me skathe	harm
290	Spoke wordys that were veyne.	net m
	-r	

¹ Lines 264a-b: My heart is troubled; my strength hath left me, and the light of my eyes itself is not with me

² Line 272a: My friends and my neighbors have drawn near, and stood against me

³ Lines 280a–b: And they that were near me stood afar off; and they that sought my soul used violence

⁴ Lines 288a-b: And they that sought evils to me spoke vain things, and studied deceits all the day long

fol.112r 295	And all the dey, bothe late and rathe, They thought on gyle and upon treyne. Bot when thei fynd mosse and mathe And brymblys growyng upon ther breyne, Than wyll the soth hymselve unswathe, For wrong hath many a saule sleyne.	late and early (i.e., always) tricks maggots truth reveal (uncover) itself
300	Ego autem tanquam surdus non audiebam; et sicut mutus non aperiens os suum.¹ Bot I as defe nothing herd, And as a dom man that no mouth undothe, So sparyd I and spech upsperde. Bot mede it is to sey the sothe, For he that Jues so foule with faryd, He seyh how every gyle gothe, Full sore wyll smyte with hys yerde, Bot thei amend them that mysdothe.	opens withheld retribution that the Jews so cruelly treated sees [And] will sorely smite
305	Et factus sum sicut homo non audiens et non habens in ore suo redarguciones. ² I becam as man that myght not here, Ne had in mouth non undernemyng. When I sey synfull men make chere,	no criticizing saw
310	I went forth full sore syghying. Bot Lord that boughtyst us so dere, Late hem no blysse in bales bryng, Bot send them myght to amend them here, And grante hem grace of uprysyng.	Let them get no joy in evils
315	Quoniam in te, Domine, speravi; tu exaudies me, Domine Deus meus. ³ Lord, for I have tryst in thee, My Lord, my God, thou schall me here At the reverans of that Lady fre That gave thee souke and haste no pere. To that Lady betake I me That wonneth above the cloudys clere, For whyle sche syttys so neyghe thi se,	i.e., Mary has no peer I entrust myself dwells see (throne)
320	I hope to spede of my prayere.	succeed in

¹ Lines 296a-b: But I as a deaf man heard not; and as a dumb man not opening his mouth

² Lines 304a-b: And I became as a man that heareth not, and that hath no reproofs in his mouth

 $^{^3}$ Lines 312a–b: For in thee, O Lord, have I hoped; thou wilt hear me, O Lord my God

Quia dixi: Nequando supergaudeant michi in inimici mei; et dum comoventur pedes mei, super me magna locuti sunt. ¹

For I have seyd, "Lord mersyabull,

	For I have seyd, "Lord mersyabull, Late not onne me my foys be glade!"	foes
	And whyll I styred my fote unstabull,	·
	Grete wordys upon me thei hade made.	
325	Bot Lord that arte so comforthabull,	comforting
	Thou make ther flowrys fallow and fade.	i.e., their triumphs fade
	And thee to plese make thou me abulle,	
	For in synne wyll I no lenger wade.	
	Quoniam ego in flagella paratus sum, et dolor	
	meus in conspectu meo semper. ²	
fol.112v	Bot I ame redy to be bete;	
330	My sorow is ever in my syght.	
	To do hys wyll I wyll God late;	I will allow God
	Ageyn my lord wyll I not fyght.	
	Now Lord that woldyst thi blod out suete,	
	For hem that thee to deth hath dyght,	condemned
335	So send me grace for to grete	weep
	Syche water that mey my solle lyght.	may lighten my soul
	Quoniam iniquitatem meam annunciabo,	
	et cogitabo pro peccato meo.³	
	For I wyll my wrong telle oute,	proclaim
	And for my syn forthynk I schall	regret
	How perylows it is to be prowte,	perilous; proud
340	And lechery may schend all.	ruin
	Envy and wreth of herte stoute	
	Schall stand a man bot lytell in stawle	in little use
	When he is closyd in a cloute	wrapped in a shroud
	To woune within the wormys walle.	To dwell within the worm's domain
	Inimici autem mei vivunt et confirmati sunt	
	super me, et multiplicati sunt qui oderunt me inique. ⁴	
345	Myn enmys ben quike and bold	
	And stertand abovyn me myghtly.	risen
	They be incresyd many a fold	many times (manifold)
	That hath me hatyd wrongfully.	
	Bot Godys lombe, that Judas sold	lamb
	nes 320a–b: For I said: Lest at any time my enemies rejoice over	me; and whilst my feet are moved, they
	at things against me	
	nes 328a-b: For I am ready for scourges, and my sorrow is con	, ,
LII	nes 336a–b: For I will declare my iniquity, and I will think for	my sun

⁴ Lines 344a-b: But my enemies live, and are stronger than I, and they that hate me wrongfully are

multiplied

350	For thryty penys unryghtfully, Now wyll I folow in all hys folde And do hys bydyng buxumly.	sheepfold (flock)
955	Qui retribuunt mala per bonis detrahebant michi qui sequebar bonitatem.¹ Thei for gode evyll me quite; For I folowyd godnes, thei bacbyted me.	repay good with evil
355 360	Bot thei that so lyghtly do bakebyte Dredfull aught ther hertys be, For God wyll all ther wordys wryte, And schew, that all the werld schall se, How scherply that he schall them smyte That wyll not ther vyces fle.	take note of (record)
fol.113r 366	Ne derelinquas me, Domine Deus meus, ne disseseris a me. ² My Lord, my God, forsake me nought; Forsake not, Lord, my saule so. Hold in thi hond that thou hast wroght; Depert thou me never fro. It is thi boure that thou hast wrought, Elynge it is when thou arte go; Therfor, Jhesu, late never thought Ner word, ne dede us parte a-two.	dwelling Ailing; gone
370	Intende in adiutorium meum Domine, Deus salutis mee. ³ In my helpyng take thou hede My Lord, God of allmyghty helthe. Be not to ferre when I have nede, And wys me when I ame in welthe With gostly fode that thou me fede, And kepe me from all fleschly fylthe,	too far instruct
375	And grante me grace to do som gode dede To se the fruyt of gostly tylthe.	spiritual cultivation
	Miserere mei, Deus, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam. ⁴ Mercy, God, of my mysdede! For thi mercy that mekyll is,	Psalm 50
380	Late thi pyté spryng and sprede, Of thi mercy that I ne mysse,	[so] that I not lack

¹ Lines 352a-b: They that render evil for good have detracted me, because I followed goodness

 $^{^{2}}$ Lines 360a–b: For sake me not, O Lord my God; do not thou depart from me $\,$

 $^{^{3}}$ Lines 368a–b: Attend unto my help, O Lord, the God of my salvation

 $^{^4}$ Line 376a: Have mercy on me, O God, according to thy great mercy

And after thi gostly grace me rede. counsel me Lord God, thou grante me this That I may lyve in love and drede [So] that And never after to don amysse. Et secundum multitudinem miseracionem tuarum dele iniquitatem meam. 1 385 And after thi mersys that be fele, numerous Lord, thou fordo my wykednes. drive out Helpe me for to hyde and hele The werkys of my wrechydnes. If any steryng wyll me stele stirring (disturbance, temptation) 390 Out of the close of thi clennes, sanctuary; purity Wysse me, Lord suete, in wo and wele, Instruct And kepe me for thy kyndnes. Amplius lava me ab iniquitate mea, et a peccato meo munda me.² Moreover, thou wessche me of my synne, And fro my fylthys clens thou me. 395 Enserche my soule without and ine Examine That I no more defoulyd be. And as thou dyghed my soule to wynne With dolfull deth on the rode tre, cross Thou late me never werke begynne, 400 Gowde Lord, bot if it plese thee. GoodQuoniam iniquitatem meam ego cognosco, et peccatum meum contra me est semper.³ For I myn awne wykydnes knaw; fol.113v My synne is ever me ageyn. in front of me In me, therfor, late thi grace grow, Ihesu that were with Jues sleyn. 405 For ryche and pore, hey and law, high and low Grete and small, I ame serteyn, At domesdey when thou schall blaw, blow [the trumpet] Of thi mersy schall be full feyne. desirous

Tibi soli peccavi et malum coram te feci; ut justificeris in sermonibus tuis et vincas cum judicaris.⁴ To thee only trespast have I;

¹ Lines 384a-b: And according to the multitude of thy tender mercies, blot out my iniquity

² Lines 392a-b: Wash me yet more from my iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin

³ Lines 400a-b: For I know my iniquity, and my sin is always before me

⁴ Lines 408a-b: To thee only have I sinned, and have done evil before thee; that thou may be justified in thy words and mayst overcome when thou art judged

410	Wrought wekydly, not thee plesynge. Thi werkys preve thee ryghtfully To be victor in thi demyng. Demyd were thou full wrongfully For me, that hath thee oft grevyd. Bot Lord, late me never do why That I fro thee be remevyd.	judgment let me never cause
420	Ecce enim iniquitatibus conceptus sum, et in peccatis concepit me mater mea. 1 Behold, in synne I was consevyd Of my modour as men bene all. And of my fader not resevyd Bot flessch full frele to synne to fall. Bot sythen thi flessch was consevyd And for oure love leyd streyt in stalle, Was never synfull man dysevyd That wold unto thi mersy calle.	received nothing frail narrowly
425	Ecce enim veritatem dilexisti; incerta et occulta sapiencie tue manifestasti michi. ² Lo, for soth thou hast lovyd ryght The privy counsyll of thi wytte. Thou hast schewyd to me by thi myght How two kyndys be togeder knytte:	
430	Thrall is fre, as thou knawyst it, God is man, as gospell wryte. And yit my sawle in peryll is pytte; Now mersy, Lord, and helpe thou ytt.	placed
435	Asperges me, Domine, ysopo et mundabor; lavabis me et super nivem dealbabor. ³ With holy water thou schall me sprynk; Als whyte as snaw I schall apere. For if my soule of synne do synke, Oft for to wepe than I must lere. Dedly draughtys tho I do drinke, Of repentans gif me respyte.	sprinkle sinks because of sin learn
440	For who so on thee trowys or thinke In wrechydnes hath no delyte.	trusts

¹ Lines 416a-b: For behold, I was conceived in iniquities, and in sins did my mother conceive me

 $^{^2}$ Lines 424a—b: For behold, thou hast loved truth; the uncertain and hidden things of thy wisdom thou hast made manifest to me

 $^{^3}$ Lines 432a-b: Thou shalt sprinkle me with hyssop, and I shall be cleansed; thou shalt wash me and I shall be made whiter than snow

fol.114r	Auditui meo dabis gaudium et leticiam, et exultabunt ossa humiliata. ¹ To my heryng thou schall gyfe	
	Gladnes, and glad the bones meke; In clenes send me grace to lyve.	the meek bones rejoice
445	Go not to fer when I thee seke,	too far
445	And late me nought to deth be dryve — Louely, Lord, I thee beseke —	Hambly (Loraly)
	Tyll all my synne be forgyve	Humbly (Lowly)
	Of herte and word and dede eke.	deed also
	Averte faciem tuam a peccatis meis, et omnes iniquitates meas dele. ²	
	Fro my synnes turne thy face;	
450	Pute all my wykednes away.	
	Gret is my gylte, gretter thi grace,	
	And els feylyth all our fey.	faith
	Defautys fell that me deface	Many faults
	Make that I may nothing sey,	
455	Bot cry mersy when I trespace;	
	I se ther is non other wey.	
	Cor mundum crea in me, Deus, et spiritum rectum innova in viceribus meis. ³	
	God, make in me myn herte clen;	
	Thy ryghtfull gost in me renewe.	spirit
	Fro seven synnes thou make it schene,	bright
460	Wherso thou goyst that I may sewe.	follow
	In tribulacion and in tene,	harm
	Curtas Cryst, thi knyght reskew,	Courteous
	And make within my saule sene	to be seen
	Gostly grace and eke vertu.	
	Ne proicias me a facie tua, et spiritum sanctum	
405	tuum ne auferas a me. 4	
465	Cast me noght fro thy vysage;	
	Take nought frome thi holy gost.	
	For in the syght of thi image	
	Is provyd of myrthes to be moste.	
470	A blyssyd byrd was brought in cage,	arian a act (arian hara)
470	Yknawyn and dred in every coste,	every coast (everywhere)

 $^{^{1}}$ Lines 440a-b: To my hearing thou shalt give joy and gladness, and the bones that have been humbled shall rejoice

² Lines 448a-b: Turn away thy face from my sins, and blot out all my iniquities

³ Lines 456a-b: Create a clean heart in me, O God, and renew a right spirit within my bowels

⁴ Lines 464a-b: Cast me not away from thy face, and take not thy holy spirit from me

When thou was chast in tendyr age, chaste (innocent) To dryve downe the devyles host. devil's power Redde michi leticiam salutaris tui, et spiritu principali confirma me. 1 Of thyn helth send to me gladnes, And strenth me with thy spyret cheve. chief (greatest, supreme) 475 And all my fautys, Lord, redres, And make me do that thee is leve. what is pleasing to you And as thou suferd grete destres To save us all, both les and more, The werkys of my wrechydnes, 480 Ihesu, thou take not to greffe sore. Docebo iniquos vias tuas, et impii ad te convertentur.² fol.114v The wykyd I schall thi weys teche; The synfull I schall to thee converte. Thou, synfull man, bewere of wreche. vengeance And lufe thi God with all thy herte, 485 That sofyrd scourn and spyting speche, Who And strokys strong hym not asterte. did not spare him So, for to be oure gentyll leche, He suferd so that he sore smerte. Libera me de sanguinibus, Domine, Deus salutis mee et exultabit lingua mea justiciam tuam.3 Deliver me fro synfull blode, 490 Allmyghty God of all myn helth. My tong dyspos to wordys gode, That it telle thi ryghtfull welth. Thy nobulle blode ran doune on rode on the cross That wesschyd us fro synnes all; 495 Jhesu, thus with thi presyos blod Thou madyst fre that are was thralle. ere (before) Domine, labia mea aperies, et os meam annuciabit laudem tuam.⁴ Lord, thou schalt opyn lyppys myne, And thy praysing my moughth schall spelle. my mouth shall speak Thy myght, thi godnes most fyne, 500 No tonge perfytly can telle.

¹ Lines 472a-b: Restore unto me the joy of thy salvation, and strengthen me with a perfect spirit

² Line 480a: I will teach the unjust thy ways, and the wicked shall be converted to thee

³ Lines 488a-b: Deliver me from blood, O God, thou God of my salvation, and my tongue shall extol thy justice

⁴ Lines 496a-b: O Lord, thou wilt open my lips, and my mouth shall declare thy praise

For when we wyrche dedly synne,

Thy ryght may deme us don to helle. condemn: down Bot when we thynke thi love to wynne, Thy mersy is our clensyng welle. Quoniam si voluisses sacrificium, dedissem utique; holocaustis non delectaberis. 1 For yf thou wold have sacrifyse, 505 I schuld it gyf with herte full fre. Bot now to thee is no servys In sacryfyce yn sych degré. Thyselve was offyrd up, honging 510 For mannys saule on the rode tre, When thi herte blode began to spryng; pour Wherfor my herte I gyff to thee. Sacrificium Deo spiritus contribulatus: cor contritum et humiliatum, Deus, non despicies.² To God is a grete sacrifyse A saule that is agreyvd sore. 515 A meke herte schall thou not despyse Whyll repentans may it restore. I have ben slaw in thi servyse, slow And lytell wrought after thi lore. according to your teaching Bot I repente me now and ryse; 520 Mercy, Jhesu, I wyll no more. desire nothing more (will [sin] no more) fol.115r Benigne fac, Domine, in bona voluntate tua Syon, ut edificentur muri Jerusalem.³ Lord, benygnly do to Syon treat Sion benignly Jerusalem wallys that thei were wroght. [So] that the walls of Jerusalem were built Jerusalem, as wytnes Seynt John, witnesses Is holy chyrch that erryth nought. 525 Two testymentys acordys in one: The wallys were togeder brought When I hesu was the corner ston

Whych manys saule full dere hath bought.

 $^{^{1}}$ Lines 504a—b: For if thou hadst desired sacrifice, I would indeed have given it; with burnt offerings thou wilt not be delighted

 $^{^2}$ Lines 512a-b: A sacrifice to God is an afflicted spirit: a contrite and humble heart, O God, thou wilt not refuse

 $^{^3}$ Lines 522a-b: Deal favorably, O Lord, in thy good will with Sion, that the walls of Jerusalem may be built up

530 535	Tunc acceptabis sacrificium justicie oblaciones et holocausta; tunc imponent super altarem tuum vitulos.¹ Than thou schall accepte sacrifyse Of ryghtfulnes and treuth enter. And calvys to thi suete servyce Schall be pute on thyn autere. On Calvery a calfe was sene: Jhesu on crosse, both pure and clere. For terys of hys moder clen, He kepe us fro all cursyd fere. AMEN	entire (complete) calves altar mother pure
540	Domine exaudi oracionem meam, et clamor meus ad te veniat. ² Lorde, herkyn thou my prayer, And unto thee late com my cry. Wyte-saffe to herkyn and to here The mon that I make so mekely. To cry on thee with carefull chere Ther nedys non so mekyll as I. Therfor, my stevyn strenth and stere, That I not speke unspedfully.	Psalm 101 hear let my cry come Consent moan strengthen and guide my voice unsuccessfully
545 550	Non avertas faciem tuam a me; in quacunque die tribulor, inclina ad me aurem tuam. ³ Turne not, Lord, fro me thy face; Bow doune thyn hede when I ame wo. Late greynes grow of thy grace, That quensyth synne and peyn also. The wey of charyté thou me chase; Thy feyth late me not fallyne fro, And late me not that I trespace Up hope of mersy never mo.	grains quenches impel me on the way Against
555	In quaecunque die invocavero te, velociter exaudi me. ⁴ What dey that I to thee calle, Redyly, Lord, lystyn thou me, For ryghtfull ben thi werkys all, Bot mersy is thi properté. Therfor, Lord, yife I thorow freylty falle In dedly syn that I schuld fle,	through frailty

Lines 528a-b: Then shalt thou accept the sacrifice of justice, oblations and whole burnt offerings; then shall they lay calves upon thy altar

² Lines 536b-c: Hear, O Lord, my prayer, and let my cry come to thee

³ Lines 544a-b: Turn not away thy face from me; in the day when I am in trouble, incline thy ear to me

⁴ Line 552a: In what day soever I shall call upon thee, hear me speedily

560	Ne hunt me not oute of thi haule; Teche me to turne agene to thee.	chase; hall
fol.115r	Quia desfecerunt sicut fumus dies me et ossa mea sicut cremeum arverunt. ¹ "For my lyve deys, lyke the smoke, Have feyled and aweywerd hyed. My bones be dryed and all thrught soke.	fled
565	My bones be dryed and all thrught soke Lyke a thing that were forfryghed." Wele myght Cryst this word a-spoke, That on the crosse was don and dryved. Bot when hys blyssyd brest oute broke, For drught and thyrst full longe he cryed.	sucked [dry] fried placed and persecuted
570	Percussus sum ut fenum, et armit cor meum, quia oblitus sum comedere panem meum. ² "Smyten I was lyke gresse or hey; My herte welawyd, I wex all dede. Bot I forgate what maner wey That I schuld ete myn awne brede.	grass grew feeble
575	To peyne me was all ther pleye: Thei thurstyd thornes thrught myn hede. Dyspytowysly than dyde they With blode to make my body rede.	torture thrust
580	A voce gemitus mei adhesit os meum carni mee. ³ "Fro the voys of my weylinge Unto my flessch my bone gan schrinke. I saw my cosyn John mournyng, And my moder in swonyng synke. I herd Jues me skornyng; Galle and aysell was my drynke. I wepyd as chyld of yeres yonge On this myscheffe when I gan thinke.	shrink fall in swooning vinegar when I considered this evil
585	Similis factus sum pelicano solitudinis; factus sum sicut nicticorax in domicilio. ⁴ "I was made lyke the pylicane, In wyldernes ther hymselve slethe. So redyly to the rode I rane For mans saule to sufyr dethe. And as a nyght crow in hyr hous can	slays cross

¹ Lines 560a-b: For my days are vanished like smoke, and my bones are grown dry like fuel for the fire

² Lines 568a-b: I am smitten as grass, and my heart is withered, because I forgot to eat my bread

³ Line 576a: Through the voice of my groaning, my bone hath cleaved to my flesh

⁴ Lines 584a-b: I am become like to a pelican of the wildness; I am like a night raven in the house

see in woods and heath	By nyght se to holt and heythe,	590
suffered	So soveryd I to save man;	
that very breath	Blyssed was that ylke brethe.	
	Vigilavi, et factus sum sicut passer solitarius in tecto. 1	
sparrow	"I woke in wo, made lyke the sperow	
	That in the rofe is solytary.	
	Upon the tre my nest was narow:	595
carry chicks	Theron myght I no brydys carye.	
As the ground is turned	As erth is hurlyd under the harow,	
was born	So was my flessch that sprong of Mary.	
	In this werld is non scharpere harow	fol.116r
thorns (spears); harass	Than was the tyndys that me gan tary.	600
	Tota die exprobrabant michi inimici mei, et	
	qui laudabant me adversum me jurabant. ²	
	"All dey thei dryven me to skorn,	
	Men that myn enmys were.	
formerly	And thei that praysed me toforn	
,	Afterwerd ageyn me were.	
torn apart	Than was I tuggyd and all to-tourne,	605
1	Fote, hond, eyghen, mouth and ere,	
lost	Tyll every lymbe had lyffe ylorne;	
	The turmentorys upon me tere.	
	Quia cinerem tanquam panem manducabam,	
	et potum meum cum fletu missebam. ³	
bread of ashes	"For als it were brede of askys I ette,	
mixed	Wepyng I mengyd with drynke among;	610
	For lufe of man, me thought it suete,	
	So sufyrd I all as stormys strong.	
	For sethyn Adam the law breke	
	Thorught hyr that of hys rybe sprong,	
meek (i.e., ready)	Was never man to mersy meke	615
, , ,	Tyll I had sofyrd wo and wrong.	
	A facie ire et indignacionis tue,	
	quia elevans alicisti me. ⁴	
Be for e	"Afor the face of thi grevans	
J	Thou dryve me doune with uplyftyng.	
	Fader, I was to thi plesance	
God's dwelling	Lyft up as God in God duellyng.	620

 $^{^{\}mathrm{1}}$ Line 592a: I have watched, and am become as a sparrow all alone on the housetop

² Lines 600a-b: All the day long my enemies reproached me, and they that praised me did swear against me

³ Lines 608a-b: For I did eat ashes like bread, and mingled my drink with weeping

⁴ Lines 616a-b: Because of thy anger and indignation, for having lifted me up thou hast thrown me down

Bot for to stynte all dystrublance stop all disturbance Of man that synned not sessyng, without ceasing Thou drove me downe to chese a chance, seize an opportunity As man for man the deth takynge. Dies mei sicut umbra declinaverunt, et ego sicut fenum arvi. 1 625 "My deys be passyd as chadew of lyght; shadow I welkyd as do the gresse. withered; grass I went as man withouten myght, Wher every tradde was blody treyse. every step was a bloody path (trace) When I was thus full blody dyght, made bloody 630 That never yit dyde no trespace, Senturyo seyd, 'We don unryght, Centurio; act unjustly For treuly Godys son this was." Tu autem, Domine, in eternum permanes et memoriale tuum in generacionem et generacionem.² Thy mynd abydeth in every kynde, For thi godhed was noyghed never; affected635 Ther was no schowre that it myght schend. suffering; ruin Thy manhed myght men wele dysever; destroy Therof thei made a reufull ende. fol.116v Therfor ilke man is thee lever dearer to you That this matyr wyll have in mynde. will meditate on this manner 640 Bot sertys, Lord, thou lyfyst ever. Tu exurgens, Domine, misereberis Syon, quia tempus miserendi eius, quia venit tempus.³ Thou schalt upryse and onne Syon rewe, have pity For tyme is come of thy mersy. Syon is holy chyrch trewe Of men that lyven ryghtfully. 645 A stedfast sede onne hyr thou sewe, seed And taught hyre full tenderlye How that sche schuld synne exchewe eschew (shun) And love thee moste hertylye. Quoniam placuerunt servis tuis lapides eius,

et terre eius miserebuntur.⁴

For stones of Syon thi servantys lyked,

¹ Lines 624a-b: My days have declined like a shadow, and I am withered like grass

² Lines 632a-b: But thou, O Lord, endurest forever and thy memorial to all generations

³ Lines 640a-b: Thou shalt arise, O Lord, and have mercy on Sion, for it is time to have mercy on it, for the time is come

⁴ Lines 648a-b: For the stones thereof have pleased thy servants, and they shall have pity on the earth thereof

650	And on ther grond schuld have pyté. Cryst, cornerston, twelve stones out pykyd	
	The twelve apostyls for to be. On hem twelve the grawnd is dygyd	ground is dug
	Thoroughe feyth, that we in Syon se,	0 0
655	That whoso be with synne entrykyd	ensnared
	May savely to that strenthe fle.	stronghold
	Et timebunt gentes nomen tuum, Domine,	
	et omnes reges terre gloriam tuam.¹	
	And all men schall thi name drede;	
	Erthely kyngys doute thi blysse,	fear; majesty
	That privyst princes of ther pride	deprives
660	That wykydly her wyttys wysse.	informs their wits
	Bot as thou lykyst thou may men lede,	
	Save and slee and longer lysse;	relieve sickness
	Wo is hym that doth a dede	
	Wherfor he mote thi mersy mysse.	
	Quoniam edificavit Dominus Syone, et videbitur in gloria sua. ²	
665	For God hath beldyd up Syon;	built
	In blysse he schall be sen and knaw	seen and known
	When holy chyrch schall be made one	
	In heven, as we tryste and trow.	
	Than schall all our gostly fone	spiritual foes
670	Into the fyre be thyrst and throwne,	thrust
	And we schall into gladnes gon,	
	That now onne grownd of grace growen.	
	Respexit in oracionem humilium, et non sprevit preces eorum. ³	
	The oryson of the meke he seyghe	prayer
	And nought dyspysed ther prayer.	1)
675	Bot thei that be onne herte hyghe,	of proud heart
	He herys them not in no maner.	<i>J</i> 1
fol.117r	At hym that all vices sleghth	
	Cryst Jhesus, iche man may lere.	learn
	For ther is non to that estat stygh	none who rises up
680	Bot ever was law in word and chere.	low[ly]
		1.73

Scribuntur hec in generacione altera, et populus qui creabitur laudabit Dominum.⁴

¹ Lines 656a-b: And the races shall fear thy name, O Lord, and all the kings of the earth thy glory

² Line 664a: For the Lord hath built up Sion, and he shall be seen in his glory

³ Line 672a: He hath had regard to the prayer of the humble, and he hath not despised their petitions

 $^{^4}$ Line 680a–b: Let these things be written unto another generation, and the people that shall be created shall praise the Lord

	In another kynred late this be wryten, Than schall it prays the pepull unbore.	generation
	For if thei may this wordys wyten,	know these words
	Than schall thei thanke God therfore,	
685	That was for them so falsly flyten,	taunted
	With tene and tourment all to-tore.	distress; torn apart
	For mannes sake so sore smyten	
	Was never non syth ne afore.	
	Quia prospexit de excelso sancto suo Dominus	
	$\stackrel{\sim}{\sim}$ 1 1 de celo in terram aspexit. 1	
	For he seyth fro hys holy hyght,	
690	To erth our Lord seys oute of heven.	
	He seys men welow under the erth	decay
	In all the dedly synnes seven.	
	He seys man throght the fendys sleghe	deception
	Lye slepand in a synfull sueven.	dream
695	Therfor, he proferd for to feyght	fight
	Tyll God and man were onys evyn.	once even (forever reconciled)
	Ut audiret gemitus compeditorum, et solveret filios int	eremptorum. ²
	To here the weyling and the wo	1
	Of them that ben in fetres bounde,	
	And for to unbynd the sones of tho	those
700	That were hurte with dedly wounde,	
	For this causes and many mo	
	Was God made man to go on ground.	
	And for man schud not falle hym fro,	so that
	He suferd many a stourmy stounde.	violent time
	Ut annuncient in Syon nomen Domini	
	et laudem eius in Jerusalem. ³	
705	And for men schuld in Syon teche	
	Owre Lordys name, that holy is,	
	And in Jerusalem hys praysing preche,	
	Hymselve he cam and taught this:	
710	Ther may nothyng withstond hys wreche,	vengeance (wrath)
710	Ther is non nay wher he seyth yis.	no denial
	Therfor, is good in dede and speche	[it] is
	To plese wele hym, for all is hys.	

 $^{^{1}}$ Lines 688a-b: Because he hath looked forth from his high sanctuary from heaven the Lord hath looked upon the earth

² Line 696a: That he might hear the groans of them that are in fetters, and release the children of the slain

³ Line 704a-b: That they may declare the name of the Lord in Sion, and his praise in Jerusalem

Without shelter

In conveniendo populos in unum et reges ut serviant Domino, 1 In gederyng of peple into one, And of kyngys God to serve, 715 For if we do thus everychon, Ther schall no care our comforth kerve. harm fol.117v Respondit ei in via virtutis sue: pausitatem dierum meorum nuncia michi.² He him ansuerd in the wey of myght, "Tell me the lytelhed of my devs." insignificance Thus ansuerd Crystys awne knyght, 720 That gyffys no fors of ryche arays. gives no heed to rich display For thoff he thinke how deth is dight ready To sese iche man with scherpe aseys, attacks Allwey he had hys herte upryght And feryght hym nought of syche afreys. fears nothing of such attacks Ne revoces me in dimedio dierum meorum; in generacionem et generacionem anni tui.3 725 Withcalle me nought in the halvyndele Recall; halfway point In my deys throughoute the yere, For thei passe oute as the myddey mele, pass away; mealtime And slyden out as cloudys clere. Ther is no suerté withouten wele surety (certainty); well-being 730 Of mannys lyve whyll he is here; Therfor, Lord God, thou knawyst us freyll. Wysse us to wele that we bewere. Guide us to well-being that we may use Inicio tu, Domine, terram fundasti et opera tuarum sunt celi.⁴ Fyrst, Lord, thou began the ground; Thyn handwerke ben hevenys all 735 And all this werld that is so rounde. Of creatures, as clerkys calle, Thow hast hem pute within a pounde, enclosure

Withouten werd of house or walle.

740

And when thou wylt, thou savyst hem sounde,

And when thou lyst, thei schall done falle.

¹ Lines 712a-b: When the people assembled together and kings to serve the Lord

² Lines 716a-b: He answered him in the way of this strength: Declare unto me the fewness of my days

³ Lines 724a-b: Call me not away in the midst of my days; the years are unto generation and generation

⁴ Line 732a: In the beginning, O Lord, thou founded the earth, and the heavens are the works of thy hands

304 Codex Ashmole 61

Ipsi peribunt, tu autem permanes, et omnes sicut vestimentum veterascent. 1 They schall passe and thou schall duelle, And all schall elde lyke a cloth. grow old All vanytés thou schall doune felle And make it leffe that now is loth. dear 745 Ther is no tong that here can telle What peyn schall be to syche wroth When thou schall close the gate of helle And curse hem all that thyder goth. Et sicut oportorium mutabis eos et mutabuntur; tu autem idem ipse es et anni tui non deficient.² And thou schalt as a coverlyte coverlet (bed cloth) 750 Them change, and thei schall changyd be. Bot thou arte ever more perfyte; Thy yeres schall not feylen thee. Therfor, Lord, make us clere and quyte quit (free) Throught feyth and hope and charyté, 755 That we may have fulle delyte In mersy of inmortalité. fol.118r Filii seruorum tuorum habitabunt, et semen eorum in seculum dirigetur.³ Thy servantys sones schall duell and dure, endure And in kynd here sede schall sprede. in kindred their seed For sertys thei may not be unsure 760 That thee wyll serve in word and dede. Therfor, Jhesu, now do thi cure, Ne dampe us not when we be ded, Bot or we passe, make us so sure To the lond of lyve that thow us lede. De profundis clamavi ad te, Domine; Psalm 129 Domine, exaudi vocem meam. 4 765 To Thee fro depnes I have cryed; from deepness Lord, Lord, thou here the voyse of me. Thys prison depe ther I abyde, Lord, breke it up for thi pyté.

¹ Lines 740a-b: They shall perish, but thou remainest, and all of them shall grow old like a garment

² Lines 748a-b: And as a vesture thou shalt change them and they shall be changed; but thou art always the self-same, and thy years shall not fail

³ Lines 756a-b: The children of the servants shall continue, and their seed shall be directed forever

⁴ Lines 764a-b: Out of the depths I have cried to thee, O Lord; Lord, hear my voice

Fiant aures tue intendentes in vocem deprecacionis mee. 1

Lord, late thi eres ben intendyng

ears; attending

770 Unto the voys of my prayer,
And whatsoever I rede or syng,
Lord, here it with thi lovely chere.

Sy iniquitates observaveris, Domine, Domine, quis sustinebit?²
If thou reward all wykednes,
Lord, Lord, who schall that peyn susteyne?

i.e., justly repay

For by the law of ryghtfulnes, Everlasting schuld be our peyne.

Quia apud te propiciatio est et propter legem tuam sustinui te, Domine.³ For that with thee is forgiffnes, And Lord, I suffer for thi law. Thi law schall unryght redres;

wrong

Therfor, Lord to thi love me draw.

Sustinuit anima mea in verbo eius; speravit anima mea in Domino. 4
My saule hath sufferd in his word; In God my saule schall ever truste. For synne is scharpe as knyfe or suerd; It hurte them sore that lyve in luste.

A custodia matutina usque ad noctem speret Israel in Domino.⁵

785 Fro the morntyd unto the night
In hys Lord Israel must trow.
And Israel is every wyght
That God will se and gostly know.

trust person

Quia apud Dominum misericordia et copiosa apud eum redemptio.⁶

fol.118v For with oure Lord is grete mersy,

¹ Lines 768a-b: Let thy ears be attentive to the voice of my supplication

² Lines 772a-b: If thou, O Lord, wilt mark iniquities, Lord, who shall stand it?

³ Lines 776a–b: For with thee there is merciful forgiveness, and by reason of thy law I have waited for thee, O Lord

⁴ Lines 780a-b: My soul hath relied on his word; my soul hath hoped in the Lord

⁵ Lines 784a-b: From the morning watch even until night, let Israel hope in the Lord

⁶ Lines 788a-b: Because with the Lord there is mercy, and with him plentiful redemption

306 Codex Ashmole 61

790 And of rawnson is myche plenté. ransom (redemption) He payd for us hys awne body; Therfor, it schuld be grete deynté. delight Et ipse redimet Israel ex omnibus iniquitatibus eius. 1 And Israel he schall redeme From hys synnes universall. 795 When thou schall quyke and all ded deme, judge the quick and the dead To blys, Lord, bryng us eternall. AMEN Domine, exaudi oracionem meam. Auribus percipe Psalm 142 obsecracionem meam in veritate tua, exaudi me in tua justicia.² Lord God, lystine my oryson; listen to my prayer With eres my prayer thou persayve. In thi sothnes thou here my soune truth; cry 800 And in thi ryght thou it resave. receive Ihesu that arte of gret renoune, For hyr sake that thee gan conseyve, Lat not synne me draw adowne, Ne dredfull devyllus me deseyve. deceive Et non intres in judicium cum servo tuo, quia non justificabit in conspectu tuo omnis vivens.³ 805 Come not in dome with thi servant, in judgment against For no lyfe schall be justyfied In thi syght: ne, nought the infante That this dey fyrste in cradell cryghed. For us schall plete no sargeante; plead no lawyer 810 All sotylté schall ben aspyed. subtlety; discovered So well is he that kepyth covenant; For word and werke all schall be tryed. Quia persecutus est inimicus animarum mearum; humiliantur in terra vitam meam.⁴ For me myn enmy hath pursued My saule, and lawyd my lyfe in londe, degraded 815 That when I myght have synne exshewed, My wyll to wyrke wold I note wonde. I would not refrain from doing my will Bot Lord Jhesu, that arte endued endowed With grace to brynge men oute of bond,

¹ Line 792a: And he shall redeem Israel from all his iniquities

² Lines 796b-c: Hear, O Lord, my prayer. Give ear to my supplication in thy truth, hear me in thy justice

³ Lines 804a-b: And enter not into judgment with thy servant, for in thy sight no man living shall be justified

⁴ Lines 812a-b: For the enemy hath persecuted my soul; he hath brought down my life to the earth

besets (surrounds)

swiftly (without delay)

Send me some grace to be vertued,

820 So that I may the fend withstonde.

Collocavit me in obscuris sicut mortuos seculi.

Et anxiatus est super me spiritus meus; in me turbatur est cor meum. 1

He put me in placys of derknes to be, As thei that of this werld ben dede.

My gost was grevyd upon me; spirit was worried within me Astonyd was myn herte for drede. Benumbed

825 In this myschefe I may me se Whenever I do a dedly dede; Therfor Jhesu, full of pyté, My lyve oute of this anger lede.

fol.119r Memor fui dierum antiquorum; meditatus sum

in omnibus operibus tuis; in factis manuum tuarum meditabar.²

I me bethought of deys olde; I contemplated

Of thi handwerke I me bethought.

How that synfull Judas sold

Hym that this werld with handys wrought.

With grete penans he pyght hys fold, prepared his sheepfold (flock)
The schypherd that our saules bought. sheepherd

The comforth of our carys colde,

Of Cryst it come, for he it bought.

Expandi manus meas ad te; anima mea sicut terra sine aqua tibi.³

To thee, Lord, my hondys I sprede.

My saule is lyke lond waterles;

I may not wepe, I ame so bade,

840 So bareyn and so sorowles.

Synne settys me full sade;

Therfor, I pray thee, Prince of Pese,

Helpe that I some teres hade,

That gostly frute myght have encrese.

Velociter exaudi me, Domine, defecit spiritus meus.⁴

Lysten me, Lord, and here me yerne:

The gost — for soth — of me hath feyled,

For I have ben full loth to lerne

¹ Lines 820a-b: He hath made me to dwell in darkness as those that have been dead of old. And my spirit is in anguish within me; my heart within me is troubled

 $^{^2}$ Lines 828a—b: I remembered the days of old; I meditated on all thy works; I meditated upon the works of thy hands

³ Lines 836a-b: I stretched forth my hands to thee; my soul is as earth without water unto thee

⁴ Line 844a: Hear me speedily, O Lord, my spirit hath withered away

850	Thing that myght me have aveyled. Lord, opynyst thi posterne gate For he that hath for thee trayveyled, So that they wyll ther penans take That is with sorow of synne aseyled.	side (hidden) gate
	Non avertas faciem tuam a me, et similis ero descendentibus in lacum.¹	
	Thy face turne thou not me fro;	
	I wrought lyke them that fallys in lake.	pit (grave, hell)
855	The dampnyd man may wele sey so,	pu (grace, new)
	That is betaught the fendys blake;	consigned to; black fiends
	Lord, late me nought be one of tho.	0 , ,
	Thynke onne thou dyghest for my sake;	Remember thou died
	And grant me grace or I hens go;	
860	For my trespas amendys make.	to make amends
		2
	Auditam fac michi mane misericordiam tuam, quod in te sperar	
	Thy mersy makys me to here at morow,	listen in the morning
	For I have in thee myne hope.	
	Helpe that I were out of sorow, And tho that ben therin istoke.	ota ah
865	And Lord, that suffyrd scham and sorow	stuck
803	And bled many a blody drope,	
	From gostly bandys thou me borow,	redeem
	That I were out of synne icrope.	_
	That I were out or synthe terope.	escaped
fol.119v	Notam fac michi viam in qua ambulem, quia	
	ad te levavi animam meam. ³	
	Lord, tech me the wey that I schall wend,	
870	For to thee I my soule have lefte.	
	Thys werld wyde hath sone an ende,	
	And revys mannys lyfe hys reste.	robs
	Therfor, Jhesu curtas and kynde,	
	Whos body was onne the crosse feste,	fastened
875	Thou gyff us grace our lyve amend	
	And ever more to do thy beste.	
	Eripe me de inimicis meis, Domine, ad te	
	confugi; doce me facere voluntatem tuam, quia Deus meus es tu	4
	Delivere me fro my fo men fele,	fierce (numerous)
	, ,	<i>J</i>

 $^{^{1}}$ Lines 852a–b: Turn not away thy face from me, lest I be like unto them that go down into the pit

² Line 860a: Cause me to hear thy mercy in the morning, for in thee have I hoped

³ Lines 868a-b: Make the way known to me, wherein I should walk, for I have lifted up my soul to thee

 $^{^4}$ Lines 876a-b: Deliver me from my enemies, O Lord, to thee have I fled; teach me to do thy will, for thou art my God

880	Lord, for to thee fled ame I. Tech me thy wylle to fullfylle, For thou arte my Lord only. All my fo men doune thou felle; Restreyn me to thi mersy, That I may dredles in thee duelle And thou in me, Lord, endlesly.	Embrace
885	Spiritus tuus bonus deducet me in terram rectam. Propter nomen tuum, Domine, vivificabis me in equitate tua. ¹ Thy gode gost, Lord, schall me lede Stryght into the lond of ryght. And for thi name, in ryghtfull hede	just confidence
	Thou schall me make quike and lyght. Than schall I duell oute of dred	зим сондшенсе
890	Ther dey is ever and never nyght. For grysly gost schall ther non grede Onne hem that ben in blys so bryght.	cry out
	Educes de tribulacione animam meam, et in misericordia tua disperdes omnes inimicos meos. ²	
	My saule thou schall bryng out of care;	C 1:-1
895	In mersy my fone dysperbely.	my foes disperse
895	Make the devyll to droupe and dare,	fear and tremble
	That he me draw to no foly.	
	And thoff I be made now bare	
	Off all godnes that I can spye,	11 1 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 1
000	Yit Lord God, abyde and spare,	delay and withhold [justice]
900	That I be amendyd or I dyghe.	before I die
	Et perdes omnes qui tribulant animam meam,	
	quoniam ego servus tuus sum. ³	
	And thou schalle lese them that dysseyven	condemn
	My soull, for I have servyd thee.	Corection
	Late them no more upon me reysen	
	The gostys that have grevyd me.	
905	Send me grace thee to plesyn,	
	And when thi dredfull dom schall be,	judgment
	In heven kyngdom to have sesyn,	seisin (legal right)
	Allmyghty God in persons thre. Amen.	

¹ Lines 884a–b: Thy good spirit shall lead me into the right land. For thy name's sake, O Lord, thou wilt quicken me in thy justice

² Lines 892a-b: Thou wilt bring my soul out of trouble, and in thy mercy thou wilt destroy my enemies

³ Lines 900a-b: And thou wilt cut off all them that afflict my soul, for I am thy servant

Nomen scribentis benedicat lingua legentis. 1 AMEN QUOD RATE

33. STIMULUS CONSCIENCIE MINOR

fol. 120r 5	Allmyghty God in Trinité, Fader and Sone and Holy Goste, That is one God and persones thre, O stedfast God of myghtys moste, Gyff us grace folys to fle,	greatest might sins (follies)
3	And wele to lyve, and kepe us chaste So that oure saulys may redy be To God when we schall yeld the goste.	give up the ghost (die)
10	He may be callyd wyse and wytty That can wele lyve in this exile.	intelligent
	Who so wele lyves and ryghtwysly, He can well dyghe after Godys wyll.	righteously
	He that makys hym to God redy And lyvys welle can nought dyghe ille.	
15	Bot no man to dyghe can be herdy	confident
	Bot he that lyves wele throughe skylle.	Except; knowledge
	All our lyve that we here lyve	
	Is nought bot a ded lyvand.	living death
0.0	And deth is not els to drede	
20	Bot passing of this lyve feyland.	failing (feeble) life
	Fro the begynnying of our chyldhed	147 1 1 1 1 d
	Ever we be deth dredand;	We are always dreading death
	Than is this lyve feyland at nede,	failing in times of need
	For whyll we lyve we be dyghand.	dying
25	Many deyes that lyve cane nought, And many dyghes that dare not dyghe. Bot of deth hath he not dred in thought That can wele lyve and is redy.	die who know not how to live
	Thourght bodyly deth the gode are brought	Through
30	To joy, and the ivell grete peyn to dre	to suffer
	After the werkys that thei have wrought —	According to the deeds
	Thus seyt the boke that can not lyghe.	says
35	Deth is of endles lyve begynning, And of dethly lyve the last endyng To them that be of gode lyving.	the beginning of endless life
33	When thei out of this werld schall wend,	shall go
	mien diei out of tins werlu senan wenu,	snan go

 $^{^{1}}$ Line 908a: May the tongue of the reader bless the name of the scribe

	Than may deth be to them lykyng	pleasing to them
	That in this werld makys God ther frend.	Who
	Bot it is entré of ther lyving	entry
40	In hell to them that serve the fend.	fiend (devil)
	Wherfor, man, if thou wyll lere	learn
	To lyve wele and ryghtfully,	
	And of gode and evyll hafe knawynge clere,	
	And luf and drede consayve therby,	love; experience
45	Weynd out every dey of thi lyve here	Depart [in your mind]
	Throught thought, and forgete thi bodye,	
	And behold thre places sere	distinct
	In the other werld of dyverse partye.	
	Ther schall thou se, yf thou loke evyn,	look steadily
50	Som in joy and som in peynes sted,	
	And here and knaw by ther stevyn	hear; voice
	What lyve thei have in erth lede.	
fol. 120v	Tho thre placys I wyll nevyn,	name
	As I have herd in bokys rede:	
55	One is helle, another is heven,	
	And purgatory, that is the thyrd.	
	Tho thre resatys, as we trow,	Those three places; trust
	In the other werld be full serteyn.	•
	Tyll one of thys thre wend schall thou	To
60	When deth hath here thi body sleyn.	
	When thou schall wend thou wote not how,	
	And thou schall never come ageyn;	
	Therfor, or thou wend ches thee now	before you go choose
	Whether thou wyll wend to joy or peyn.	<i>J</i>
65	Fyrst at helle late thi thought be,	
00	To se how synne is vengyd there.	avenged (repaid)
	In purgatory than may thou se	avengea (repaia)
	How synne is clensyd with peynes sere.	diverse
	In heven thou schall se grete plentye	WIDE 130
70	Of blys that schall last ever more,	
, 0	For them that here throughe hert fre	those who on earth with generosity,
	Fro gode werkys wold them not spare.	Did not spare themselves from
	Than after behold the werld law,	low
	How full it is of vanyté.	iow
75	And sethyn thi thought ageyn thou draw	then
10	Unto thiselve and thiselve se,	inen
	And what thou hast done and what thou aw,	ought
	What God hath done and doth for thee.	Jugni

80	And so may thou gode and evyll knaw, And, if thou wyll, lyve ryghtfully.	
85	Fyrst, if thou wyll knaw to lyve ryght, Thou schall thi thought send unto helle Ons on the dey or of the nyght Whyll thou here lyves, the fendys to felle. Ther schall thou se thorow gostly syght More sorow and peyn than tong can telle,	Once a day or at night [in order to] overcome the fiends
	For synfull men ever redy dyght, That for ther synne ever more schall duelle.	forever readily condemned dwell [there]
90	All that herte hatys and wold fle Thou schall se ther within helle gate, And of all that peyn is grete plenté, And that peyn schall never abate. Firm that peyer groupphyd schall be	the heart hates hell's gate
95	Fyre that never quenchyd schall be Is ther with brymston brynning hote. If all the water in the see, If it throght ran, myght not it abate.	burning hot quench it
100	For as fyre is hotter everywher Than is the fyre that is peyntyd on a wowe, Right so the fyre is hotter ther Than is the fyre that we here know.	wall
	Yite is ther sych colde ever more, With stormys and wynd that ever schall blow, That if an hylle all brynand were It schuld all turne to ise and snow.	were burning
105	Ther is ever smoke and stynke imonge And derknes more than ever was here.	therein
fol. 121r	Ther is hungour, thyrst, and throng, And ugly fendys of grete powere.	misery
110	Ther is wepyng and dolefull song, Gnastyng of tethe and grysly chere, And other turmentys herd and strong — Mo than herte can think, ferre or nere.	Gnashing; grim countenance hard More
115	Ther is no hope of helpe ne rede To them that duellys in that peyn, Ne of no reles thorow gode dede,	counsel release
	For it is endles deth sovereyn. Ther is deth withouten deth, And lyve withouten lyve, serteyn. They dyghe ever lyvand in that stede,	living; place
120	And ever more dyghand lyve ageyn.	dying

125	Of all other peynes yit have thei, And grete sorow both dey and nyght: Of the syght of blys that lastys aye That other have in heven so bryght. Fro that syght thei are pute aweye, For that they lyved not here aryght. And that schall thei have to Domes Deye, Bot fro that dey thei schall want that syght.	Yet of all other pains [that] they have And [a] great sorrow forever are cut off Because they lived Judgment Day shall lack
130	That syght of blysse them comforth nought Bot echys ther sorow that they have tayne Throught envy that they have in thought;	increases; obtained
135	For thei have joy and thei have none. The lest peyn that to them is wrought In helle is more (that never schall wone) Than all the peyn in erth out sought, If thei were all togeder in one.	they [in heaven] have joy least wane
140	Therfor, the lest peyn in helle, Clerkys seyn, a hundryght parte is more Then all the peynes scherpe and felle Of this werld that grevys sore. For all the peynes here were we duelle, If that they twyse so many were, Solas and joy men myght them telle To regard of the lest peyn ther.	Learned men say is a hundred times greater sharp and fierce where Pleasure; consider In comparison to
145	When thou hast sene that hydows place And the sorow that ther is withine, Than schall thou have dred, if thou have gr	hideous
150	To do here any dedly synne. For who so folowys the devellus trace And of his wykydnes wyll not blynne, Bot he amend whyll he have space, The pyne of helle he may hym wynne.	path cease Unless; time
fol. 121v	De penis purgatorii Yit send thi thought ferthermore	Of the pains of purgatory
155 160	To purgatory, where thou may se Saules in fyre bryning all bare For synne unclensyd, and may not fle. In that fire thei schall duell there Tyll that they of synne clensyd be And made als clene as thei fyrst were When thei were baptyst and made fre.	[who] may not

165	That peyn of fyre wher thei duelle Is so mekyll to clens synnes sere, That all the tourmentys scherpe and felle That all the martres sufferd here, And the peynes that women sufyr when thei yelle In chyldberyng when deth is nere, As to that peyne are nought to telle	cleanse (expiate) diverse sins martyrs
170	That fyre is hotter and more myghty Than the fyre is here and more brynand, As is here the fyre erthly	uu kiiskile kiisissa
175	Hotter than the son bryght schynand. In that fyre brynnes saules many, And schall ther be ever duelland To thei be fined clen therby Als is the gold in fyre meltand.	sun brightly shining Until; refined
180	Bot thei have ever gode hope in thought Oute of that peyn to wynne aweye, For thei wote wele that they are nought In helle wher peyn is lastyng aye.	to escape
	Bot som tyme thei have unsought So herd peyn both nyght and dey, That thei are oute of mynd brought And can not thinke were are they.	unexpected
185	Than have thei dowble peyn dyght: One is the felyng of ther peyn, Another is wantyng of that syght Of God that is all joy soverayn.	prepared [for them]
190	That wante thei both dey and nyght, For that may thei not have serteyn Tyll thei be made both clere and bryght Of all that thei dyde here in veyne.	That [sight]
195	Thus may thou ther, thorow gostly eye, So herd peynes se on dyvers maner That the lest peyn is more to dre Than the most peyn of this werld here.	endure
200	Therfor, clens thee here or thou dyghe Through penans of all thi synnes sere, And els thou schall — withoutyn lyghe — In purgatory them by full dere.	individual (many) buy them dearly (pay dearly for them)
fol. 122r	De gaudiis celi Afterwerd thi thought up lede	Of the joys of heaven

205	And thi herte holy unto heven. Ther schall thou se, if thou take hede, More joy than erthly man can neven. All the clerkys that bokys can rede, And maystyrs of all the scyens seven, Joy that ther is and the mede Couth not rekyn, ne schew by steven.	name seven sciences reward explain by voice
210	Ther is ever grete fulnes of lyght, Largenes of rowme withouten prese, Myrth that passyth all manys myght, And perfyte lufe that never schall sesse.	room; press (crowding)
215	Ther is soveren sykernes dyght, And sykernes, pessabulnes, and pese, Pesabull joy with lykand syght, Joyfull sykernes with full grete ese.	security pleasing
220	Ther is syker and endles beying And endles joy is in that place, Blessyd surans of lastand duellyng, And endles syght of Godys face. Ther is lovely chere and laughyng, Synging and lyking of diverse solas, And loutyng and endles lovyng, And thankyng of mersy and of grace.	assurance (certainty) rejoicing; enjoyments bowing (kneeling) [in reverence]
225	Ther is all maner of welthes endles, And of all delytes grete plenté. Ther is flowyng of more ryches Than ever myght eye in this werld se. There is all thing that goda is	
230	Ther is all thing that gode is, And no maner thing that ivell may be. Ther is more worschype and heyghnes Than ever was here in any degré.	honor
235	Ther is medys of halowys sere, So mykell that non them mesore may, And so many that no man here Can them rekyn by nyght nor dey. They are so presyous and so dere,	many hallowed fields
240	And of so mekyll nobeleye, And so plentyfull on diverse maner, That no man can them gesse ne seye.	magnificence (splendor)
	Withouten deth, ther is lyve dyght, And lyfe that ever is lastand. Ther is youth withouten elde ryght,	secured

245	And rest withouten suynke folowand. Ther is withouten derknes lyght, And joy withowten sorow duelland. Ther is ever dey and never nyght, And pes withouten stryffe holdand.	labor following
fol. 122v 250	Ther is lyght and bryghtnes more Than ever hade son when it bryght schon. Ther is grete myrthe as I seyd are, And melody that never schall wone.	as I said before wane
255	So mekyll joys are ther, The whych thei have that thedere is gone, That all the clerkys that be of lore Couth not telle a poynte of one.	they who have gone there have who are learned a small part
	For all the melodys of manys stevyn	man's voice
260	And all delytes both ferre and nere Were nought bot sorow, to telle evyn, Unto the lest joy of heven clere. For the lest joy that is in hevyn,	tell truly
	Of all the joys that ther are sere, Is a hundred fold more to nevyn Than all the joys of this werld here.	name
265	Therfor, when thou hast heven sene Thorow syght of thi hert fre, At thi synne sore schuld thou tene, That pute thee fro that feyre cyté.	be sorely angry
270	For all if hell schuld never have ben, And synne schuld never avengyd be, Yit schuld thou desyre to kepe thee clene, That joy to have and God to se.	
275	What man schuld lese that joy and blys, (If he of hymselve wold rew) That God hath hyght to all hys	lose pity promised
	That serve hym here with herte trew? For sykerly I dere sey this: And if a man that joy ryght knew,	
280	He hade lever, or he schuld it mysse, Every dey to be sleyn new.	He would rather, lest he miss it
	When thou thorow syght of thi herte fre Hast sene that joy, thou schall loke don And behold this werld and se	
285	That werldly men to serve are bowne, The whych is full of vanyté,	are ready to serve That which

Of wrechydnes and courrupcyon. Than schall it seme not els to thee Bot as a depe and derke dongeon.

	De miseria mundi	On the mercy of the world
290	For it schall seme unto thi syght Bot derke and lothe, and lytell and lawe,	loathsome; low (wretched)
430	Unto the regard of heven so bryght	In comparison to
	That thou so merkyd and feyre sawe.	thus observed and clearly saw
	It schall seme voyd of all gode ryght	inus observeu una ciedriy saw
	That mans herte myght to lykyng draw,	might attract man's heart
295	To the rygard of the plenty dyght	In comparison to the prepared bounty
430	Of godys that are in heven to knaw.	goods
	of godys that are in neven to knaw.	goods
fol. 123r	All werldly ryches both more and les	
	Thow schall thinke fowle and muke stynkand,	stinking muck
	To the rygard of hevenly ryches	
300	That is so reyre and never feyland.	rare; failing
	And also the joy and the gladnes	, and the second
	Of this werld sorow schall be semand,	shall seem sorrow
	To regard of the joy that is	
	In heven withouten ende lastand.	
905	Alal a Call II. I	
305	Al the wytte of this werld to lere	knowledge; to learn
	Thou schuld thinke than opyn foly,	open folly
	To regard of wysdom clere	
	In heven ther God is almyghty.	
910	All delytes of this werld here	
310	Thou schall thynke wrechydnes therby,	
	To regard of delices sere	many delights
	That are in heven with melody.	
	All the worschyppe of this werld waste	empty
	Scham and schenschipe schall seme to thee,	Shame and disgrace
315	To regard of the worshipe moste	Ü
	In heven that we so feyne wold se.	eagerly
	All that the werld desyres in haste	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,
	Thou schall thinke vayne and vanyté,	
	To regard of thynge for to tayste	
320	That fallys to hevyn were we wold be.	That belongs to; where we wish to be
	TC-1	
	If thou wylle behold on this wyse,	
	When thou thes joyes have fully sene,	
	The werldys joys are bot fantyse,	1 / 1. 11 \
295	And ever desavable yit hath ben.	deceptive (unreliable)
325	That syght schall styre thee to dysplese	stir (cause) you to be displeased
	And forsake the werld bedene,	immediately

	And to God entend and his servyse, And fro synne here to kepe thee clene.	incline
330 335	When thou hast sen thus heven and helle, And purgatory, and joy and peyne, And the febull werld were we duell, That som men loveth and serve in veyn, Behold thiselve than, flessche and felle, And this wrechyd werld unserteyne. When thou hast done as I thee telle, Thou turne unto thiselve ageyne.	flesh and skin (i.e., the body)
340	And bethynke thee than what arte thou, And fro when thou com in herte thou caste. And thinke also what arte thou now, And wher thou arte, with herte stedfast, What thou schall bethinke on and trow, And whyder thou schall wynd at the laste. For thi lyve here, I dare avow, It is bot as a wyndys blast.	consider trust where you shall go
fol. 123v 345	Quid fecisti Fyrst schall thou thinke and know in thought What thou was fyrst or thou come here.	What were you made of before you
350	Some tyme was that thou were nought To fele ne se ferre ne nere. And sethyn were thou conseyved and wrought Of a porsyon of fowle matere, And within thi moder brought Ryght on a foule, lothsom maner.	[Able] to feel nor see portion of foul matter
	Unde venisti Whethyn thou com thinke also: Thow com fro thi moder wombe ryght,	From whence you came From where
355	Out of a lothsom, stynking wro That derke was, withouten lyght. Than were thou weyke and myght not go,	cramped place weak
360	Naked and pore withouten myght, And brought nothing with thee therfro Bot a skyne all blody dyght.	skin made all bloody
	Quid es	What you are
365	Thinke what thou arte now and se: Thou arte bot stynkand slyme withine, And a sake full of fylthe pryvye That over is coveryd with a skyne. Fowler fylth may here non be	sack; hidden filth

	Than comes of thee, both thyke and thine. Ther comes non other fruyt of thee Bot only fylth, stynke, and synne.	
370	For if thou wyll se on every partye What comes fro thy mouth and nose, And fro other partys of thi body	part (aspect)
375	When thou lyst here thi body es, A fouler donge hyll of thi body Saw thou never in lond of pese Than thou arte here within namly;	When you wish to ease your body here
373	Therfor, begyne thi pride to sese.	namely (truly) begin to limit your pride
	Ubi es Thinke wher thou arte and know in hast: Thou arte here in a exile sene — That is the werld that thou lovyst most,	Where you are haste (readily) seen
380	That fykyll is and ever hath bene. Thou arte in a dale of sorow to tayst, Full of travell, tarye, and tene. Thow arte in a wyldernes weyst, Full of lyons and lyberdys kene.	experience labor, struggle, and anguish desolate leopards
385	Thou arte as in a forest duelland Full of robers and of theves. Thou arte as in a se flowand Full of wawys and stormys that grevys.	surging sea waves
390	Thou arte as in a ovyn brynand Full of fyre of synne that grevys. Thou arte as in a uncouth lond Full of angres and of myschevys.	agonies and afflictions
fol. 124r	Thou arte as in a feld of batayle Were thou must with thi enmys fyght.	
395	Bot thes thre wylle thee most aseylle: Thy flessch, the fend, and the werld ryght. They wyll not lette for no traveyle	cease for any consideration
400	To asayle thee both dey and nyght. And thou fyght fast thou schall not feyle To overcom them thorow Godys myght.	But if you fight
	Quid eris	What you will be
	Thynke also what thou schall be When thou schall wend of this werld awey: Thou schall be wormys mete to se, And rotyn erth and stynkyng cley,	
405	And deth schall com to aseyle thee.	

	Than schall thou be the Dethis pray, Yit schall thou have no sertenté Of his comyng be nyght ne dey.	Death's prey
410	Quo ibis Wheder thou schall go, bethinke thee tyte, And for thi wending thou ordeyn. Out of this werld than thou schall flyte, And never more to com ageyn. Thy body schall be leyd in a pyte;	Where you are going immediately plan for your departure fly
415	Of thi saule thou arte nought serteyn. Whyder thou schall wend thou may not wyte, Whether thou schall to joy or peyn.	you may not know will [go]
420	Thus all thi lyfe and thi lyving Is full of synne and wrechydnes sere. How may thou laughe, danse, or synge In syche a lyve, or make gode chere?	great wretchedness
	Me thinke thou aught to have no lyking, Ne make no joy whyle thou arte here, Bot lyve in drede and have desyring To endles blys that most is clere.	pleasure have desire
425	After that, bethinke thee ryght What God hath done and do for thee, And what he doth for thee dey and nyght	does
430	One diverse manerse as thou may se, And what he schall do to thee thorow his myght, And mercy ther thy hope schuld be. Than may thou knaw thorow thi insyght How myghty and how gode is he.	In diverse ways
435	Quid fecit tibi deus Thow schall thinke fyrst in thi thought What for thee that God hath done. Fyrst, heven and erth for thee he wrought; Water and eyre, and sone and mone, Bestys and treys that frute forth brought For thi prophyte he ordeynyd ryght.	What God has done for you profit (use)
440	And thy selve he made of nought — Bot on thes werkys thinkys thou full lyght.	1 3 . ,
fol. 124v	Thinke how thou were dampnyd unto helle For synne, how he thee bought ageyn. For thee he com in erth to duelle	
445	Wher he sufferd passyon and peyne. For thee hade he sore wondys and felle,	wounds sore and fierce

	For thee his body was rente and fleyn. And if thou wyll his wondys telle, Here may thou knaw the nombyr serteyn:	torn and flayed wounds count
450	Fyve thousand, as I wene, And four hundreth and fully sexty, For thee he sufferd, and fyfften, In handys and fete, hede and body.	I believe
	Fro his crowne nought hole was sene To the sole of his fote, bot all blody,	nothing whole (without wound)
455	And dyghed at the last, els had thou bene Dampned to helle withoutyn mersy.	or else (lest)
	Thinke what God doyt to thee aye, And for thee doyht on diverse maner: He savyth thee here both nyght and deye	does to you always
460	Fro all myschevys and perels sere. He sendys thee grace were-throught thou maye	misfortunes and perils diverse through which you may
	Do wele and susteyn thee here, And in all that thou schall do or sey He gyffes thee strenth and wyte clere.	
465	When thou schall anything begyne, Withouten God thou may not spede.	succeed
	Thou may nother go ne rynne, Bot he uphold thee and thee lede,	neither; run
470	Nor yit styre hond ne lyppe ne chynne, Ne lymbe withouten hym in nede.	stir (move)
	For what thou doyst withouten synne, Thou may call it only Godys dede.	whatever you do
475	Every dey for thee and for thi mete He multyplies of his godnes Foules and fyssches small and grete,	food
110	Both bestys, treys, frute and gresse. For thee he sendys both dryghe and wete,	trees; grass dry
	Some tyme more and some tyme lesse, Some tyme cold and som tyme hete	hot
480	That most to thee sesonabull es.	is
	Quid tibi faciet in fine Thinke what he schall at the last do to thee	What he will do to you in the end
	When thou arte went henne aweye. If thou love hym with thi herte fre	gone hence
485	And serve hym treuly to paye, He schall thee bryng to that contré	to repay him
	Ther never is nyght bot ever is dey,	Where

	Wher thou more joy and blysse schall se Than hert may thinke or tong can sey.	
490	That contré is his awne kyngdom, Wereof he schall thee his eygher make If thou the fend here overcom	heir fiend
	Thorow gode lyve, and synne forsake.	juna
fol. 125r	Bot if thou to God be unbuxome,	disobedient
405	And wykyd use and synne to thee take,	wicked habits
495	Thou schall wend, for that custome, To hell ther peyn schall never slake.	where; cease
	Quid deo fecisti anime et proximo tuo ¹ Thinks then often and forgets rought	
	Thinke than after and forgete nought What synne thou hast don and folye	
	What synne thou hast don and folye. Fyrst, what unkyndnes thou hast wrought	
500	And despyte to God allmyghtye,	
000	And what schendschipe thou hast sought	disgrace
	To thyne awne soule and vylonye,	0
	What herme, what wrong, that thou hast wrough	it
	To thi neyghbour that duelyd thee bye.	
505	Thinke what unkyndnes, if thou may mene,	remember (consider)
	Thou hast to God don and dyspyte.	
	Fyrst, how unbuxom thou hast bene	disobedient
	To hys byding, bethinke thee tyte.	immediately
	How thi love to hym is not sene,	not seen (i.e., not made visible)
510	And hath not servyd hym with delyte,	
	Bot grevyd hym with werkys unclen —	
	Of that unkyndnes thou arte to wyte.	consider
	Quid anime tue fecisti	What you have done to your soul
	Also what schame and vylonye	
	Thou doyst thi soull, bethinke thee swythe:	quickly (readily)
515	How foule thou makyst it and uglye	
	Thorow syn that thou doyst here oft sythe,	often times
	How pore, how nakyd and how nedye	
	Of all gode that schuld make it blythe,	
700	How thrall thou makys it to thi bodye,	1.1
520	That to thi sawle schuld serve swythe.	readily
	Quid proximo fecisti	What you have done to your neighbor
	Thynke what wronge thou hast don and scathe	injury
	To hym that is thi neyghbour kyde,	your known neighbor
	In body or in catell bothe,	in property

¹ What you have done to God, your soul, and your neighbor

525	In sclander of soule, if it betyde, Or in other wyse has made hym wrothe.	slander
	Make amendys if thou thus dyde,	
	Or els thi saule is in grete wathe;	danger
	For nothing may fro God be hyde.	
	Quid facit peccatum ante et post mortem	What sin does before and after death
	Yit behoveth thee know and se,	[More] yet
530	And have in mynd in every stede	circumstance (situation)
	What synne befor doyt to thee	does
	Whyles thou lyvand on erthe may trede,	living; tread
	And what herme synne may to thee be	harm
-0-	Sone following after thy dethe.	Soon
535	So schuld thou synne both hate and fle —	1. 11
	Thys were to thee a syker rede.	reliable counsel
	Fyrst, knaw and se what doyth synne	
	Befor thi deth whyle thou here lyves.	
	Synne wondys thi soule withoute and ine,	wounds; inside and out
540	And drawys it to peyn that grevys.	
	Synne makys thi saule withine	
	Blake as any pych that clevys.	clings
	Synne makys God and thee to twyne,	part
	And putys thee to grete myschevys.	
fol. 125v	Synne makys thee folow the fendys trace,	fiend's path
546	And all thi gode werkys makys frutles.	•
	Synne drawys thee fro gostly solas	spiritual comfort
	And vertues that passyth all ryches.	
	Synne wastys all godys of grace,	goods (qualities)
550	And levys thee voyd of all godnes.	
	Synne makys thee here helle to purches,	
	To have at the last, were peyn ever es.	
	Quid facit peccatum in morte	What sin does in death
	Thinke also, and thou may lere,	if you might learn
	What synne do thee at the dethes stoure.	throes of death
555	Synne depriveth thee of this lyve here,	
	Of all welth, myght and honour.	
	For solas and joy in no maner	
	Getys thou never after, ne favour,	<u>.</u> .
~ 00	Bot endles peyn with sorowys sere,	diverse (many)
560	Bot thou amend thee of all errowre.	Unless
	Synne privys thi soule than allso	deprives
	Of thi body with mekyll care.	
	Yif all thei efte togeder go,	they again came together

565	Thy body so feyre schall never be more, For at the metyng of them two, Thy soule schall se it so ugly fare, That syche a body as it went fro It wolde have that it roten were.	turn so ugly would have [preferred]
570	Thynke also and understond ryght What synne schall do thee after dede. Synne schall draw thee fro that syght, Fro God and fro all hys Godhed.	
575	Synne schall reve thi soule hys myght, And make it weyke and hevy as lede. Synne schall pute thee fro rest and lyght, Fro mersy and helpe and rede.	rob; its
580	Synne schall thee to endles peyn lede In helle that hydous is and dyrke. Synne putte thee fro all mede And fro all the helpe of holy kyrke. Synne schall weyst all thi gode dede That thou ever wrought or ever wold wyrke. Synne thus schall do, bot if thou Gode drede And forsake synne and with it yrke.	hideous and dark spiritual reward holy church destroy (squander) be disgusted with it
585	Quid gratia dei facit et vertus et bonum opus ¹ Afterwerd, thinke in thi thought What grace may do that schall not feyle, And vertues doth throw grace wroght,	virtues do through grace performed
590	And what god werke may thee aveyle. When thou hast thus in thi mynd sought, With them thi saule thou schall vytayle. And of all the synnes that ever thou wrought, Make amendys be gode conseyle.	good work may benefit you nourish
fol. 126r	Fyrst, thou schall thinke and understond,	
595	With stedfast thought and hert stabull, What grace may do thee here lyvand If thou to grace wyll make thee abull. Grace settys thee wele in god lastand And makys thee to God acceptabull. Grace may make thi herte holdand	here while you live worthy lasting good holding (following)
600	To that thing that is most prophetabull. Grace may make the bondys of synne to slake And fully lyght thi hert withine.	slacken

¹ What the grace of God, virtue, and good works do

605	Grace may make thee fore Godys sake To suffure angres, hys love to wyn. Grace may thi werkys medfull make And wynne agene that thou lost for synne. Grace may thee make the ryght wey take To hevyn ther blysse schall never blyn.	troubles profitable end
610	Thinke also, when that thou may, What vertu doyt and what it spedys. Vertu puttys fonding awey And multyplys all gode dedys. Vertu makys thee nyght and dey	assists temptation
615	To delyte in God that thy soule fedys. Vertu aventys God and thiselve aye, And to thi neyghbour that thi lyve ryght ledys.	nourishes praises; always guides your life rightly
620	Vertu kepys thee fro foule bryning And fro the foull desyring of pride, And fro the water of lust and lyking, That thou not in them long abyde. Vertu thee kepys fro foule desyring And fro the cley of lechery for to se, And fro the thornes in diverse thingys Of covetys that they not ryve thee.	burning spring (watering place); pleasure greed; rob
625	Quid facit bonum opus Thinke also bothe dey and nyght What godo worke doyth wore it is wrought	What good works do
630	What gode werke doyth were it is wrought. Gode werke stabullus vertue ryght, Encresys thi med and stablys thi thought. God werke putys oute thorow myght And fordoyt syn that thou arte in brought. God werke strenth thee to fyght With the fend, that he overcom thee nought.	where it is performed steadies your reward overcomes strengthens
635	Gode werkys wrought in charyté Is hold medfull and serteyn, And that be thingys thre: One is the endles lyve sovereyn, Another the encresyng of grace so fre, The thyrd of forgyffnes of peyn.	counted worthy and secure by three things noble
640	Thus may gode werkys aveyle thee If thou with charyté it ordeyn.	perform
	Bot gode werkys, thou schall understond, Withouten charyté may nought aveyle As to the lyve that is ever lastand.	In regard to the life

fol. 126v 646	Bot tylle one of thes foure it schall not feyle: Or it schall soner breke thi synne bonde, Other les the sorow that thee schuld ale, Other make thi welth here more flowand, Other more lete the fend thee to aseyle.	(i.e., it will still perform one of these) Either; sin's bond Or lessen; affliction flowing (multiplying) prevent the fiend
650	Over that, thinke how mekyll it is, The godnes of Godys mersy And the reddoure of his ryghtfulnes, How mekyll it is on every party.	rigor; righteousness in every degree
655	So schuld that make thee to love the lesse, And werldly welth late passe lyghtly, And les to desyre honour and ryches, And more to love and dred God allmyghty.	
	Quanta est opera misercordie dei Fyrst, thou schall thinke how mekyll is sene	How great the work of God's mercy is
660	The godnes of Godys mercy fre. His mercy is mor than any can deme, And passyth all synne that ever may be;	estimate
	For if thy synne were more to mene	consider
	Than ever was done in any contré, God wyll forgyff it all bedene Thorow mersy, if thou wyll repente thee.	completely
665	Mercy profers of hys offyce	provides by its authority
	To gylty forgyvenys of synne sere.	diverse sins
	Mercy schewys dyverse benyfyce	reveals diverse benefit
	That man resavys of God here.	receives
250	Mersy here hetys hevynly delytes	promises
670	To all that to God are leffe and dere.	loved and dear
	Mercy delyvers men of vyces And savys them fro perels that be nere.	
	Of mersy God us here abydys	endures
	Soverandly when we do wronge.	Excellently (In noble fashion)
675	Of mersy vengeans fro us he hydys	[Because] of mercy he hides vengeance
	And gyffys us frely grace amonge.	continually (everywhere)
	Of mersy he multyplyes on all sydys	****
	That he us gyves, wereso we gonge.	What he gives us, wherever we go
COO	Of mersy he kepys us, what so betydys	whatever happens
680	That he hath multyplyd to last long.	That he has extended to be long lasting
	Of mersy God wyll ageyn calle	
	Them that turnes fro hym with ylle. Of mercy God wyll reseyve them alle	
	That turne ageyn unto hys wylle.	
685	Of mersy he makys oure hertys smalle	(i.e., humble)
500		(0.0., 100111000)

	And mekly penance to fullfylle. Of mersy this tyll hym schuld falle:	to him belongs
	To forgyve wreth, that we not spylle.	to him belongs wrath; perish
690	Of mersy God sendys angers sere, For synne schuld be clensyd therby. Of mersy he gyfys welthys here To make us to love hym of curtasy.	great troubles So that sin
cor	Of mersy he gyves us, withouten were, Sacramentys to make us worthy.	without doubt
695	Of mersy he wyll that we lere His comandmentys for mede gostly.	learn spiritual reward
fol. 127r	Of mersy God them ledys ageyn That wrong goth by dey or nyght. Of his mersy that is serteyn	go wrong
700	He ledys them evyn that hath no lyght. Of mersy to helpe us uppe he is feyn	even those who have no light (are blind) eager
	When we are falne and wanten myght.	fallen
	Of mersy that wylle he nought leyn He them upholdys that stondys upryght.	lay aside
705	Also thinke with herte stedfast, When thou wote what Godys mersy es,	you know
	How mekyll schall be, if thou can cast,	ponder
	The reddoure of his ryghtfulnes To them that schall be at the laste	rigor; righteousness
710	On Domys Dey dampned more and les,	Judgment Day
	After the dredfull bemys blaste, As wytneses the gospell in the messe.	trumpet's gospel testifies
	Than schall God hys mersy hyde Fro synfull men that are gylty;	
715	His ryghtwysnes thei schall abyde	await
	And demyd be as thei are worthy. Than schall thei stond on his left syde Withouten bone of his morsy.	judged as they deserve
	Withouten hope of his mersy, And helle schall than opyn wyde	
720	And suelew that synfull compeny.	swallow
	For thei wold nought unto the pore That for myscheve nyghe gon spylle	Because misfortune; nearly died
	Nother to non other neyghbor Mersy do here with gode wylle,	
725	They schall be dampned thorow reddour Of ryghtwysnesse to fullfylle,	rigor To satisfy justice

And have endles peyn withouten mesure, Withoute mersy — and that is skylle. that is reasonable Ryghtwysnes with mersy is aye always In all gode werkys, as schewys he. 730 Bot some tyme the one is by some wey Opyn when the other is privey, Visible; hidden And som tyme both se men may, men may see both And some nother may men se. sometimes neither 735 Bot ryghtwysnes schall at the last dev Be scheweyd, and mersy schall hyde be. be hidden Item Thomas Alquinus dicit quod misericordia est aperta et justicia occulta in justificacione impii et justicia est aperta et misericordia occulta in dampnacione et punicione parvulorum sine baptismo decedencium.¹ Mersy is schewyd ryght, as I wene, as I believe And ryghtwysnes is privy and stylle, hidden and quiet When a wyked man of synne is clene 740 And made ryghtwys thorow Godys wylle. Bot ryghtwysnes is opynly sene And mersy is hyde, for serteyn skylle, for certain reason When childer uncrystend dampned bene children unbaptized To helle forever, that never dyde ylle. fol. 127v Utraque est occulta ut in tribulatione justorum et innocentium, sicut fuit in tribulacione Job et innocentium et in infirmitatibus parvulorum; utraque est aperta ut in remuneracionem justorum et in dampnacione impiorum. Nam Deus remunerat justos super meritum malos autem punit citra condignum quod est misericordie quod est in celo et in terra et in inferno et ubique et cetera.² 745 Ryghtwysnes and mersy tyte readily Are bothe hyde and holdyn doune When innocentes and men perfyte Sufer here persecusyoun. Bot both are schewyd in a plyght, in agreement (indeed) 750 Those thei have dyverse condecyon, Though

¹ Lines 737a–d: Note that Thomas Aquinas says that mercy is visible and justice hidden in the salvation of the impious, and justice is visible and mercy hidden in the damnation and punishment of children dying unbaptized

² Lines 744a—h: Each is hidden, as in the trials of the just and the innocent, just as was the case in the trials of Job and the Innocents and in the infirmity of little children. Each is visible, as in the reward of the just and the condemnation of the wicked. For God rewards the just beyond their merits, but punishes the evil short of their deserts, which is characteristic of [his] mercy, which is in heaven and earth and hell and everywhere, etc.

	When God to gode ther mede schall quite And to evyll peyn and dampnacyon.	to [the] good their reward shall pay
755	For God to gode grantys more mede In hevyn than thei servyd fully, And to evyll, for ther mysdede, Les pown in helle then thei are worthy	deserved
	Les peyn in helle than thei are worthy. Thys is grete godnes of God to rede That thus doth therof his mersy.	consider
760	Thus schall mersy, tho it here sprede, In heven and helle beth ay myghty.	increases forever supreme
	Si autem deus justis et malis probuit servis merita sua videlicet, bonis bona et malis mala, hoc esset justicie et non misercordie dei. ¹ Bot if God schall yeld every man	give (judge)
	After the werkys that he hath wrought,	According to the works he has done
765	Gode for gode as he welle cane, And evylle for evylle fully sought, Fro that tyme that his lyve begane	fully considered
703	Of alkyns werke fully sought, The ryghtwysnes of God were thane Only schewyd, and mersy nought.	Of every kind of work then
770	Now have ye herd a gode lesson Of diverse maters that ye schuld lere; With gode wylle and devosyon Both dey and nyght, on this maner, Makyth it your medytacyon.	
775	Hold it in mynde whyll ye are here, And fle fro veyn ocupacyon; Than may ye make your lyvyng clere.	pure
780 fol. 128r	Do now as ye have herd me seye, And for the love of our Lord Jhesu, For hym specyally that ye wyll praye, That this tretys in Inglyssche drew, That he hym yeld, that on Gode Frydey, The Jues nalyd on the rode and slew, And graunte hym lyve that lastys aye, In heven wher joy is ever more new.	[For he who] translated this treatise he requite him, [he] who nailed on the cross

¹ Lines 760a–c: But if God judged just and unjust subjects according to their merits, good for good and bad for bad, then that would be the justice, not the mercy, of God.

EXPLICIT STIMULUS CONCIENCIE MINOR. NUNC SERMONEM FECI DA MICHI QUOD MERUI.¹

34. THE STATIONS OF JERUSALEM

The Stasyons of Jerusalem God that shupe both heven and helle, made To Thee, Lord, I make my mone, request And gyve me grace the sothe to telle truthOf the pylgrymage that I have gone. I toke my leve at Venys toune, 5 Venice And bade felous for me praye friends (For it is a cyté of grete renoune), And to Jerusalem I toke the wey. Bot of all cytés that I have seyne, 10 For to rekyn everychon, consider every one Than may Venys be a kyng That stondys in the Greke Se alone. Greek Sea (Mediterranean) It is so round, ryche, and stoute, Of enmys ther them not drede. 15 For seyntys lyes in the towne aboute: Four saints (Whoso wyll seke them he schall have mede) Seynt Marke and Seynt Nycholas, Thes two seyntys ther lyne in syght. lie in sight (on display) Seynt Elyn that founde the cros, 20 And Seynt Jeorge, Our Lady knyght, Our Lady's Among them berys grete voys, i.e., bears great respect And lyes in gold and sylver wele dyght. well made Seynt Paule, the fyrst hermyte that was, And Seynt Symeon, Justus that hyght, who was called Just 25 And the fader of Seynt John Baptyst Lyes thens a lytell therfro. And Seynt Lucy, that vergyn blyste blessedThat stedfast was in all here wo, And a thousand innocentys men may se 30 Lyghet ther closyd in that towne. Lies enshrined Seynt Christofe lege and hys thé, Christopher's leg and thigh At ons I may not rekyn ne soune; nor express fol. 128v For ther is the whyrl-bon of hys kne kneecap And his toth closyd in crystall to se. toothTwyse in the yere who theder com 35 To vyset this cor-seyntys in that plas, relics He schall have plene remyssyon, complete forgiveness Als wele as in the yere of grace. As much as in a Jubilee year

¹ Lines 784a–b: Here ends the Prick of Conscience Minor. / Now I have completed the sermon (text); give me what I deserve

40	Than passe into the iles of the se Curfe, Modyn, and Candy. Some of the iles, withouten doute, Be sevene hundrede myle abowte, And all langys to Venys towne; That is a cyté of grete renowne.	Corfu, Modon, and Crete
45	In the Ile of Rodys as we gan gon, We founde relykes many one:	Rhodes
	A crosse made of the basyn suete That Our Lord wessch in hys postyllus fete, And ther the plater we se	apostles platter
50	Wherin he made hys mandé, And a thorn of the crowne That styked in hys hede aboven,	his Last Supper
55	That blomys every Gode Frydey — A feyr merakyll it is to sey. And ther is Seynt Loy and Blasy,	blooms
33	And other mo than twenty. Ther is the arme and hond of Seynt Cateryn, That blyssyd holy vergyn,	
60	And ever more who so theder com, A thousand yeres of pardon.	[Receives] a
	And in Sypres as we schuld go, We fond relykys one or two:	Cyprus
65	The cros of the gode thefe That cryed mersy and found gode preve. We saw a chapelle onne a hylle,	a good end
	Bot we myght not com thertylle. Beyond that, in a coste A lytell besyde, is Famagoste.	thereto Famagusta
70	We fond a chapell beforn, Wher Seynt Kateryn was born; Ther is many yeres of pardon For every man that theder wyll com.	Ü
75	Than cam we to another place, Ther that the whalle sualowyd Jonas And bare hym into Ninyvé — A feyr merakyll it ys to se.	Nineveh
	Than com we to porte Jaffe. I schall yow telle who that name gaffe:	Jaffa
80	Japhet that was Noeys sone Was ther fyrst, or that was begone, And when he leyd the fyrst stone,	Noah's before that was built

fol. 129r	He callyd it Jaffe after hys name. This is the breyd of the Grekys Se: Twenty hundreth myle and thre.	breadth
85	Than passyd we to that same stede Ther Seynt John was quyke and dede. The nexte thing after, as I yow telle, Is the grave of Samuelle;	alive and dead (i.e., where he died)
90	That is besyde the castell of Emaus, Ther Jhesu spake to Cleophas.	Emmaus Cleopas
	Fyrst joy after that to us come When we sey the wawle of Jerusalem. And the fyrst fote that we sette therine, We were deliverde of all our synne,	[The] first joy we came to after that [Was] when; walls
95	And reseyved indulgens <i>a pena et culpa</i> , And at other many places mo also. And after this, with gode intente,	from punishment and guilt
	To the hospytall sone we wente.	hospice
100	And onne the morne when it was dey, To the temple we wente oure wey. And ther lyes the same stone That Our Lord restyd hym onne; The Jues dyde hym so mekyll wo,	
105	The manhed myght no ferther go. And after this a Zarysen com, And callyd us in be a treyn. When he hade don, he went hys weye,	Saracen (Muslim) came in a line
110	And lokyd the dore with a keye. Now schall ye here the begynning How we worschypped our heven kyng: The warden reysed a crosse full hye, And clerkys song the letany.	litany
115	And lewd men than ther eyghen wepe, That teres fell under ther fete, And thankyd God with all ther myght That gaffe them grace to se that syght. Than askyd we a boune withall,	unlearned (lay); eyes wept [So] that boon (gift)
	That we schuld never in synne falle.	
120	And after that, with gode entent, To the sepulcour forth we went. When we had offerd and kyssed the stone, All our feloys dyde the same.	
	Beyond that we fond a pleyn Ther Jhesu mette with Mary Maudeleyn.	discovered

125	And ther sche wold have kyssed his fete, When he bakwerd fro hyr yede.	went
	And sche presyde onne hym so ofte,	went
	And he seyd, "Mary, touche me nought."	
	Behynd that is a pylere,	
130	Wherto was bond hys body bare.	
	That stondys in a chapelle suete	W/
	Ther Oure Lady stode and wepe. And thus we passyd bye	Where
	To the mydys of the mundye;	middle of the world (see note)
fol. 129v	Ther is wrote, withouten doute,	written (inscribed)
136	The mydys of the werld ronde aboute.	middle
	Beyond that, as we schuld gone,	
	We fond the holys in the stone	holes
1.40	Therin thei joddyd hym onne the gronde	knocked
140	And gafe hym many a blody wonde.	he delicate
	And ther thei spolyd hym of hys clothys, And swore hys deth with grete othes.	stripped
	And ther at the dyse thei gan pleye	dice
	Who schuld bere hys clothys aweye.	
145	And when he sufferd all this scorn,	
	On hys hede thei sete a crone of thorne.	
	And after askyd hym of that thing,	
	If that he were Jues kyng.	
150	Behynd that is a pyler also	
130	Ther that he sufferd mekyll wo. They bonde hys hondys and his fete	
	And rollyd hys body in the strete,	
	That erth and gravell onne the grounde	[So] that
	Hade fylled full ilke-a wounde.	every wound
155	And under an auter betwene the stones	•
	They made hym crepe all at ones.	
	When he was so sore ibond,	bound
	With ther fete thei spurned as a hunde.	kicked [him] like a dog
160	And he ley as a babe stylle	
160	And sufferd them to do ther wylle. All Crysten kyngys, with one assente,	
	For Godys luffe, gyffe this jugement:	
	What cursyde Jue cum to your ground,	
	Spurne ye his body as a hounde.	
165	And bote he wylle mersy crye,	
	Honge hym up on galow tre.	
	For why thei dyde hym all this wo,	caused him
	That schall I telle you or I go:	, ,
170	The crosse was not ordeynd mete	made ready
170	To nayle onne his body suete. Than kepyd thei hym in prison stylle,	
	man kepyu mer nym m prison styne,	

	To the crosse was ordeynd at ther wylle.	Until the cross
	That prison is hold a welle of grace	considered a source
	For all that comys in that place,	
175	And it is callyd of old and yeng	
	The prison of our heven kynge.	
	Beyond that is a chapell sqware	
	Forty gresys depe and more.	steps
	Be hym that schope both heven and helle,	
180	This tale is trew that I schall telle:	
	Ther is in a orytory	chapel
	Noys of the peynes of purgatory.	Noise
	And what man seys it is not so,	
105	I schall fynd wytnes or that I go:	
185	Of prestys that duellys ther nyght and dey,	priests
	They schall bere wytnes that I sey.	
	And ther syng prestys of cytés thre	cities (groups, nations)
	In worschype of the Trinyté.	
fol. 130r	The fyrste prestys are of Inde,	India
190	That prevyd themselve gode and kynde,	
	For thei care for non other gode,	
	Bot worschipe God that dyed onne rode.	
	And thei synge nother more ne lesse	
	Bot the Pater Noster at ther Messe.	Mass
195	Because Our Lord bade them so pray,	
	They wyll non other messe sey.	
	Of bred and wyne, hys body dere,	
	They resayve it with myld chere.	
	Barefote thei gon and in febull aray,	poor dress
200	And duell in the chyrch both nyght and dey.	
	Bred and water is most ther fode;	
	I hold them holy men and gode.	I consider
	In the north syde of that mynster	church
	They worschype God onne this maner.	
205	The cyté of Grekys duelle fast by,	
	That synngys in the Mounte of Calvery.	
	Bot what thei synge or what thei seye,	
	Oure prestys wote not what thei praye.	do not understand
	And when thei reyse the oste onne hye,	raise the host (the Eucharist)
210	The Grekys kastys up a loud crye.	
	And when thei breke the oste in thre,	
	Iche man is housyld as wele as he.	given communion
	With a spon, withouten doute,	spoon
	They fede the pepull all aboute,	•
215	And a party of that body dere	
	He reseyves on this manere.	

	Also the prestys hath no lyving	no benefice (financial support)
220	Bot what the pylgrymus to them bryng; For faute of clothys ther sydys goth owte, And lyves in tribul and in doute. What lyvelode ther is to them leyd, They gruch not, bote hold them payd. And in that place with drery mode They wepe for hym that dyghed onne rode,	i.e., there are holes in their clothes distress livelihood consider themselves rewarded
225	And thei aske non other thing Bot hevens blyss at ther endyng.	
230	The thyrd cyté are prestys of owre, That syngys messe at the sepulcour; On the same grave that Our Lord in leye, Prestys syng in Latyn every deye. Of oure maner is ther songe, Save ther berdys are wele longe. That is the use of that contré:	of our [faith]
235	That have long berdys are of degré. The ordour of them are barefote frerys; Of almus dedys thei have no perys, For thei hold non other astate, Bot worscype God arly and late,	[They] that barefoot friars (Franciscans) peers
240	Both with the new law and the olde. They passe all cytés a thousend folde. When thei make to God ther mone, They pray for all as wele as one.	exceed; thousand times prayer
fol. 130v	They pray for all as wele as one. Thys holy saules that ther duelle Schall wytnes that I you telle,	
245	For thei have spokyn in ther orytory With sallys that are in the peynes of purgatory.	souls
	Beyond ther is an auter under an hylle That Seynt Elyn lovyd full wele, And an hole in the grounde	altar Helena
250	Ther the holy crosse was fonde, And the two crossys of the thevys allso	discovered
	(The beter was betwen them two). Ther is <i>a pena et culpa</i> in that place For all men that comys theder for grace,	The better (i.e., Christ) [pardon] from pain and guilt
255	And beforn, as we schuld fare, Many gode syghtys as wele as ther. Seynt Elyn the emperyse And Constantyn hyr sone so wyse Ordewyd that place for great delyte	
260	Ordeynd that place for grete delyte, For ever more it schuld be replyte. Seynt Sylvester, that holy pope,	well supplied

	Confermyd it under hys holy cope, And what sche wold have thertylle,	i.e., in his office
	The Pope was redy at hyr wylle.	
265	And yit it is more stronge than so,	
	And that schall I preve or I go.	before
	The Jewys askyd Jhesu of ther wylle,	
	And bade hym ansuer to that skylle.	to that argument
0-0	He seyd in myddys of the werld with skylle,	He spoke
270	Full hyghe brought upon an hylle,	
	And seyd, "Who so be in charyté	.11
	And for my love hyder wylle wende,	will come here
	In joy and blysse he schall me se,	
	And with me duell withouten ende."	
275	Beyond that we may to a pylere go	
	Wher that he sufferd mekyll wo,	
	Bonde and betyn ther he stode	
	Tyll all hys body ranne onne blode.	
	So thyke thei spyte on hym by rawe	spit; in crowds
280	That no man myght hys vysage knowe.	
	Than turned we upone a grece in hye,	steep stairway
	Onto the Mounte of Calverye.	
	Ther was fond a fote of grounde,	[square] foot
	Ther is non sych in the werld rounde;	
285	For it was plantyd with that tre	
	Ther Jhesu bought us and made us fre,	
	And it was halowyd with that blode	hallowed
	That oute of hys body yode.	came
000	And that was payd in ranson	
290	For all the synnes that we hade done.	
	Ther turnyd all ther cruelté	
	To grete mersy, as we may se,	
	When he forgaffe the stronge theffe	, , , ,
C 1 101	That cryed mersy as he was leffe,	as he desired
fol. 131r	And pute hym in no lenger delaye,	
296	Bot gaffe hym paradys that same dey.	
	Crysten man, if thou be wyse,	meat realise
	Hold thou this of mekyll price. And yit dyde he more to seyn:	great value
300	He forgave them that brast hys veyne,	
300	And prayd hys Fader hyghe on lofte	
	Forgyve the soules that he had wrought.	[To] forgive
	Ther he betaught hys moder dere	entrusted
	To John, his cosyn, that stode hym nere.	Chur watew
305	And John betoke hys moder also,	accepted
	And thei forth togeder gan go.	pww
	And ther he soferd grete poverté,	distress
	0 1,	

	Never man so mekyll as he.	
910	A fox hath hole, a byrd hath neste;	
310	He had not wheronne hys hede to reste. The drynke he askyd was grete amours,	nothing whereupon love
	Was mans saule and non other lycours.	tove
	Than askyd he folke of yche degré,	
	Who sufferd more peyn than he.	
315	And he cast uppe a loud cryghe,	
010	And seyd, "Lama zabatamye."	
	Ther is the roche of ston that cleft in two	rock
	When he sufferd al this wo.	
	Everilke planet was so kynd;	Every; natural (sympathetic)
320	They hade hym som dele in ther mynd.	i.e., gave witness in some way
	For sothe, thei come of Kaymes kyne;	they (i.e., the Jews); Cain's race
	They sette it for no dedly synne	
	To reyse the crose betwene them all,	
	And in a mortas thei lete it falle.	mortise (fitted slot)
325	And when it smote among the stones,	
	His wondys brast all at ones.	
	They turnyd hys fete donwerd to helle;	
	His blod on Adams hede gan felle.	began to fall
990	He prayd unto hys Fader of blys	
330	To save the pepull that wold be hys.	
	Hys one hond yede est, the other yede weste,	stretched east
	As the pylican syttes on her neste	pelican
	When sche prykes hyr herte blod To gyffe here byrdys for ther fode.	chicks
335	Thus was he strenyd on a tre,	stretched
333	That bought us all in this degré.	streumen
	In every veyn thei sought hys blod;	
	Thus fulle dere he bought hys brode.	dearly (at great price); brood
	The croune of thorn went throught hys breyn —) (8 1 //
340	Hys penans passe the pelycan.	went beyond [that of] the pelican
	A spere was pute thorow his rybbys,	J - J- 1
	And with hys blode he fede his brydys.	birds
	So fre he was to us ichone,	generous
	He held oute water when blod was gon.	
345	The spere thyrled thorow his herte,	pierced
	Yit God forgaffe hym all that smerte.	
	What erthly man in synne is bounde,	
	And he aske mersy in that grounde,	
fol. 131v	Have he don never so mekyll amysse,	i.e., No matter how much amiss
350	He schall be salvyd of all synne that is.	ab solved
	Bot why I neven here no pardon,	name
	That schall ye here or that I gon:	before I go
	Because my wytte may not expond To know the parden of that grounde	expound
	To knaw the pardon of that grounde.	

355	For ther is the crope and rote, And ther began all our bote;	source and root
	For all the pardon that is in Rome,	cure
	Ther is the well and thens it com.	from there it comes
2.20	Ther is more pardon, I telle thee,	
360	Than is all the water in the se	
	Or gresse or gravell onne the ground, Or sterrys be in the sky so rounde,	
	Or motys be in the sone	motes
	Sen the werld was fyrst begon.	
365	For every contré here hath end of ryght,	
	And he is Lord of endles myght.	
	The pardon that he gaff to hys frend	
	Is the blysse withouten ende. And all his grace and mekyll more	
370	Was purchast in a fote of square;	
	It passyd not a fote in bred,	breadth
	What man wyll mete it with a threde.	measure
	I have so mekyll more to telle;	
	On the mounte I may no lenger duelle.	
375	Than fond we in Galgatha so,	Golgotha
	Beryed worthyly ther lyggys two:	lies
	Godfrey of Boleyn and Baudwyn his brother.	
	Jhesu brynge thether sych two other; Than durst I sey that blyssed lond	[May] Jesus bring there
380	Schuld duell in Crystyn mennys hond.	
000	Beyond ther is the same sted	place
	Wher Jhesu wondys were bobbyd rede.	wounds were beaten [until] red
	And thus we toke all the nyght,	
205	Every man with a candyll lyght.	
385	And when we had gon the serkyll aboute,	
	We prayd for them that were in doute. And at the mydnyght, more and les,	
	Our prestys disposyd them to messe,	readied themselves
	Som at the Mounte of Calvarye,	
390	And som at other plasys therbye.	
	And at the sepulcour many one song	many sang
	And housyld pepull ever among.	gave the Eucharist among them all
	For ilke man ches hym a preste And told hym that ley on hys breste,	chose
395	And after resavyd hym in forme of bred	i.e., in the host
	That ther for us was offerd quyke and dede.	,
	On the mourne, at undren of the deye,	in the morning hours
	A Saryzen bad us gon our weye.	
400	And than ranne we ferre and nere	***
400	As conys doth to ther covere,	rabbits; shelter

	C	
	Som to the Mounte of Calverye,	
6.1.100	And som to other placys therbye,	
fol. 132r	And som knelyd yn that stede	
405	Ther hys wondys were anoyntyd rede.	
405	And sone a frere was to us sente,	
	And bade we schuld do hys commandment.	
	Than durst we no more sey,	
	Bot toke oure palmes and went awey.	
	And into the hospytall we went	
410	And ete and dranke sych as God us sent.	
	When we had don, we toke the wey	
	To the veyle of Josphey.	valley of Jehoshaphat
	Than passyd we be a cornere	$i_{i_{i_{i_{i_{i_{i_{i_{i_{i_{i_{i_{i_{i$
	Ther Jhesu met hys modere dere,	
415	And thei fell in a swonyng also,	
110	And the crosse betwen them two.	the cross [fell] between
	And ther thei constreyned Symon	compelled
	To bere the crosse as he was won.	accustomed (i.e., able)
	It was so hevy and so square,	massive
420	· •	massive
440	His manhed myght it no ferther bere.	
	And the women of Jerusalem Wanyd on Cryst when that he com	
	Wepyd on Cryst when that he com,	
	And he ansuerd on this degre:	
	"Wepe onne your selve and not for me."	
425	Beyond that is a chapell smale,	
	Ther som tyme was sette an halle	
	Ther sche brought forth hyr derlyng,	
	The moder of our heven kyng.	
	Beyond that, sche was sette to scole	sent to school
430	That ever was wyse and never no fole.	
	Beyond that is the same lake	
	That the angell styred for mens sake.	
	Som comme theder with gode entente	
	When the angell was fro thens wente;	gone from there
435	Thoff he had never so mekyll care	Though
	He schuld be coverde of all hys sore.	recovered; illness
	Than passyd we to the duellyng	
	Of coursyd Herode, the fals kyng.	cursed
	Ther Oure Lord was clothyd in whyte;	Cersoa
440	They bett hym sore with grete delyte.	beat him
110	, , ,	beat nim
	Beyond that is another stede, Ther Pulate dampned Our Lord to dede	
	Ther Pylate dampned Our Lord to dede. Recycle that there is another place.	
	Besyde that ther is another place,	
445	Ther Mary Maudeleyn had feyre grace;	
445	Men callyd it Symon Leperus halle,	

	Ther Cryst forgave hyr synne alle.	
	Be another place we come,	
	Ther Dyves duelled, that rych man,	Dives
	Whych bette the pore man with hys hond	Who
450	And now lyes brynand in helle ground.	burning
	At the ende of the toune, as we schuld gon,	
	We fond the temple of Salamon.	
	Be the gyldyn gates, as we gon pas,	
100	Ther Jhesu rode upon hys asse,	
455	The Jues spred clothes under his fete	
	When thei mette hym in the strete.	
	Ther Seynt Anne mett with hyr fere	companion
6.1.100	When sche conseyved Our Lady dere.	
fol. 132v	Withouten that gate is the sepulkyr	
460	Of many cursyd creatore,	creature
	For Saryzyns of grete astate	
	Are beryed befor that gate.	
	Be that ther is anodor stede,	
465	Ther Seynt Stevyn was stonyd to dede.	77
465	To the veyle of Josaphat with gode entent,	valley
	Ther Our Lady was beryed, we wente.	
	And ther is a cave under the erth by,	
	Werein was Cryst, sykerly,	
470	When he suete blod and water	
470	And prayd up to hys Fader.	
	"Fader," he seyd, "if it may so be,	
	Late this deth passe frome.	
	And if thou wyll not that it so be,	
	Fader do thy wyll with me."	
475	Ther is a place ther the apostyllus slepe	slept
	When Jhesu knelyd onne Olyvete,	
	And the Jues sought hym in fere;	together
	Ther Malcus lost hys ryght ere.	
	And ther is a ston — we kyssyd it alle —	
480	Were Oure Lady lete hyre gyrdell falle	
	When sche was borne up to hyr sone,	
	Ever in blys with hym to wone.	dwell
	Beyond that, as we schuld go,	
	Our Lord wepyd upon the cyté allso.	wept for the city
485	And another place we sought	
	Ther the palme was to Our Lady brought.	
	Than passyd we to another styghe,	path (street)
	To the nobylle cité of Galilé.	
	Ther Jhesu and hys apostyllus dere,	
490	Ther thei mete all in fere;	all together

	After the tyme that he was dede,	
	He schewyd them hys wondys rede.	wounds
	Than turned we to that same strete	wounus
495	That goth to the Monte of Olyvete.	noon ash
493	Ther Jhesu styghed up in ther syght	rose up
	To hys Fader full of myght.	
	And ther lyes the stone yite	
	Wheron he wrote this holy bede,	prayer
	The Pater Noster, as we calle;	
500	The ston lyes muryd in the walle.	bricked
	And ther the apostellus made the Crede	
	That help Crysten men at nede.	
	Furthe we went to a ston	Forth
	Ther Oure Lady rest hyr upon.	
505	Ther is a cave under a ston	
	Ther James wepyd and made hys mone.	
	Fro that tyme that hys lord was dede,	
	He thought never to ete brede.	
	Bot he had sene hym ryse ageyn,	Had he not seen
510	With hungour hymselve he wold hym sleyn.	
	And ther Our Lord in that place	
	Aperyd to James when he uprase,	
	And seyd, "I ame resyn now here.	risen
	Ete thei mete and make gode chere."	1000
515	This was James the Mynour,	James the Less
313	- ,	fames the Less
fol 199n	The apostyll of Our Savyoure.	
fol. 133r	And ther is the grave of Absolon,	
	Of Kyng Josaphat, and of Ysayon;	
F00	All, save the grave of Absolon,	.1 72:1 1 1
520	Is trans torrentem Cedron.	across the Kidron brook
	And under that ley the same tre	
	That the crosse was made of, sykyrlye.	
	Ther is a welle a lytell thens	
	Ther Our Lady gan Our Lordys clothys clens.	
525	Besyde that, a lytell ther fro,	
	Was Isay the prophet sawyn in two.	sawn
	And ther stondys a well alone	
	Ther God relyvyd the blynd man.	relieved
	Now have we bot a myle to gon	
530	Unto the Mount of Syon.	
	The fyrst thing that we ther fond	
	Was the roste of the holy lambe that stond. ¹	
	And ther that the water stode to hete	
	That Our Lord wessch with his postyllus fete,	apostles'
	That our Lord wessen with his postynus icit,	aposites

¹ Was the roast of the (Easter) lamb [on] that occasion

535	And ther lyghes yit twelve stons That the apostyllus sate on all at ons, And Our Lord among them alle,	
	Whyll Jhesu prechyd onne a walle.	
F 40	Within a chyrch, at an auter,	altar
540	He fede hys postyllus all in fere; Of bred and wyn he made his fode,	all together
	And callyd it hys flessch and blode.	
	When thei were servyd with the lambe,	
	He bade them ete and drynke and make them strong:	
545	"For this that I afore you ley	
	Is my flessch and blod, as I you sey. What man so be in charyté,	in God's good grace
	He reseyve this in the mynd of me.	in Goa's gooa grace
	And what man that be fals in thought,	
550	I wern hym resyve it nought."	
	On the other syde he wessch ther fete	
	And dryghed them with a towelle suete. Benethe ther is a hous of stone;	
	Ther the apostyllus were hyde everychon,	
555	When Jhesu com throughe a walle	
	And bade, "Pesse be to you alle."	
	And than he askyd Thomas of Ynde	
	What skyll he hade to be unkynd,	reason
560	And schewyd hym hys wondys wyde And bad hym pute his hond in his ryght syde.	wounds
000	When Thomas had rowyd in his wonde,	poked
	He wepe full sore and fell to grounde,	1
	And lyft up hys hondys on hyght	on high
FCF	And cryed mersy with all hys myght.	C 5, 1 1
565	To any of these foure that ye gon Is a pena et culpa everychon.	four [places]
	Withouten the dore a place we sey	Outside the door
	Ther Our Lady duellyd many a dey	
	Fourtene yere after that Cryst was dede,	
570	And prayd ther many a holy bede.	
	And ther Seynt John the Ewangelyste	C M 1 1
	Song Messe to hyr when sche lyste. And ther was Seynt Mathey	Sang Mass; desired Matthew
	Chosyn into the compeney.	Name w
fol. 133v	Beyond that in the same coste	same area
576	Our Lady dyghed and yeld the goste.	
	And sche toke John ther the palme tre That was brought hyr in to Galylé.	
	And ther the apostylles all in fere	
580	Bare Our Lady on a bere.	bier
	•	

	And when the Jues com in grete deray	ferocity
	And wold have drawyn the body awey,	
	And for thei wold have don her schame,	Because they wanted
	Som wex wode and som wex lame.	went insane
585	Than couth thei no more sey,	
	Bot cryed mersy and welowey.	lamentation
	Than Peter held stylle the bere	
	And ansuerd them on this maner:	
	"He that askys mersy with herte and thought,	
590	He schall have forgyffnes that he has wroght.	earned
	In Godys name, all in fere,	
	Spyte no more on Jhesu moder dere."	
	On the other syde is Cayfas halle,	
	And theder wente we pylgryms alle.	
595	And ther we fond a pyler pyght	pitched (raised)
	That Jhesu was bound to in the nyght.	1
	And ther thei sette hym on a stole	stool
	And blyndfeld hym as a fole.	
	And when thei boffyd hym faste,	buffeted
600	They askyd hym who smote hym laste.	33
	Than Cayfas seyd in hys jugement,	
	"Bot he be dede, the pepull is schente."	ruined
	Ther is a ston both long and brode,	
	Mekyll more than a carte lode,	
605	That on the sepulcour of Our Lord ley	
	When Cryst rose and went hys wey.	
	And onne that ston was blode rede	
	That Cryst bled onne sen he was dede.	after he was dead
	That ston the Grekys hath in kepyng	-J
610	In wyrschype of our heven kyng.	
	On the other syde we fond a ston	
	That Davyd made the Sater upon,	Psalter (Psalms)
	And ther he lyes beryd also,	buried
	And other profetys many mo.	
615	Than went we to the feld of blod	
	Ther Peter to hys penans yode.	went
	Because he hade hys God forsake,	
	He toke on hys body mekyll wrake;	vengeance
	He wrong hys hondys and drew hys here,	pulled out his hair
620	And cryed, "Mersy, Lord, thyn ore!"	pardon
	And ever when he askyd grace	F
	The water ran doune by hys face.	
	Than went we forth onne our weye	
	To the well that Our Lord dronke of every deye.	
625	Two herymetys that ther duelle	
040	Calle it Oure Lordys Welle.	
	cane it our chordy's frenc.	

630	Fast be is a tempulle feyre and fre Ther mete Jhesu with meydens thre; Ther is a crosse made in a stone Ther pylgrymes knelys and kys ichone. Beyond that is another stede, Ther Seynt Jame was quyke and dede. Then is the correct of the towners about a	maidens (i.e., died)
fol. 134r	Ther is the serkyll of the tounne aboute Sex myle, withouten doute.	circumference
635	And sex myle we wente on the morn To Bethlem, wher Our Lord was born. Bot therof we muste a whyll dwelle, If I schall of the wey telle.	
	As Jhesus by the wey yede,	traveled
640	He fond a Jew sawyng hys sede.	sowing
	He askyd, "What sawys thou on?" And he seyd, "I saw ston."	(can mata)
	And Crist seyd, "Stone mot thei be."	(see note) must
	And truly ther lyes grete plenté.	must
645	The next thing after that, I cane you telle,	
	Ther is the grave of Rachelle.	
	And other prophetys graves one or two	
	Ther lyghet in the wey as we schuld go.	lies
	Of Bedlem I wyll not lyghe,	
650	Bot that I saw ther with myn eye.	
	For ther that the asse and the ox stode	
	Is now a feyre chyrch and gode.	
	And ther Owre Lady in childbede ley	where
CEE	Ther is a feyr chyrch, I dere wele sey.	
655	Beyond that is the same stone That Ours Lord was surgument upon	
	That Oure Lord was cyrcumsyd upon, And ther he blede hys fyrst blode	
	That ever he bled for mannys fode.	man's sake
	Bot why he layd hym in the stalle,	man s sare
660	That schall I tell among you alle:	
	For ther was nothing so redy	
	That schuld long to sych a lady,	belong (be fitting for)
	Feyre clothys and werme fyre	5 · J · OJ · /
	That women in travell schuld desyr.	labor
665	Than chese thei the wermyst place of all,	
	And leyd hym in an asse stalle.	
	The ox and the asse dyde curtasy	
	And gave hym place onne to ly.	
CEO	And ever more with eyn gray	eyes
670	Oure Lady beheld how he ley.	
	And when the bed was dyght aboute,	prepared
	Sche prayd that sche myght gyff hym souke.	might suckle him

675	And now ye schall here the metyng Betwyx Our Lady and hyr derlyng: Sche seyd, "Welcom heven kyng, Welcum maker of all thyng, Welcom prince in Trinyté,	
680	That is and was and ever schall be. Welcum both God and man, Welcum my lord, welcum my sone, Welcum my joy, welcum my blys, With all my hert that I may thee kys. In heven blyssed be thi name,	
685	That wold chese me to be thi dame, So rych a emperour and a kyng To be born of so unworthy a thing." And than sche praysyd hym all aboute	
fol. 134v 690	And with hyr pappys gave hym sowke. At iche of this ther pylgrym be Ther is a pena et a culpa at all thre. Then passyd we into a valey Ther hundred and fourty foure thousende ley Of chylder that dyghed for Godys sake,	breasts
695	When cursyd Herod of hem tok wrake. And in that place, withouten doute, Seynt Jerom wrote the Bybull aboute.	vengeance
700	Then wente we arly onne the morn Ther Seynt John Baptyst was borne. Than went we into a grete valey Ther Adam duellyd many a dey, And he is beryd a lytell ther fro, Bot no Crystyn man may come therto. And ther is mekyll of the story	
705	Of the hous of Zakary. Ther mette two ladys feyr and bryght — Truly it was a wele feyr syght! The onne was past chyld byrth be kynd, The other was vergyn feyre and hend	Zechariah by nature courteous
710	And never dyde synne in boure ne in halle, And bore that chyld that schall save us alle. When Elyzabeth of Mary hade syght, Sche prophesyd anon ryght, And askyd, "What may this mervylle be,	
715	That Godys moder comys to me? The chyld that is in my wome so yong Rejoset, Mary, at your comyng! All that I have is at your wylle,	Rejoices
	And I your servant, loud and stylle."	loud and soft (i.e., in all ways)

720	When Mary herd this wordys dere, Sche ansuerd on this manere: All hyr herte to God sche hyght, And thankyd God of all hys myght.	raised
725	Sche knelyd after onne a stone, Magnificat sche made anon. And when Elyzabeth with hyr eyen graye Had sene the wysdom of that maye And the feyrnes of hyr face, Anon sche callyd hyr Quene of Grace. Doune sone on hyr kneys sche felle	(see note) maid
730	And prayd that sche myght with hyr duelle.	
795	Than sought we forth, bothe man and wyfe, Ther Lazar was reysed fro deth to lyve, And had lyghe stynkyng in the grond A hundreht parte wers than a hunde.	lain hundred times worse
735	Besyde ther, in a feyr pleyn, Is Martha halle and Mary Madeleyn. Ther Jhesu at the soper sate, When Mary Maudeleyn kyssed his fete	Martha and Mary Magdalene's hall
fol. 135r 740	And Martha prayd amonge them alle That sche myght ryse and serve in halle. Than seyd Our Lord for Marye That sche hade chosyn the better partye. All is befelle that I descryve In Betany and in Betphage.	
745	In Betphage sate Our Lord upon a ston And bode hys asse to it were come. Ther be the stepys of the asse fete Ther Jhesu onne hys asse lepe.	commanded his ass to come to it hoofprints of the ass leapt
750	Befor the wey, as we com Fro Seynt John into Jerusalem, Standys the compas of the rote Whereon grew the tre of owre bote.	i.e., From St. John's house area of the roots our redemption
755	And at the mourne, when it was dey, To flom Jordeyn we toke the wey. At Jeryco, as we schuld gon, We fond a hond of Seynt John, And that is callyd the Grekys Law; Ther we offerd when we it saw.	the river Jordan
760	And ther Zaches, the lytell man, Abod Our Lord tylle that he came, And clame into the tre on hyght That he myght wysly se that syght.	Waited for climbed
	And ther we saw the same stonke	lake

-	Ther Sodom and Gomour for synne sonke;	
765	Fyve cytys, as I wene,	
	Sanke to hell for unkyndly synne.	unnatural
	Ther passyd non awey with lyffe	i.e., no one survived
	Bot Loth and hys childer and wyfe.	1. //
770	An angell com to Loth halle	Lot's
770	And told of the sorow that schuld falle.	
	He bade hym take hys folke and go,	
	"For ye schall here of mykell wo.	all now might
	Spede you fast with all your mayn,	all your might
775	And for no thing ye turne ageyn." The wyfe of Loth was freyll of thought	
113	And sette the angell word at nought,	
	And sche brake hys comandment.	
	Here now, therfore, how sche was schent:	
	Hyr husbond bade hyr forth to gone,	
780	And sche turnyd into a salte stone.	
.00	And whoso comys to Galilé,	
	Wher that stondys ye may se.	
fol. 135v	Ther growys nother corne ne haye,	grain nor hay
	Bot that the water berys awaye.	6
785	What fysch or foule comys therine,	
	He schall never fle ne swyme	
	Bot synkys done as a plombe of lede;	
	Tharfor, it is callyd the See of Dede.	
	It is fourty myle long and large of brede.	breadth
790	Ther dare no man touche it for drede,	
	For Zarysins that ther duelle	
	Seys that it is the pytte of helle.	
	Than com we to flome Jordan,	
	Ther Jon baptyst both god and man.	
795	Ther we resavyd <i>a pena et culpa</i>	
	And wesch us in the water also.	
	And after, we toke a soppe in wyne	after [that]; sop of bread
	And turnyd up to Quryntyne,	Mount Quarantena
	Ther Jhesu fastyd fourty deys	
800	When he began oure new lawys.	
	And ther lyes the stones rede	
	That the devyll bade Cryst turne in to brede.	
	And when he wold not wyrke hys wylle,	
005	Another thing betwen them felle.	
805	He bare Oure Lord in hys armys two	
	Fro Jerusalem to Jerico	
	And he sette hym on a pynnacle hye	
	Als fer as men myght hym se,	hallo and have an (accord)
810	And schewyd hym ther haulys and bourys,	halls and bowers (courts)
810	Riche castellus and many toures.	

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	When he had schewyd hym the werld aboute, He spake wordys that were in doute: He seyd, "All this I schall gyfe thee, And thou falle doune and wyrschyp me."	dubious If
815	Of all that he seyd beforn, Oure Lord toke it to lytell scorn, And ansuerd hym wyth a word:	took as an insult
	"Go forth, theff, and tempe not thi Lord."	thief; tempt
	Than roulyd that thefe upon a hepe	fell; in a heap
820	More than a thousend fathom depe,	J · I
	For it was twenti oures and mo	twenty hours
	Or of that mountan he myght go.	
	Doune at the fote of that mountayn	
	We founde a garthyn of Abraham.	garden
825	Thys wey is to come and go	
fol. 135r	Sexty myle and ten and mo.	
	Now have we told all that we have sene,	
	So God me save fro sorow and tene.	harm
	And all the cause that I can seye	
830	Is to teche a man the weye.	
	What pylgrym that thether wylle go,	
	I praye God save hym to and fro,	
	And gyfe them grace so to do	
	That hevens blys thei may com to.	
835	Now Lord God Allmyghtye,	
033	Thou grante us grace that it so be,	
	That we be redy to come to thee	
	When that our saulys schall partyd be.	
	Jhesu, that for us dyghed on the rode tre,	
840	Save us all for thi pyté.	
	Be the vertu of thi holy crosse,	
	Latte us never in synne falle,	
	So that we be redy thorow thi grace	
	To come to thi joys eternalle.	
845	When we schall out of this werld wend,	pass
	God, grante us for thi holy grace	
	Of thee, Lord, to have in mynd, ¹	
	For to behold thi blyssyd face.	
	AMEN QUOD RATE	

 $^{^{\}rm 1}$ Lines 845–46: For the sake of your holy grace, God, / Grant that we may be mindful of thee

fol. 136r 35a. THE SINNER'S LAMENT

All Crysten men that walke by me, Behold and se this dulfull syght. doleful (sorrowful) It helps not to calle ne cry, For I ame dampned, a dollfole wyght. miserable creature 5 Some tyme in Ingland duellyng — Thys was trew, withouten lesyng without lying I was callyd Syr Wylliam Basterdfeld, knyght. Bewere be me, both kyng and knyght, Beware by [my example] And amend you whyle ye have space. amend yourselves; time 10 For I have lost everlastyng lyght, And thus of mercy can I gete no grace. When I was now as ye be, I kepyd never other lyffe: followed no other kind of life I spendyd my lyffe in vanyté, spent 15 In veynglory, bate and stryffe. quarrel (debate) Grete othes with me were full ryffe; [blasphemous] oaths; plentiful I had no grace me to amend. I sparyd nother meyd ne wyffe, spared; maiden And that hath brought me to this ende. fate 20 I hade no hape whyll I was here occasionFor to aryse and me repent, repent [my sins] Tyll that I was brought on bere; bier Than was to late, for I was schent. damnedAllwey with them I ame aweyde; carried away by (devils) 25 In fyre of hell I schall ever be brent. burntAlas, this werld hath me deseyvede, deceived For I had no grace me to amende. In lechery I lede my lyfe, For I hade gode and gold at wylle. goods; to my desire 30 I scleughe myselve withouten knyffe, slew And of glotony I hade my fylle. In sleuth I ley and slepyd stylle. slothI was desyved in a reyste, deceived in a slumber A dolefulle deth, that dyde me kylle; Than was to late of "Had I wyste!" 35 too late for "If I had only known!" Thus ame I lappyd all aboute surrounded With todys and snakys, as ye may se. toads I ame gnawyn my body aboute; gnawed

It is to late, it will not be;
I knaw welle women more and mynne.

**more and less (every kind)*

Alas, alas, full wo is me!

For hym that dyghed for you and me,

Aryse and rest not in your syne. For when I was in my flowres, prime 45 Than was I lyght as byrd on brere. briarTherfor I suffer scharpe schoures, afflictions And by that bergayn wonder dere, buy; very dearly And byde in peynes many and sere; various Therfor thus I make my mone. 50 Now may helpe me no prayer; I have no gode bot God alone. (see note) Wo be thei, whosoever thei be, And have there fyve wyttys at wylle Who have use of their five senses And wyll not bewere be me 55 And knaw gode thing fro the ylle. The pore for faute, late them not spylle;¹ fol. 136v And ye do, your deth is dyght. If; ordained Youre fals flessch ye not fullfylle, [Make sure that] your Lost with Lucyfer fro the lyght. 60 In delycate metys I sette my delyte, And myghty wynes unto my pay. to my liking That make this wormys on me to byte; makes these worms Therfor my song is "Well-y-wey!" Wellaway! (Woe is me!) I myght not fast, I wold note praye; would not 65 I thought to amend me in my age. [old] age I droffe ever forth fro dey to dey; carried on Therfor I byde here in this cage. Thys cage is everlastyng fyre; I ame ordeynd therein to duelle. 70 It is me gyven for myn hyre as my payment Ever to bryn in the pytte of helle. I ame feteryd with the fendys felle; fettered; fierce fiends Ther I abyde as best in stalle. beast Ther is no tong my care can telle; 75 Bewere ye have not sych a falle. Alas that ever I borne was, Or moder me bore — why dyde sche so? For I ame lost for my trespas And abyde in everlastyng wo. 80 I have no frend, bot many a fo.

Behold me, how that I ame torne,

¹ Let them not condemn the poor for their faults

The gretyst kyng in all this werld, Be som cause hys croune may forgon;

I take wytnes of Kyng Rycherd, And Kynge Saber and Absolone, lose

Sapor; Absolom

For I ame rente fro tope to to. torn from head to toe Alas, that ever I was borne! Gode brother, have me in mynd, 85 And thinke how thou schall dyghe allwey. And to thi soule be not unkynde; Remembyr it bothe nyght and dey. Besyly loke that thou praye, Busily (Assiduously) And beseke thou heven kyng beseech90 To save thee on that dredfull dey, That every man schall gyffe rekenyng. When For there no lordys schall for thee praye, Ne justys, nother no man of lawe. Nor justices Ther charter helpys thee not that dey, Their charter (legal claim) 95 Ther pletyng is not worth an hawe. pleading; hawthorn berry (i.e., worthless) God gyve thee grace thiselve to know, And every man in hys degré. in his rank (of every rank) Farewele, I here an horn blow; I may no lenger byde with thee. 35b. THE ADULTEROUS FALMOUTH SQUIRE Man, fro myscheff thou thee amend, And to my talkyng thou take god hede. Fro synnes seven thou thee defend; The lest of all is for to drede. least [serious] 5 For of the lest I wyll you speke, And fro hell I wyll you tech. guideBewere, man: God wyll hym wreke avenge Of hym that his teching do breke. fol. 137r The fyrst sacrement that ever God made, 10 That was wedloke in gode fey; good faith Beleve thou that, withouten drede. For that schall last to Domesdey, Hys awne word, if we wyll hold, (see note) Tyll deth com that all schall werke shall affect (transform) 15 And us all in cley to fold.

20	And Kynge Davyd that made the Sauter For synne that he dyde with Bersabe, Cryst fro hym hys croune he toke; Thus holy wryte tellys me.	boke. Psalter (Psalms) Bathsheba
25	The gretyst clerke that ever thou seyste, To take hym under heven cope, He may never take order of preste, (Bot he have leve of the pope)	saw under heaven's cloak (i.e., in the world) enter priestly orders permission
30	And he begetyn in avowtry, Or els a basterd he be borne. Thus I canne well telle to thee, The ordyre of preste he hath forlorne.	If he is begotten in adultery lost
35	And the begger at the tounes ende, To hym wedloke is as fre As the ryall kyng of kynd, For all is bot a dyngnité.	town's edge unrestricted only one rank (see note)
	Man, if thou wyst what it were To take another than thi wyffe, Thou woldyst rather sofer it To be sleyn with a knyffe.	knew
40	For if thou take another mans wyffe, A wrong eyer thou muste nedys gete. And thus thou bryngys thre saulys in stry In hell fyre to ly and hete.	heir; necessarily beget vffe, in danger burn
45	Bot wreches thinke in there herte, That fele them gylty in thus case, With schryft of moth and penans smerte They wene there blys for to umbrace.	confession of mouth; strict expect; embrace (obtain)
50	Bot and thei dyed a sothen deth Withouten schryft or repentans, To hell thei go withouten lete, For thei canne chese non other chans.	But if; sudden without delay take no other course
55	A god sampull I wyll thou telle, To my tale if ye take hede: In Felamownte this case befelle, Thirti wynter sene the dede.	good example Falmouth [It has been] thirty; since the events [happened]
	Ther duellyd two brether in the toune, As the story tellys me beforne,	

	Be one fader and moder getyne; Squyres thei were of grete renoune.	begotten
fol. 137v 61	The elder brother had a wyffe, The feyrest woman in all that londe, And yit usyde a cursyde lyffe	yet [he] followed
65	And brought hys saule in bytter bonde. He rought not what woman he toke, So lytell he set by hys wyffe.	cared not
	The devyll caught hym in a croke And merkyd hys mode with grete myscheffe.	in his hook (in his clutches) marked (darkened) his spirit
70	The two brether upon a dey With enmys were sleyn in fyght. The elder to helle he toke the wey; The yenger to paradys ryght.	By enemies
	And this was knaune in sothnes. Herkyns, syres, what I schall sey: Take gode hede, both more and les	known as fact
75	Take gode hede, both more and les, For Godys love bere this tale awey.	remember this tale
	The elder brother hade a sone, a clerke, Fully fiftene yere of age. He was ryght holy in hys werke;	
	To hym schuld fall the herytage.	heritage (i.e., property)
80	For hys fader he made grete mone, As fallys a gode sone of kynd. Every nyght to hys fader grave wold he gone For to have hys soule in mynde.	moan (lament) As befits; by nature
85	Thus he prayd both dey and nyght To God and to hys Moder dere Of hys fader to have a syght In what place that he in were.	
90	The chyld, that was so nobull and wyse, Stod at hys fader grave; Ther com one in a whyte surples, And prevely toke hym by the sleve.	surplice (robe) privately
	"Come onne, chyld, and go with me, For God hath herd thi prayer.	- '
95	Chyld, thi fader thou schall se Were he bryneth in helle fyre."	Where he burns

	He lede hym to a comly hylle; The erth opynd and he in yede. Smoke and fyer gan ther oute welle, And many saules glowand in glede.	pretty hill went pour glowing in flame
100	Ther he saw many a sore turmente, How soulys were put in grete pyning. He saw hys fader, how he brent, And be the membrys how he hyng.	suffering by the members (genitals); hung
105	Fendys bold with crowkys kene Rente hys fader fro lyth to leme. "Chyld, thou covetys thi fader to sene: Loke up now and speke with hym."	crooks (forks) limb to limb desire
110	"Alas, fader, how stand this case, That ye be in this peynes strong?" "Son," he seyd, "I may sey alas, That ever I dyde thi moder wronge.	
fol. 138r 115	"For sche was both feyre and gode, And also both trusty and trew. Alas, I was wers than wode; Myn awne bale there I dyde brew."	insane own sorrow; create
	"Whether is there any seynt in hevyn That ye were wont to have in mynde That myght you lowse oute of prison — Oure Lady Mary or som gode frende?"	Is there loose (release)
120	"Sone, all the seyntys that be in hevene, Ne all the angellus under the skye, One oure space out of this peyn They have no power to lyft me.	One hour's time
125	"Sone, if every gras were a preste That growys upon Godys grounde, Of this peyn that thou me seyste, Canne never make me unbounde.	release [blade of] grass; priest you see me [in] [They] could never unbind me
130	"Sone, thou be a preste, I wote wele. Ons or this dey seven yere, At Messe at matyns, ne at mele, Thou take me never in thi prayer; ¹	nor at meals

Lines 129–31: Do not pray for me once before this day seven years from now / At Mass, at matins, nor at meals.

135	"Loke, sone, thou do as I thee sey. Therfor I werne thee wele beforne, For ever the more thou prayst for me, My peynes schall be more and more.	
	"Farewele," he seyd, "my dere sone, The Fader of heven betech I thee, And werne every man wher so thou com Of wedloke-brekyng were to be."	I commend you to to beware
140	The angell began the chyld to lede Sone out of that wrechyd wone, Into a forest was long and brede; The sone was uppe and bryght it schone.	place [that] was long and broad
145	He lede hym to a feyre arbour: The pathys were of clene crystalle That to hys syght was passyng feyre, And als bryght as any beralle.	beryl (precious stone)
150	The wallys semyd of gold bryght, With dores and with tourys strong. They herd upon the gatys on hyht Mynstralsy with angellus songe,	doors; towers up high on the gates
155	The pylycan and the popynejay, The tymour and the turtell trewe, A hondreht thousand in a rewe, The nyghtyngale with notys newe.	songbird (see note) ; turtledove
	On a gren hyll he saw an tre; The savour of it was strong and store. Pale it was, and wanne of ble; Lost it hat the frute and floure.	smell; pungent of color had
fol. 138v 161	A reufull syght that chyld gane se, And of that syght he hade grete drede. "A, god lady, how may this be? The blode of this tre lokys so rede."	good lady (i.e., the angel) blood (see note)
165	The angell seyd, "This is the tre That God Adam the frute forbede. And therfor dryven oute was he, And in the erth hys lyffe he lede.	
	"For in the place there thou seys it spred Grew the appull that Adam bote,	where you see bit

170	And that was thourhe Evys rede, And the devyll of hell it wote.	by Eve's advice
175	"When any synfull com hereine, As thou seyst, chyld, with me, For vengawnce of that cursyd synne The blode ryneth oute of this tre." He lede hym forth upon the pleyn.	sinful [person]
	He was were of a pynakyll pyght; Syche one saw he never none Of clothes of gold that burnest bryght.	aware; fixed tent (see note) never before shone brightly
180	Ther-under sate a creatoure Als bryght as any sonebeme; The angell dyd hym grete honour. "Lo, son," he seyd, "this is thin eme.	uncle
185	"Thy fader brother, thou may sene, In hevenes blys withouten ende. So myght thi fader wele a bene, And he to wedloke had be kynde.	have been been true
190	"Therfor he hath gete hym helle Endles in that depe dongeon, Ther ever more for to duelle, For in helle is no redempcyon."	earned himself
195	Man, fro myscheff thee amend, And thou may syte all save fro care. Fro dedly synne God thee defende, And unto blys thi saull schall fare. AMEN QUOD RATE	sit (remain) entirely safe
	36. THE LEGEND OF THE RESURRECTION	
5	When Jhesu was in grave leyd, The bysschop unto another seyd, "The best rede that we can done, To Syr Pylate we wyll gone To aske hym conseyll.	bishop (i.e., Caiaphas) best advice we can follow
Ü	Withouten hym we may not do The thingys that touch the croune unto, Withoutyn any feyle."	pertain to royal authority
10	The Jues thei toke ther gate, To thei com to Syr Pylate. To hym thei gan to sey	their way Until

	That "Jhesus seyd in hys lyve Thyng that made us to stryve: He wold ryse up the thyrd dey,	quarrel
fol. 139r 16	"And bryng the Jewys in blame." Than seyd Syr Pylate sone anone, "So ne schall it not gon; It were to us grete schame."	dishonor
20	Syr Pylat was so grym, Cayfas he callyd to hym To aske hym counseylle. "Cayfas," he seyd, "I thee beseche, What to do thou me teche, Withouten any faylle.	instruct
25	"The prophetys," he seyd, "that were wyse, Seyd that Jhesus schuld aryse Upon the thyrd dey And bryng mans saule out of helle." "That is a lesyng, I thee telle,"	lie
30	Cayfas gan to sey.	
	"Pylate, do as I thee kend: Foure knyghtys thou thether send, Bold men and wyse. And do them for to wake the stone	suggest watch
35	Tyll the thyrd nyght be gone, That Jhesus not up ryse.	[So] that
40	"And Joseph of Aramathy allso, Into prison late hym go, For doute of hys treson. For yf Jhesus be stolne awey, My hede to wede I wyll ley	For fear of his treachery head as a wager
	Yt is thourght hys encheson."	because of him
45	And than Syr Pylate sone on hyghe Send into Aramathy Joseph for to take, And dyde hym in a depe prison, Depe in a strong dongeon, For Jhesus Crystys sake.	put him
50	He made a ston walle befor the dore, And grete othys Pylate suere He schuld ther lye and dye.	

	A hole was in the walle wrought, Ther hys mete was to hym brought That he had to hys lyverey.	allotted to him
55	Pylat callyd to hym knyghtys, Olde men that were wyse: Syr Cosdram and Syr Emorant, Syr Arfax and Sir Gemarant, And told hem hys avyse.	plan
60	"Com forth Syr Amorant, Syr Arfax and Syr Gemorant, And Cosdram the prowde. Go and loke wele to that stone Tyll the thyrd dey be agone,	
65	That no man com ther aboute."	
fol. 139v	Syr Emerand seyd than, "Thoff ther com a thousand men, Therof I ne reche.	care not
	Bot I sle them in a stound	Unless; in an instant
70	And make them falle to the grond, Hew me all to flyches."	flesh (i.e., bloody pieces)
75	Syr Gemerant seyd tho, "Ther if ther com syche two, Stond I therof no doutes. Bot if I do hem sle, Saffly hew thou me	(i.e., twice as many) I stand in no doubt Safely (freely)
	All to smale cloutys."	shreds
80	Syr Cosdram seyd, "So mote I thé, Thoff ther com sych thre, I giff not therof an haw.	may I prosper hawthorn berry (i.e., I care little)
	That ilke dey that he upryste That is callyd Jhesu Cryst, I wyll be all to-draw."	drawn apart
85	Syr Arfax seyd, "I dred no dele; We wyll kepe the sepulker wele	no bit (not at all)
	Agen the thyrd nyght.	Until
	Thoff all thei be twenty this many and some To the sepulker were icom, Thei schall dyghe anon ryght."	come
90	When the knyghtys had thus seyd, Syr Pylate was ryght wele apayd	pleased

95	And gave hem hys blyssyng, And bad hem be as trew as stele For to kepe the sepulkyr wele, Withouten any slepyng.	
100	Syr Amorant seyd, "Lysten to me: Us behovyth slyghe to be. One behovyth at hys hede to wake, Another at hys hede take, That he go not awey.	sly (prudent)
105	"Kepe we wele both sydys, What aventour so be tydys, That Jhesus not owte come. If any com to hym here, Smyte of hys hed in fere,	Whatever adventure (chance) may happen Cut off his head together
	Bot he be sone inome."	Unless he is quickly captured
	Thus ganne the knyghtys to manas, And drew ther suerdys in that place,	make threats
110	The knyghtys everychone.	each one
110	And a grete slepe thei gane take, That thei had no power to wake When Jhesus wold forth gone.	[Such] that
115 fol. 140r	Syr Amorant seyd, "Alas, alas, For never so slepy I was, For all my lyffys dey. Me behovyth to rest me a stound, Thoff I wyst to be bound And with a wyld horse drawe."	On any day of my life a while Even if I thought
120	Syr Gemorant seyd so than, "So sore onne slepe now I ame, I ne may no lenger wake. Me behovyth my hede doune lye, What so Pylate or Cayphas sey, Or what noys so thei make."	Despite what
125	Syr Cosdram seyd "What ayles me? I ne may with myn eyghen se; I may not wake longe. Me behoveth to rest me a thraw,	a while
130	To the cokys have thrys crow, Thoff I schuld be heyghe honge."	Until the cocks

	Thus gan the knyghtys to slepe. They had no power for to wake When Jhesus wold upryse. And Jhesus, as it was hys wylle,		
135	Oute of the sepulcour he rose full stylle And seyd on this wyse:	quietly in this way	
140	"Fadere," he seyd, "that arte in heven, With word with myght and with steven, Now I thanke thee That thou wold late me be born To save mankynd that was forlorn.	with voice lost	
	Mych hast thou done for me. "I fast in erth fourty deys		
145	To fullfyll the olde lawys That here was sete in lond. Fader, now I have fullfyllyd That mankynd had myssegylte, So as I understond.	repaid done wrong	
150	"Now is fullfyllyd the profecy That was seyd of Jeromy And of other mo: That a chyld schuld be born To save mankynd that was forlorn Out of peyn and wo.	by Jeremiah	
155	"Now it is all comply And fullfylled the prophesy That seyd Danyell: That a lombe schuld com beforn	complete lamb	
160	And by the folke that were forlorn, Mankynd to save wele.	pay for	
	"Therfor I have my blod spyld And now the prophesy fullfylde Of that ilke lombe. Herkyns Fader, if thou wylte,	Linton	
165	Whether I have bought mans gylte With hede, fote, and hond.	Listen	
fol. 140v 170	"I was nayled thourht hond and fote, And for man saule my lyve I lete And many peynes gan to fonde. Man, if that thow wer kynde,	through hand and foot man's soul; gave up endure	

	Thys dey thou awe to have in mynde, If thou it wold understonde."	ought
175	He callyd up with myld stevyn Unto hys Fader in hevyn, And ryght as it was hys wylle:	voice
170	"Fader that arte fulle of myght, Send doune an angell bryght To comforth me wele stylle."	
100	Ther com angelle Gabryell	
180	With hys felow Raphaelle To Jhesu agen onne hyght.	To most lacue in ion
	"Jhesu, blyssed mote thou be,	To meet Jesus in joy
	Fader and God in Trinyté;	
	Now is alle complyght."	
185	They seyd, "Thou that arte so gode,	
	That wold hong upon the rode	
	To save all mankynd,	
	Blyssed mote the tyme be	may
190	That we may thee here se,	kind
190	Jhesu, that arte so hende.	кта
	"Lord Jhesu, Hevyn Kyng,	
	Thow grante us all thi blyssing,	
	If it thi wylle be.	
105	For all this werld aught to be blythe	joyful
195	That thou arte rysen fro deth to lyve; Suete is the love of thee."	
	Jhesu seyd, "My blyssing have ye	
	And all that beleve on me,	
	Todey and ever more.	
200	Manys saule, that was becaught,	trapped (deceived)
	With my blod I have hym bought Out of peynes sore.	
	"Here I kepe to duell nought;	plan
	In other stedys is my thought,	my thoughts are elsewhere
205	To fette oute one of myne	
	That hade me in grave brought.	
	My love he hath dere bought	
	With sorow and strong pyne.	
	"Come with me," he seyd, "Gabryele,	
210	And leve thou here, Raphaelle,	

fol. 141r	To kepe the thre Marys. The one is Mary Jacobye, Mary Mawdeleyn and Salomé; Thou schall gyffe them ansuere.	watch over
215	"And sey that I ame rysen and gone Oute of my grave stone; Make them glad and blythe. Sey I ame gon to Galylé	
220	With full grete dygnité, And rysen fro deth to lyve."	
225	"Lord," seyd the angell, "thi wyll be do, Both in hevyn and erth also, As thou arte Hevyn Kynge. I schall kepe the Marys thre, And wele ansuerd schall thei be Thorow all thing."	In all things
230	Thus seyd the apostyll Seynt John That Jhesus in hys wey was gon To Jherusalem, that syté. To the prison he went onne hyghe To Joseph of Aramathé, Ther hym deliverd to be.	[for] him to be delivered
235	Herkyns all that be hend, I schall thou telle word and ende Of the Marys thre: How thei sought suete Jhesu	gentle the story and [its] conclusion
	With ontementys of grete vertu Hys wondys to alyghe.	ointments of great effect allay (treat)
240	Full wo were thei that he was dede, Bot thei couth non other rede, Bot wepyd with ther eyghen.	knew no alternative
fol. 141v	Lystens now how sche seyd, How sche gan hyr feleys rede, The Mary Maudeleyn.	advise her companions
245	Sche seyd to Mary Jacobé And to Mary Salomé,	
	"What is your best rede? Now my Lord is slaw	best advice slain
250	And with Jues all to-draw; Synfull is that dede.	drawn apart

255	"For he myssegylt never man That any tonge tell canne, Ne never no trespas. Sych a deth, I understonde, Was never don in no londe, Ne non so synfull was.	wronged
260	"Alas," sche seyd, "my herte wyll breke When that I here of Jhesu speke. He was so myld of mode: Never yit was none so myld, Ne the moder to the chyld Nether halve so gode. ¹	Jesus spoken of
265	"Alas," sche seyd, "that I ame wo, For that I may not com hym to Hys body for to se. Thyder to go it were grete doute, For the foure knyghtys stoute, As it thinkys me.	dangerous seems to me
270	"It were grete doute theder to gon, We syngle wemen thre. Go thou Mary Jacobé And byde me ther alone, No noys thou ne make. And of thos foure knyghtys	Nor make any noise
275	Wete anon ryghtys Whether thei slepe or wake.	Discover immediately
280	"If that thei slepe, anon late se; Hastely come anon to me And tell me how it is. And we schall wend to suete Jhesu With oyntmentys of grete vertu And se hym ther he is."	
285	Mary wente forth in that sted As Mawdeleyn hyr had bede, By hyrselve alon.	in that time had commanded
	And sey an angell feyr and bryght, Was com fro hevyn lyght, Dyde rest hym on that stone.	[Who] had come

¹ Lines 261–62: Nor was a mother to her child / Ever half as good [as Jesus was to mankind]

290	"Gode men," sche seyd, "what do ye? If that ye wake, now speke with me, As ye be knyghtys hend." The knyghtys lay styll and slepyd fast. Sche lete hem lye and have ther reste; Agen sche gan to wende.	Back she began to go
fol. 142r 296	When that sche com to them agene, Sche seyd to Mary Maudeleyn, "Go we in Crystys name,	
300	For the knyghtys slepe everychon. Savely we may theder gone Withoutyn any blame."	discraça
300	withoutyn any bianic.	disgrace
	The thre Marys forth thei went And com to that moniment, As it was Crystys wylle.	monument
305	When the angell gan hem sene, He spake to Mary Maudeleyne, He seyd to hyr full stylle.	spoke; peacefully
	Thre Marys that be to Jhesu dere To the sepulkyr com in fere	together
310	And lokyd in the stone. Ther fond thei ryght nought Bot ryche clothes wele wrought, And Jhesu was forth gone.	nothing
	When that Maudeleyn was ware	aware
315	That Jhesu hyr lord was not ther, Sche suonyd and fell to the grond. The two Marys that stode hyre by,	swooned
	For hyr thei were full sory In that ilke stonde.	same time
320	Anon Maudeleyn gan to sey, "Were is my Lord that here ley In this monyment?"	
	The angell ansuerd here agene, "In Galalyé thou may hym sene:	in reply
	Thether he is wente."	is gone
325	Anon the Maudeleyn Mary To Galaly gan hyr hyghe With Jhesu for to mete.	hurry
	And in the garthyn feyre and styll,	

330	As it was Oure Lordys wylle, To hym sche gan to speke.	
	Anon the Maudeleyn Mary Fell on hyr kneys and began to cry,	
	And seyd, "Jhesu, thyn ore!	your mercy
	Late me do, Lord, as intente,	as [was my] intention
335	To hele thee with this oyntment,	
	Thy wondys that are sore."	wounds
	Jhesu seyd, "Woman, com not hend.	near
	Into other stedys I must wende,	I must go elsewhere
	My nedys to fullfylle.	
340	Go to my moder and Seynt Jhon	
	And to the apostolys everichon,	
	And sey to hem full stylle.	humbly (privately)
	"Sey I ame resyn fro deth to lyve.	
	Thorow vertu of my wondys fyve	
345	The fend I have overcom."	fiend
	The Maudeleyn forth went	
	To do Jhesus commandment;	
	To Jerusalem sche is gone,	
fol. 142v	To Oure Lady Mary.	
350	When sche fond hem all in fere,	all together
	Sche grete hem with glad chere,	
	That feyr compeny,	
	And bade them all be glad and blyth.	
	Sche seyd, "Jhesus is rysen fro deth to lyve,	
355	As I you telle may.	
	For sothe, as ye may here of me,	
	I spake with hym in Galalé	
	Thys ilke same dey."	
	When his dyssiplus this word herde,	
360	With mych joy forth thei ferde	
	For love of that tyding,	news
	Save one discypull that ther was	
	Of Ynde — his name was Thomas;	
	He seyd it was a lesyng.	a lie
365	"How myght a man ryse from deth to lyve	
	That sufyrd sych wondys fyve?	
	Man that myght never be.	[A] man [like that]
	For nothyng that any man may sey,	

370	Never leve that I ne may, Bot if that I it se."	
	Two palmers in that tyde The castell of Eamas com besyde,	pilgrims Emmaus
375	And Jhesu Cryst ther thei mette. In palmers wede Jhesu went also, And when thei spake together tho,	pilgrim's clothes
	Jhesu them feyr grete.	greeted them kindly
	And askyd what men thei were, And what thing that they sought ther, And why thei were sory.	And [Jesus] asked
380	They ansuerd and seyd, "Wotys thou nought How Jhesu was to deth brought On the mounte of Calvery?	Do you not know
	"Among us whyll that he yede, He told us of that ilke dede	
385	What schall after the thyrd dey that syth. The thyrd dey after, he dyd sey, He schuld ryse fro deth to lyve that dey,	shall [happen] after the third day
	And schew hym with hys wondys fyve Among hys dyscipulus alle.	wounds
390	"And now is the thyrd dey gone, And word of hym had we non;	
	Therfor we be agreved alle." Jhesu ansuerd them agen,	are distressed in reply
	"Now me thinke ye agrevyd ben,	resentful
395	A party myssbelevyd.	Partly unbelieving (in doubt)
	"Have not ye herd in prophesy Of Moyses and of Isay And wryten in story	Moses and Isaiah
	That Jhesu schuld on the thrid dey	
400	Aryse up as God veray And sty to his glory?"	true ascend
	Glad were thei of that he seyd,	
	And went in hys felowrede Tyll agen the nyght.	fellowship (company) Until [they came] to nightfall
405	Therin thei toke all in fere,	together
	And sett them don at ther soper With These in that plyabt	in that manner
	With Jhesu in that plyght.	in inai manner

[fol. 143v 411	They had spred both bord and cloth, And Jhesu Cryst betwen hem both At the soper he sate. The bred he toke upon the borde And blyssed it with holy worde, And brake it after that.	table
415	By the brekyng thei hym knew, Bothe be hyde and by hew, And seyd it was Jhesu. And as he sate betwen hem, I sey, He vanysched sone fro hem awey Thorow hys holy vertue.	appearance and manner
420 425	Than thei gan to make grete mone, For Jhesus Cryst was fro them gone, And thei wepyd with ther eyghen. Cleophas seyd, "For soth it is, Jhesu Cryst arysen is — Both we hym sene!"	eyes
430	Than seyd the palmer Lucas, "Anon here with us he was; We couth hym not knowyn. The prophesy he us undyde And sate with us in that stede; The blame is all oure awne."	pilgrim could not recognize him revealed place (time)
435	To Jerusalem swyth he yede, And told all hys feloys-rede That were in grete longyng. And seyd, "Feloys, for iwys, Jhesu Cryst arysen is — Thys is no lesynge."	companions indeed
440	That ilke dey what so befall, The apostylls toke ther leve all At on paleys of stone. Dores and wyndos thei sperd faste; Of the Jues thei were agast, And Thomas was oute gon.	retreat a palace barred afraid
445	And as thei were in grete longyng Of Jhesu to have som tyding, Amonge hem he gan to stond. All thei were in full grete care,	

	A gost thei weyned that it were; He schewyd them fote and hond.	thought his feet and hands (i.e., his wounds)
450	Jhesu seyd, "Pes among you be, And drede ye not me, Thoff I be com so late. I ame God and man Jhesu;	
455	I ame com in thorow my vertu, Tho schyte beth dore and gate."	power Though the door and gate are shut
	When Jhesu had thus iseyd, He was gon sone in a breyd,	spoken moment
460	And in ther come Thomas. The apostyllys seyd, "Iwys, Jhesu Cryste rysen is; Ryght now here he was!"	Truly
[fol. 143r]	Thomas ansuerd and began to stryve. "Ther may no man ryse fro deth to lyve	dispute
465	That sofyrd wondys syche." Peter ansuerd agene,	such wounds
	"Of Jhesu thou schall have a syght Ryght sone privelyche."	privately
	(When he com besyde the ston, Of Jhesu he had a syght anon	[i.e., Peter (see note)]
470	Besyde the monyment. Bot Thomas wold it leve nought That ther was sych a meracle wrought, That Jhesus forth was went.)	not believe
475	Mary, Peter, and Seynt John, And the apostyllus everychon, They spoke to Thomas of Ynde: "Prophetys that were wyse Seyd that Jhesus schuld aryse To save all mankynde.	
480	"Thomas of Ynde," thei seyd all, "Thou arte in wanhope falle And in mysbyleve.	despair doubt
485	Cry hym mersy, we thee rede, Or body and saule thou arte bot dede, Withoutyn any endyng."	Beg him for mercy or [in] body and soul you are dead Forever
	Thomas gan to wepe sore; He durst not speke a word more	

490	To John ne to Mary. Forth in hys wey he gan to gon Tyll he unto Galalé com, Jhesu mersy to cry.	
495	Every wey as he yede, Mersy of Jhesu he bede. In that ilke stounde. Jhesu Cryst agen hym com, And be the ryght hond he hym nome And put it in hys wonde.	prayed same place came to him took
500	"Thomas," he seyd, "levyst thou not yit That I was nalyd thorow hondys and fete Upon the rode tre, And now I ryse fro deth to lyve? Ther agene may no man stryve; The soth thou may se."	Against this no man can argue
fol. 144r 505	"Lord," Thomas began to sey, "Now beleve it I wele may, In this ilke stond. Mannys soule that was caught With thi blod thou hast it bought Out of hell grond."	imprisoned redeemed
510	Jhesu seyd, "Blyssed mot thei be That beleve and not it se, And on my uprysing. And whoso that beleve it nought, Into helle he schall be brought,	may
515	Withoutyn any endyng." When Jhesus had seyd thus As it hys wyll was To Thomas of Ynde,	
520	Thomas lokyd after hym anon; Whetherward Jhesus wold gon, He couth hym nowher fynde.	Where
525	Late we now Jhesus and Thomas be, And of the foure knyghtys speke we That kepyd the moniment, What noys thei gan make When thei were fro slepe awake And Jhesus was forth wente.	guarded the tomb

530	Syr Amorant styrte up anon: "Alas, he hath don awey the ston That on the tombe ley!	rose up
	It was an hevy ston withall; I wote not how it is befall. It is remevyd awey."	I do not know how it happened
535	Syr Gamorant seyd tho, "Is Jhesu Cryst from us go Oute of the monyment? What schall we sey to Syr Pylate? Now he is rysen and gon hys gate, Sertys we be schente."	gone on his way ruined
540	Syr Cosdram seyd, "Alas this dey! Is Jhesu scapyd awey? Oute of this lond we muste fle, For if we com Pylat beforne, With wyld hors we schall be torne—	
545	Full syker may we be."	We can be sure [of that]
550	Syr Arfax seyd, "Be now stylle. Thys is do by Godys wylle, As ye may at me here. Com ther no man Jhesu to stelen, Nother hys body awey to beryn; Therof I make you syker.	done hear from me
fol. 144v 555	"I slepyd no slepe this nyght. Fro heven I saw com a lyght — Sych one saw I never none. Syxty thousand angellus bryght Com agen hym this same nyght When Jhesu wold forth gon.	Came to him
560	"Ther com with them sych a smelle, As it hade be bame every dele And other spysery. With hem Jhesu gan forth glyde; He bad an angell ther abyde To kepe the Marys thre.	As if it had been balm in every way go forth to wait there guide
565	"We wyll sey as we haffe se; Out of this lond we wyll not fle For no kyns thing. We wyll take the ryght gate,	have seen no reason whatsoever direct way

	To we com to Syr Pylate And tell hym this tydyng."	
570	The knyghtys ther wey nom, To thei to Syr Pylat com	took their way
	And feyre thei gon hym grete. "Pylat," thei seyd, "wylt thou here,	if you will listen
575	Of us may thou awntres lere Of this vary prophete.	miracles learn
	"Hym we wakyd this nyght, He is a man of mekyll myght	watched
	And of a grete posté: Hymselve hath lyft up the ston.	power
580	Whether that he wold, he is gon Into Galalé."	Wherever he wished
	Than seyd Pylat, "Sey not so,	
	If that ye wene wele to do,	expect
585	Nother be dey ne nyght. Bot sey hys dyssiples come	
	And hys body fro you nome	seized
	With grete stryff and myght.	battle
	"And ye schuld gode mede have,	reward
590	Also mych as ye wold crave Of sylver and of gold."	as you might want
000	Than were the knyghtys ryght feyn —	pleased
	They wend thei schuld be sleyn —	had thought
	And seyd as Pylat wold.	as Pilate wished
	And suere be ther god Mahune,	Mahound (Mohammed)
595	"We wyll it not telle in feld ne towne, Ne of non other thyng,	i.e., anywhere
	Bot that Jhesu dyssipullus com	
	And hys body fro us nome With full grete fyghtyng."	seized
600	This is trew that I you telle,	
	As is the trew gospell, Withoutyn lesyng.	Without lie
	They that this talkyng herd sey,	heard this story told
	God send hem grace to take the wey	·
605	To the blysse without endyng.	
	AMEN QUOD RATE	

37. SAINT MARGARET

fol. 145r	Margaret	
	Old and yong that here be	
	Lystyns a whyle unto me,	
	What I schall you sey:	
	How it befell upon a dey	
5	Of a virgyn feyre and suete	
	Whos name was Margarete.	
	Hyr fader was a nobull clerke	learned man
	And a man that couth mych werke,	possessed great skill (knew magic arts)
	Also a prince of hy degré;	possessea great skut (knew maga arts)
10	There myght nowher a better be.	
10	In Antych he had a wyffe;	Antioch
	Both were heythen of ther lyffe.	heathens
	He was a man of grete power,	neumens
15	Of all the cuntré governer.	faith
13	False he was of hys ley,	faith
	Both be nyght and be dey.	
	Theodosyas was hys name,	
	A nobull man of grete fame.	:
90	He had understondyng long beforn	i.e., knew ahead of time
20	He schuld have a doughture born,	
	As the scryptour hym told,	writing (prophecy or oracle)
	And when sche wex olde	
	That sche schuld Crystyne be	
95	And beleve of the Trinyté,	
25	Allmyghty God that us dere bought	
	And all this werld made of nought.	
	Hyr fader comandyd long beforn	
	That anon as sche was born	
9.0	To the deth sche schuld be brought	1.1
30	In what wyse he ne rought.	did not care
	Bot hyr modour that hyr bore	
	Made for hyr full grete care	
	And bethought hyr beforn,	planned ahead
	That anon as sche was born	[So] that as soon
35	Into Azy sche hyr sente.	Asia
	The messanger forth wente	
	To a norys that wonyd ther	nurse; dwelled
	For to putte hyre to lere.	educate her
	He toke with hym grete spendyng	money
40	For to kepe that meyden yenge,	
	And sche hyr kepte ther in dede,	
	And norysschyd her in that nede.	raised her (educated her) as needed
	Sche was feyre and comly of chere,	[i.e., Margaret]
	And of hyr bewty feyre and clere.	

45	All hyr lovyd in that cuntré,	
	Olde and yong that hyr myght se.	
	When sche wax more in age	
	And had understondyng and knawelege,	
	Sche toke hyr to Crystys lore	followed Christ's teaching
50	And belevyd in hym ever more.	
	The norys that kepte hyr fro dispare	
	Had seven chylder that were fare,	
fol. 145v	And well sche kepte this chylder seven —	
	The eighth was Crystys meyden of hevyn.	
55	Both of heven and of helle	
	Full gode tayles sche cuthe telle,	she could tell worthy tales
	And what thei schuld have to mede	as a reward
	As thei deservyd in dede,	
	And how thei sofferd merterdom evyn,	suffered martyrdom steadfastly
60	Both Seynt Laurance and Seynt Stevyn;	33
	Of many other seyntys mo	
	How thei sufferd peyn and wo,	
	And how thei merterdom gan take	
	All for Jhesu Crystys sake.	
65	Of many seyntys sche told the lyffe	she recounted the legend
	Both to man and to wyffe.	8
	And when sche was fiftene yerys old	
	Sche was feyre woman and bold.	
	Hyr norys sette hyr to kepe	remain
70	In the feld to fede hyr schepe.	remain
•	Hyr felowys gan hyr behold	
	When sche hyr prayers make wold.	
	when some nyr prayers make words	
	Than was in that cuntré a kynge,	
	A nobull man of grete cunnynge.	
75	He was a kyng of grete myght;	
	Olybrius for soth he hyght.	was named
	All Azy, as I you telle,	Asia
	Was hys awne to gyff or selle.	i.e., in his control
	Also he servyd dey and nyght	
80	Hys fals godys, I you behyght.	I tell you
	He servyd ever the devyll of helle,	-
	And Crystine pepull he dyd quelle	kill
	Fro Antyoch to Azye	
	Be myles mo than fyfté.	For more than fifty miles around
85	Ever to strew the Crysten men	slaughter (harass)
	He dyde hys power ever then.	0 \ /
	What with werre and with stryffe	
	He left bote few pepull of lyve.	alive
	Tyll it befell on a dey	
90	As he rode by the wey,	

	He saw that lovely meyden	
	Kepyng schepe upon the gren.	
	Anon he commandyd a knyght	
95	To bryng hyr to hym anon ryght. The knyght wente anon hyr to	
30	And seyd that sche must with hym go.	
	The meyden was so myld of chere	[that] was
	Ansuerd hym as ye schall here,	[maj was
	And seyd sche hade nothing to do	
100	Oute of that ground with hym to go.	
	Sche prayd hym of hys curtassye	
	To pase hys wey and late hyr be.	
	And schortly this tale to telle,	
	He went awey fro that damselle	
105	And com to Olybryus the kyng	
	And told hym all that tyding,	
	That sche wold for nothing	
	Cum to hym; sche ne wold	
	Bot thei with hyr stryve schuld.	
fol. 146r	To Jhesu Cryst gan sche calle,	
111	That sofyrd deth for us alle,	
	That he wold hyr defend	
	That no Saryzen schuld hyr schend,	Saracen; harm (dishonor)
115	And besought hym of hys grace	To aid have
113	Hyr to socour in every place,	To aid her die
	And seyd, "For thi luffe, Lord, wyll I dyghe, And forsoke all werdly compenye."	forsake
	And forsoke an wertily compenye.	jorsake
	Than spake Olibryus,	
	To hys men he seyd thus:	
120	"Of all the men that I have here,	
	Can non of hem bryng hyr nere?	
	And I had hyr to me brought,	If I had
	Full sone I schuld change hyr thought.	
105	Sche schall upon my godys beleve	
125	Or els sore I schall hyr greve."	
	They went agen unto that meyd	anata.
	And onto hyr thus thei seyd: "Thou must cum on with us	unto
	Thou must cum on with us To oure kyng, Sir Olibryus.	
130	Bot if thou com withoutyn stryffe,	Unless
150	We schall reffe thee thy lyffe."	take your life from you
	With them sche went meke and styll	waie your tife from you
	Unto the kyng agen hyr wyll,	against
	And full feyr sche hym grete.	agumu
135	He askyd hyr name; sche seyd, "Margrete."	
	He seyd, "If thou be born fre,	
	<i>'</i>	

	For soth my leman schall thou be.	sweetheart
	I wyll have thee to my wyfe,	
	To lyve in joy all thi lyve.	
140	Gold and ryches I wylle thee gyffe	
	All the whyll that thou dost lyve."	
	Sche seyd to hym anon than,	
	"I wyll have non erthly man,	
145	Bot for the love of Cryst alon	
143	I wyll be baptyst at the fonte ston.	
	For soth, I wyll hym never forsake For non erthly man to take."	
	Than anon to hyr he seyd,	
	"We dyd Jhesu Cryst to dede	put to death
150	And dyd hym streyn upon the rode	stretch
100	Tyll he suet water and blode,	377 576 77
	And crownyd with a croune of thorn:	
	And thou leve on hym, thou arte lorn."	If you believe; lost
	To hym sche seyd anon ryght,	3 3
155	"He is a lord of mykyll myght	
	And dyghed on the crose for all mankynd;	
	For that we schuld have hym in mynd.	
	He ros fro deth and to helle went	
	The fendys power for to schent.	destroy
160	And many saulys he fette out ther	$brought\ out$
	That in grete peyn were."	
	To stryve with hyr he fond no bote,	of no avail
	Bot dyd hyr bynd hand and fote,	had her bound
165	And cast hyr into prison strong	
165	For to overcom hyr with wrong.	
	Meyd Margarete all that nyght	
fol. 146v	In prison ley with grete unryght. And on the morow wen it was dey	when
101. 140V	He sent for hyr, the soth to sey.	when
170	They brought hyr to Syr Olybryus.	
1.0	Sone to hyr he seyd thus:	
	"Margaret, beleve upon my lore,	
	Or I schall greve thee full sore.	afflict
	Thy god that thou doyst on beleve	33
175	Schall not save thee fro my greve.	anger
	Trow on me and be my wyve,	Trust in
	And lyve in joy all thi lyve.	
	Antyoche and all Azye	
	After my deth I gyve to thee.	
180	Sylke and gold and purpull paule,	rich purple cloth
	And I wyll thee wed, were thou schalle,	If; wear
	Welle furryd with ryche ermyn —	
	In all this werld is non so fyne.	

	And with the beste metys that is in lond	finest foods
185	I schall thee fede, I understond,	
	And Jhesu Criste pute oute of thi thought."	
	"Nay," sche seyd, "that wyll I nought.	
	Jhesu wyll I never forsake	
	For all that is on erth to take."	
190	He seyd, "It schall be sene full sone	
	What thi God wyll for thee done."	
	He bade hys sergeantys everychon	each one
	Bynd hyr fote and hond anone.	
	The sergeantys dyd as he hem bade:	commanded them
195	They turment hyr as thei were made.	mad
133	They bete hyr with scowrgys strong,	
		scourges (whips)
	And turment hyr with grete wrong.	
	They bete hyr, both man and wyffe,	
900	And fast with hyr thei gan stryffe,	
200	Tyll the rede blod felle a doune	, ,
	To hyre fete fro hyr croune,	head
	Tyll thei wend sche hade be dede;	believed
	So fast on hyr thei hade leyde.	laid [strokes] on her
	Than seyd Olybryus ther he stode,	
205	"Margaret, thinkys thou this werk ys gode?	
	Beleve onne my lord and be my wyve	
	And I wylle no more with thee stryve.	
	Have mersy on thi feyre fleche	
	And onne thi skyne that is so nessche."	tender
210	To Jhesu Cryst sche cryed than,	
	That dyghed for the love of man	
	And of a virgyn was born	
	For mankynd schuld not be lorn.	
	"Thys peynes that I soffer and swynke,	endure
215	They be full suete, as me thinke.	
	All the peynes that I here dryve	endure
	Be sueter to me than thyng of lyve."	anything alive
	Olybrius seyd to hys sergeantys tho,	then
	"Sche felys nothyng of all this wo!	
220	For all the peynes we to hyr gyve	
	Sche wyll not on oure godys beleve."	
	He bad hys sergeantys everychon	
	They schuld turment hyre anon.	
	They sended turnient hyre anon.	
fol. 147r	The sergeantys dyd as he hem bade;	
225	Lytell mersy on hyr thei hade.	
443	With there nayles thei dude hyr flessch drawe	
	·	1 1 -
	Lyke as hundys had hyr gnawe.	hounds
	And hyr eyghen that were so bryght,	,
	They pute hem oute and mered hyr syght.	marred

fro the flessch tho. tore her skin (muscles)	230 They dud hyr both peyn as And rent hyr lyer fro the fl Mych of the pepull that we	2
ondyng ther, thus ytore, neyden Margarete, feyre and suete,	In ther hertys were full sor And sey to hyr stondyng th When thei se hyr thus ytor And seyd, "Feyr meyden M Thou that arte so feyre and Turne to hym and be hys w	2:
n hym stryve. et, we have care ou savyd were." seyd, "I wyll not do. i.e., I will not follow your wishes	And no more with hym str 240 For thee, Margaret, we hav And wold that thou savyd v "After you," sche seyd, "I v Bot go your wey," sche sey	24
pent nis turment, h gode and evylle,	All that for me repent And se me have this turme As thei thinke both gode a They schall be quyte after	2
com and go." spoke	The angell of Cryst com m Als fast as he may com and 250 Than beseyd Olybryus With wyked wordys seyng t	2.
e made thee. ad thi syght; in thorow my myght. I, thou mayd."	"Margaret, I have sych pos That blynd I have made the For before thou had thi sy Now hast thou non thorow Beleve on my god, thou m	2.
at thou belevys onne, any ston. dumb is full kynd; o out of my mynd. if my flessche	"Nay, for soth, syr," sche so "For thi godys that thou be Thei are dom as any ston. 260 My lord to me he is full ky He schall never go out of r If thi hope were of my fless	20
ch fro the bone, e getys thou non." he seyd,	To do thi wyll both herd at To rente the flessch fro the Power of my saule getys th To hyr anon than he seyd, "In depe prison thou schal	20
ni body lye, or to dystreye. ounde fote and hond en gret and strong." destroy	In prison schall thi body ly Thy feyr flessch for to dyst Thou schall be bounde fot With bondys of iren gret a "Jhesu Crist," sche seyd ur	2'
when he wylle." i gan hyr don. o hyr full sone	"May delyver me when he In prison fast thei gan hyr The angell com to hyr full With the grace of God alln	2'

	As the sone schynes bryght.	
	With parte of the crose God was on don	placed on
	To the virgyn he com full sone	
280	And seyd to hyr with myld stevyn,	voice
	"Blyssed thou arte with all in hevyn!	
fol. 147v	Fader and Son and Holy Goste,	
	Lord and kyng of myghtys moste,	
	Thys crosse to thee hath send	
285	Thy enmys therwith to defend."	ward off
	Sche seyd, "Lord, blyssed thou be,	
	That this gyffte hath send me.	gift
	Allmyghty God, I thee praye	
	A bon grante me todeye:	boon (request)
290	That I may with syght them se	
	What thei be that thus hath turment me."	
	The angell bade hyr doute nought,	not to doubt
	For to hevyn sche schuld be brought.	
	"Ther is no tong that telle myght	
295	The joy was made of thee this nyght	
	With all the melody that is in hevyn,	
	Meyd Margaret, thee for to nevyn."	name
	And be the grace of God allmyght	
	Ther anon sche had hyr syght.	
300	Then the holy angell went hyr fro;	
	Of hym sche saw no more tho.	
	Sche lokyd a lytell be hyr syde	
	And saw a dragon be hyr glyde	
205	That was of colour as grasse gren,	_
305	Margaret hyr for to nem,	seize
	With fyre flawmyng, foule to seme,	blazing fire that seemed hideous
	Out of hys mouth fyre bryning bryght.	
	Sche was agryfed of that syght.	aggrieved
0.1.0	Sche fell doun unto the grounde;	
310	For fere sche tremblyd in that stond.	in that place (time)
	He toke hyr in hys mowth anon,	
	He sualowyd up hyr body and bone.	
	And when he had so ydon,	done
0.15	Than he myght no ferther gon,	
315	Bot he byrst upon the ground;	
	The mayden com forth save and sound.	
	And it was Cristys wylle	
	Within hym sche had non ylle.	
900	Bot upon the dragon sche stode	
320	With glad herte and mylde mode,	
	And thankyd Jhesu of hys myght	1.1
	That sche hade overcom that foule wyght,	hideous creature
	And understode welle that it was	

325	Thorow the vertu of the croysse. That foule dragon was sleyn ther Thorow Godys myght and hyr prayer. Anon sche wene the dragon fro	
330	And sey a fowler come hyr to. A grysly syght, for sothe, was he, A fouler best never man se. To hym sche went, I understond, With the holy crosse in hyr hond,	fouler (i.e., even more hideous)
335	And smote hym so upon the fynnes That he myght not abyde hyr dynnes. That staff that was so long,	endure her blows i.e., the cross
000	That thorow Criste myght so strong	through Christ's might
fol. 148r	Downe to the grond sche hym caste, And with hyr wymple bond hym faste.	wimple (head scarf)
240	In hys neke sche sette hyr fote —	On his neck
340	To stryve with hyr it was no bote. To hym sche seyd, "I conjure thee, What thou arte thou telle me.	of no avail command
	For thou arte so lothly a thyng, What thou arte I wyll have knowyng.	
345	For best saw I never none So lothly for to loke upon." He seyd, "For my lordys sake,	beast
	Fro my neke thi fote thou take.	
350	I have gon wyde be water and londe,	traveled widely
330	Yit was I never so sore ybonde. My ryght name hyght Belgys	sorely bound is called
	To lyghe to thee non aveyll ys.	lie
	Geffron is my brother that thou slewe;	
355	In the werld we dyd sorow inowe.	enough (plenty)
333	Dede and borston is my brother, And thou hast overcom me, I se non other.	burst I see no other [way]
	When we were bothe togeder We made the son to sle the fader.	T see no omer fawy
360	We stroyd pepull dey and nyht;	slaughtered (afflicted)
300	We dyd all the sorow that we myght. In dragons wyse we com to thee	dragon's shape
	To spyll thi wytte and make thee wode to be. The kyng, Syr Olybryus,	deprive; insane
0.05	In this lyknes sent us thus	
365	For to strey thi fare body With hys craft and nygramansy.	destroy necromancy (sorcery)
	The hede peyn that is so strong,	i.e., the pain in my head
	I may not suffyr this full long.	. 1 ,
a - a	My wey is not in erth; by the wynd I fle.	
370	All that I se I wyll dystroye.	

	Wher I wyst a woman with chyld,	command
	Thether I went wode and wyld.	
	And yf the chyld uncrystynd were, Lege and arme I made crokyd ther.	
375	I wrought mykyll sorow and wo:	
373	I made the one neybour the other slo;	slay
	I went to the feld, unto the ploughe,	siay
	And the bestys all to-drewghe.	tore apart
	Wherever I went I dyde grete care;	caused great distress
380	Ther was my joy aboute to fare.	8
	When that Salomon the wyse was alyve,	
	Into a tunne of bras he dyd us dryve.	brass barrel
	He dyde us bery in an hylle,	
	Sone anon, agenst our wylle.	
385	Men of Babylon com us to;	
	They dyged us out and lete us go.	
	When thei myned in the grond	
	They wenyd gold and sylver to hafe fond.	thought to have found
	Ther be in the erth of us fleyng	flying
390	Mo than fiftene thousend in the wynd beyng.	
fol. 148v	Som are swyfter than a do,	doe
	And som are suyfter than a ro.	roe deer
	Som are suyfter than a sualow	swallow
205	And som are suyfter than an arow.	
395	And all that on Cryst beleve	
	We dyde them vex and sore greve, Both in towne and in feld.	
	We streyd many wyff and chyld,	afflicted
	We streyd fruyt on the erth growyng,	ајјинеа
400	And drovyd schypes in the se seyling.	stirred up ships
100	Thys was our labour and delyte:	σενίνου αρ σενέρο
	To do Crysten pepull dyspyte.	injury (humiliation)
	Now I pray you late me go;	,
	I have told you every dele al so."	every part [of my story]
	, ,	31 13 3
405	Margaret seyd to that foule wyght,	
	"I conjure thee, by Cristys myght	
	And in Godys holy name,	
	That thou do never more schame,	
	Bot synke doune into helle,	
410	Forever more ther to duelle.	
	Synke doune, thou foulle fend,	fiend
	Therin to be withoutyn ende."	
	He sanke adoune by Godys myght,	
415	Thorow the prayer of that virgyn bryght.	
415	All this trobull had this holy meyd	
	In the strong castell where sche was leyd.	

420	In a dey and in a nyght All this hade that meyden bryght, And thankyd God of hys grace That sche overcom them in that place. The secund dey at the afternon Olybryus sent for hyr full sone. The sergeantys were redy to go	
425	And oute of prison fette hyr tho. With the holy crosse in hyr hond Wherwith sche dyde the fendys schond, He saw hyr com in als feyr case Of flesch and blode as ever sche was.	brought her then disgrace as good condition
430	Than bespake Syr Olybryus, And to that meyd he seyd thus: "Meyd Margaret, I pray thee That thou wyll turne unto me." Sche seyd, "Cursyd mote thi godys be	
435	To beleve on thou woldys have me. For thi godys that thou belevyst in, Thei be cursyd and full of syn, For thei ben of Sathanas kynd. I wyll never have them in mynde!	i.e., That you would have me believe in
440	When thou thinkys best to thy lykyng, Onto myscheff thei wyll thee bryng. Therfor, I rede and counsyll thee, Beleve on my Lord that is so fre, That made thee and me and every man,	i.e., When you think all goes as you wish Unto
445	That most of wytte and vertu can. Therfor, beleve hym upon And be baptyst at the font ston."	possesses the highest intelligence
fol. 149r	He seyd to hyr in that stound, "A croune of gold I wyll found	I will try (wager)
450	My godys are trew and thyn are lesse Therfor, I byde thee hold thi pes." He seyd to hys servantys than, "I charge you, every man, That ye poure upon hyr hede	false (lies)
455	Sething oyle and boyling lede. Schald hyr fro the hede unto the fote To sche turne and ax bote." Thei turmentyd hyr than full sore	Seething; lead Scald Until she converts and asks for mercy
460	With oyle and hote lede over more, Tyll sche suete flessch and fell As it were water out of a well. Than seyd thei to that holy meyd, "Beleve uppon our godys," thei seyd.	skin

	Scho sayd "Fro tham I me defend	
	Sche seyd, "Fro them I me defend, And beleve on Cryst withouten end.	
465		
403	Cursyd be thei that on thi godys thinke	wwite about them
	Or on hem wryte with pauper and ynke."	write about them
	They had no power hyr to quelle;	kill
	The holy crosse kepte hyr welle.	
450	He comandyd hyr anon tho	
470	In a fate of water to be do,	placed in a vat
	Ther anon to be sente	
	All hyr hete to be queynte.	quenched
	Anon as sche the water gan se	
	Sche thought therein crystynd to be,	christened
475	And seyd, "In Crystys holy name,	
	Here I take baptysm and defy ther blame!"	
	Anone the thonder began to berst;	
	The pepull fled awey full fast.	
	The angell toke hyr out of the water than;	
480	They myght it se, every man,	
	And turnyd anon to hyr beleve	
	Many a thousend or it were eve.	before it was evening
	Both old pepull and yong	, and the second
	Turnyd to hyr and of hyr song:	Attended
485	On Jhesu Cryst thei dyd beleve,	
	Both meyd, chyld, and wyve.	
	The kyng saw anon ryght	
	That herme to hyr do non he myght.	
	He callyd to Malcus, that was	
490	Hys man-queller in every place,	executioner
	And bad hym that he schold	
	Take hyr fast into hys hold	his power
	And lede hyr withoute the towne than.	outside the town
	And in a fyer he schuld hyre bryn	
495	And bryng hyr oute of hyr lyve,	
100	That sche no more with hym stryve.	[So] that
	That selle no more with hym stryve.	[50] mai
	And when sche com unto that sted	place
	Ther sche schuld be pute to dede.	
	Mych pepull folowyd hyr tho	
500	Al so fast as thei myght go.	
fol. 149v	Anon the sone wexyd blake	
	And the thunder gan to crake.	
	The folke were ferd in that stound	afraid; moment (place)
	That for fere thei fell to grond.	
505	They were so afreyd tho	
	That thei knew nother wele ne wo.	
	Anon oure Lord an angell sente	
	Into the place sche schuld be brent,	
	*	

× 10	And seyd to hyr with myld steven,	voice
510	"Blyssed thou arte todey in heven! Thys dey in hevyn thou schall crouned be	
	Befor Crystys majesté."	
	Malcus herd the wordys that sche speke	
	And thought he wold not do hyr wreke.	violence
515	He knelyd doune upon the grounde	
	And axyd mersy in that stonde. And than he saw in that place	
	Multytud of angellus ther sche was.	
	He leyd doun hys suerd hym by	
520	And seyd, "Maden, I ax mersy."	
	Than bespake the vergyn bryght,	
	And seyd to hym anon ryght,	
	"Broder, if thi wyll it be, A lytell whyle abyde thou me,	wait for me
525	And late me make my prayer	waa jor me
	To Jhesu Cryst that bought me dere.	
	And anon in this tyde	
	Awey thou schall me ryde.	free me
530	The Fader and Son and the Holy Goste, Lord and kyng of myghtys moste	
330	That all the werld made of nought	
	And mankynd hast dere bought,	
	Of a floure thou were forth brought	
2.22	For we schuld not be lorn.	So that; lost
535	Jhesu Cryst, I beseche thee,	
	Thys dey a boune thou grante me. Thys pepull here beforn,	boon (request)
	All that in the wyrschype of thee	
	And in mynd do honour me,	
540	Thou late hem never in peynes be bound,	
	Ne in dedly synne be fond.	
	All that my tourment here or rede,	hear or read
	Or in my name do almus dede, Jhesu Cryst, gyff them to mede	alms give them as reward
545	The blyss of hevyn for ther god dede.	give inem as reward
	If any woman be with chyld,	
	I praye to Our Lady meke and myld,	
	Of hyr peynes that sche be unbond	unbound
550	And be lyverd save and sond.	delivered safe and sound
330	Jhesu Cryst, I besech thee, That when sche callys upon thee	
	That thou wold be ther socure	
	That the crosse doth honour.	
fol. 150r	And all that worschyp my dey,	
555	Or honour me as thei may,	

	Or here my memory dey or nyght	
	With gode hert or candell lyght,	
	I beseke thee, for thi glory,	
500	Late them never in syne dyghe.	die in [a state of] sin
560	Whersomever that body be,	Wherever
	On that saule have mersye,	1
	And that the fend do them no skathe Nether late nether rathe,	Neither late very early (i.e. at any time)
	That beryth on them my lyffe,	Neither late nor early (i.e., at any time)
565	Nother man, chyld, ne wyffe."	carries my life with them
303	Oure Lord herd hyr prayer son	soon (immediately)
	And grantyd hyr all hyr bone.	soon (immediately)
	ima granej a nji an nji sone.	
	Anon sche seyd thus,	
	And spake onto Malcus.	unto
570	Sche bad hym that he schuld fullfylle	
	And do all hys lordys wyll.	
	"That wyll I not," he seyd, "for all the erth to	wyn,
	For I have se the lord that thou belevys in."	
J	Sche seyd, "Sir, do as I thee byde:	
575	Take and smyte of myn hede.	
	For God hath forgyff thee	
	That I byde thee do to me,	
	For it is agenst thi wylle That commandment to fullfulle	
580	That commandment to fullfylle. Into paradyse thou schall wend	gro.
300	Therin to be withouten ende."	go
	Malcus herd hyr sey this sawe,	speech
	And hys suerd he gan draw,	specen
	And hyr hede he smate offe	
585	As the law therto hym droffe.	$drove\ (commanded)$
	Michaell, Gabryell, and Raphaell in fere	together
	Saw this don all in sych maner.	G
	With joy and blysse and melody	
	Thei bare hyr saule to hevyn on hye.	
590	Before our Lord thei gan hyr bere;	
	To hym sche was leffe and dere.	beloved and dear
	Thyopy, the grete clerke,	
	Remembyrd all hyr lyff and werke	
595	And made hyr lyve in memory (And he hyr norysschyd in Azy).	
000	In Antyoche thei hyr brought,	
	And in god intent ther then wrought	
	A chapell in hyr name.	
	And all that were seke and lame	
600	Thether fast gan thei gon;	
	0 0	

cease

Hole and sound hom thei com, they went home Thorow grace of God allmyght And be prayer of that meyden bryght. Ihesu, gyfe us grace we may lyfe so 605 Unto thi blyss we myght com to. The lyve of this virgyn I have rede; On a Tewysdey sche was quyke and dede. Tuesday; alive and dead (i.e., died) Jhesu Cryst Hevyn Kyng fol. 150v Grant them all hys blyssing 610 That this story wyll have in mynd With clene thought and hert kynd, Thorow prayer of Seynte Margarete, That in heven we may mete. By the prayer of that meyden hend noble (kind) 615 To thi joy that we may wynd, Ther to duell and sey thi face. see Lord God, therto gyffe us grace. Pray we all yt may so be; Amen, Amen, for charyté. AMEN QUOD RATE 38. THE WOUNDS AND THE SINS Sequitur septem peccata mortalia Here follow the seven deadly sins Agens pride Wyth scherp thornys that be kene My hede was crounyd, as ye may sen. crowned: see The blod ran done be my cheke; down on my cheeks Thou, prowde man, therfor be meke. Agens envy 5 With a scherp spere that was full yll evil My hert was prikyd — it was my wyll stabbedFor the love of man that is me dere; dear to me Therfor, man, of luffe thou lere. learn of love Agens glotony In all my thyrst upon the rode the cross 10 Men gaffe me drynke that was not gode, Azell and gall for to drynke; Vinegar and gall Gloton, theron I rede thou thinke. adviseAgens lechery Of a clene meyden I was born pure virgin To save mankynd that was forlorn, lost 15 And suffyrd deth for manys syn; man's sin

Lecher, of luste I rede thee blyne.

	A	
	Agens wreth	Q.U. 212
	If thou be wrothe and wylle thee wreche, Behold this lesson that I thee teche:	avenge
	Thoruth my ryght hond a nayle gothe;	Through goes
20		Through; goes
40	Therfor forgyff and be not wroth.	
	Agens covetys	
	Thorought my lefte hond a nayle is dryffe;	driven
	Thinke thereon if thou wyll leve.	
	Help the pore with almus dede,	deeds of alms
	And thou in hevyn schall have thi mede.	your reward
	,	•
fol. 151r	Agenst sleuth	
25	Rise up, unlust, oute of thi bed!	sluggard
	Behold my fete that be forbled	bloody
	And nayled fast on the rode tre;	
	Behold, therfor — all was for thee.	
	The second secon	,
9.0	Jhesu, for thi wondys fyve,	wounds
30	Kepe hem wele in ther lyve	
	That this lesson wyll rede	
	And therwith ther saulys fede.	souls nourish
	39. SIR ORFEO	
	Kyng Orfew	
	Mery tyme is in Aperelle,	[A] merry; April
	That mekyll schewys of manys wylle.	shows much to man's liking
	In feldys and medewys flowrys spryng;	fields and meadows; bloom
	In grovys and wodys foules syng.	In groves and woods birds sing
5	Than wex yong men jolyffe,	young men grow joyful
	And than proudyth man and wyffe.	grow amorous
	F,	8
	The Brytans, as the boke seys,	Bretons
	Of diverse thingys thei made ther leys:	various subjects
	Som thei made of herpyngys,	harping
10	And som of other diverse thingys,	
	Som of werre and som of wo,	strife
	Som of myrthys and joy also,	
	Som of trechery and som of gyle,	
	Som of happys that felle som whyle,	events that happened in the past
15	And som be of rybawdry,	ribaldry
	And many ther ben of fary.	fairy (see note)
	Of all the venturys men here or se,	adventures
	Most of luffe, for soth, thei be,	
	That in the leys ben iwrought,	made
20	Fyrst fond and forth brought.	invented (found)

	Of aventours that fell som deys, The Bretonys therof made ther leys Of kyngys that before us were.	
25	When thei myght any wondres here, They lete them wryte as it were do, And ther among is Syr Orfewo.	wonders (marvelous deeds) as it was done
	He was, for soth, a nobull kyng That most luffyd gle and herpyng.	loved joy
2.0	Wele sekyr was every gode herper	secure
30	To have of mekyll honour. Hymselve he lernyd for to herpe	
	And leyd theron hys wytte so scherpe.	applied
	He lernyd so wele, withouten les,	without lie
35	So gode herper never non was. In all this werld was no man bore	never was there as good a harper born
33	That had Kyng Orfeo ben before,	oon
	And he myght hys herpe here,	
	Bot he wold wene that it were A blyssedfull note of paradys,	think
40	Suche melody therin is.	
	The kyng jorneyd in Tracyens,	sojourned; Thrace
61 171	That is a cyté of grete defence,	defenses (walls)
fol. 151v	And with hym hys quen of price That was callyd Dame Meroudys.	great value i.e., Eurydice
45	A feyrer lady than sche was one	ne., Euryanee
	Was never made of flessch ne bone.	
	Sche was full of lufe and godnes,	describe han becarte
	Ne may no man telle hyr feyrnes.	describe her beauty
	It befelle in the begynnyng of May,	
50	When foules syng on every sprey	branch
	And blossomys spryng on every boughe — Overall wexyth mery inowhe —	bloom Everywhere grows merry enough
	Than the quen Dame Meroudys	Deerywhere grows merry enough
	Toke with hyr ladys of grete price	
55	And went in a underontyde To pley hyr in an horcherd syde.	midday (see note) orchard
	Than the ladys all thre	оннан
	Sett hem under an hympe tre.	grafted tree
60	Sche leyd hyr doune, that comly quen,	(
60	And fell on sclepe upon the gren. The ladys durste hyr nought wake,	green (grass)
	Bot lete hyr lyghe hyr rest to take.	
	Sche slepe welle fer after the non,	long
65	To the undryntyde were gon. And when that ladys gan hyr wake,	Until the morningtime was past
0.0	Sche cryed and grete noys gan make,	
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	

	And wrong hyr hondys with drery mode	anguished spirit
	And crachyd hyr vysage all on blode.	scratched her face [so that it] bled
	Hyr ryche robys sche all to-rytte	ripped
70	And was ravysed out of hyr wytte.	robbed of her wits
	The ladys that stod hyr besyde	·
	Fled and durste not long abyde,	
	Bot went unto the palys agene	palace
	And told both knyght and sueyn	swain
75	How that the quen awey wold,	would [run] away
	And bad them com hyr to behold.	
	Sexty knyghtys and yit mo,	
	And also fele ladys therto,	many
	Hastely to the quen thei com.	
80	And in ther armys thei hyr name,	took
	And brought hyr to bed in haste	
	And kepyd hyr both feyr and faste.	secure
	And ever sche began to cryghe	
	As sche wold up and go hyr weye.	
85	The kyng com to the chamer to the quen,	chamber
	And before hym knyghtys tenne,	ten
	And wepte and seyd with grete pyté,	
	"My leffe wyff, what ayles thee?	dear
	Thou that hast be so stylle,	have been so calm
90	Why cryest thou wonder schylle?	strangely loudly
30	And ever thou aft be meke and myld,	always before you have been
	Thou arte becom wode and wyld.	crazed
	Thy flessch that was so whyte beforn	erazea
	With thi nayles thou hast torn.	
95	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
93	Thy lyppes that were so bryght rede	
fol 150m	Semys as wan as thou were dede.	thin
fol. 152r	And thi fyngyrs long and smale,	thin
	Thei be blody and all pale.	1 1
100	And thi luffsom eyn two	lovely eyes
100	Loke on me as I were thi fo.	,
	God leman, I cry thee mersye!	sweetheart
	Thou late be all this reufull crye	pitiful
	And telle me lady, for thi prow,	pride
105	What thing may thee helpe now?"	
105	Sche ley styll at the last,	
	And began to sey full fast,	
	And thus sche seyd the Kyng unto:	
	"Alas, my lord, Syr Orfeo,	
	Ever I have lovyd thee all my lyfe.	
110	Betwen us was never stryfe,	
	Never seth we weddyd ware;	since; were wedded
	Therfor I make full mekyll care.	
	Bot now we must parte atwo;	atwain

115	Do thou thi best, for I must go." "Alas," seyd the Kyng, "lost I ame! Whyder wyll thou go and to whom?	
	Were thou arte I wold be with thee, And wher I ame thou schall be with me."	
	"Do wey," seyd the Quene, "that schall not be,	Give up
120	For I schall never thee more se.	1
	I wyll thee tell how it is,	
	And, for soth, I wyll not mysse:	fail
	As I went this undyrntyde	morning time
125	To pley me be myn orcherd syde, I fell on slepe all bedene	suddenly
143	Under an ympe upon the gren.	suaueniy
	My meydens durst me not wake,	
	Bot lete me lyghe and slepe take	
	Tyll that the tyme over passyd so	
130	That the undryn was overgo.	passed
	When I gan myselve awake Ruly chere I gan to make,	Fagreful
	For I saw a sembly syght.	Fearful handsome
	Towerd me com a gentyll knyght	Transaco III c
135	Wele y-armyd at all ryght,	
	And bad I schuld upon hygheng	commanded; in haste
	Com speke with hys lord the kyng.	
	I ansuerd hym with wordys bold:	. 1 . 1 . 1
140	I seyd I durst not, ne not I wold. The knyght agen he rode full fast.	nor wished I
140	Than com ther kyng at the last	
	With an hundreth knyghtys also,	
	And an hundreth ladys and mo.	
	All thei ryden on whyte stedys;	steeds
145	Of mylke whyte was all ther wedys.	clothes
	I saw never seth I was born	
	So feyre creatours her beforn.	creatures here
	The kyng had a croune on hys hede, It was no sylver, ne gold rede:	red
150	It was all of presyous ston;	Tea
	Als bryght as any son it schon.	
fol. 152v	Al so sone as he to me com,	As soon as
	Whether I wold or not, up he me nam	seized
1 5 5	And made me with hym for to ryde	
155	Upon a stede by hys syde.	
	He brought me to a feyre palas Wele tyred and rychly in all case.	adorned; all ways
	He schewyd me hys castellus and tourys,	and men, an ways
	And hys hey haules and boures,	bowers (chambers)
160	Forestys, ryvers, frutys and floures,	

	Hys grete stedys schewyd me ichon.	each one
	And sethyn he made me agen to gon Into the sted wher he me fette;	to go back place; fetched
	In that same sted ther he me sete,	r
165	And seyd, 'Madam, loke that thou be	
	Tomorow here under this tre.	
	And than schall thou with us go	
	And lyve with us ever more so. If that thou make us any lete,	any hindrance
170	Wherever thou be thou schall be fete	fetched
	And to-torn thy lymys all;	torn apart; limbs
	Nothing helpe thee ne schall.	
	And thoff thou be all to-torn,	even if; torn apart
175	Yit schall thou awey with us be born.'" When Kyng Orfeo herd this case,	
170	Than he seyd "Alas, alas!"	
	He askyd rede of many a man,	counsel
	Bot no man helpe hym ne canne.	
100	"Alas," seyd the Kyng, "that I ame wo!	
180	What may I best for my quen do?"	
	On the morow when the ondryn cam,	morning came
	Kyng Orfeo hys armys nam.	took
	Ten hundreth knyghtys he with hym toke,	
185	Wele armyd talle men and stoute. With hys quen than went he	
103	To the orcherd, under the ympe tre,	
	And seyd he wold ther abyde	
	What aventour so betyde.	Whatever chance might fall
	Lyve and dyghe thei wold ichon,	each one
190	Or that the quen schuld fro them gon.	Before
	Than thei gon batell to make, And sched blod for hys quenys sake.	to fight (to form a battalion; see note)
	Bot among them all ryght,	
	The quen was awey twyght	seized
195	And with the feyry awey inome;	taken
	Thei ne wyst were sche was com.	did not know; was gone
	Ther was cry, wepyng, and wo.	went then
	The kyng unto hys chamber yede tho, And oft he knelyd onne the ston	went then
200	And made grete sorow for sche was gon	made [such] great
	That ne hys lyve was ispent.	his life was nearly spent
	Bot ther myght be non amendment.	no remedy
	He sent after hys barons,	
205	Knyghtys, squyres of grete renownys. When thei all com were,	
403	He seyd, "Lordingys, befor you here	
	, a, 25. a.m. 8, 5, 50. 101 , ou note	

fol. 153r	I wold orden my hyghe stuerd To kepe my londys afterwerd;	ordain; steward To protect
210	And in my sted be he schalle To kepe my landys over alle. When that ye se my lyffe is spent,	in my place he shall be
	Than make you a parlament; Chese you than a new kyng And do your best with all my thing.	
215	For now I have my quen lorne, The best woman that ever was born. To wyldernes I wyll gon —	lost
220	For I wyll never woman sene — And lyve ther in holtys hore With wyld bestys ever more."	see gloomy woods
	Ther was wepyng in the halle And grete sorow among them alle; Ther was nother olde ne yong	
225	That myght speke a word with tong. They felle on kneys all in fere, Besought hym if hys wyll were That he schuld not fro them go.	all together begged him
230	"Do wey," he seyd, "it schall be so. All this kyngdom I forsake." A staff to hym he gan take;	Give up
2,30	He had nether gowne ne hode, Schert, ne non other gode, Bot an harpe he toke algate.	hood
235	Barefote he went furth at the gate. Ther was wepying and grete crye,	in any event forth
	Grete dole, for the maysterye, When the kyng, withouten croune, So porely went out of the toune.	sorrow; occasion
240	He went thorow wode and hethe And into wyldernes he gethe. So fer he went, I sey iwys, That he wyst not wher he was.	heath goes indeed knew
245	He that sate in boure and halle And on hym were the purpull palle Now in herd heth he lyghet, With levys and gresse his body hydyth.	fine purple cloth lies on hard heath With leaves and grass; hides
	He that had knyghtys of prise And before hym knelyd ladys, He sey not that hys herte lykyth	renown He sees nothing that his heart enjoys
250	Bot wyld bestys that by hym strykyth. Also he had castellus and tourys, Forestys, ryverse, frutys and flourys;	stalk

	Now, thoff it be store as frese,	fierce as [to] freeze
	He may not make hys bed in es.	ease
255	The kyng that had grete plenté	
	Of mete and drinke withouten le,	lie
	Long he may dyge and wrote	dig and burrow
	Or he have hys fyll of the rote.	root
	In somour he lyvys be the frute	
260	And berys that were full suete;	
	In wynter may he nothing fynd	
	Bot levys and grasse and of the rynd.	bark
fol. 153v	Hys body is awey dwyned	dwindled
	And for grete cold al to-schend.	ruined
265	Hys berd was both blake and rowghe	
	And to hys gyrdellsted it drewghe.	to his waist it extended (drew)
	He can telle of grete care	
	That he suffyrd ten wynter and more;	
	In a tre that was holow,	
270	Ther was hys haule, evyn and morow.	hall, night and day
	When the wether was feyre and bryght,	
	He toke hys herpe anon ryght.	
	In mydys the wodde he sett hym doune	
	And temperyd hys herpe with a mery soune,	tuned
275	And harpyd after hys awne wylle;	own desire
	Over all aboute it was full schylle.	loud
	The wyld bestys that ther were,	
	They com aboute hys harpe to here.	
	The bestys of that forest wyld	
280	Com aboute hym, meke and myld,	
	To here hys harpyng so fyne —	
	So mych melody was therine.	
	When he hys harpyng stynt wylle,	wished to stop
	No lenger ther abyde thei wylle,	would [the animals] linger
285	And all the foulys that ther were,	2 3 0
	They com aboute hym by bussch and brere.	on bushes and briars
	Than myght he se hym besyde	near him
	In an hote undryntyde	warm noontime
	The King of Fary and all hys route	company
290	Com ryding hym all aboute	1 3
	With dyne, cry, and with blowyng,	din; blowing [of horns]
	And with hundys berkyng,	hounds barking
	Bot no dere ne best thei nom.	captured
	He wyst not were thei were becom.	knew; gone
295	Other thingys he myght se:	Ŭ.
	A grete hoste com hym bye,	
	An hundreth knyghtys and mo yit	
	Wele armyd at all ryght,	
	With contynans stoute and fers	countenance (manner)
	,	, ,

300	And many spreding baners;	unfurled
	Every man a draw suerd had in hond.	drawn
	Bot he wyst not whether thei wold wend. Also he myght se another thing:	knew not where they went
	Knyghtys and ladys com daunsyng.	
305	Anon he lokyd hym besyde,	Soon
	And say syxty ladys on palferays ryde,	saw; palfreys (riding horses)
	Gentyll and gay as bryd on ryse,	bird on bough
	Not a man among them, iwyse.	indeed
	Bot every lady a faukon bere	
310	And ryden on huntyng be a ryver.	
	Of game thei found well god haunte:	good gathering of birds
	Suannys, herons, and courmerante,	Swans; cormorants
	And the faucons forth fleyng	flying
315	And the foulys fro the water rysing;	ita bum hillad
313	Every faucon hys pray slowgh. Than sate the Kyng Orfeo and lewgh,	its prey killed laughed
fol. 154r	And seyd, "This is gode gam!	game (sport)
101. 1311	Thyder I wyll, be Godys name.	There I will [go]
	Sych game I was wont for to se."	accustomed to see
320	Up he rose and thether went he.	
	To a ladé he com tho;	lady; then
	He beheld hyr face and body also.	Ź
	Hym thought that it was in all wyse	
	Hys awne quen Dame Meroudys.	
325	He beheld hyr and sche hym eke,	also
	And never a word to other thei speke.	
	For the poverté that sche on hym se,	
	That had ben so rych and hyghe,	mighty
000	The terys ran doune be hyr eyghe.	
330	The ladys beheld and that they seyghe,	saw
	And made hyr awey to ryde;	
	No lenger myght sche ther abyde. "Alas," seyd Orfeo, "that me is wo!	
	Why wold not myn hert breke a-two?	in two
335	Now I may not speke with my wyffe —	in eac
000	Al to long lastys my lyffe!	All too long
	Sche dare not a word with me speke —	8
	Alas, why wold not my herte breke?"	
	"Alas," seyd the kyng, "that I ne myght	
340	Dyghe after this same syght!	Die
	Into what lond this lady ryde,	
	Folow I wyll, what so betyde.	whatever may happen
	That same wey wyll I streche;	go
0.45	Of my lyve I do not reche."	care
345	He toke a staff as he spake,	, ,
	And threw an herpe at hys bake.	back

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	He sparyd nother stoke ne ston;	stick nor stone (i.e., nothing)
	He had gode wyll for to gon.	strong desire to go
	In a roche of stone the ladys ryde;	rock
350	Orpheo folowyd and not abyde.	[did] not wait
	When he had therin go	
	A myle or els two,	
	He com into a feyre cuntrey	
	Als bryght as son in somerys dey.	
355	Hyll ne dale was ther non sen;	seen
	It was a welle feyre gren.	green (meadow)
	Orfeo full wele it seye,	
	A feyre castell, ryall and hyghe.	majestic
	He beheld the werke full wele:	
360	The overyst werke above the walle	highest
	Gan schyne as doth the crystalle.	
	A hundreth tyretys he saw full stout;	turrets (towers)
	So godly thei were bateyled aboute.	fortified with battlements
	The pylers that com oute of the dyche,	moat
365	All thei were of gold full ryche.	
	The frontys, thei were amelyd all	façades; enameled
	With all maner dyverse amell.	enamel
	Therin he saw wyde wonys,	dwellings
	And all were full of presyos stonys.	precious
370	Kyng Orfeo knokyd at the gate;	-
	The porter was redy therate,	
	Freyned what he wold do.	Asked
	He seyd, "I ame a mynstrell, lo,	
fol. 154v	To glad thi lord with my gle,	please
375	And it hys suete wyll be."	If it is his kind will
	The porter undyd the gate anon	· ·
	And as a mynstrell lete hym gon.	
	Than lokyd he aboute the walle,	
	And saw it stond over alle	
380	With men that were thyder brought,	brought there
	And semyd dede and were nought.	And [who] seemed dead
	Som ther stod withoutyn hede,	head
	And some armys non hade,	
	And som ther bodys had wounde	wounded
385	And som onne hors ther armyd sette,	sat armed on horses there
	And som were strangyld at ther mete	meal
	And men that were nomen wyth them ete; ¹	(see note)
	So he saw them stonding ther.	,
	Than saw he men and women in fere	together
390	As thei slepyd ther undryntyde;	[in] their midday
	He them saw on every syde.	[]
	Jan San Si Si Si Jaci	

¹ And men who had been taken with them ate [with them]

	Among them he saw hys wyve	
	That he lovyd as hys lyve, That ley ther under that tre full trew;	
395	Be hyr clothys he hyr knew.	
333	In that castell he saw yit	
	A tabernakylle wele idyght,	pavilion well made
	And a ryall kyng therin sette,	paviiion weit made
	And hys quen that was so swete.	
400	Ther crownys and clothys schyn so bryght	
100	That on them loke he ne myght.	
	A hundryth knyghtys in present	There surved a houndred
		[There were] a hundred
	To do the kyngys commandment. When he had sen all this thing,	
405	On kneys he fell befor the kyng	
103	And seyd, "Lord, and thi wyll were,	if it sugra your desire
		if it were your desire
	My mynstralsy thou woldyst here." Then sayd the kyng "What arte thou	
	Than seyd the kyng, "What arte thou That hether arte icome now?	That has some hore
410		That has come here
410	I, nor non that is with me,	
	Never yit sent after thee.	
	Never seth that my reyn began	Γ 1
	Fond I never non so herdy man	Found
415	That hyder durst to us wend	dared come to us here
415	Bot if I wold after hym send."	Unless
	"Syr," he seyd, "I trow wele,	trust (promise)
	I ame bot a pore mynstrelle,	
	And yit it ys the maner of us	custom
400	For to seke to gret lordys hous.	resort to (visit) great lords' houses
420	And thoff we not welcom be,	although
	Yit we behovyth to profer oure gle."	we must offer our entertainment
	Befor the kyng he sette hym done,	
	And toke hys herpe schyll of sown,	loud of sound
	And temperd yt as he wele can.	
425	A blyssedfull note he began.	blissful
	The kyng sate wele styll	
	To here hys herpe with ryght god wyll.	
	Wele hym lykyd to here hys gle;	
	The ryche quen, so doyd sche.	did
430	Men that in the castell were	
	Com hys herpe for to here	
fol. 155r	And felle doune to hys fete,	
	They thought hys herpe was so suete.	
	And when he stynt of hys herpyng,	stopped
435	To hym than seyd the ryche kyng,	
	"Mynstrell, me lykys wele thi gle,	
	And what thou wyll aske of me,	
	Largely I wyll thee pay.	Generously; give

440	Speke now and thou may asey."	try [my generosity]
440	"Now, lord, I pray thee That they would giff to me	
	That thou wold giff to me	fair of face
	The feyr lady bryght off ble That lyghet under this impacts "	fair of face
	That lyghet under this impe tre." "Now" he sayd, "that thought I power!	lies
445	"Nay," he seyd, "that thought I never!	I never thought [of granting] that
445	A foule coupull of you it wer,	match of you it would be
	For thou arte rowghe and blake,	id and day
	And sche is withoutyn lake.	without flaw
	A foule thing it were forthey	therefore
450	To se hyr go in thi company."	
450	"Lord," he seyd, "thou ryche kyng,	
	Yit it were a fouler thing	1.
	To here a lesyng of thy mouthe:	lie
	That I rehald have related Locald	just now
455	That I schuld have what I wold.	1: , 1 ,11150 1
455	Bot nedys a kyngys word mot hold."	a king's word must hold [firm]
	The ryche kyng spake wordys than,	
	And seyd "Thou arte a trew man.	
	Therfor, I grante that it be so;	
460	Thou take hyr be the hond and go.	1 , ,
460	I wyll that thou be of hyr blyth."	happy
	He thankyd hym a hundreth sythe.	times
	He toke hyr by the hond anon,	. 1
	And fast went forth oute of that wone.	place
465	Fast thei hyed out of that palas	hurried
465	And went ther wey thourow Godys grace;	
	To wyldernes both forth thei geth,	go
	And passyth over holtys and heth.	woods and heath
	So long he hys wey ther nom,	took there
470	To Trasyens thei were icom	they came
470	That some tyme was his awne cyté —	once was
	Bot no man knew that it was he.	
	With a pore man he reste that nyght.	
	Ther he thought to byde a plyght,	stay a while
455	Unto hym and to hys wyffe	For
475	As an herpere of pore lyffe,	
	And askyd tydingys of that lond,	
	Who that the kyngdom held in hond.	who held the rule of the kingdom
	In that same tym, that old man,	
400	He told hym all that he can,	_
480	And how the quen was twyght awey	taken
	Into the lond of fayrey,	
	And how the kyng exiled yede,	left in exile
	Bot no man wyst into what stede,	knew to what place
	And how the stewerd the kyngdom hold,	
485	And many other wonders hym told.	

POEM 39: SIR ORFEO 397

	Amorow agen the nontyde,	In the morning near noon
	He made hys quen therto abyde.	wait there
	For soth, he toke hys herpe anon,	
	Into the syté he gan gon.	
fol. 155v	And when he com into the syté,	
491	Many a man com hym to se.	
	Men and wyves and maydines bold,	
	Fast thei com hym to behold.	
	Also, thei seyd everychon	each one
495	How the mosse grew hym upon:	moss
	"Hys berd is grewyn to the kne!	
	Hys body is clong as a tre!"	gnarled
	As the kyng went in the strete,	
	With hys stewerd he gan mete,	
500	And fell on kneys with grete pyté	
	And seyd, "Lord, for charyté:	
	I ame an herper of hethynes.	heathen land
	Helpe me now, lord, yn this destres."	in this distress
	The stewerd seyd, "Cum with me hom.	
505	Of my gode thou schall have som;	
	For my lordys love, Syr Orfeo,	
	All herpers be welcum me to."	
	The stewerd and the lordys alle,	
	Anon thei went into the halle.	
510	The stewerd wessch and went to mete,	
	The lordys all began to sytte.	
	Ther were herpers and trumpers,	trumpeters
	And mynstrellus of grete renounys;	renown
	Ther was grete myrth in the halle.	
515	Kyng Orfew sate among them alle	
	And lystynd to thei were styll,	until they were quiet
	And toke hys herpe and temperde schyll.	loudly
	The meryest note he made ther	ŕ
	That every man myght here with ere.	
520	All thi lyked wele hys gle;	
	The rych stewerd, so dyd he.	
	The stewerd the harpe knew full suyth,	quickly (immediately)
	And seyd, "Mynstrell, so mote thou thryve,	so may you prosper
	Wher hadys thou this herpe and how?	
525	Tell me now, for thi prow."	honor
	"A, lord, in a mournyngtyde,	
	Thorow a wyld forest I yede.	
	A man with lyons was drawyn smale;	torn in small pieces
	I fond hym lygheng in a dale.	
530	Etyn he was with tethe so scherpe;	
	By hym I fond this ryall herpe,	
	Nyghe ten wyntyr ago."	Nearly

535	"Alas," seyd the stewerd, "me is wo! That was my lord Syr Orfeo. Alas," he seyd, "what schall I do?	
000	And for my lord that happyd so, Alas," he seyd, "that me is wo!	came to that [fate]
	That so evyll deth was merkyd,	was allotted
	And so herd grace hym behappyd."	befell him
540	On swon he fell in the halle.	In [a] swoon
	The lordys com befor hym alle	
	And toke hym up sone anon, And comforth hym everychon,	
	And told hym how this werld geth:	goes
545	Ther is no bote of manys deth.	remedy for
	The kyng beheld the stewerd than,	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,
	And seyd he was a trew man	
fol. 156r	And lovyd hym as he aughte to do,	
550	And sterte up and seyd, "Lo,	
550	Syr stuerd, lystyns now this thing:	W. at : t
	Yiff I were Orfeo the kyng? Therfor, stewerd, lystyns to me:	What if
	Now thou may the kynge her se.	here
	I have wounyd ten wynter and more	lived
555	In wyldernes with mekyll sore.	
	And have wone my quen awey,	And [I] have won
	Owte of the lond of fary,	
	And have brought that lady hend	gentle
560	Here unto the tounes ende,	edge
300	And oure in was ther inome.	our lodging was taken there
	And myselve to the courte com, Thus in beger wede full styll,	beggar's clothes
	For to asey thi gode wyll.	try (make a trial of)
	And for I found thee thus trewe,	(
565	Therfor thou schall never it rewe.	regret
	For be my lyve, for lufe or aye,	for love or fear
	Thou schall be kyng after my dey.	
	And if thou had of my deth blyth,	joy
F70	Thow schuld be hangyd al so swyth."	as quickly
570	All the lordys that ther sette,	
	That was ther kyng, thei underyete. And with that word the stewerd hym knew,	recognized
	And over the bord anon he threw	overturned the table
	And fell anon doune to hys fete.	
575	And so dyd all that ther sate,	
	And all thei seyd with a cryeng,	
	"Welcum, our Orfew the Kyng!"	
	Of hys comyng thei were blyth,	
	And brought hym to a chamber swyth,	quickly

POEM 40: VANITY 399

580	And bathyd hym and schove hys berd, And tyred hym as a kyng in wede. And sethin with gret processyon Thei brought the quen thorow the toune. Therfor was myrth and moledy	shaved dressed; in [fitting] clothes then
585	Therfor was myrth and melody Of yche maner mynstralsy. Ther he was crouned new, iwys, So was the quen, Dame Meroudys, And levyd long afterwerd,	indeed lived
590	And seth was kyng the trew stewerd. Herpers of Bretayn herd anon How this aventour was begon, And made a ley of grete lykyng, And callyd it after the kyng,	adventure (story) had gone lay; delight
595	That Orfeo hyght, as men wele wote. Gode is the ley, suete is the note. Thus endys here "Orfeo the Kyng"; God grante us all hys blyssing. And all that this wyll here or rede,	[was] named; know
600	God forgyff them ther mysded, To the blysse of hevyn that thei may come And ever more therin to woune. And that it may so be, Prey we all, for charyté. Explicit Orfew	[So that] to heaven's bliss they dwell
	40. VANITY	
fol. 156v	Vanyté O vanyté of vanytés, and all is vanité. Lo, how this werld is turnyd up and downe: Now wele, now wo, now tranquilyté, Now werre, now pese and now rebilyon.	well rebellion
5	If thou wold daly labour for renowne, For profete, plesur, astate or grete degré, The best therof schall ende in vanyté.	daily estate (rank) best of that
10	Yit beldys thou castellus, haulys, townys, and towerys, Sytys and bourghes with wallys stout and strong, With plesand herbours of chambours and bourys, Hangyd with arras stoutly, depe and long, With rych presyus stones sete among, Ennewyd with gold rych as it may be, Yit schall all waste and turne to vanyté.	build; halls Cities and towns lodgings; chambers; bowers tapestry splendidly precious Colored perish
15	If thou seke worschipe all the werld aboute, For dede of armys to avaunse thi name	seek renown deeds; advance

20	So that there is not non fond so stoute; Of yong ne olde thou toke never schame; In every place thou berys awey the fame; At every justys thou berys awey the gré, Yit schall thi werke all end in vanyté.	none found so bold joust; carry away the prize
25	Ye feyre ladys apereld with plesance, To you both youth and bewty ben appendyng. And many low labours doth your observans And in your courte deyly ben atendyng; They spare nother for labour ne for spendyng To do your plesur weresoever ye be, Yit schall that myrthe all end in vanyté.	dressed with pleasure (see note) beauty belong humble laborers take care of you daily cost
30	Yiff thou of byrth her was the worthyest And onne the erth was gretyst of astate, Kyngys and popys so rych were, at the laste Of them agen thou durst do debate. ¹ Yit in a whyle thou schall be chekemate,	was the worthiest here rank (see note) i.e., defeated
35	When deth wyll com and take hys propour fe. Than schall thou knaw thi pride was vanyté.	proper fee (rightful claim)
40	Yiff thou be wedyd to thyn intent And have a wyff full plesant and feyre, Well born and also obedyent, And also have chylder for to be thin eyer, Yet in a whyle this plesans schall apare, When age schall com croke both hand and kne Than schall thou knaw that was bot vanyté.	wedded children; heir diminish . cripple
45	Yiff thou be strong and yong and fayre of face, Als sembly of schap as any creatour, Lovyd of pepull and governyd be grace, Lernyd in wysdom be wyse scryptour, Prevyd in manhed, passyd many a wynter, And ever in worschype both be lond and se, Yit schall all pass and end in vanyté.	handsome of appearance; creature Beloved; by grace (good fortune) writings Proved [worthy] in manhood
50	The well of forten is so changeabull And deyly tournys upon so slyper a pyn, And yit som tyme it makys men abull To cruell to ryn agen all ther ryall kyne; ²	wheel of fortune daily turns; an unstable axle (see note)
	Onon be unforton the state that thei wer in.	Anon (soon); misfortune

¹ Lines 31–32: Kings and popes who were so rich [i.e., you were as rich as kings and popes], in the end / You dared to oppose them

² To cruelly assault all their own royal family

55	Other men happis, and thus ye may well se That state ne reule is not bot vanyté.	It befalls other men nor rule (governance)
fol. 157r	In youth now styres mekyll wantonys And oft intendyth to lustys and pley, And lytell remembrys his awne febulnys,	inclines to desires feebleness
60	How youth schall pas and deperte awey, And deth schall com — that is non ney. Thou blynd youth, loke up and se: Thy pride, thi pley, all is bot vanyté.	there is no denying
65	Lo, here comys youth with myrth and plays joly, Withouten thought or care, fader and moderles. Bot medyll age thinkys that it was foly, And peynes hymselve with werldly besynes, Bot all his labour is to grete ryches. Than comys age and seys that he must dyghe;	jolly games
70	Than he knaw yought and all was vanyté.	youth
75	We tyll the erth, we tourne it to and fro. We labour ryght deuly with gret besynes, We dyge, we delve, we saw, we scher also, We geder the corn hom for other mens ryches. We have full soldom any restfull gladnes.	duly; activity sow; shear gather grain home
75	We have full seldom any restfull gladnes, Bot labour in poverté to the tyme that we dyghe. Yit is our labour not bot vanyté. AMEN QUOD RATE	until the time
	41. KING EDWARD AND THE HERMIT	
	Jhesus that is Hevyn Kyng, Giff them all god endyng If it be thi wyll.	Give; good
5	And yif them parte of hevyn gam That well can calle gestys same With mete and drinke to fylle.	heaven's delight bring guests together
	When that men be glad and blyth, Than were solas god to lyth, He that wold be stylle.	cheerful entertainment good to hear For he who would be still (listen)
10	Of a kyng I wyll you telle, What aventour hym befelle, He that wyll herke thertylle.	adventure [To] him who will listen to it
	It befelle be god Edwerd deys,	in good Edward's days (see note)
15	For soth, so this romans seys; Herkyns, I wyll you telle. The kyng to Scherwod gan wend	Listen

20	On hys pleyng for to lend, For to solas hym that stond, The grete hertys for to hunte In frythys and in felle,	to dwell (continue) entertain; [at] that time woods and in moors
20	With ryall festys and feyr ensemblé, With all the lordys of that contré; With hym ther gan thei duell.	feasts; assembly region
0.5	Tyll it befell upon a dey	
25	To hys fosterse he gan sey, "Felous, were is the best?	foresters Fellows, where is the best [hunting]
	In your playing wher ye have bene,	retiows, where is the vest [numing]
	Were have ye most gam sene Of dere in this forest?"	game
fol. 157v	They ansuerd and fell on kne:	
31	"Over all, lord, is gret plenté, Both est and west.	
	We may schew you at a syght	
	Two thousand dere this same nyght,	
35	Or the son go to reste."	Before the sun goes down
	An old foster drew hym nere:	
	"Lystins, lord, I saw a dere	
	Under a tre;	
40	So grete a hed as he bare,	head (rack of antlers)
40	Sych one saw I never are,	before
	No feyrer myht be. He is more than other two	might [there] be
	That ever I saw on erth go."	larger than two combined
	Than seyd the kyng so fre,	
45	"Thy waryson I wyll thee geve	reward
	Ever more whyll thou doyst lyve,	
	That dere thou late me se."	
	Upon the morne thei ryden fast	
	With hundys and with hornes blast;	hounds
50	To wodde than are thei wente.	
	Nettys and gynnes than leyd he;	traps
	Every archer to hys tre	
	With bowys redy bent.	1 161.11 1
55	They person the days up that standys	released [the] hounds
55	They reysed the dere up that stondys,	chased (started)
	So nere thei span and sprent. The hundys all, as thei were wode,	ran and leaped as if they were mad
	They ronne the dere into the wode;	as y iney were maa
	The kyng hys hors he hent.	he took his horse
	The King hijo horo he helic.	ne voon nis norse

60	The kyng sate onne a god courser:	good charger (fast horse)
00	Fast he rode after the dere,	good charger (fast horse)
	And chasyd hym ryght fast	
	Both thorow thyke and thine.	
	Thorow the forest he gan wyn,	went
65		шені
03	With hundys and hornes blast.	
	The kyng had followyd hym so long	1 1 , 1
	Hys god sted was ne sprong;	nearly exhausted
	Hys hert awey was past.	1 11 .1
70	Horn ne hunter myght he non her	he could not hear
70	So ranne the hundys at the dere;	
	Awey he was at last.	
	The kyng had folowyd hym so long,	
	Fro mydey to the evynsong;	
	That lykyd hym full ille.	pleased him little
75	He ne wyst were that he was,	knew not where
, 0	Ne out of the forest for to passe,	Nor [how] to go
	And thus he rode all wylle.	astray
	"Whyle I may the dey lyght se,	astray
	Better is to loge under a tre,"	
80	He seyd hymselve untylle.	unto himself
00	The kyng cast in hys wytte:	unto himself considered in his mind
	"Yyff I stryke into a pytte,	step
	Hors and man myght spylle.	
	"I have herd pore men call at morow	in the morning
85	Seynt Julyan send them god harborow	[For] St. Julian [to] send; good lodging
	When that they had nede.	0
fol. 158r	And yit when that thei were trayst,	trusting (faithful)
	And of herborow were abayst,	afraid
	He wold them wysse and rede.	instruct and advise
90	Seynt Julyan, as I ame trew knyght,	
	Send me grace this iche nyght	same
	Of god harbour to sped.	to achieve
	A gift I schall thee gyven:	to delite of
	Every yere whyll that I lyven,	
95	Folke for thi sake to fede."	
99	Forke for this sake to fede.	
	As he rode whyll he had lyght,	
	And at the last he hade syght,	
	Of an hermyte hym besyde.	
	Of that syght he was full feyn,	glad
100	For he wold gladly be in the pleyn,	in the clearing
=	And theder he gan to ryde.	on the order mg
	An hermytage he fond ther;	
	He trowyd a chapell that it were.	assumed
	The crowyer a chapen that it were.	аѕитеа

105	Than seyd the kyng that tyde, "Now, Seynt Julyan a boune untyll, As pylgrymes trow full wele! Yonder I wyll abyde."	a boon (gift) unto [you]
	A lytell gate he fond ney;	nearby
110	Theron he gan to call and cry That within myght here.	That [those] within
110	That herd an hermyte ther within;	That [house] within
	Unto the gate he gan to wyn,	to go
	Bedyng his prayer.	Praying
	And when the hermyt saw the kyng,	
115	He seyd, "Sir, gode evyn."	
	"Wele worth thee, sir frere.	May good befall you
	I pray thee I myght be thi gest,	
	For I have ryden wyll in this forest	1
	And nyght neyghes me nere."	draws near
120	The hermyte seyd, "So mote I thé,	So may I prosper
	For sych a lord as ye be,	J 1 1
	I have non herbour tyll.	to [you]
	Bot if it were never so pore a wyght,	·
	I ne der not herbour hym a nyght,	
125	Bot he for faute schuld spyll. ¹	
	I won here in wyldernes	dwell
	With rotys and ryndys, among wyld bestys,	roots and barks
	As it is my Lordys wylle."	
	The kyng seyd "I thee beseche	
130	The wey to the toune thou wold me teche,	show
	And I schall thee behyght	promise
	That I schall thi travell quyte,	repay your labor
	That thou schall me not wyte	[So] that; reproach
	Or passyth this fortnyght.	Before this fortnight passes
135	And if thou wyll not, late thi knave go	
	To teche me a myle or two	
	The whylys I have deylyght."	While
	"By Seynt Mary," seyd the frere,	
1.40	"Schorte servys getys thou here,	i.e., cold comfort
140	And I can rede aryght."	If I can judge well
fol. 158v	Than seyd the kyng, "My dere frend,	
	The wey to the towne if I schuld wynd,	
	How fer may it be?"	

 $^{^{1}}$ Lines 123–25: Even if one were as poor a creature [as can be], / I would dare not lodge him for a night / Unless he would die for the lack [of it]

1.45	"Syr," he seyd, "so mote I thryve,	
145	To the towne is myles fyve	, 11
	From this long tre.	tall
	A wyld wey I hold it were,	I believe it is
	The wey to wend, I you suere, Bot ye the dey may se."	Unless
150		Untess
130	Than seyd the kyng, "Be Godys myght, Ermyte, I schall harbour with thee this nyght,	
	And els I were we."	woe (miserable)
	And cis I were we.	woe (miseraoie)
	"Me thinke," seyd the hermyte, "thou arte a sto	out syre. bold
	I have ete up all the hyre	consumed all the wages (see note)
155	That ever thou gafe me.	
	Were I oute of myn hermyte wede,	hermit's garb
	Of thi favyll I wold not dred,	guile
	Thoff ther were sych thre.	Even if there were three such [of you]
	Loth I were with thee to fyght:	Leen of more were more such [of your
160	I wyll herbour thee all nyght,	
100	And it behovyth so to be.	If it must be so
	Sych gode as thou fyndys here, take,	If it must be so
	And aske thyn in, for Godys sake."	ask (have) your lodging
	"Gladly, syr," seyd he.	ask (have) your touging
	Gladiy, syr, seyd lie.	
165	Hys stede into the hous he lede.	steed
	With lytter son he gan hym bed;	soon; bed down
	Met ne was ther non.	Food
	The frere he had bot barly stro,	straw
	Two thake-bendysfull, without no;	Two bundles, in truth
170	For soth, it was furth born.	
	Befor the hors the kyng it leyd.	
	"Be Seynt Mayry," the hermyte seyd,	
	"Other thing have we non."	
	The kyng seyd, "Gramersy, frer,	Thank you
175	Wele at es ame I now here;	
	A nyght wyll son be gon."	
	The kyng was never so servysable:	h alpful
	He hew the wode and kepyd the stable.	helpful cut the wood
	* '	
180	God fare he gan hym dyght, And made hym ryght well at es,	Good comfort he made for himself
100		
	And ever the fyre befor hys nese	nose
	Brynand feyr and bryght.	T
	"Leve ermyte," seyd the kyng,	Dear
105	"Mete — and thou have any thing —	if you have any
185	To soper thou us dyght.	
	For serteynly as I thee sey,	

	I ne hade never so sory a dey That I ne had a mery nyght."	
190	The kyng seyd, "Be Godys are, And I sych an hermyte were	mercy
	And wonyd in this forest, When fosters were gon to slep,	dwelled
	Than I wold cast of my cope	cloak
6.1.180	And wake both est and weste	keep watch
fol. 159r 196	Wyth a bow of hue full strong And arowys knyte in a thong;	gathered in a strap
100	That wold me lyke best.	gamerea in a comp
	The kyng of venyson hath non nede,	
200	Yit myght me hape to have a brede To glad me and my gest."	I might happen to have a piece of meat guest
	The hermyte seyd to the kyng, "Leve syr, were is thi duellyng? Leve syr, were is the duellyng?	Dear
	I praye thou wolde me sey." "Syr," he seyd, "so mote I thé,	so may I prosper
205	In the kyngys courte I have be	J 1 1
	Duellyng many a dey. And my lord rode on huntyng,	
	As grete lordys doth many tyme	
	That giff them myche to pley,	are oft accustomed
210	And after a grete herte have we redyn And mekyll travell we have byden,	much effort we have endured
	And yit he scape awey.	escaped
	"Todey erly in the mornyng	
215	The kyng rode on huntyng, And all the courte beden.	together
213	A dere we reysed in that stondys,	together roused in that time
	And ganne chase with our hundys —	
	A feyrer had never man sene. I have folowyd hym all this dey	
220	And ryden many a wylsom wey;	wild
	He dyd me trey and tene.	trick and discomfort
	I pray you, helpe me I were at es, Thou boughtys never so god servege	[if you] help me [so that] I were at ease service
	In sted ther thou hast bene."	In [any] place where
225	The ermyte seyd, "So God me save,	
	Thou take sych gode as we have;	1.1
	We schall not hyll it with thee." Bred and chese forth he brought.	hide it from you
	The kyng ete, whyles hym thought	

230	Non other mete saw he. ¹ Sethen thyn drynke he dreughe; Theron he had sone inoughe.	Then thin (meager) drink he drew
235	Than seyd the kyng so fre, "Hermyt, pute up this mete tyte, And if I mey, I schall thee quyte, Or passyd be this monethys thre."	right now repay
	Than seyd the kyng, "Be Godys grace, Thou wonys in a mery place!	dwell
	To schote thou schulde lere.	shoot; learn
240	When the fosters are go to rest, Som tyme thou myght have of the best,	[some] of the best
	All of the wyld dere. I wold hold it for no skath, Thoff thou had bow and arowys bothe,	shame
245	Allthoff thou be a frere.	
	Ther is no foster in all this se	area
	That wold sych herme to thee; Ther thou may leve here."	[do] such harm
fol. 159v	The armyte seyd, "So mote thou go,	
250	Hast thou any other heraud than so Onto my lord the kynge?	herald (i.e., praise) then this
	I schall be trew to hym, I trow,	
	For to weyte my lordys prow	guard; honor
255	For dred of sych a thing. For if I were take with sych a dede,	i.e., caught poaching
_00	To the courte thei wold me lede And to prison me bryng,	ver, eaught potenting
	Bot if I myght my raunson grete	might [pay]
	Be bond in prison and sorow grete	
260	And in perell to hyng."	hang
	Than seyd the kyng, "I wold not lete	stop
	When thou arte in this forest sette	
	To stalke when men are at rest.	
265	Now as thou arte a trew man, If thou ought of scheting can,	know anything of archery
400	Ne hyll it not with thi gest.	hide it not from
	For be hym that dyghed on tre,	j
	Ther schall no man wyte for me	find out [because] of me
970	Whyll my lyve wyll lest.	last
270	Now hermyte, for thi professyon,	

 $^{^{-1}}$ Lines 229–30: The king ate, since (while) it seemed to him / That he saw no other food

	Yiff thou have any venison, Thou giff me of the best."	
275	The ermyte seyd, "Men of grete state Oure ordyr thei wold make full of bate Aboute sych mastery,	strife such deeds
	Bot thei be in prayer and in penans, And arne ther mete by chans And not be archery. Many dey I have her ben	earn their living by chance (i.e., charity)
280	And flesche mete I ete non Bot mylke of the ky. Warme thee wele and go to slepe, And I schall lape thee with my cope,	cow's milk cover
	Softly to lyye."	
285	"Thou semys a felow," seyd the frere. "It is long gon seth any was here, Bot thou thyselve tonyght."	friendly companion a long while since
290	Unto a cofyr he gan go And toke forth candyllus two, And sone thei were ilyght.	coffer (chest)
	A cloth he brought and bred full whyte, And venyson ibake tyte. Agen he yede full ryght:	baked soon
295	Venyson salt and fressch he brought, And bade hym chese wherof hym thought Colopys for to dyght.	salted choose which he preferred Fried (or roasted) meat; prepare
	Well may ye wyte inow thei had; The kyng ete and made hym glad,	know enough
300	And grete laughter he lowghe: "Nere I had spoke of archery, I myght have ete my bred full dryghe!"	Had I not spoken
fol. 160r	The kyng made it full towghe: "Now Crystys blyssing have sych a frere	i.e., gave him a hard time
305	That thus canne ordeyn our soper And stalke under the wode bowe! The kyng hymselve, so mote I thé,	forest's boughs
	Is not better at es than we, And we have drinke inowghe."	If
310	The hermyt seyd, "Be Seynt Savyour, I have a pote of galons foure	
	Standing in a wro. Ther is bot thou and I and my knave: Som solas schall we have	corner serving boy

	Sethyn we are no mo."	Since
315	The hermyte callyd hys knave full ryght —	immediately
	Wylkyn Alyn, for soth, he hyght —	he was called
	And bad hym belyve and go,	quickly
	And taught hym prively to a sted	showed him privately to a place
000	To seche the hors corne and bred —	find
320	"And luke that thou do so."	
	Unto the knave seyd the frere,	
	"Felow, go wyghtly here;	swiftly
	Thou do as I thee sey.	
	Besyde me bed thou must goo	my
325	And take up a sloughte of strawe,	cover
	Als softly as thou may.	
	A hownyd pote stondys ther,	honeyed
	And Godys forbot that we it spare	God forbid
	To drynke to it be dey.	
330	And bryng me forth my schell,	drinking cup
	And every man schall have hys dele,	portion
	And I schall kenne us pley."	teach us [a] game
	The herymyte seyd, "Now schall I se	
	If thou any felow be,	good companion
335	Or of pley canst ought."	know anything
	The kyng seyd, "So mote I thé,	
	Sey thou what thou wyll with me;	
	Thy wyll it schall be wrought."	
	"When the coppe comys into the plas,	cup
340	Canst thou sey 'fustybandyas!'	(see note)
	And thinke it in thi thought?	keep [that word] in mind
	And thou schall her a totted frere	dizzy (foolish)
	Sey 'stryke pantner!'	(see note)
	And in the cope leve ryght nought."	leave nothing
345	And when the coppe was forth brought,	
	It was oute of the kyngys thought	
	That word that he schuld sey.	
	The frere seyd "Fustybandyas!"	
	Than seyd the kyng "Alas, alas" —	
350	Hys word it was awey.	i.e., He forgot his word [in response]
	"What, arte thou mad?" seyd the frere,	mad
	"Canst thou not sey 'stryke pantener'?	
	Wylt thou lerne all dey?	
	And if thou efte forgete it ons,	forget it once again
355	Thou getys no drinke in this wons,	place
	Bot yiff thou think upon thi pley."	concentrate
	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	

fol. 160v	"Fustybandias!" the frere seyd, And gafe the coppe sych a breyd	jerk
360	That well nygh of it yede. The knave fyllyd and up it yede in plas; The kyng seyd "fustybandyas!" —	off [the table] it went
	Therto hym stod gret nede. "Fustybandyas!" seyd the frere, "How long hast thou stond here,	It was greatly necessary
365	Or thou couth do thi dede? Fyll this eft and late us layke	play
	And betwen rost us a stayke Thus holy lyve to lede."	steak
370	The knave fyllyd the coppe full tyte And brought it furth with grete delyte;	quickly
	Befor hym gon it stand. "Fustybandyas!" seyd the frere, The kyng seyd "Stryke pantener!"	
375	And toke it in hys hand And stroke halve and more.	drank half
	"Thys is the best pley, I suere, That ever I saw in lond!	aram nay
	I hyght thee, hermyte, I thee geve, I schall thee quyte, if that I lyve,	I promise you
380	The gode pley thou hast us fond."	I will repay you provided us
	Than seyd the ermyte, "God quyte all. Bot when thou comys to the lordys haule	
	Thou wyll forgete the frere. Bot wher thou comyst, nyght or dey,	wherever you go
385	Yit myght thou thinke upon the pley That thou hast sene here.	
	And thou com among jentyll men, Thei wyll laugh and thou hem it ken, And make full mery chere.	if you teach it to them
390	And if thou comyst here for a nyght A colype I dere thee behyght All of the wyld dere."	A piece I dare promise to you
	The kyng seyd, "Be hym that me bought, Syre," he seyd, "ne thinke it nought	
395	That thou be thus forgete. Tomorow sone when it is dey,	
	I schall quyte, if that I may, All that we have here ete.	
400	And when we com to the kyngys gate We schall not long stond therate;	
100	we senan not long stong therate,	

	In we schall be lete. And by my feyth, I schall not blyne	stop
	Tyll the best that is therine Betwen us two be sete."	
405	Th'ermyte seyd, "Be hym that me bought, Syre," he seyd, "ne thynke it nought.	
	I suere thee, by my ley,	faith
	I have be ther and takyn dole,	taken charity
410	And have hade many merry mele, I dare full savely sey.	
110	Hopys thou I wold for a mase	amazement (confusion)
	Stond in the myre ther and dase,	daze
	Ne hand halve a dey?	Nearly half the day
fol. 161r	The charyté comys thorow sych menys hend,	, , ,
415	He havys full lytell that stond at hend	
	Or that he go awey. ¹	
	"Hopys thou that I ame so preste	eager
	For to stond at the kyng yate and reste	
	Ther pleys for to lere?	To learn their games
420	I have neyghbors her nygh hand:	nearby here
	I send them of my presente	
	The sydys of the wyld dere.	
	Of my presantys thei ar feyn;	pleased
495	Bred and ale thei send me ageyn.	1 1
425	Thus gates lyve I here."	In this way
	The kyng seyd "So mote I thé,	blaces me
	Hermyte, me pays wele with thee: Thou arte a horpyd frere."	you please me well splendid (bold)
	Thou arte a horpyu nere.	spienaia (voia)
	The kyng seyd, "Yit myght thou com sum dey	
430	Unto the courte for to pley,	
	Aventourys for to sene.	
	Thou wote not what thee betyde may	You know not what may happen
	Or that thou gon awey — The better thou may bene.	
435	Thoff I be here in pore clothing,	
	I ame not bayschyd for to bryng	ashamed
	Giftys two or thre.	
	Ther is no man in all this wonys	place
	That schall myssey to thee onys,	insult you once
440	Bot as I sey, so schall it be."	

¹ Lines 414–16: The charity [that] comes from such men's hands, / He gets very little [of it] who stands nearby / Before he takes his leave

	"Sertys," seyd the hermyte than,	
	"I hope thou be a trew man.	
	I schall aventour the gate.	try (visit)
4.45	Bot tell me fyrst, leve syre,	
445	After what man schall I spyre,	inquire
	Both erly and late?"	i.e., at any time
	"Jhake Flecher, that is my name.	
	All men knowys me at home;	
450	I ame at yong man state.	1.4
450	And thoff I be here in pore wede,	clothes
	In sych a stede I can thee lede	C 10H F 1 .
	Ther we schall maken full hate."	fulfill [our] promise
	"Aryse up, Jake, and go with me,	
	And more of my privyté	secrets
455	Thou schall se somthyng."	
	Into a chambyr he hym lede:	
	The kyng saughe aboute the hermytys bed	
	Brod arowys hynge.	hang
	The frere gaff hym a bow in hond:	
460	"Jake," he seyd, "draw up the bond."	
	He myght oneth styre the streng.	barely move the string
	"Syr," he seyd, "so have I blys,	
	Ther is non archer that may schet with this	shoot
	That is with my lord the kyng."	
465	An arow of an elle long	an ell (approx. forty inches)
	In hys bow he it throng,	thrust
	And to the hede he gan it hale.	pull
fol. 161v	Ther is no dere in this foreste,	
	And it wold onne hym feste,	hit
470	Bot it schuld spyll his skale.	shatter his skull
	"Jake, seth thou can of flecher crafte,	
	Thou may me es with a schafte."	help me
	Than seyd Jake, "I schall."	
	"Jake, and I wyst that thou were trew,	if I knew
475	Or and I thee better knew,	·
	More thou schuldys se."	
	The kyng to hym grete othys swer:	
	"The covenand we made whyle are,	a little earlier
	I wyll that it hold be."	
480	Tyll two trowys he gan hym lede;	To two troughs (tubs)
	Of venyson ther was many a brede.	piece
	"Jake, how thinkys thee?	
	Whyle ther is dere in this forest,	

485	Som tyme I may have of the best The kyng wytesave on me.	bestows upon me
	"Jake, and thou wyll of myn arowys have,	if you
	Take thee of them and sum thou leve,	take [some] of them
	And go we to our pley."	
	And thus thei sate with "Fustybandyas!"	
490	And with "Stryke pantener!" in that plas, Tyll it was nerehand dey,	nearly
	When tyme was com ther rest to take.	
	On morn they rose when they gon wake;	
	The frere began to sey,	
495	"Jake, I wyll with thee go	
	In thi felowschype a myle or two,	
	Tyll thou have redy wey."	Until you have an easy road
	"Ye," seyd the kyng, "mekyll thanke,	
	Bot when we last nyght togeder dranke,	
500	Thinke what thou me behyght:	promised
000	That thou schuld com som dey	promised
	Unto the courte for to pley,	
	When tyme thou se thou myght."	
	"Sertys," seyd the hermyte than,	
505	"I schall com, as I ame trew man,	
	Or tomorow at nyght."	Before
	Ather be taught other gode dey.	Each wished the other
	The kyng toke the redy wey;	
	Home he rode full ryght.	
510	Knyghtys and squyres many mo,	
310	All that nyght thei rode and go	
	With sygheng and sorowyng sore.	
	They cryghed and blew with hydoys bere	hideous noise
	Yiff thei myght of ther lord here,	
515	Wher that ever he were.	
	When the kyng his bugyll blew,	
	Knyghtys and fosters wele it knew,	
	And lystind to hym ther.	
¥00	Many man that were masyd and made,	confused and anguished
520	The blast of that horn made them glad;	1
	To the towne than gan thei fare.	began to go

ABBREVIATIONS: A: Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland MS Advocates 19.1.11; Ad3: London, British Library MS Additional 33995; Ak: Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland MS Advocates 19.2.1 (the Auchinleck MS); B: London, British Library MS Additional 36983; Br: New Haven, Beinecke Library MS 365 (the Brome MS); C: Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.2.38; CA: Gower, Confessio Amantis; CT: Chaucer, The Canterbury Tales; D: Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Digby 86; CL: Jacobus de Voragine, Golden Legend; H: London, British Library MS Harley 3810; L: London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 306; MED: The Middle English Dictionary; MWME: The Manual of Writings in Middle English; N: Naples, Bibliotheca Nazionale MS XIII B.29; NIMEV: A New Index of Middle English Verse; NP: F. Foster, The Northern Passion; OED: The Oxford English Dictionary; P: Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.5.48; PC: The Pricke of Conscience; PL: Patrologia Latina; R: Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson C. 86; S: San Marino, CA, Huntington Library MS HM 144; STC: Pollard and Redgrave, A Short-Title Catalogue of Books; TC: Chaucer, Troilus and Criseyde; Whiting: Whiting, Proverbs, Sentences and Proverbial Phrases.

1. SAINT EUSTACE

Origin, Genre, and Themes

Widely venerated throughout medieval Europe, Saint Eustace was the subject of numerous saints' lives in Greek, Latin, Coptic, and nearly every vernacular of the medieval West, including Old English and multiple versions in Middle English. His feast day was celebrated on either September 20 or November 1, 2, or 3, depending on local custom. But the popularity of this saint's life seems due primarily to its virtues as a story and not to any particularly strong devotion to the cult of Saint Eustace himself. The story (like those of many other saints) has only dubious connections to any known historical figure. Even if Eustace was not an invention of the early medieval church, the details of his legend seem to have been derived primarily from biblical episodes, folklore, Greek romances, and possibly stories from the Far East. This combination of literary sources made for a story with enduring popularity, and lives of Saint Eustace were continually translated, rewritten, and illustrated from the eighth century to the sixteenth.

No source has been identified for the stanzaic Middle English text presented here, but it likely derives from one or more of the many versions of the legend circulating in French or Anglo-Norman. It was probably written in the Midlands in the second half of the thirteenth century. Across these various versions, the major details of Saint Eustace's life remain

¹ For the wealth of possible sources and analogues for the Eustace legend, see Gerould, "Forerunners."

largely the same. A virtuous knight named Placidas, in the service of the Roman emperor Trajan, goes out hunting one day and is converted by a stag who speaks to him with the voice of Christ. He takes the Christian name Eustace, is baptized with his wife Theopistis and his two sons, and is then told that he will be severely tested by Satan. His servants and livestock are destroyed and his wealth is stolen. His wife is seized by a sea captain, his sons are lost to wild animals, and Eustace works in obscurity as a shepherd until he is discovered by some of Trajan's men. Eustace resumes his military service, and after a great battle he arrives in the town where Theopistis has been living. She reunites him with his two sons, who have just met each other in the course of the same military campaign. The new emperor, Hadrian, summons the reunited family and demands that they renounce their Christianity. They refuse and are martyred in a brass bull that is heated in a fire.

The story gains its appeal from the use of several familiar literary motifs, including conversion by a talking beast, the heroic endurance of loss and family separation, the recovery of identity, and martyrdom. All of these motifs resemble many similar episodes in folklore, popular literature, and the Bible (in figures such as Balaam, Job, and Daniel). Like many saints' lives, the story fuses saintly patience and heroic bravery in the person of a noble protagonist. Action, both saintly and heroic, takes priority over psychological depth, and emotion (wonderment, pity, etc.) takes priority over narrative logic or theological inquiry. While the story emphasizes the suddenness of the transition from Placidas's identity as a soldier and hunter into Eustace's identity as a suffering Christian, these identities do not come into any serious conflict, nor would a medieval audience see them as necessarily difficult to reconcile with each other. Only the emperor's insistence forces Eustace to choose between his duties as a Christian and as a Roman, and the text invests little effort in articulating the differences between them.

The Middle English version presented here concentrates on the major events in the life of Saint Eustace, and omits many of the details, including the name of Eustace's wife and the geographical references. Biblical allusions (to Job and others), present in some of the Latin versions, are largely absent, and as a whole the story emphasizes action over all else. Dialogues are brief, narrative transitions are succinct (even abrupt), and description borrows heavily from conventional phrases of Middle English romance. While the other surviving Middle English versions of this saint's life are in couplets or prose, the tail-rhyme form of this version draws it even closer to Middle English romance, and the author seems to concentrate on the story's possibilities as entertainment, rather than its value as a devotional or instructional text.

Manuscript Context

There is every reason to believe that *Saint Eustace* was always the first text in Ashmole 61, including its place at the head of the incomplete table of contents. As the opening text, *Saint Eustace* introduces many of the manuscript's particular interests, with a strong emphasis on fast-moving narrative, the depiction of uncomplicated religious devotion and pious suffering,

² On the biblical analogues to Eustace's life, see Heffernan, "Narrative Motifs," pp. 70–86.

³ For a comparison of the stanzaic Middle English *Saint Eustace* preserved in Ashmole 61 and Digby 86 to the other Middle English versions, see Heffernan, "Narrative Motifs," pp. 75–86. See also the allegorized "moralité" of the legend in the *Gesta Romanorum* (Herrtage, pp. 87–93) in which, according to the *Moralité*, the emperor is "our lord Jhesu Crist," the tournament is penance, the wife is the flesh, and the two sons reason and will. The protective stone with its three colors is the Trinity.

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and the central role of nuclear families. *Saint Eustace* is the first of a series of narratives involving familial separation and reunion, including *Sir Isumbras*, *Lybeaus Desconus*, *The Jealous Wife*, and *Sir Orfeo* (items 5, 20, 22, and 39). *Sir Isumbras*, the first text of the second quire, is particularly close to *Saint Eustace*. In many respects, the plots of the two stories are nearly identical, and comparisons of the two have been made frequently in scholarly discussions of the connections between hagiography and romance.⁴

The didactic courtesy texts grouped with *Saint Eustace* in the beginning of Ashmole 61 also imagine the nuclear family as the site of Christian virtue, love, and stability. The only other saint's life in the manuscript, *Saint Margaret* (item 37), makes for an interesting comparison, as it retains *Saint Eustace*'s narrative pace and depth while describing a more elaborate martyrdom. The last text in Ashmole 61, at least in the manuscript's current form (since some texts may have been lost along with the final leaves), recalls *Saint Eustace* as well, albeit in curious ways. *King Edward and the Hermit* (item 41), though the product of a very different genre, features a hunter of deer who undergoes a change of identity, and it is certainly tempting to think that Rate had placed the two texts as oddly matching "bookends" to his interconnected collection.

Text

Though there are several versions of *Saint Eustace* in Middle English, including versions preserved in the *South English Legendary, The Northern Homily Collection*, the 1438 translation of the *Golden Legend*, and William Caxton's later translation of the *Golden Legend*, the stanzaic version presented in Ashmole 61 represents a separate tradition. Only one other manuscript preserves a copy of this version, the late thirteenth-century household miscellany Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Digby 86 (D).⁵ Though the two texts were copied nearly two hundred years apart, Rate's text resembles the text in D in most details. But in the intervening years, compounded scribal errors seem to have rendered Rate's copy-text very defective. In this case, it is virtually impossible to guess which changes and omissions are Rate's, but his text omits many lines and frequently alters outdated or unrecognized words preserved in the earlier text. The major omissions, which on at least one occasion seriously damage the sense of the text, are discussed in the Explanatory Notes.

Printed Editions

Horstmann, Carl, ed. *Altenglische Legenden, neue Folge mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen*. Pp. 211–19. [Prints the text of D and collates the readings of Ashmole 61.]

Adaptations and Modernizations

Weston, Jessie L., ed. *The Chief Middle English Poets*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1914. Pp. 78–83.

⁴ See L. Braswell, "Sir Isumbras"; Gerould, "Forerunners"; and A. Thompson, "Jaussian Expectation."

⁵ As another family miscellany manuscript, Digby 86 offers useful comparisons to Ashmole 61, since it shares much similar material but dates from an entirely different period. See Tschann and Parkes, *Facsimile of Oxford*.

Reference Works

NIMEV 211 MWME 3.5.98.586

See also L. Braswell, Cazelles, Delehaye, Gerould, Heffernan (1975 and 1988), Rooney, Salih, and A. Thompson in the bibliography.

Title *Seynt Ewstas.* Spellings of the name Eustace vary widely. Rate uses both this form and the form *Eustas*. Rate's title, written in a slightly larger script than that used for the text, does not identify the genre of the story, though even this terse title suggests a saint's life will follow.

- 7 Placydas. Both Malory's Morte d'Arthur and Spenser's Faerie Queene feature characters with this name, perhaps based in part on the popularity of the lives of St. Eustace.
- 8 Tracyan. Trajan, Roman emperor from 98 to 117 A.D., known for his considerable military success, enormous popularity, and major public works in Rome, was one of the most idealized of the emperors in the Middle Ages. A widespread legend held that Pope Gregory I, upon hearing of Trajan's reputation for decency and justice, prayed for him and earned his release from hell (where he had been consigned as a pagan). Dante's Divine Comedy and Langland's Piers Plowman treat Trajan as the chief example of the "virtuous pagan," one whose moral integrity trumps his ignorance (while alive) of Christian doctrine. Placidas, in his service to Trajan, can be seen as a similar figure, though of course he soon receives the baptism that Trajan did not.
- 16 *He rode on huntyng on a dey*. In medieval literature, hunting often symbolizes both aristocratic privilege and the ungoverned exercise of the human will. In this context it may also suggest worldly (as opposed to Christian) activity. See Rooney, *Hunting in Middle English Literature*, pp. 118–21.
- 17 *A hert*. The hart or stag, though not a particularly common Christian symbol, represented devotion, purity, or spiritual aspiration.
- 18 Three lines are missing from this stanza. In D, the stanza reads:

He rod on hunting on a day
On hert he founde, ther he lay
Wel faire ounder on helde.
The hert wes muchel, of heie cinde,
There he was ounder wode linde,
Mest he was of alle.

- 53 thi name changyd schall be. Assuming a new name after baptism recalls the earliest practices of the Christian Church, part of the "rebirth" of baptism.
- And told it to hys wyffe at home. In some versions of the Eustace legend Eustace's wife receives a dream vision while he is hunting, and the husband and wife are thus converted simultaneously. See *GL* 2.267.

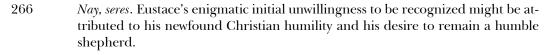
- Ne was it not be nyght. For reasons that are not entirely clear, this contradicts the account of Eustace's baptism given in some other versions of the legend. Jacobus de Voragine describes the family being baptized by the bishop of Rome in the middle of the night (GL 2.267). Presumably, a night baptism emphasizes both the urgency and secrecy of the act, whereas in this version of the legend the emphasis is on the openness of Eustace's conversion.
- He found his schepe in fold were betyn. The immediate impoverishment and devastation experienced by Eustace closely resembles the description of Job's suffering (Job 1:13–20). See also lines 201–03.
- scheld. "Shallow, not deep." See MED "sholde" (adj.).
- Than was Syr Eustas sorye. Rate or his copy-text has omitted nine lines, including the account of the second child's abduction by a wolf. Though line 182 mentions that "both his childer were borne awaye," Rate does not seem to have noticed the omission, possibly because of the repetition of Eustace's swooning in the original text. The missing lines are present in D (160–68):

Wore he wes in that water depe; Hit nes no wonder they he wepe, Of care he hevede i-nowe! Tho he hof swoning aros, He lokede oup and him agros; To londe he moste te. A wonder thing he sey him thar: A wolf his other child at-bar. I-swowen he fel on kne. confused was no wonder [at all] though had enough Then out of [his] swoon he up; shuddered [with fear] take himself saw bore away

On his deth and his up-ryst. Rate has dropped the final line of this stanza, possibly due to a damaged copy-text or because he had altered the stanza's "b" rhyme from "forloren" to "fro" without a way of revising the final "b" rhyme to match it. The stanza in D (lines 169–74) reads as follows:

Tho he of swoning aros, He lokede oup and him agros, His wit wes ney forloren. Evere he thouhte on Jhesu Christ, On his deth, on his oup-rist, That for ous wes i-boren.

- 201 On Job. See note to line 115 and Heffernan, "Narrative Motifs," pp. 72–73.
- A line is missing at the end of this stanza. See D (line 216): "He wes hayward and knight." The hayward is an officer of the manor, an overseer, a guardian of fences, crops, and livestock.
- The identifying wound or scar has a long literary history, from Homer's *Odyssey* to Chrétien de Troyes' *Yvain*.



- 290 *It was therafter longe*. The better reading of D is more in keeping with the usual pace of the narrative: "Hit nes ther-after nothing long" (line 271).
- a werre strong. Trajan was an energetic soldier, leading major campaigns north of the Danube River against the Dacians, in Mesopotamia against the Parthians, and throughout the Middle East.
- 309 both of one dyssche thei ete. Medieval meals usually served food in communal dishes shared among groups of diners seated at large communal tables. For more on eating habits and table manners, see items 7 and 8 in this volume.
- A! Broder, late me tell thee. Heffernan singles out this moment as one of the least satisfying in this version, calling it "terse to a fault" ("Narrative Motifs," p. 79). The mutual recognition of the two brothers is here expressed in a "single utterance . . . the sum total of emotional response" (Heffernan, "Narrative Motifs," p. 79). This may be seen as a serious flaw, or as part of the text's commitment to swift movement and action.
- 377–79 The boy is established as a knight through the granting of these gifts.
- And when that thei ther sones se. Rate (or possibly his copy-text) has altered the last three lines of this stanza, and added the following stanza, not present in D. The revised lines and additional stanza emphasize the family's piety and their joy in being reunited, an emphasis in keeping with Rate's tastes throughout Ashmole 61. In D, this stanza concludes with three lines describing the drinking and feasting after their reunion, lines picked up and used in another stanza probably added by Rate, lines 434–39.
- The Emperoure. Though the text makes no distinction between this emperor and the Emperor Trajan mentioned at the outset of the poem, in other versions of the life of St. Eustace the emperor is named as Hadrian and described as a severe persecutor. Hadrian was indeed the successor of Trajan; his reign was not particularly notable for its persecution of Christians, though many continued to be martyred by Roman authorities throughout both reigns.
- 452 a panne of brasse. Other versions specify a brass bull, recalling the brazen bull of the ancient tyrant Phalaris who tortured and killed his victims in a brass bull designed to make the screams of the victim sound like the bellows of an ox. Consider Gower's account of Berillus, inventor of the brass bull, whom the cruel Siculus gave the honor of being the first to make it bellow (CA 7.3295–3322). As Heffernan notes, the martyrdom of Eustace and his family also recalls an incident in the Book of Daniel, in which the Israelites Shadrach, Meschach, and Abednego are placed in a furnace but go unharmed through the protection of God ("Narrative Motifs," p. 74).

2. RIGHT AS A RAM'S HORN

Origin, Genre, and Themes

A ram's horn is notoriously curved, not "right" or straight, and this poem is an ironic list of all that is right in the world. Attributed to the prolific fifteenth-century poet John Lydgate, *Right as a Ram's Horn* belongs to the capacious family of medieval estates satire. These works imagine the social order as composed of various classes or professions, with women usually lumped together in their own, widely criticized, estate. Estates satire typically proceeds by depicting each estate as acting against the interests of the commonweal and failing to serve its appointed role. With deep roots in Latin and French writing, the English tradition of estates satire includes Chaucer's General Prologue, Langland's "fair field of folk" in *Piers Plowman*, and Gower's review of the social order in his Latin work, *Vox Clamantis*.

Lydgate, a monk of Bury St. Edmunds, was the single most important English poet of the fifteenth century and a self-espoused follower of Chaucer. His work spans nearly all of the genres of medieval writing, and his well-known longer works such as *The Siege of Thebes* were matched or even superseded in popularity by his shorter, pragmatic or didactic texts (such as *Stans Puer ad Mensam* and *The Dietary*, items 7 and 31 in this volume). His authority was widely recognized by scribes and fellow authors, but his poetry also circulated widely without attribution, as it does in Ashmole 61. Though not particularly innovative, the estates satire of *Right as a Ram's Horn* accurately represents Lydgate's poetic style, a style more aureate (lofty and Latinate) than virtually all the other texts contained in Ashmole 61. Its complex *ballade* stanza (*ababbcbc*) and pentameter lines also distinguish it from most of the other texts in the manuscript, which use more traditional English verse forms (e.g. tail-rhyme).

The poem offers a condensed list of some of the most widespread complaints about the social order. Insofar as these grievances about the failure of the various estates are entirely typical of the genre, they have little historical specificity or radical edge. At its heart, estates satire tends to be deeply conservative and rarely presents a sharp or dangerous critique of anyone in particular. *Right as a Ram's Horn* shifts this approach further towards abstraction by attacking allegorical figures — Idleness, Usury, Deception — as well as estates, though Rate's added stanzas target estates left out by Lydgate. But what marks Lydgate's *Ram's Horn* as novel is its *per antifrasim* (by opposite) form, a list of ideal social harmonies and virtues repeatedly undercut by the refrain. This was largely a French tradition. Lydgate himself produced the closest Middle English analogues to this poem, *A Ballade per antiphrasim* and *So as the Crabbe Goth Forward*, a translation of a French poem. *So as the Crabbe Goth Forward* features a similarly sarcastic refrain, lauds the same kinds of miraculous harmony, and has many lines that closely resemble those in *Ram's Horn*. Other English analogues include the "punctuation poems" that present law courts and women in idealized perfection, but undercut these readings with their punctuation. ⁶

Manuscript Context

Right as a Ram's Horn can be seen as preparing the way for the conduct poems later in Ashmole 61, including the two poems that immediately follow, How the Wise Man Taught His Son and How the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter (items 3 and 4). By presenting a world out of joint, in which no one behaves properly, Rate has readied his audience for corrective

⁶ See, for examples, Robbins, Secular Lyrics, pp. 101–02.

alternatives. The poem may also stand in symmetrical relationship to the penultimate poem in the manuscript's current format, *Vanity* (item 40), which lists the estates to establish their fundamental transience. The stanza on minstrels, a profession that appears widely throughout the texts of Ashmole 61 but is less commonly discussed in estate satires, is probably Rate's own composition (see below).

Text

Though Lydgate's *Ram's Horn* is preserved in ten other manuscripts, Ashmole 61's text differs significantly from all of the others. Besides many variant lines, the Ashmole text adds three stanzas not included in any other text (the fifth, sixth, and seventh stanzas here); these are most likely Rate's own composition and may suggest a personal interest in the law courts and in minstrelsy. The text here is also missing two stanzas included in many other copies, one on the benevolence of the rich towards the poor and one on hypocrisy. One stanza lacks a line, and many of Lydgate's original lines have been extensively altered, almost certainly by Rate's own revisions.

Printed Editions

Hargreaves, Henry. "Lydgate's 'A Ram's Horn." *Chaucer Review* 10 (1975), 255–59. [Prints the text of Ashmole 61.]

Lydgate, John. *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*. 2:461–64. [Prints the more common version, based on the text of San Marino, CA, Huntington Library MS El. 26.A.13; Ashmole 61's text not collated.]

Rigg, A. G. *A Glastonbury Miscellany of the Fifteenth Century*. London: Oxford University Press, 1968. Pp. 57–59. [Prints text of Cambridge, Trinity College MS O.9.38 and discusses the genre of *per antifrasim* poetry.]

Ritchie, W. Tod, ed. *The Bannatyne Manuscript*. 4 vols. Scottish Text Society n.s. 22–24, 26. Edinburgh: W. Blackwood, 1928–34. 2:201–02. [Prints the text of Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland MS Advocates 1.1.6.]

Reference Works

NIMEV 199.

MWME 6.16.160.1893, 2149.

See also Ebin, Mann, Pearsall (1970 and 1997), Renoir, Scattergood, Schirmer, and A. Taylor (1992) in the bibliography.

- Title No title or *incipit*. The poem is occasionally cited as "Rammeshorne," "Ram's Horn," or "As Right as a Ram's Horn," but this is the title provided in MacCracken's EETS edition, modernized for consistency.
- 6 *Prudens setys all thingys beforne*. Alternatively, the line may be understood as "Prudence sets all things before itself," i.e., "Prudence considers everything."
- 8 Conveyd by a lyne right as a rammys horne. The Middle English sense of "conveyed" has a range of meanings, including "directed," "guided," "carried on," as well as "written." "Right" is likewise multivalent: "just," "true," or, most pointedly here, "straight." The refrain thus suggests at least two possible senses: that communal life follows a crooked or curved line (and thus has gone awry) or that the text

preceding the refrain is as true as a ram's horn is straight. The phrase "right as a ram's horn" is itself proverbial; see Whiting R27.

- 9 wyll maynten non wrong. Though the word maynten may simply mean "support" here, it may also suggest a particular abuse. "Maintenance," the support of a wide network of loosely affiliated retainers by means of payment and livery (gifts of clothing), was the subject of much complaint in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century England (see line 11, "wyll maynten no falsyd"). The practice raised particular concern when lords used their power to back their retainers in legal cases, even when retainers were suspected of gross abuses and violence. This kind of maintenance could take the form of intimidating witnesses and bribing justices. For an overview of these and related problems, see Michael Hicks, Bastard Feudalism (London: Longman, 1995), pp. 110–36.
- Out of this lond. This stanza lacks one line, possibly omitted inadvertently in the process of rewriting Lydgate's stanza. Compare with lines 41–45 of MacCracken's edition of the usual version:

Owte of this londe — and elles God forbede! — Owtlawed ben Feynynge and Falsenesse; And Flatrie is fled, for verrai drede; Riche and pore have chose hem to Sadnesse, Women lefte Pride, and take hem to Mekenesse. (Lydgate, *The Minor Poems* 2:463).

- 32 Crysten Cowrte ther correccions do spred. Ecclesiastical or consistory courts had jurisdiction over a wide range of matters, including marriage, adultery, and blasphemy. The portrait of Chaucer's Summoner in the General Prologue and the predatory summoner of The Friar's Tale are good introductions to the kinds of accusations made against these courts. See also Hahn and Kaeuper, "Text and Context: Chaucer's Friar's Tale."
- 35 Ther schall no pounde be ther penance. This line presumably connects to the following one, and suggests an idealized world in which summoners do not accept bribes ("no pounde") and bring all sinners to the consistory courts, where they would be forced to make amends and do penance.
- 45 Questemonggers. "Questmongers" were the subject of frequent medieval complaints. The word refers to those who profit from legal inquests either by making false claims or by offering false witness in exchange for a bribe.
- 48 Mynstrels make men myrth for no mede. Complaints about minstrels and popular entertainers, though not widespread, are not uncommon. Two longer alliterative works, Piers Plowman and Winner and Wastour, include complaints about minstrels and their influence in courtly life, and there are similar critiques in French literature. See, for an overview, A. Taylor, "Fragmentation, Corruption, and Minstrel Narration," pp. 58–59.
- 60 Scribes and Fareseys. Lydgate's original line reads "Eretikes" (heretics); one manuscript reads "ipocritis" (hypocrites). Presumably Rate has introduced this alteration, but his intended target is not entirely clear. The phrase may refer to clerical

hypocrisy, a common enough subject of satire. Alternatively, these lines may follow Lydgate's reference to Lollards, religious dissidents who attacked the practices of the established Church. Lollards criticized the Church's considerable wealth, its reliance on images and theater, and the doctrine of the transubstantiation of the Eucharist. Though calling Lollards "scribes and pharisees" does not seem to have been common, they were imagined to be particularly puritanical about blasphemous oaths and hypocritical in their displays of piety. For an instance of this depiction, and a likely source of Lydgate's phrase in line 61, wedyd the cokyll clen oute of the corn, see the Man of Law's Epilogue (CT I[A]1183). The phrase ultimately derives from the parable of the wheat and the tares, Matthew 13:24–30.

3. HOW THE WISE MAN TAUGHT HIS SON

Genre, Origin, and Themes

Ashmole 61's collection of didactic pieces directed at children begins with this short piece, a series of loosely connected rules and proverbs for good conduct. The poem likely dates from the fifteenth century, when similar Middle English texts were composed and copied frequently. Five other surviving manuscripts preserve copies of this text, and it might have been even more popular had there not been so many similar texts available. Indeed, as Seth Lerer has shown, fifteenth-century compilers even recast as children's literature works that had never been intended for a young audience, and "much earlier poetry was reread and at times rewritten with practical didacticism in mind."

In both subject and form, the poem resembles works in two closely related genres, proverb texts and courtesy manuals. Anne Dronzek has recently suggested that *How the Wise Man Taught His Son* should be considered part of a broadly defined genre of "conduct literature," a category that would include other texts that discuss "secular daily life." Whereas some texts treat more specific aspects of manners and good behavior (such as items 7 and 8 below), and others discuss social and religious ethics, *How the Wise Man Taught His Son* touches on both courtesy and ethics as it concentrates on the middle ground of general conduct in daily life: how to organize one's day, how to speak, how to treat one's wife, and how to order the priorities of earthly life. All of these topics are informed by proverbial wisdom of the kind that circulated widely in Middle English literature. Proverbs were thought to be particularly useful as texts for younger audiences; schoolmasters used the Latin proverb collection known as the *Distichs of Cato* to teach their pupils both grammar and morals. The fictional structure provided by the father passing along advice to a son was also a common device, most prominently in the *Disciplina Clericalis* of Petrus Alphonsus, a collection of stories told by a father instructing his son.⁹

Both the subject matter and the advice offered by *How the Wise Man Taught His Son* would make this text useful for a wide class of medieval readers. The warning about exces-

⁷ Lerer, Chaucer and His Readers, p. 87.

⁸ Dronzek, "Gendered Theories," p. 137.

⁹ For the various Middle English texts framed as advice from a father to a son, see *MWME* 9.22.15–30.2966–72; most of these texts resemble *How a Wise Man Taught His Son* in being brief collections of moral maxims and proverbial wisdom. Furnivall prints many of these in *Queene Elizabethes Achademy* and *The Babees Book*.

sive accumulation and the emphasis on treating a wife with trust and respect may hint at a bourgeois audience, but such values could certainly hold appeal for gentry readers as well, and the differences between these audiences were rapidly diminishing in any case. The doctrine of *How the Wise Man Taught His Son* resembles the "Instructions for a Devout and Literate Layman" that also insist on the virtues of attending Mass every morning and meditating on man's death.¹⁰ The "Instructions" were likely written for a member of the gentry living in London who was capable of reading Latin; *How the Wise Man Taught His Son* retails a less demanding version of the same themes for an audience accustomed to folksy Middle English verse. Formally, the *ababbcbc* stanzas resemble those of the previous item by Lydgate, as well as item 7, *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, also attributed to Lydgate. But stylistically the poem is a more humble production, with simpler diction.

However anodyne some of its advice may seem, *How the Wise Man Taught His Son* touches on subjects that prompted considerable anxiety. Chaucer's Cook's Tale is only the best-known account of how young men might fall into depravity, and similar tales circulated widely in the fifteenth century. Fears of dissolute, ungovernable youth, particularly apprentices, grew out of broader concerns about the dangers of urbanization. Riots were not uncommon, and legal records confirm the cautionary tales of fortunes lost by young men's gambling and drinking. Guild regulations and the system of trade masters were mobilized to combat the perceived dangers, and *How the Wise Man Taught His Son* may have been part of this broader effort. Barbara Hanawalt has argued that the moral training of adolescents may have been given such emphasis partly because the demographics of the period made young people a scarce resource; both the urban and rural economies depended on well-governed youth. ¹¹

Manuscript Context

This text may be seen to follow on naturally after *Right as a Ram's Horn*'s satiric complaint about the failures of human conduct. It certainly shares close associations with the text that follows, *How the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter*, as well as the other items in the first three quires that concern proper manners (items 7 and 8) and fundamental Christian ethics (item 6). More broadly, the stanzas on marital relations can be connected to Ashmole 61's consistent interest in marriage, and the reminders on the world's mutability might be usefully juxtaposed with *Vanity* (item 40).

Text

Rate seems to have engaged in some of his characteristic abridging in copying this text. Five other manuscripts preserve varying versions of this text, including the London miscellany of Richard Hill (Oxford, Balliol College MS 354) and C, the Leicestershire miscellany that shares several other items with Ashmole 61. Rate's version has thirteen and a half stanzas, while some manuscripts contain versions with as many as twenty-four stanzas. Rate's exemplar was in all likelihood missing at least four of these stanzas (which warn against displeasing neighbors by pursuing newfangled fashions, laughing too much, and making harsh demands

¹⁰ See Pantin, "Instructions for a Devout and Literate Layman."

¹¹ Hanawalt, "Childe of Bristowe," pp. 190–92.

of a good wife). ¹² Rate omits stanzas on staying away from taverns and dice, warnings about diet and staying up too late, further advice on behavior towards a wife, and a caution about acting immediately upon accusations made by a wife (since women's wrath is hasty). The stanzas about diet, drinking, and sleep may have been omitted because Rate planned to include texts that treat the same subjects (particularly *The Dietary*, item 31). Others may have been omitted to make the text more applicable to younger children not yet at marrying age, though obviously several stanzas discussing wives and marriage remain.

Rate shows his usual indifference to meter and follows his habit of omitting letters from the ends of words, but in other respects the text is not particularly defective.

Printed Editions

Fischer, Rudolf, ed. *How the Wyse Man Taught Hys Sone*. Erlanger Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie 2. Erlangen: A. Deichert'sche Verlag, 1889. [Collates all six manuscripts.]

Furnivall, F. J., ed. *Queene Elizabethes Achademy*. Pp. 52–55. [Prints Ashmole 61's text.] Furnivall, F. J., ed. *The Babees Book*. Pp. 48–52. [Prints the text of London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 853.]

Salisbury, Eve, ed. *The Trials and Joys of Marriage*. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2002. Pp. 233–45. [Based on C and not, as stated on p. 239 of Salisbury's edition, on Ashmole 61.]

Adaptations and Modernizations

Rickert, Edith, ed. *The Babees Book: Medieval Manners for the Young Now First Done into Modern English from the Texts of Dr. F. J. Furnivall.* London: Ballantyne Press, 1908. Rpt. London: Chatto and Windus, 1923. Pp. 43–46.

Reference Works

NIMEV 1985; see also numbers 1877 and 1891. MWME 9.22.21.2968, 3355.

See also Dronzek, Elias, Hanawalt (1993 and 1996), Idley, Lerer (1993), and Orme (1984) in the bibliography.

Title No title or *incipit*. The text begins eight lines down the page of fol. 6r. The title used here is based on line 3, and has been used to designate the poem since Fischer's edition.

7 *yerne that is evyll spon.* Proverbial; see Whiting W571.

10 fully fiftene wynter of age. This seems to have been a traditional threshold for the entry of young men into adulthood. As Salisbury notes in her edition, in several Middle English romances the heroes undergo various changes at or near age fifteen. See, for example, line 139 of Sir Gowther, ed. Laskaya and Salisbury, Middle English Breton Lays, p. 278.

¹² For an attempt to reconstruct the source of Ashmole 61 and London, British Library MS Harley 2399, see Fischer's edition, pp. 42–49.

- his faderes ayer. English laws of inheritance were based on strict principles of primogeniture, meaning that the oldest male heir would acquire a very large portion of his father's estate. As this stanza suggests, with such privileges came extra responsibilities.
- Go se thi God in form of bred. For the importance and benefits of habitual attendance at Mass, see *A Prayer at the Levation* (item 17). See also the "Instructions for a Devout and Literate Layman," discussed in the introduction to this text.
- 42 late feyre wordys be thi yerd. Beating one's wife for the purposes of "correction" or discipline was socially acceptable and entirely legal. But as this stanza suggests, other methods of establishing the husband's authority over the wife were occasionally recommended by moralists.
- To calle hyr wykyd, it is thy schame. Compare Idley's Instructions, book 1, lines 1240–44: "She is part of thy body, remembre this, / And to dispise thy flesshe thou were to blame, / Or hurt it in ony maner kynde iwysse; / Defoule thou never thyn owne name, / Use not unclenly wordis, fy for shame!"
- Bot sofer. The advice here suggests the development of the idea of a companionate marriage based on love and relative equality, visible in Idley's *Instructions* and other works from this period.
- 65 Thys werld is bote fantesye. This is a traditional sentiment of many Middle English mortality lyrics; see, for example, Vanity (item 40).
- 68 It farys as a chery feyre. Proverbial; Whiting W662. A cherry festival would by necessity be a short-lived celebration. See Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde*, 5. 1840–41.
- Not have tyme to ete a hene. I.e., "no time to enjoy it." Though the idiom sounds proverbial, it is not recorded by Whiting or Tilley.
- 100a AMEN QUOD RATE. Underneath this colophon in the bottom margin is one of Rate's usual drawings of a smiling fish.

4. How the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter

Genre, Origin, and Themes

Written in the early or middle years of the fourteenth century, *How the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter* is one of the few conduct poems written in Middle English to be directed specifically at women, and one of the earliest in Europe to be directed at women below the highest ranks of the aristocracy and outside the nunneries. It shares its genre with the preceding text, *How the Wise Man Taught His Son*, mixing proverbial advice, moral guidance, and lessons in courteous behavior. Other, very similar, conduct literature written for women includes *The Good Wife Wold a Pilgrimage*, and the Scots poem *The Thewis of Gud Women (The Customs of Good Women)*, both included in the critical edition by Mustanoja listed below. Once again the fictional device of a parent speaking to a child frames the poem, though it cannot be called a dialogue in any meaningful sense.

In comparison to *How the Wise Man Taught His Son*, the advice here is more specific, revealing more details about the intended audience and the daily life of a late medieval wife. While the Good Wife's instructions about managing the household *meneyé* (servants and staff) would pertain to both aristocratic and bourgeois women, who often supervised household affairs in the absence of their husbands, the instructions about attending markets, avoiding taverns and lower-class sporting events, and baking bread in times of shortage suggest that the Good Wife is addressing the concerns of bourgeois women of modest means. In this mercantile context, the *meneyé* may include apprentices, who often lived with their masters in chambers immediately above or behind the workplace.

The Good Wife's advice largely revolves around the two ideals of thrift and honor. The latter, of course, was long central to aristocratic ideology, which imagined women's honor primarily in sexual terms. Chastity, either virginal or wedded, trumps all other concerns. But women's honor also involves obedience, restrained speech, and humility. These virtues are the subject of one of the more popular treatises directed at aristocratic women, the French nobleman Geoffroy de la Tour Landry's *Livre du Chevalier de la Tour Landry*, known in England as the *Book of the Knight of the Tower* and printed by William Caxton. That text, which consists of exemplary narratives (often involving women who receive terrible punishments for violations of their honor), can be seen as a more elaborate counterpart to the Good Wife's instructions on the subjects of gentle speech, envy, subservience, and conduct with men.

Thrift, however, was not typically a concern of aristocratic ideology, and the Good Wife's instructions here are derived from proverbial wisdom and pragmatic bourgeois experience. The urban bourgeoisie of later medieval England drew close connections between honor and thrift (and thrift's presumed benefit, prosperity). Status within the guild and the city often depended on a reputation for fiscal prudence. At several points the Good Wife's advice describes courtship and relations as a form of dangerous commerce; just as a woman must beware of borrowing money or losing the profit of her goods at a market, she must not accept gifts from men or be seen with too many of them. Thus sexual honor becomes a kind of closely guarded commodity, to be governed by the same vigilance and thrift as the household's grain in a time of need.

On account of its valuable insights into the ethos of late medieval bourgeois women, *How the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter* has attracted much scholarly attention, including various assertions about audience and authorship. Mustanoja suggested that the author was likely a male cleric on account of the text's insistence on female subordination. ¹³ Diane Bornstein has argued that the author may well have been a woman, or a man who "effectively assumed the persona of a woman." ¹⁴ In an extended analysis of this text, Felicity Riddy has suggested that the text is intended not for the daughters of merchants but for young women working in bourgeois households, and that it may even reveal a "youth subculture," composed of young men and women who sought work in towns and who shared a rowdy, adventurous life in the taverns, street, and market. ¹⁵ Widespread anxieties about ungoverned young people (discussed in the introduction to *How the Wise Man Taught His Son*) may indeed be behind the composition of this text, which would complicate the apparent banality of some of the advice in *How the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter*. If so, these timeworn proverbs were recorded here not

¹³ Mustanoja, *Good Wife*, p. 126.

¹⁴ Bornstein, Lady in the Tower, p. 64.

¹⁵ Riddy, "Mother Knows Best," p. 86.

because they were widely recognized, but because the author feared that a young audience might not encounter this instruction elsewhere.

Manuscript Context

The most obvious connections are to the preceding text, *How the Wise Man Taught His Son*, and to the other conduct literature of the first three quires. This includes *The Ten Commandments* (item 6), and perhaps even the late addition of *The Rules for Purchasing Land* (item 10), a similarly pragmatic set of instructions. More broadly, the behavior prescribed here might usefully be compared to that of the wives and daughters of the exemplary narratives *The Jealous Wife* and *The Incestuous Daughter* (items 22 and 23). The faithful wife in *Sir Cleges* (item 24), the endangered heroine Beulybone of *The Erle of Tolous* (item 19), and even the long-suffering wife of the drunken carpenter in *The Debate of the Carpenter's Tools* (item 16) can be measured against the values of the Good Wife. The Good Wife's advice on the subjects of chastity, sobriety, humility, and devotion to the family's prosperity (both worldly and spiritual) finds echoes throughout Rate's selections.

Text

Though the text survives in four other manuscripts (and in one early print of 1597 as *The Northern Mother's Blessing: The Way of Thrift*), Rate's copy differs significantly from all of these. Since Ashmole 61's text departs so widely from all other surviving copies, it seems likely that Rate himself was responsible for the differences. His version uses an entirely different meter of four feet (as opposed to the septenary lines of the others), and where the other versions include an extrametrical, unrhymed proverb at the end of each stanza (usually concluded with an address to "My leve child"), Rate has omitted the proverbs completely, perhaps in one of his characteristic attempts at compression. But Rate's alterations do not significantly affect the substance of the poem, and he has not omitted more than four stanzas of the original (which may have already been missing from his copy-text). And as Mustanoja notes, Rate's version presents the material in much the same order as the other versions (*Good Wife*, p. 118, n. 1). I have not rendered the poem in stanzas, since Rate seems to have viewed the couplets as continuous.

Printed Editions

Coulton, G. G. Social Life in Britain from the Conquest to the Reformation. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1918. Rpt. 1919, 1938, 1968. Pp. 446–51. [Based on London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 853, with readings from Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.3.19.]

Furnivall, F. J., ed. Queene Elizabethes Achademy. Pp. 44–51. [Prints Ashmole 61's text.]
Furnivall, F. J., ed. The Babees Book. Pp. 36–47. [Prints the text of Lambeth Palace Library MS 853.]

Mustanoja, T. F., ed. *The Good Wife Taught Her Daughter, The Good Wife Wold a Pylgrymage, The Thewis of Gud Women*. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 1948. [Collates all the MSS.]

Salisbury, Eve, ed. *The Trials and Joys of Marriage*. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2002. Pp. 219–31. [Uses Ashmole 61 as base text.]

Adaptations and Modernizations

Rickert, Edith, ed. *The Babees Book: Medieval Manners for the Young Now First Done into Modern English from the Texts of Dr. F. J. Furnivall.* London: Ballantyne Press, 1908. Rpt. London: Chatto and Windus, 1923. Pp. 31–42.

Reference Works

NIMEV 1882. See also 671 MWME 9.22.20.2968, 3354–55

See also Ashley, Bornstein, Caxton, Goldberg, Hanawalt (1995), Hanawalt and Dronzek, Jewell, McRee and Dent, Phillips, Power, Riddy (1996), Sponsler (1997), and Stiller in the bibliography.

- Title No title or *incipit*. Mustanoja prefers the title "The Good Wife Taught Her Daughter," and elsewhere the poem is occasionally cited as "What the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter" or "What the Goodwife Taught Her Daughter." The title used here is that first given to the poem by Furnivall, on the basis of line 3.
- With sybbe ne fremde make no jangelyng. Complaints about layfolk talking in church were common in clerical writings. John Mirk instructs priests to command their parishioners to be quiet once the service begins: "Thenne bydde hem leve here mony wordes, / Here ydel speche, and nyce bordes" (Instructions for Parish Priests, lines 266–67). As Salisbury notes in her edition of this text, the ultimate origin of these complaints is the injunction against women speaking in church in 1 Corinthians 14:35 (Trials and Joys, p. 228, n. 22).
- 27 If any man profer thee to wede. This passage hints at characteristically middle-class courtship, not frequently described elsewhere. Aristocratic marriages were typically arranged, often from childhood.
- Change not thi countenans with grete laughter. Salisbury points to the similar injunction of Chaucer's Parson: "A wyf sholde eek be mesurable in lookynge and in berynge and in lawghynge, and discreet in alle hire wordes and hire dedes" (CT X[I]936; Trials and Joys, pp. 228–29, n. 46).
- Ne hyderward ne thederward. Other conduct poems contain similar instructions about keeping a steady gaze, not looking around too wildly, and not staring at the ground. See Phillips, "Bodily Walls, Windows, and Doors."
- 61 gase. The meaning of this word is uncertain; it may mean either "goose" or "gadabout," but certainly folly is implied.
- 65 the taverne. Taverns and alehouses were the subject of considerable anxieties about male and female debauchery. For an overview (that includes a brief mention of this text), see Hanawalt, "Host, the Law, and the Ambiguous Space of Medieval London Taverns."
- 72 And drounke to be. Rate has strengthened this injunction; other texts only declare being drunk ofte (often) to be shameful.

- coke schetyng. This entertainment involved either throwing stones or (more likely) shooting arrows at a cock tied to a stake (see Mustanoja, Good Wife, pp. 226–28).
 Presumably, this sport was a primarily lower-class entertainment, as wrestling was.
- And sett thi men therto. Mustanoja emends to mené, an emendation adopted by Salisbury. Lines 134 and 151 suggest that this line should indeed refer to household servants in general, both men and women. Rate or his copy-text omits four lines on the discipline of children, present in London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 853:

And if thi children been rebel, and wole not them lowe, If ony of hem mysdooth, nouther banne hem ne blowe, neither curse nor rage. But take a smert rodde and bete hem on a rowe. In a row aware of their guilt.

- Thy bred thou bake. Rate seems to have devised this suggestion, as it does not appear in other texts. Bread was the staple of the medieval diet, consumed at every meal and used for trenchers (plates). Though various laws attempted to fix the price, size, and quality of bread, this line suggests that in times of scarcity bakers were tempted to raise prices. Alternatively, the risk alluded to here may be that household servants will steal flour in times of scarcity, thus requiring more direct supervision.
- many handys make lyght werke. Proverbial. See Whiting H62.
- And God fro thee thi chyld take. Infant mortality rates in the Middle Ages were considerably higher than in most industrialized nations today, and the sentiment expressed here is not a shocking one; compare lines 9–16 of *The Lament of Mary* (item 30).
- a doughter of age. Canon law allowed women to marry at fourteen, but most English women married between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five; for a discussion of the sense here, see Riddy, "Mother Knows Best," pp. 81–83.
- Whether thei byde or thei do wende. As Riddy points out, this line suggests that the servants in question may be serving on short-term contracts, part of a fluid urban labor market ("Mother Knows Best," p. 68).
- techynge I hade of my modour. Women's knowledge was often imagined as orally transmitted from one generation to the next, a counterpoint to male textuality. This idea often took the form of misogynist anxiety (as men imagined women passing on secrets for sexual dominance and control), but mothers could also be imagined as the sources of common sense and basic spiritual wisdom.
- 204 thus seys the letter. "A child is better unborn than untaught (or unbeaten)" is proverbial. See Whiting C200. Thus the attribution to written authority is itself a kind of empty tag, "as wise men say."
- 208a AMEN QUOD RATE. Underneath this colophon, in the bottom margin, are drawings of a smiling fish and a stem of flowers.

5. SIR ISUMBRAS

Origin, Genre, and Themes

Sir Isumbras has long been cited as a test case for the definitions of Middle English romance, as it straddles categories that would distinguish stories of warrior heroes from examples of saintly patience. The earliest mention of the story comes from William of Nassington, writing in the first half of the fourteenth century in his Speculum vitae (Mirror of Life). He includes Sir Isumbras as one of the frivolous stories he will not take up in his work, and his condemnation is as good a reason as any to consider it a romance. Modern readers, however, have tended to focus on the story's exemplary piety and its close resemblance to saints' lives. The Middle English poem derives from no known source, but the various lives of Saint Eustace are certainly a major influence (see item 1).

Like his counterpart in *Saint Eustace*, Isumbras begins as a knight in his prime, virtuous but heedless of his dependence on God's grace. While riding in the woods, Isumbras meets a talking bird who forces him to choose between immediate misery or misery late in life. Isumbras chooses to endure misery while he is young and strong, and immediately he suffers a series of disasters, including the loss of his property and separation from his three sons and his wife. Isumbras toils in obscurity until he successfully vanquishes the sultan who has taken his wife. But Isumbras refuses the fruits of this victory and returns to his life of obscurity, now as a pilgrim in the Holy Land. He finally receives word that his initial sins of pride have been forgiven, and he reencounters his wife, who now rules over the sultan's court. The couple engages a heathen army in a final, miraculous battle, in which their three sons return and the family emerges victorious.

Though scholarship on the poem has largely been limited to questions of form and genre, some of the best readings have examined the themes of penitence and social identity. Though the misfortune that Isumbras suffers seems haphazard, it reaches a decisive climax when the sultan attempts to convert Isumbras and then forcibly takes his wife, leaving Isumbras with money in exchange. In refusing to convert, Isumbras finally places his faith above all else, and then receives money which degrades him rather than ennobles him. At this terrible moment, the proper values of God and worldly wealth have been restored. The same gold which Isumbras receives in payment for his wife later serves as the means by which they recognize each other, and thus further establishes the poem's hierarchy of value. Wealth can only be appreciated for what it may represent — God's grace and familial bliss — and not as a good in itself.

The reappearance of the gold is only one of several crucial moments of remembrance and restoration within the poem. Andrea Hopkins argues that the tears Isumbras sheds when he sees the joyful life of his (still unrecognized) wife's court are not tears of self-pity, but instead shed as "he recalls his former life with regret because it led to the loss of those he loved and all his sorrow." Isumbras is restored to his former glory, but now he is a crusader and not

¹⁶ See lines 35–40 of the *Speculum Vitae*, p. 469: "I warne yow ferst at the begynnyng, / I wil make no veyn spekyng / Of dedes of armes ne of amours, / Os don mynstreles and other gestours, / That make spekyng in many a place / Of Octovian and Isanbrace." Until the appearance of a forthcoming EETS edition, Ullman's text of the first 370 lines of the *Speculum Vitae* is the only version available in print.

¹⁷ Hopkins, Sinful Knights, p. 138.

simply a wealthy, pleasure-loving lord. The proper use and enjoyment of secular power has been redefined.

Though the hagiographical elements of the story enforce the sense of penitential suffering, Susan Crane draws an important distinction between the romance values of Sir Isumbras and the romance tropes of stories like Saint Eustace (item 1). Whereas saints' lives ultimately urge a rejection of the world, "perceiving earthly and heavenly ambitions as antithetical," Isumbras's "misfortunes generate an argument for persevering through bad times . . . rather than for rejecting the world altogether." 18 Again, the emphasis lies in the proper habitation of worldly roles and a sense of their vulnerability, rather than a complete transformation of them. When Isumbras crafts his own suit of armor after his years in the smithy, he momentarily reassumes his identity as a knight, but he knows he is not ready to reinhabit this role until his penance is complete. After the battle with the sultan is over, he once again returns to poverty, now in the guise of a pilgrim, one who has detached himself almost completely from the world. Elizabeth Fowler sees in this succession of roles nobleman, smith, pilgrim, crusader, father, and husband — an analysis of "the longing to find a place for one's body within the three forms of dominion: the political, the sexual, and the religious." If, as Fowler suggests, the poem's conclusions are not entirely consistent, it is nonetheless a powerful engagement with the question of how identities are owned.

Linguistic and manuscript evidence suggests that *Sir Isumbras* was written in the early decades of the fourteenth century in East Anglia. Perhaps the poem's combination of seriousness and narrative excitement fostered its considerable popularity, as it survives in more manuscripts (nine, including Ashmole 61) and early printed editions (five) than any other Middle English romance. Several of these manuscripts, including London, British Library MS Cotton Caligula A.ii, Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland MS Advocates 19.3.1 (the "Heege" MS), and Lincoln Cathedral Library MS 91 (one of the Thornton MSS) share several other items with Ashmole 61 and help establish the sense of an audience that consisted of provincial gentry families.²⁰ The themes of *Sir Isumbras* were also broadly popular, and its long-suffering penitential hero resembles those of a number of other romances, including *Sir Gowther*, *Robert of Cisyle*, and *Guy of Warwick*. Similar kinds of familial suffering appear in the tail-rhyme romance *Octavian*, and many Middle English romances feature a woman captured by a lustful sultan.

The tail-rhyme style, 12-line stanzas of *aabccbddbeeb* (but with considerable variation, as stanza lengths vary), tends to feature frequent repetition and relatively spare description. While modern readers have not always responded well to these characteristics, the repetition can produce fruitful connections within the text. The phrases "lyves fode" (life's food, nourishment) and "gold and fee," repeated at key moments within the story of Isumbras's fall and resurrection, provide structural coherence and reinforce the poem's considerable symmetry.

Manuscript Context

As noted, *Sir Isumbras* parallels *Saint Eustace* (item 1) very closely, sharing a considerable number of motifs, incidents, and ideas. Some of the parallels include the initial vision in the

¹⁸ Crane, *Insular Romance*, p. 116.

¹⁹ Fowler, "Romance Hypothetical," p. 118.

²⁰ For the likely existence of an "*Isumbras* group" of texts that traveled together in exemplars, see M. Evans, *Rereading Middle English Romance*, pp. 51–102.

forest (in one, a talking bird, in the other, a stag), the loss of children to wild beasts in the course of crossing a river, the loss of wives to rapacious men at sea, the years of hard labor, the subsequent successes in battle, and the final reunion of the families. *Sir Cleges* (item 24) involves another generous knight's descent into poverty, and the hero of *The Erle of Tolous* (item 19) adopts a similar succession of roles before his final success. The poem is perhaps more closely connected to *Sir Orfeo* (item 39), another story of loss and recovery. Isumbras's suffering frequently resembles Orfeo's years in self-imposed exile, and the two stories both examine the vulnerability and proper ownership of social identities.

Text

As is the case elsewhere, Rate's copying is occasionally erratic, but often can be read without emendation. He seems to have engaged in his characteristic abridging, and as a result the lengths of stanzas vary considerably. No crucial episodes or dialogue are lost, but the text is occasionally garbled. The other eight surviving manuscripts feature considerable variation, with the result that it is not always possible to make out where Rate has altered his source. According to Schleich, his text most closely resembles those in Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland MS Advocates 19.3.1 (the "Heege" MS) and the Lincoln Thornton manuscript.²¹

Printed Editions

Brown, Carleton. "A Passage from *Sir Isumbras.*" *Englische Studien* 48 (1914), 239. [Prints the text of Oxford, University College MS 142, the one manuscript not collated by Schleich.]

D'Evelyn, Charlotte. "The Gray's Inn Fragment of Sir Isumbras." Englische Studien 52 (1918), 73–76.

Hudson, Harriet, ed. *Four Middle English Romances*. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1996. [Prints the text of Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 175.]

Kölbing, E. "Das Neapler Fragment von *Sir Isumbras.*" *Englische Studien* 3 (1880), 200–02. [Prints the text of Naples, National Library of Naples MS 13.B.29.]

Mills, Maldwyn, ed. *Six Middle English Romances*. London: Dent, 1973. Pp. 125–47, 208–14. [Prints the text of London, British Library MS Cotton Caligula A.2.]

Schleich, Gustav, ed. Sir Ysumbras: Eine englische Romanze des 14. Jahrhunderts. Berlin: Meyer and Müller, 1901. [Collates all but one manuscript, including Ashmole 61.]

Reference Works

NIMEV 1184

MWME 1.1.78.122-23, 279-80

Rice, Joanne A. Middle English Romance: An Annotated Bibliography, 1955–1985. Pp. 469–71.

See also L. Braswell, Crane, M. Evans, Finlayson (1980), Fowler, Gaunt, Hopkins (1990), Mehl, M. Mills (1994), Purdie, Riddy (2000), A. Thompson, and Trounce in the bibliography.

²¹ Schleich, Sir Ysumbras, p. 87.

POEM 5: SIR ISUMBRAS 435

Title Rate has written the title *Isombras* in a slightly larger script, spelling the name as he does throughout the poem. Modern editions use the title *Sir Isumbras*, *Sir Ysumbras*, or simply *Isumbras*.

- 6 *Ye schall have heven to mede.* This promise seems more in keeping with a saint's life or other edifying material, but other pious romances use similar formulas.
- 20 *rych robys of paule*. See line 585 for the return of this formulaic description later in the narrative.
- 31 Bot inne hys herte a pride was browght. The phrasing seems deliberately ambiguous here; though Isumbras has undoubtedly fallen into the sin of pride, his agency in committing this sin is left unspecified.
- for to pleye. As in the opening scene of Saint Eustace (item 1), Isumbras's ride into the forest for his delight can be read as his exercise of worldly pleasure and the failure to direct his will towards spiritual ends.
- 44 Thou haste forgette what thou was. The bird's connection between memory and identity becomes one of the narrative's recurring themes. Later in the story, remembrance will enable the reclamation of Isumbras's identity.
- 50 On his kneys he felle. Just as Placidas immediately accepts Christian truth and becomes Eustace, Isumbras accepts his guilt without hesitation or dispute.
- With a drery chere. Some lines are missing here, in which the herdsmen lament that they have lost their livelihood in the disasters that have beset Isumbras. Isumbras's response as given in this text seems odd in any case; in other manuscripts, his response is simply stoic. Compare the reading in London, British Library MS Cotton Caligula A.ii (lines 91–103 in Mills' edition):

Forth he wente hymself alone;
His herdemen he mette eche one,
He seyde, "What eyleth yowe?"
"Owre fees ben fro us revedde,
There is nothynge y-levedde,
Nowghte on stede to thy plowe."
They wepte and yaf hem yll;
The knyghte badde they schold be styll:
"I wyte nowght yow this wo.
For God bothe yeveth and taketh
And at His wyll ryches maketh,

And pore men also."

do not blame you for

gives; takes away

property; stolen

Not one horse

110 *myselve I thinke, yrke*. Rate's text is defective to the point of being nearly unintelligible here. In other manuscripts, Isumbras fears that the family's destitution will soon make their neighbors "*yrke*" ("disgusted, tired"), and thus suggests that they leave the region.

some gode we may do. Isumbras, even in his destitution, still recognizes humbly the value of good works.

119	And cutte it and clothyd his chylder thre. Isumbras's compassionate gesture recalls Saint Martin, a soldier-saint who cut his cloak to clothe a beggar.
126	lyves fode. The Middle English phrase suggests both physical and spiritual nour-ishment, perhaps even the bread and wine of Holy Communion.
127	A crosse he cutte. Both this action and confessing sins to a priest were customary preparations for pilgrimage, crusade, or, more generally, acts of repentance.
200	the grete see. Other manuscripts specify the "Greke See" or Mediterranean.
208	With toppe-castels. Medieval naval vessels featured fortified structures on their decks; naval combat partially resembled land combat in its tactics.
211	The Soudan of Pers. Other manuscripts do not specify the origin of the heathen sultan. Though at the time of the text's composition the Mameluk sultans ruled from Egypt, sultans of Persia or Babylon appear frequently in other Middle English texts.
241	Sayrezins. In Middle English romances, "Saracen" can refer to an Arab, a Turk, a Muslim, a pagan, or a heathen, with little distinction between the possible senses.
250	both large and hyghe. The reference to Isumbras's impressive appearance recalls the opening stanzas of the poem, and his original state. Romances make frequent use of the idea that heroic virtue was manifested in the hero's body, a virtue recognizable in the most dire of circumstances.
281	For Jhesu love. Rather than seeing Isumbras's insistence on asking Muslims for charity in the name of Jesus as a recognition that both religions venerated Jesus as a prophet, or as merely an obtuse ignorance of the differences between his faith and the Sultan's, medieval readers may have seen this as admirable courage in the face of nonbelievers.
345	And sche gaffe hym a rynge. Rings are a traditional means of recognition between separated lovers in romance. In some of the other manuscripts, after giving him the ring, Isumbras's wife instructs him to search her out and kill the Sultan.
377	An angelle. Other versions feature a griffin or an eagle, more likely culprits. Rate seems to have been uncertain or inattentive here; this line has been corrected from its original reading, "bore his chyld awey."
398	Smythmen. Though years of ignoble labor are not uncommon for suffering heroes (see Saint Eustace, item 1), working in a smithy is unusual, and Trounce suggested that the author of the poem came from the area around Norfolk, a center for that industry ("English Tail-Rhyme Romances," p. 37).
413	mans hyre. Isumbras, having served as an apprentice and having learned to make a hot, long-lasting fire (crucial for metalwork), now earns a journeyman's wages.
501	hethyn houndys. The phrase is a common epithet for "Saracens."
524	unto hethyn lond. Some manuscripts specify Acre, a port city northwest of Jerusalem, as Isumbras's entry point into the Holy Land. The city was lost to the Crusaders in the decades immediately before the likely composition of the poem.

- Bedlem. In other manuscripts, Isumbras receives this vision outside the walls of Jerusalem, not Bethlehem. Jerusalem's allegorical connection to the heavenly city of God might make this a preferable reading, though Bethlehem, as the site of the Incarnation of Christ, may serve equally well.
- brought him bred and wyne. Instances of angels sustaining holy men and women with food and drink are common in medival saints' lives. The tradition may derive from 3 Kings 19:5–8, where an angel gives the prophet Elijah bread and water.
- Though other manuscripts vary in their readings, several lines are missing here. Rate's lines preserve the basic sense, that the lady gives away alms to the poor at her gate, but omits the detail (revealed in line 574) that these alms consist of gold florins, a very generous gift. Compare the reading of Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 175 (lines 538–43 in Hudson's edition):

Ilke day sche gaff at her gate	Every
To pore men of every state	state
Florynys ryche and goode.	Florins
"Weel wer me myghte I on gete,	one
Therewith I myghte bye my mete	buy my food
And come to lyvys fode."	2 2 3

- to pute the ston. As in modern shot put, a test of strength. Isumbras's strength with this stone recalls his earlier labors removing heavy stones from the slough as a smith's apprentice (line 407). For a similar episode of a hero-in-disguise's success at the shot put, see lines 1018–65 of *Havelok the Dane*, in Herzman, Drake, and Salisbury, *Four Romances of England*.
- 654 *His sorow began to mende*. Other texts read "*His sorrow he had in mind*," a reading which makes more sense, given the following stanza's description of his renewed grief.
- 677 This gold owyth Syr Isombras. The ring given to Isumbras by his wife has now been conflated with the gold given to him at their parting. The confusion is not Rate's, as other manuscripts treat these details similarly.
- 748 *Saryzyns*. I.e., the subjects and retainers of his wife, who retract their allegiance to their newly crowned king.
- 823a AMEN QUOD RATE. A drawing of a fish separates this text from the next item on fol. 16v.

6. THE TEN COMMANDMENTS

Origin, Genre, and Themes

The Bible includes two recitations of the Ten Commandments or Decalogue, given by God to Moses on Mount Sinai (Exodus 20:3–17 and Deuteronomy 5:7–21). This replication emphasizes the Commandments' foundational importance for both Jewish and Christian ethics, but it also heralded the multiple versions of the Commandments used by the medieval Church. The Commandments were in turn translated many times into Middle English verse, in a wide

variety of formats, styles, and contexts. Oddly enough, this multiplication extends even to Ashmole 61 itself: Rate copied this text twice, once on fol. 17r, and again on fol. 22v (though this second copy is left incomplete). The reasons for this are not at all clear.

The text presented here comes from a widely-circulated compilation known as the *Speculum Christiani*. This fourteenth-century work consists of short English verses and Latin commentary on the fundamental doctrine of the medieval Church: the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Seven Deadly Sins, the Seven Virtues, the Seven Works of Mercy, and various remedies for sin. Though the *Speculum Christiani* was later translated entirely into Middle English, the original mix of English and Latin suggests the primary audience was made up of parish priests, the front line in the Church's mission to educate the laity.

Devising materials for these parish priests, who were often poorly educated and without ample resources, became an increasingly urgent priority in the later Middle Ages as the Church fought off various forms of heresy. The *Speculum Christiani* traces back directly to the Council of Lambeth convened in 1281 by Archbishop John Pecham, and to the canon issued by the council known as *Ignorantia sacerdotium* ("On the Ignorance of Priests"). ²² Archbishop Pecham ordered parish priests to instruct the laity in the basic elements of the faith every year; works such as the *Speculum Christiani* were composed to assist in this endeavor. ²³

Just as the *Speculum Christiani* had likely been cobbled together by unknown authors from a variety of materials, it was also easily disassembled into smaller pieces such as the text presented here, which includes only the Middle English Ten Commandments without Latin commentary or the two laws of Christ (love God and thy neighbor) discussed alongside the Commandments in the second *tabula* of the *Speculum Christiani*. The Middle English verses presumably worked as mnemonic devices, helping both priest and parishioner keep the crucial tenets of Christian doctrine firmly in mind. ²⁴ In versifying the Commandments, the text has also altered and interpreted them. Gone is the injunction against graven images. Exodus 20:17 ("Thou shalt not covet your neighbor's house"), a single verse considered one commandment by most Protestants today, appears as two commandments treated in two distinct stanzas. ²⁵ The injunctions against taking God's name in vain and against murder are elaborated with New Testament ideals. The poem here also has added stanzas at the beginning and the end of the *Speculum Christiani*'s stanzas on the Ten Commandments, so that it can stand as an autonomous poem.

The fact that *The Ten Commandments* is presented as an autonomous work without commentary hints at one of the ultimate effects of Archbishop Pecham's program: vernacular texts of Christian doctrine became available for private lay study and contemplation. This was not without its dangers; as a result of the association linking Lollard heresy with English translations of scripture and theological writing, recitation or possession of a Middle English version of the Ten Commandments could theoretically be a sign of heresy. In practice, this text and Middle English versions of the Lord's Prayer or the Creed were only rarely seen as evidence

²² On the connections between the *Speculum Christiani* and the Council of Lambeth, see Cawley, "Middle English Metrical Versions," pp. 129–32.

²³ For the large body of similar works, see Pantin, *English Church in the Fourteenth Century*, pp. 189–219.

²⁴ Gillespie, "Doctrina and Praedicacio," p. 40.

²⁵ Saint Augustine devised this numeration in the fifth century in his *Quæstionum in Heptateuchum libri VII* (Bk. II, Question lxxi), and it became the most common arrangement of the Commandments in the use of the medieval Church, eventually confirmed at the Council of Trent.

of heresy, and only in conjunction with other Lollard beliefs.²⁶ But while the Ten Commandments are, of course, at the very heart of Catholic orthodoxy, their presentation here treats them as a text like any other, to be read, reread, and interpreted by private readers, and that was very much a new and revolutionary idea.

Manuscript Context

The Ten Commandments appears in the heart of the most didactic section of Ashmole 61, immediately preceding two texts on good behavior, Stans Puer ad Mensam and Dame Courtesy (items 7 and 8), and following shortly after two others, How the Wise Man Taught His Son and How the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter (items 3 and 4). Though the Ten Commandments are concerned with morality and the other texts with manners, these two categories are never entirely distinct in medieval thinking, and both kinds of texts are often addressed to young readers. Like The Ten Commandments, the prayers to Mary and for evening, morning, and the Levation of the Eucharist (items 15, 12, 13, and 17) may have been intended to be memorized and recited frequently.

The Ten Commandments also shares connections with later items in Ashmole 61, particularly folios 73–103, which contain The Feasts of All Saints and All Souls, The King and His Four Daughters, Ypotis, The Northern Passion, and The Short Charter of Christ (items 25–29). These items, as well as the Stimulus Consciencie Minor (item 33) are similarly centered around the basic tenets of the Christian faith, and most share a similarly straightforward didactic style.

Text

Rate's text conforms closely to the version in the *Speculum Christiani*, with the exception of the first and the last three stanzas, which are probably his own composition. With its appeal to a listening audience, the first stanza strongly suggests that Rate revised the poem with a view towards oral performance. In other respects, the variants among the many surviving texts are minimal; the few variants confirm Rate's usual indifference to meter. Rate recopied the first two stanzas after item 13, *A Morning Prayer*, before breaking off, perhaps realizing he had already copied this text.²⁷ The text here is based on the version that appears on fol. 17r; variants from the version on fol. 22v are given in the Textual Notes.

Printed Editions

Brown, Carleton. "The Towneley Play of the Doctors and the *Speculum Christiani*." *Modern Language Notes* 31 (1916), 223–36. [Prints the text of Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 89.]

Holmstedt, Gustaf, ed. *Speculum Christiani*. [The Middle English translation of the work with the Latin original on facing pages; includes the *Ten Commandments* on pp. 16–37.]

Zupitza, Julius. "Umschreibungen der Zehn Gebote im Mittelenglische Versen." Archiv für Studium der Neueren Sprachen 85 (1890), 45–48. [Prints a text from British Library MS

²⁶ For discussion of the dangers of vernacular prayer and articles of faith, see McSheffrey, "Heresy, Orthodoxy and English Vernacular Religion 1480–1525."

²⁷ Blanchfield offers two other explanations: Rate may have been making a better copy of the first two stanzas, since the later version corrects the few errors made the first time around, or he may have been using the opening address of the *Commandments* as an opening for *A Prayer to Mary* ("Idiosyncratic Scribe," p. 188).

Harley 665, followed by the text of Ashmole 61, with variants from Cambridge, Jesus College 51].

Reference Works

NIMEV 1111. See also 1491 and 3687. MWME 7.20.42.2284, 2512–13

See also Cawley, Gillespie (1980), Kellogg and Talbert, Martin, and Pantin (1955) in the bibliography.

Title No title or *incipit*.

- 1 *Herkyns syrys*. This formula (or a similar phrase) is often used as the opening of romances, saints' lives, and pious narratives; see the opening lines of *Saint Eustace*, *Sir Isumbras*, *The Erle of Tolous*, and *The Northern Passion* (items 1, 5, 19, and 28).
- Dismembyr hym not. Medieval preachers argued that to swear by Christ's blood, the nails of the cross, etc., was to repeat the tortures of the Crucifixion. The *Speculum Christiani* cites a sermon of Saint Bernard which imagines Christ reproaching those who take his name in vain: "Am I not wounded sore enoghe for thee? Am I not turmented and pyned [pained] enogh for thee? Leve hensforwarde to synne, so synnfully swerynge. For the wounde of thi synne grevyth me more than the wounde of my syde" (Holmstedt, p. 20). This became a commonplace in many discussions of swearing; see, for example, Chaucer's Pardoner's Tale (*CT* VI[C] 472–76) and Parson's Tale (*CT* X[I] 591).
- 13 holy deys. The phrase includes both the Christian sabbath (Sunday) and various important holy days in the liturgical calendar (see the introduction to item 25, The Feasts of All Saints and All Souls, for discussion of two such days).
- Ocure ne symony. The biblical Ten Commandments make no mention of usury, but loaning money at interest was long considered an offense against God by the medieval Church. Simony, the purchase of church offices, was a widely condemned practice named after Simon Magus, who in the Acts of the Apostles attempts to purchase the gift of the laying on of hands from the Apostles (8:17–24).
- 52 this werld to wynne. Usually the expression "the world to win" has a negative sense of overreaching; here it seems to have the positive sense of "control" or perhaps "overcome."
- 57a AMEN QUOD RATE. This colophon appears to have been added later, as it sloppily extends over some of the last line of the poem. A very large drawing of braided ring inscribed by a six-petaled floral design, apparently made with a compass, fills up approximately half of the remaining blank space on fol. 17r. Underneath this is one of Rate's usual drawings of a smiling fish.

7. STANS PUER AD MENSAM

Genre, Origin, and Themes

The title of this poem, taken from its Latin source, loosely translates as "The Child at the Table." Table manners were a subject of considerable importance to anyone seeking a reputation for courtesy in the later Middle Ages. The Mass's ceremonial meal of bread and wine was the central daily ritual of the Church, and meals were the most important ritual of the household. It was a place where the household's social hierarchy, wealth, and meticulous organization were displayed and celebrated. While works such as John Russell's *Book of Nurture* describe the demanding roles played by the household staff at mealtimes, *Stans Puer ad Mensam* discusses the equally rigorous set of expectations governing the diners. ²⁸ In addition, Rate's copy of this poem has added stanzas on walking in the street and going to bed.

As an ideal and a code of behavior, courtesy encompassed a wide and varying set of characteristics, developing over centuries from origins in aristocratic courts and monastic settings. The ideals of courtesy might encompass class-based values of the nobility or more basic, broadly shared ideas of conduct, but *Stans Puer ad Mensam* has two specific concerns: the observance of social hierarchies and cleanliness, particularly at the table.

Hierarchy was an inescapable feature of medieval life; a finely graded consciousness of social rank governed virtually every activity in every sphere. As this text suggests, deference to social superiors could take many forms but was advisable in every situation. By the time Ashmole 61 was copied, the challenge may have been in recognizing the proper order of a social hierarchy that was becoming increasingly complex. An urban elite grew richer, gentry families merged with merchants and professionals, and the middle rank of society became a broader and more diverse category of artisans and tradespeople. Yet older expectations of service and deference remained in place. Young people were expected to serve their elders, and inferiors served their betters, all the way up the chain of the household ranks and into the world beyond it. Included in this structure, as Rate's version makes clear, are families: children must serve and obey their parents. But service, including the daily tasks of carving or assisting the lord as he washed before meals, was not simply a ritual act of submission; as both courtesy literature and historical records suggest, service performed with diligence and elegance could raise one's status.²⁹ Courtesy thus reinforced the hierarchy of status and enabled progress up its ladder; provincial gentry and urban bourgeois were accordingly eager to embrace its strictures.

Cleanliness, though long a way of differentiating refined landholders from the grubbier men and women who worked the land, had pragmatic reasons for its importance. In an age before the fork, when diners shared dishes in close quarters while wearing clothes that represented a substantial portion of their income, eating cleanly must have been appreciated.³⁰ At the same time, filth of one kind or another must have been always near at hand; scholars have suggested that the many prohibitions against spitting on the tablecloths or in the dishes indicate that the floor was an acceptable target. Dogs, burning candles, runny noses, and a considerable amount of drink posed other challenges. Cleanliness could be partially assisted

²⁸ For Russell's text, see Furnivall, *Babees Book*, pp. 117–99.

²⁹ For further discussion of the significance of service in this period, see the introduction to the following item, *Dame Courtesy*.

³⁰ On the question of bodily intimacy within the close quarters of late medieval townhouses, see Riddy, "Looking Closely."

by the important rituals of washing that surrounded the meal, and it also extended to the careful management of the body before, during, and after mealtimes.

Stans Puer ad Mensam discusses these matters with the kind of direct advice seen in other varieties of conduct literature; rules are certain, and the language shares this certainty. The text presented here derives from a poem attributed to the thirteenth-century bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grosseteste. A noted theologian, Grosseteste is also the likely source for The King and His Four Daughters (item 26), and was the author of several treatises about household management, including the Rules written for the countess of Lincoln that survives in both Latin and Anglo-Norman versions, and regulations for his own household surviving in both the Latin original and a Middle English translation. His personal interest in etiquette was recorded in a contemporary chronicle, and it is not surprising that a bishop should be the author of a popular treatise on manners. Crosseteste would have dined frequently with the elite of both the Church and the gentry, and both circles required polite behavior from those who hoped for advancement.

Grosseteste's *Stans Puer ad Mensam* survives in several redactions and in at least eleven manuscripts, which suggests that despite the many similar Latin works available, his had lasting appeal. ³³ Perhaps the bishop's reputation attracted readers, and *Stans Puer ad Mensam* certainly attracted translators. Among others, John Lydgate made a popular Middle English translation of Grosseteste's work, known by the same title. ³⁴ Lydgate's translation is not particularly close, but Rate's version introduces even further variation, adding a significant number of new stanzas and doubling the poem's length. ³⁵

Manuscript Context

In subject matter and in many details, this text closely resembles the item that follows it, *Dame Courtesy* (item 8), with other strong connections to the conduct literature preceding it, *How the Wise Man Taught His Son* and *How the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter* (items 3 and 4). The feasting scenes in *Sir Corneus, Sir Cleges*, and *Sir Orfeo* (items 21, 24, and 39) offer a sense of the rules prescribed by *Stans Puer ad Mensam* in action, and Lydgate's *The Dietary* (item 31) often appears alongside his version of this poem in other manuscripts as another (medical) perspective on dining. Rate's version of *Stans Puer ad Mensam* strengthens the advice about honoring one's parents and following bourgeois ethics of hard work and respectability; these virtues reappear throughout the manuscript.

³¹ For the *Rules*, see Oschinsky, *Walter of Henley*, pp. 388–407. See also Wilkinson, "*Rules* of Robert Grosseteste Reconsidered: The Lady as Estate and Household Manager in Thirteenth-Century England." For the Middle English translation of Grosseteste's regulations for his own household, see Furnivall, *Babees Book*, pp. 328–33. For a survey of all of Grosseteste's works on these subjects, see Thomson, *Writings of Robert Grosseteste*, pp. 149–50 and 158–59.

³² For the *Lanercost Chronicle*'s anecdote concerning Grosseteste's meticulous table manners, see Gieben, "Robert Grosseteste and Medieval Courtesy-Books," pp. 47–48

³³ On the relationship between the redactions of *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, see Gieben, "Robert Grosseteste and Medieval Courtesy-Books," pp. 56–62.

³⁴ For a brief discussion of Lydgate and his Middle English verse, see the introduction to *Right* as a Ram's Horn (item 2).

³⁵ Jonathan Nicholls prints a different, closer Middle English translation of *Stans Puer*; see "Unpublished Courtesy Poem."

Text

As noted, Rate seems to have used Lydgate's poem as a foundation but has significantly altered and enlarged it, producing a unique text preserved in no other manuscript. Where Lydgate's version is in rhyme royal stanzas, Rate's version is in quatrains rhyming *abab*, with some 8-line stanzas rhyming *ababbcbc* or *ababcbcb*. Several others are defective in some way. The entire product suggests that Rate composed this by means of rolling revision, attempting to alter the form and content of Lydgate's poem with mixed success. Further evidence for Rate's involvement can be found in the following item, *Dame Courtesy*, which shares a number of lines and phrases with this text and which also may be the product of Rate's revision of another work.

Printed Editions

Furnivall, F. J., ed. *Queene Elizabethes Achademy*. Pp. 56–64. [Prints Ashmole 61's version.] Lydgate, John. *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*. Pp. 739–44. [Edits the more common version, collating most of the surviving manuscripts].

Reference Works

NIMEV 1694; see also 2233. MWME 6.16.172.1905, 2160

See also Amos, Arditi, Brentano, Coss, Gieben, Hennisch, Jeanneret, M. Keen, Mennell, Millett, Nicholls (1982 and 1985), Oschinsky, Riddy (2003), Schirmer, and Visser in the bibliography.

- Title No title or *incipit*. This poem's traditional title derives from the Latin work attributed to Grosseteste (see Introduction) and the title was adopted by scribes who copied Lydgate's Middle English adaptation. Though this text varies significantly from Lydgate's original, no other title has ever been used for it.
- 11 Seynt Clement. Saint Clement, according to the Golden Legend, was "just in action, mild in speech, mature in his relations with others, and pious in his intentions," and he is thus a fitting saint to invoke here (Jacobus de Voraigne, 1:324).
- 57 Gase not aboute. Compare the similar injunction against careless glances in How the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter, lines 57–58 (item 4).
- Ne syte not unbyden. Places at the table were arranged by rank, and diners in noble households were directed to their proper places by an usher or marshal.
- 76 *aboffe.* "Above" here refers to the places at the table, with the head of the table reserved for the highest in rank.
- 79 thereto veyll thi hode. Hoods, often lined with fur for warmth, were a standard part of medieval dress.
- 82 *pastye*. Pastries filled with meat or vegetables.
- 84 When thou has don with a dysch. Dishes and other kinds of crockery contained servings shared among several diners, either in pairs or in groups of three or

four. Individual diners took food from these communal dishes and placed it on their trenchers, slices of firm (often old) bread.

- 92 Kepe thi spone clen. Diners were expected to bring their own knives to the table and often provided their own spoons as well, though other texts suggest that a good host be prepared to supply both knives and spoons to guests. Forks were not used by individual diners.
- Grossum Caput. Robert Grosseteste, from the French "gros tête" (large head), hence the Latin Grossum Caput, the name given him by continental writers. For Grosseteste's interest in courtesy, see the Introduction. In his Rules composed for the countess of Lincoln, Grosseteste does not specifically address this potential infraction, but rule 19 states that the marshal of the hall must take responsibility for seeing that the food is served only by appointed officers. Grosseteste adds that the marshal must ensure that these officers do not play favorites in serving the diners (Oschinsky, Walter of Henley, pp. 404–05).
- 124 Sum wyll drinke. Cups, flagons, horns, and other vessels were used for drinking wine or ale, and were passed among diners. The passing of the cup involves its own rituals of courtesy, discussed below.
- *spylle*. The defective rhyme suggests that this should read *spytte*, but *spylle* makes reasonable sense.
- salt saler. Often ornate objects of display, these vessels contained the crucial flavoring agent of medieval cuisine. As the following stanza makes clear, diners were expected to use clean knives to serve themselves salt from the communal salt cellars.
- Doctour Paler. A Doctor Paler or Palere has not been identified among the extant records of English university graduates and medical practitioners. Richie Girvan, citing J. T. T. Brown, discusses the possibility that this may be an error for "Palmere," perhaps meaning Matteo Palmieri, the fifteenth-century Florentine author of the humanist treatise Della Vita Civile (Ratis Raving, pp. xxxvi–xxxvii). Though Palmieri wrote in the middle of the fifteenth century, Della Vita Civile was not in print before 1529, and this would thus be an improbably early English reference to his work.
- 154 *Iff thou wasche with a better man*. Washing took place in the hall before the meal was served, in another ritual that required social inferiors to serve their superiors.
- Bot stond lawly on thi fete. Though this poem largely concerns the behavior expected of diners, these lines refer to the service expected of young men in the household, including carving their lord's meat, helping him wash, and waiting on him at the table. Though these activities required strict obedience, they also conferred honor.
- 208 Doctour Paler. See note to line 149.
- 215 thou schall lye with any man. Whether in the hall after the tables were cleared, in separate chambers, or in inns while traveling, beds were generally made for two or more; sharing was very common.

- When thou putys mete in thi mouthe. This stanza forbids using the knife to bring food to the mouth; spoons, pieces of bread, or the hands were used instead.
- 235 So that the coppe be at his hede. The sense seems to be "If you see your better has the drinking cup, do not ask for it, but wait until it is passed or offered to you."
- The oddly abrupt and seemingly arbitrary final point here suggests that the text has broken off incomplete, or that Rate, in his expansion of Lydgate's poem, never logically arranged the order of the stanzas he added. But the final example of serving one's *sovereyn* is entirely in keeping with the rest of the text's insistence on obedience and service.
- 249a AMEN QUOD RATE. Rate has drawn a five-petaled flower with a stem underneath this colophon, thus filling up the remaining space at the bottom of fol. 19v.

8. DAME COURTESY

Genre, Origin, and Themes

This courtesy text, another description of conduct and table manners like the text that precedes it (*Stans Puer ad Mensam*), was likely written in the fifteenth century. Though its opening resembles another poem known as *Lytylle Children*, *Dame Courtesy* is unique to Ashmole 61 and may have been composed by Rate. Much of the advice appears in other conduct literature, and no single source has been identified. If Rate was not the author, the text was likely written earlier in the fifteenth century, when the demand for courtesy books produced an outpouring of similar texts.

The closing of the poem imagines an audience of children who do not stay long at school, a category that may not be as specific as it sounds. By the late fifteenth century, educational opportunities for children had expanded considerably, so that schooling was no longer the preserve of nobility who planned clerical careers for their sons. But opportunities were still very limited, and few children would have more than a few years of formal study. The household remained a crucial venue for instruction, especially for the large numbers of adolescents serving its needs. Historians, anthropologists, and demographers have recently begun to emphasize this unusual custom of sending adolescents — both boys and girls — out into service in other households, noting that this practice distinguishes northwestern Europe from nearly every other documented preindustrial society. ³⁶ Estimates vary, but perhaps fifty to sixty percent of all young men and women worked in other households as apprentices, agricultural laborers, and domestic servants before marrying in their mid-twenties. Thus *Dame Courtesy* might be directed at a very wide class of children and adolescents: all those who served, or hoped to serve, in a household, with the possible exception of those who had been raised in grandiose households from the start (who might not need such instruction).

As with the preceding conduct literature in Ashmole 61, *Dame Courtesy* advises regular church attendance, hard work, the fulfillment of promises, and excellent table manners. The result is a combination of bourgeois industriousness with aristocratic elegance, held together by an insistence on humility. Humility was one of the virtues that tied secular courtesy to

³⁶ See, for example, Hartman, *Household and the Making of History*, pp. 48–57. The foundations of Hartman's arguments appear in two articles by John Hajnal: "European Marriage Patterns in Perspective" and "Two Kinds of Preindustrial Household Formation System."

religious devotion, a bond fostered by words such as "clennes," which in Middle English can refer to both hygienic cleanliness and pure living.

Dame Courtesy emphasizes the power of words and gestures. Dozens of common Middle English proverbs concern speaking appropriately and only at appropriate times. Sophisticated Latin texts adopted similar stances for elite audiences, and Albertanus of Brescia's De arte loquendi et tacendi (On the Art of Speaking and Being Silent) circulated widely. But Dame Courtesy is not only concerned with polite language or proper restraint, but with ritualized speech. The poem suggests that saying blessings, graces, and customary greetings at the start of each new action will bring spiritual benefits, protection, and prosperity. Like modern self-help books, Dame Courtesy promises both social recognition and future wealth to those willing to organize their lives according to strict rules; speaking the right words at the right times can ward off failure.

Gesture involves the discipline of the body and an awareness of the gaze of others. Like *Stans Puer ad Mensam, Dame Courtesy* describes a continual give-and-take of looking and being looked at. The young pupil must constantly watch his or her betters for social cues, such as an invitation to sit down or to drink, and must also act as if he or she is under constant surveillance, without recourse to scratching, nose-picking, or any other submission to the body's baser needs. The regime prescribed by *Dame Courtesy* may seem somewhat overanxious, but this may be only further evidence that the medieval household was not simply a space for privacy and intimacy, but a forum for education, social control, and studied performance.

Manuscript Context

Dame Courtesy closely resembles the preceding item, Stans Puer ad Mensam, and shares many connections with How the Wise Man Taught His Son and How the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter, as well as the Ten Commandments (items 3, 4, and 6). The emphasis on regular church attendance and prayer can be connected to the prayers at morning and night, as well as the prayers to Mary and at the Levation of the Host in the Mass (items 12, 13, 15, and 17). Other connections might include the theme of instruction, shared by the Stimulus Consciencie Minor (item 33), and, by contrast, the importance of labor in The Debate of the Carpenter's Tools (item 16).

Text

Rate's text departs considerably from the related version of this poem known as *Lytelle Children*, preserved in six other manuscripts and several early prints, so much so that it must be considered an entirely independent text. Only lines 5–10, in which the invention of courtesy is attributed to the Archangel Gabriel, appear in both Rate's poem and *Lytelle Children*. Since *Lytelle Children* and the more common version of *Stans Puer ad Mensam* appear in the "Heege MS" (Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland MS Advocates 19.3.1), a manuscript that shares several other items with Ashmole 61 and that was copied in the same region in the same period, it seems possible that Rate had some form of access to an exemplar that contained these texts.³⁷ But whether or not Rate was working from some lost source or composing an entirely new work on his own, he has certainly included similar phrases and advice from his revision of *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, not always to the benefit of the text's overall organization or coherence.³⁸

³⁷ On the connections between Ashmole 61 and the "Heege MS," see the General Introduction.

³⁸ Blanchfield provides a table of these similarities in her dissertation ("Idiosyncratic Scribe," p.194).

Printed Editions

Furnivall, F. J., ed. *The Babees Book*. Pp. 17–25. [Ashmole 61's unique text, printed in parallel with a text of *Lytylle Children*.]

Reference Works

NIMEV 4127 MWME 9.22.200.3005, 3377

See also Breul, Burrow, W. Evans, Hanawalt (1993), Hardman, McRee, Moran, and Orme (1990 and 2001) in the bibliography.

- Title No title or *incipit*. Though some modern descriptions of this text have called it *The Young Children's Book* on the basis of line 147, the title adopted here was Furnivall's first title for the poem and the title used by both Blanchfield ("Idiosyncratic Scribe") and Guddat-Figge (*Catalogue of Manuscripts*) in their descriptions of Ashmole 61. The phrase "Dame Courtesy" only appears twice; it is unusual enough to distinguish the poem from other, similar works.
- 7 When Gabryell Owre Lady grette. Lines 7 and 8 refer to two episodes in Luke 1:26–55: the Annunciation and the encounter between Mary and Elizabeth, the mother of John the Baptist. A source for the claim that these moments provide an origin for human courtesy has not been identified.
- 35 If thou labour. The biblical injunction given to Adam after the Fall, "with labour and toil shalt thou eat" (Genesis 3:17), seems to be modified here to acknowledge that certain orders of medieval society relied on the labor of others.
- 41 Treuth doyt never his master schame. Proverbial; see Whiting, T510.
- For so thou kepys all the lawe. An allusion to Matthew 22:37–40.
- *Ne no servantys no wey loker.* The meaning of this line is unclear and may be corrupt, but see *MED*, "lokere" n. 2: "watchman," "spy," or "overseer."
- 69 With thi fynger schew thou nothyng. An instance of the very old prohibition against pointing.
- 86 Sey "God be here". One of many ritual blessings used for protection. For an example, see Friar John's entrance into Thomas's house in Chaucer's Summoner's Tale (CT III[D]1770).
- 90 Tyll he byde thee that rewlys the halle. The marshal and the usher were household officers responsible for seating diners according to their rank.
- 97 Take the salt. Diners served themselves salt from salt cellars, serving vessels shared among others. See item 7, Stans Puer ad Mensam, lines 146–51 and note.
- Wype thi mouthe when thou wyll drinke. Diners shared communal drinking vessels, so cleanliness with the cup was a priority.
- When thou spytys. This and other courtesy literature make it clear that medieval diners commonly spat at meals; the polite place to spit seems to have been the

floor, often covered in rushes before the meal so that it could be cleaned more easily afterwards.

- 119 Kepe thi knyfe both clen and scherpe. Medieval diners were expected to bring their own knives to meals and to keep them in good condition. They were often worn in pouches hung from the belt.
- thi dysch. The trencher was made out of sliced bread, upon which individuals placed their food. Dishes were generally reserved for the communal serving dishes shared among several diners. As this text and the preceding text (Stans Puer ad Mensam) make clear, polite manners carefully restricted the ways in which food could be transferred to and from the trencher.
- 136 Lest it fall ther. The cup in question seems to be a drinking horn, commonly used for wine or other alcoholic beverages.
- 147 This boke is made for chylder yong. See the introduction to this text.
- 152a AMEN QUOD RATE. Rate has drawn a grinning fish between this colophon and the start of the following item on fol. 21v.

9-11. LATIN EPIGRAMS AND THE RULES FOR PURCHASING LAND

Origin, Genre, and Themes

These four items appear on fol. 21v and may have been added to the blank space left after the completion of *Dame Courtesy*, perhaps even some time after the completion of the rest of Ashmole 61. Three of the texts are Latin epigrams which circulated very widely throughout the Middle Ages. The first and the last, "Tempore felici" and "Tres infelices," express the kind of common wisdom found in every collection of proverbs. Proverbs held a much higher status in medieval culture than they do now. Proverb collections were ascribed to Solomon, King Alfred, and other legendarily wise men, and the *Distiches* attributed to Cato were a standard educational text. The puns of many Latin epigrams made them popular with generations of young medieval scholars. The classical origins of many of these epigrams also lent them an air of learned authority, thus making a claim to truth more august than any bit of folk wisdom, even if the sentiments were entirely familiar.

"Tempore felici" is an elegiac couplet, and bears some resemblance to lines from Ovid's *Tristia*. In the *Tristia* and in the form used here, the couplet reveals a common classical and medieval idea of true friendship as a rare and valuable commodity. Fifteenth-century humanism tended to concentrate on Fortune and the inevitable fall of the mighty, and this couplet may have been read as an allusion to the loneliness so vividly described by many accounts of famous men.

"O Asside Asside," while not a proverb, aims at a similar form of wisdom about the unknowable future and the tendency of human beings to assume the best. It is a response of the Delphic oracle to Pyrrhus, king of Epirus and descendent of Aeacus (here rendered as Assidus), who asked whether or not he should invade Italy. The line ultimately derives from Ennius' *Annales*, which survives only in fragments, but the line was very widely known as an example of amphiboly, or ambiguous grammatical structure.³⁹ Pyrrhus chose to interpret

³⁹ Quintus Ennius, *Annales*, book 6, line 167, p. 86.

it in his favor, and won a "Pyrrhic victory" at the battle of Asculum before finally being forced to abandon the peninsula and return to Greece. The prophecy was quoted by Cicero in *De divinatione* (*On Divination*), and by Boethius and Augustine.⁴⁰

A source for the four hexameter lines that make up the final Latin text, "Tres infelices," has not been identified, but the ideas are commonplace and this quatrain survives in various forms in many other manuscripts. It suggests the moral dimension of teaching and education as understood in the Middle Ages, and lays out the obligation of teachers (usually clerics) to share their knowledge and live up to their own precepts.

The Middle English text added here, The Rules for Purchasing Land, was also a very popular text. Though two manuscripts ascribe the poem to the political theorist Sir John Fortescue, this is almost certainly a misattribution, and the poem likely dates from earlier in the fifteenth century. 41 Despite the steady rise of the mercantile sector, late medieval England's economy remained heavily dependent on agriculture. Land served as the solid foundation of many family fortunes, the most desirable marker of status, and the favorite investment of both merchants and gentry. But as the Rules suggest, investors had to negotiate the many perils of the land market before they could expect to turn a profit — Rate's version of the text warns that a return on investment could not be expected for the first ten years. Wars and plagues produced unpredictable fluctuations in wages, rents, and prices for crops throughout the fifteenth century. But the biggest dangers lay in the dark corners of the legal system, where rival claimants might emerge years after the transfer of land. Many disputes, often between competing branches of the same family, lasted for years or even decades. Since demonstrating seisin (occupation) of property was often crucial for the success of a legal claim, land disputes occasionally turned violent, as one suitor forcibly evicted another. The Rules for Purchasing Land advise methodical attention to detail and prudent caution; purchasers must learn everything possible about the legal status of the land they plan to buy, and then obtain every possible security to ensure they keep the land after buying it.

Manuscript Context

Though all four texts may have been added here as an afterthought, they develop interests treated elsewhere in the manuscript. "Tempore felici" shares its emphasis on the vulnerability of human happiness with *Sir Orfeo* and *Vanity* (items 38 and 39). "Tres infelices" quite naturally follows the didactic conduct works of the preceding folia, including *How the Wise Man Taught His Son, How the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter*, and *Dame Courtesy* (items 3, 4, and 8). The reasons for "O Asside Asside" being added here seem less clear, though the text may have served as either a lesson for young students of Latin grammar or as a reminder of the vanity of human wishes. *The Rules for Purchasing Land* resembles some of the conduct texts in its pragmatism and also makes an interesting counterpoint to romances such as *Sir Isumbras, Lybeaus Desconus*, and *Sir Cleges* (items 5, 20, and 24). In those texts, heroes gain and lose lands and property with remarkable speed. Romances may have helped English audiences dream about the benefits and consequences of possession, but *The Rules for Purchasing Land* faces the hardnosed realities.

⁴⁰ Cicero cites the line only to ridicule the implausibility of Ennius' account; see book 2, chapter 56 of *De divinatione*, p. 500. Boethius cites the line in book 2, chapter 4 of his *Commentarii in librum Aristotelis Peri hermeneias*, 2.82. Augustine cites it in book 3, chapter 17 of *De civitate dei*, 1.344.

⁴¹ The attribution to Fortescue appears in Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS Latin miscellany c.66 and Rawlinson B 252. Most of the manuscripts containing the text date from the middle decades of the fifteenth century to the early sixteenth century.

Text

Each of the three Latin texts survives in many manuscripts in England and on the continent; data on the exact number of surviving copies is unavailable. Though Rate's Latin is unsteady and his awareness of Latin meter seems nonexistent, he does not seem to have introduced many changes to these texts. *The Rules for Purchasing Land* survives in fourteen other manuscripts, including several copies scribbled on flyleaves or in blank spaces, much as it seems to have been added here. The text appears in several different lengths, though none varies by more than a few couplets. Ashmole 61's text most closely resembles those of Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 54 and London, British Library MS Lansdowne 762. Rate has avoided or misunderstood certain legal words and phrases but has not otherwise revised the text.

Printed Editions of The Rules for Purchasing Land

Alsop, J. D. "A Late Medieval Guide to Land Purchase." *Agricultural History* 57 (1983), 161–64. [Prints the text of Cambridge, Trinity College MS O.2.53.]

Dyboski, Roman, ed. Songs, Carols, and Other Miscellaneous Poems from Balliol College MS 354. Pp. 137–38. [Prints the text from the commonplace book of the London merchant Richard Hill.]

McFarlane, K. B. *England in the Fifteenth Century*. London: Hambledon, 1981. P. 193. [Prints the text of London, British Library MS Royal 17.B.47 in discussion of Sir John Fastolf's participation in the risky English land market of the fifteenth century].

Robbins, Rossell Hope, ed. *Secular Lyrics of the XIVth and XVth Centuries*. Pp. 70–71. [Prints the text of MS Douce 54; also prints the text of Cambridge University Library MS Hh 2.6 in the notes, pp. 249–50.]

Reference Works

NIMEV 4148. [The Rules for Purchasing Land]

MWME 10.25.438.3691, 3905. [The Rules for Purchasing Land]

Walther, Hans. *Proverbia Sententiaeque Latinitatis Medii Aevii*. Carmina Medii Aevi Posterioris Latina II/1. 5 vols. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1963–69. [For item 9, "Tempore felici," see entry #31228. For item 11b, "Tres infelices," see entry #31559; see also entry #12306 for a similar text.]

See also Harvey, Mate, and Palmer in the bibliography.

9. Latin Epigram

1 *Tempore felici*. This text begins one-third down the leaf of fol. 21v.

10. The Rules for Purchasing Land

- 2 *therinne*. This is an excellent example of Rate's indifference to rhyme; other manuscripts read "following."
- 8 se the reles of every feffé. I.e., "see that everyone who is owed a fee [feoffees] has given up his right to it," either by being paid the fee or waiving his right to it. In legal terms, a "release" is the abandonment of a claim or right.

- 11 *tayle*. An entail or "tail" restricts the inheritance of property to a particular heir or class of heirs, and may limit the rights of future owners to subdivide or sell off the property.
- whether it stond in statute bounde. Land bound "in statute" was potentially subject to repossession by a bondholder or creditor. In Cambridge University Library MS Hh.2.6, the line reads "whether it stand in statut merchaund bound." "Statute merchant" was a specific type of this situation, in which a bond registered with a city official or mayor entitled the holder to seize land belonging to the creditor if the debtor defaulted on the bond. Rate's reading "in state bounde" makes little sense and has been emended.
- whyte-rente. A "quit-rent" enabled landholders to avoid performing the customary feudal duties that came with land by paying a set fee to the feudal lord.
- Luke ryght wele if that thou cane. Rate has revised the line to avoid an unrecognized legal term. In London, British Library MS Royal 17.B.47, the line reads "Thenke cuer de baron thanne," and in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 54 (and several other manuscripts), the line reads "Thynke on coverd-barine than." "Cuer de baron" or "coverd-barine" is an Anglo-Norman legal term for a category of property held by married women that cannot be sold without the husband's consent.
- Make a charter of warantys. A charter of warrantise formally validated the claim of a property owner.
- 19 asygnés. Anyone other than an heir-at-law to whom property is given in a bequest.
- *in ten yere*. The number of years specified here varies from manuscript to manuscript, with many warning the purchaser to wait for fifteen years before expecting to receive a return on the investment. As K. B. McFarlane noted, "The number of years seems to have nothing to do with date [of the manuscript]; some manuscripts were merely more hopeful than others; all appear to have been excessively hopeful, but the dangers they advised against were very real" (*England in the Fifteenth Century*, p. 194, n. 93).

11a. Latin Epigram

O Asside, Asside dico te Romanos superare. The original form of the line, as it appears in Ennius' Annales is "Aio te Aeacida Romanos vincere posse." The repetition of Asside destroys the hexameter of the original, but the substance of the line remains the same.

11b. Latin Epigram

4 *sancta*. In many other versions of this proverb, the word is *recta*, "right" or "right-eousness." The alteration to *sancta* may direct the criticism more specifically towards morally corrupt clergy rather than teachers in general. The last line of

the Latin is followed by a drawing of a fish and a flower; there is no other *explicit* or colophon.

12-13. AN EVENING PRAYER AND A MORNING PRAYER

ORIGIN, GENRE, AND THEMES

Once monastic life moved out of the desert caves of Egypt and into the cloisters of Europe, the daily life of monks was governed by a regular cycle of prayers, readings, and singing, known as the canonical hours or divine office. The canonical hours divided the day into orderly units, with each office changing to reflect the cycles of the week and the liturgical year. Eventually the laity began to adopt similar practices, particularly through the use of Books of Hours, the small private prayer books that included the Hours of the Virgin or some other office that outlined prayers (including repetition of the *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria*) for specific hours of the day and for days in the liturgical year. Virginia Reinburg has described the rise of Books of Hours as evidence of a "desire to sanctify lay time, to render it holy" in imitation of the liturgical day of the clergy. ⁴² The two prayers here can be seen as imitations of the hours of compline and lauds (the evening and dawn services).

Private prayer had, of course, circulated among the laity long before the spread of Books of Hours. As Reinburg comments, "Devout medieval people collected prayers the way twentieth-century cooks collect recipes." The *New Index of Middle English Verse* includes prayers to Christ, Mary, and numerous saints, and for a wide variety of purposes: chastity, warding off plague, protection from slander, and a prayer for those born in the month of May. In one sense, this variety can be seen as a consequence of the laity's distance from the Mass; John Bossy has suggested that "pluralism in prayer is one of the advantages of a relatively non-participatory rite." Several other Middle English prayers for both evening and morning survive, and presumably, to a lay audience, the precise form of these prayers would matter less than the saying of them.

Despite the fact that these two prayers make an obvious pair, and appear as a pair in the only other manuscript that preserves both, they differ in rhetoric and content. The *Evening Prayer* distantly echoes the *Pater Noster* (Lord's Prayer) in its content and its expression. It offers praise, asks for forgiveness, wards away temptation, and acknowledges both debts owed and incurred. Though its mention of the "ferynge of the fende" testifies to the night's association with devils and evil spirits, this anxiety is more on display in the *Morning Prayer*, with its invocation of a guardian angel as protection against "evyll sprytys." The *Morning Prayer* hints at the close relationship between prayers and charms. In Chaucer's Miller's Tale, when John the Carpenter confronts an uncanny sight in his own house, he utters a few lines of the "White Pater Noster," a popular protective spell, and the *Morning Prayer* is not an entirely different form of self-protection.

How these prayers were used remains uncertain. While both texts are short enough to be memorized and performed orally, lay people were increasingly encouraged to read prayers silently and privately. ⁴⁵ Neither prayer has the kind of simplicity that a spell like John's "White

⁴² Reinburg, "Prayer and the Book of Hours," p. 41.

⁴³ Reinburg, "Prayer and the Book of Hours," p. 40.

⁴⁴ J. Bossy, "Christian Life," p. 148. For the variety of prayer directly related to the Mass, see the introduction to *A Prayer at the Levation* (item 17).

⁴⁵ See Saenger, "Books of Hours."

Pater Noster" needed in order to be ready at hand for quick recitation, and if they were intended to be memorized, their inclusion in Ashmole 61 suggests that they first needed to be read or taught. Late medieval treatises on prayer stress that the devout needed concentration and emotional engagement for prayer to be effective, but the wording of these prayers does not involve heartfelt contemplation of Christ's sufferings or His humanity. They seem most likely intended for the kind of devotion described in *Dame Courtesy* (item 8), devotion that was regular, uncomplicated, and part of an industrious daily routine.

Manuscript Context

As manifestations of popular devotional practice, these two prayers share an obvious connection with the two other prayers preserved in Ashmole 61, A Prayer to Mary and A Prayer at the Levation (items 15 and 17). Rate began to recopy The Ten Commandments (item 6) immediately after the Morning Prayer, and that text is also one that a reasonably devout lay person might learn by heart. With its concerns about proper speech, eating, and drinking, the Morning Prayer also suggests close connections to the courtesy material earlier in the first three quires, including Stans Puer ad Mensam and Dame Courtesy (items 7 and 8).

Text

These two poems appear together in Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.3.21, and the *Evening Prayer* appears in New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS G 9. The final stanza of *A Morning Prayer* appears independently in Durham Cathedral MS A.4.25. There are few significant variants between these texts. Rate has bracketed the rhymes of the *abab* stanzas.

Printed Editions

Brown, Carleton, ed. *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century*. Pp. 194–96. [From Ashmole 61, with variants from the Trinity College MS in notes, p. 333.]

MacCracken, Henry. "Lydgatiana." *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen* 130 (1913), 286–311. [Prints the two prayers from the Trinity College MS, pp. 304–05.]

Robbins, Rossell Hope. "Popular Prayers in Middle English Verse." *Modern Philology* 36 (1939), 337–50. [Prints the single quatrain of *A Morning Prayer* from the Durham MS on p. 339.]

Reference Works

NIMEV 2345 [Evening Prayer] NIMEV 1720 [Morning Prayer]

See also J. Bossy, Fassler, LeGoff (1980), Reinburg, and Saenger in the bibliography.

12. An Evening Prayer

Title No title or *incipit*.

14 Fro fowll dremys and fantasys. Dreams were accorded genuine significance in the Middle Ages, either as prophesies or visions (and the latter category could include temptations by the devil).

13. A Morning Prayer

Title No title or *incipit*. Very little space divides this text from the previous text.

25 gode angell. The notion of guardian angels goes back to early Christian belief, supported by various mentions of angels in both the Old and New Testaments. Though never a fixed doctrine, scholastics such as Thomas Aquinas supported the theory of guardian angels appointed to each soul; see the entry for "Guardian Angels" in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 7.336.

28a AMEN QUOD RATE. After a very small space, Rate here recopies the first eight lines of *The Ten Commandments* (with slight variants — see Textual Notes for item 6). This is followed immediately by A Prayer to Mary (item 15).

14. TEN COMMANDMENTS (FALSE START)

See Textual Notes.

15. A PRAYER TO THE VIRGIN MARY

Origin, Genre, and Themes

Like *The Ten Commandments* (item 6), *A Prayer to the Virgin Mary* has been excerpted from the *Speculum Christiani*, a fourteenth-century compilation that provided pastoral clergy with Middle English verses and Latin commentary on the basic elements of the faith. In this compilation, the *Prayer to the Virgin Mary* appears in the last of eight *tabula* (sections). It shares this eighth section with a miscellaneous range of material, including a prayer to the sacrament, descriptions of pastoral duties, the efficacy of the Mass, and the varieties of idolatry.

A new prayer to the Virgin would have been viewed as a useful addition to almost any medieval compilation, whether a manual like the *Speculum Christiani* or a codex like Ashmole 61. According to the Church's Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, every Christian, lettered and unlettered, was expected to know the *Ave Maria* ("Hail Mary") as one of the essential short texts of devotion. Even before the establishment of the rosary, a chain of repeated *Aves*, the mendicant orders had encouraged the "Psalter of Our Lady," a similar cycle meant to imitate the 150 Psalms. But the *Ave Maria* was only the most important of innumerable Marian prayers, hymns, carols, and lyrics in Latin and in every vernacular language of western Europe.

The complex position Mary played in medieval faith offered many roles for the devout to contemplate and many epithets for the poet to use in composing her praise. Mary uniquely unites the roles of virgin, mother, and queen. As a virgin, Mary represented more than the ideal of sexual chastity; she represented the possibility of bodily perfection. This text looks to the "mayden clene" (i.e., pure, immaculate) to "Helpe me to lyve in clene lyve" (lines 5 and 10), and the redeeming possibilities of Mary's purity are analogous to (though not equal to) Christ's innocence. As a mother, Mary embodies pity, a precious hope for all sinners, and by extension, all humanity. Though this text does not emphasize this bodily motherhood in depictions of Mary's breasts, breast milk, or womb as some Marian literature does, the constant appeals to Mary's protection draw upon this sense of her role as the sympathetic maternal protector for all those in danger of any kind.

Mary's role as queen (one of her many epithets is *Regina Caeli*, Queen of Heaven) is imagined in terms of protection; she was believed to perform miracles on behalf of those

who placed their faith in her (see *The Jealous Wife*, item 22). But as queen, she also acted as a mediator or intercessor for petitioners who hoped to soften the judgments of Christ the King. In imagining her this way, medieval petitioners used an analogy to their own royal families, in which the queen was a traditional influence for mercy and forgiveness on the strict justice of the king. When an elaborate pageant was staged for the purpose of reconciling the city of London with Richard II, his beloved Queen Anne was among those who publicly fell to their knees and asked for his mercy.⁴⁶ Mary was believed to act similarly (though with no need to fall on her knees, as her son never refused her).

The prayer presented here thus draws on a well-established set of roles for Mary, and neither its rhetoric nor its structure is in any way unusual. The poem opens with thoroughly conventional terms of praise, and the opening line itself is shared by several other Middle English poems. After praising Mary's singularity, the prayer then proceeds through a series of petitions, punctuated by repeated praise, before offering a promise of further service to the Virgin if she grants her aid. The poem indulges in no complex figurative speech or learned allusion and does not seem calculated to prompt meditative contemplation. It belongs in the category that Rosemary Woolf has called "extra-liturgical prayers," on the very borders of what we now consider lyric poetry. ⁴⁷ As such, it seems particularly suited to Ashmole 61 in its simplicity and unpretentious practicality.

Manuscript Context

This item follows naturally in the sequence of the prayers for evening and morning and the aborted recopying of *The Ten Commandments* (items 12, 13, and 14); all are short texts that might be memorized for frequent use, or that could be consulted by a reader who wished to expand his or her personal collection of useful prayers. ⁴⁸ Though Ashmole 61 does not have an unusually strong Marian theme, it does feature one other popular form of Marian lyric, *The Lament of Mary* (item 30). Mary also appears in the narrative accounts of the Passion and Resurrection, *The Northern Passion* and *The Legend of the Resurrection* (items 28 and 36).

Text

This prayer appears in over forty manuscripts, with some distinct differences between versions preserved independently and those that appear in the *Speculum Christiani*. The Ashmole 61 text appears to be a conflation of these two textual traditions, perhaps with some of Rate's characteristic revision as well. 49

Printed Editions

Brown, Carleton, ed. *Religious Lyrics of the XIVth Century*. Pp. 216–17. [Prints the text of Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Lyell 30.]

Holmstedt, Gustaf, ed. Speculum Christiani: A Middle English Religious Treatise of the 14th Century. Pp. 336–40. [Prints variants from Ashmole 61 in an appendix.]

Robbins, Rossell Hope. "Private Prayers in Middle English Verse." *Studies in Philology* 36 (1939), 466–75. [Prints text of Ashmole 61.]

⁴⁶ See Maidstone's *Concordia*. See also Strohm, "Queens as Intercessors."

⁴⁷ Woolf, English Religious Lyric, pp. 3–4.

⁴⁸ On the mnemonic devices in this and related lyrics, see Greenberg, "Marie Moder."

⁴⁹ For a fuller treatment of the complex textual associations between Ashmole 61's text and the other surviving texts of this poem, see Blanchfield's discussion in "Idiosyncratic Scribe," pp. 200–04.

Saupe, Karen, ed. *Middle English Marian Lyrics*. [Overview and anthology of Middle English Marian verse; prints a version of *A Prayer to the Virgin Mary* as item 59.]

Reference Works

NIMEV 2119

See also Bernard of Clairvaux, Gray (1972), Greenberg, Pelikan, Warner, and Woolf (1968) in the bibliography.

- Title No title or *incipit*. The manuscripts of the Latin *Speculum Christiani* that give a title to the prayer most frequently call it an *Oracio ad virginem Mariam*. The English translation of the *Speculum Christiani* in British Library MS Harley 6580 titles the poem *A Prayer to Our Lady Seynt Mary*. The text begins roughly one-third down the page of fol. 22v.
- 3 *Modour and Mayd*. This paradoxical catchphrase appears widely thoughout the Marian tradition as a signal of the mysteriousness of the Incarnation. See, for example, lyric 13 in Saupe's *Middle English Marian Lyrics*, "I syng of a maiden."
- 9 *thi joys fyve*. The Five Joys of Mary were usually considered to be the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Resurrection, the Ascension, and the Assumption, though in some versions the Epiphany replaces the Ascension.
- 16 *hell pyne*. Mary was sometimes referred to as the Queen of Hell for her ability to rescue the damned; see the introduction to *The Jealous Wife* (item 22).
- 28 *dyghe therin*. Death while in a state of (unconfessed) deadly or mortal sin insured damnation, whereas death in a state of venial sin merited time in purgatory.
- 36 Aves fyve. The Ave Maria ("Hail Mary") was a commonly prescribed prayer for penance and daily devotion. See the introduction to this text.
- 37 a Pater Noster and a Crede. These are the prayer "Our Father" and one of the accepted statements of belief used in Catholic liturgy, most commonly the Apostles' Creed, believed to have been composed by the twelve apostles.

16. THE DEBATE OF THE CARPENTER'S TOOLS

Origin, Genre, and Themes

The Debate of the Carpenter's Tools, of unknown date and authorship, survives only in Ashmole 61 and is unique in many other respects as well. The poem's list of tools provides a major source for the understanding of medieval English carpentry; many of these names are unattested elsewhere or only dimly recognizable from medieval glossaries and documents. But the literary form is as idiosyncratic as the vocabulary is valuable. Though Middle English and continental medieval literature feature a great many debate poems, no other surviving text reproduces the odd configuration of this one.

Like *The Carpenter's Tools*, some of these other debate poems involve inanimate participants, such as *The Debate between Water and Wine*. But in this tradition, the objects debate their own merits as refreshment, whereas the carpenter's tools discuss their master's ability and

willingness to make a living. The raucous spirit of the debate, including the insults hurled back and forth between the tools and the many other insults directed at their master, resembles two of the most famous examples of Middle English debate poetry, *The Owl and the Nightingale* and the final section of Chaucer's *Parliament of Fowles*. But both of these vigorous debates are concerned with love, the favorite subject of debate poetry, and thus gain some of their comic effect from the divergence between the churlishness of the debate and the loftiness of the subject. In *The Debate of the Carpenter's Tools* the participants and the subject are equally humble; we do not expect genteel courtesy or crafty rhetoric from a crowbar, and we do not get either.

The debate, like many others in the Middle English tradition, has no clearly-determined winning side, but it certainly produces a loser. Despite the spirited defense of his industriousness taken up by many of the tools, the carpenter's drunken shiftlessness seems well-established by the end of the poem. The narrator recognizes as much when he closes with a direct address to carpenters, begging that they not take offense, but merely mend their ways and remember the shame they have already done to him. These curious lines have prompted the one modern editor, Edward Wilson, to suggest that it was written for a feast of a carpenters' craft guild. Wilson sees the narrator as someone whose past efforts to entertain have not been fully paid for, and certainly the history of craft guilds and their feasts lends plausibility to this speculation.

By the fifteenth century, craft guilds of carpenters existed in many English towns; though carpenters rarely had the wealth and political power of the more important guilds involved in cloth making and mercantile trading (e.g., the Drapers, the Grocers, and the Mercers), they nevertheless had a place in civic life and shared many of the same rituals as the mightier crafts. These rituals included feasts, and Charles Phythian-Adams's description of the Carpenters' Guild of Coventry suggests that such an occasion might provide plenty of opportunity for jokes about inebriated craftsmen: "at their Harvest Dinner in 1524, for example, thirty-three members and some outsiders were served with seven pigs, two and a half lambs, six joints of beef, thirteen chickens, and sixteen geese, . . . and finally two and a half sextaries of ale or, by the standards laid down in 1521, thirty-five gallons." This offers some context for the Chisel's claim that his master can drink several gallons of ale a day (line 77).

Whether or not *The Debate of the Carpenter's Tools* was composed for this kind of gathering, it does offer (perhaps counterintuitively) evidence for the value of labor to a middle-class audience. Though *this* carpenter seems to be a feckless alcoholic who has doomed his tools, his apprentices, and his bitter wife to a life of mediocrity, the more optimistic tools suggest that hard work might radically change him. While labor was always believed to have an important spiritual function (as both a punishment for sin and a means of spiritual reform), here the rewards of hard work are imagined primarily in terms of wealth and status.

Manuscript Context

Though the form and the style of *The Debate of the Carpenter's Tools* distinguish it from most of the other items in Ashmole 61, and its placement between two prayers seems coincidental, the subject of the debate places it at the center of the collection. In its emphasis on labor as a social responsibility and the sign of respectability, as well as its denunciation of drunkenness,

⁵⁰ Wilson, "Debate of the Carpenter's Tools," p. 453. The material in the Explanatory Notes, particularly the consideration of obscure vocabulary, is heavily indebted to Wilson's edition.

⁵¹ Phythian-Adams, Desolation of a City, p. 110.

the text closely relates to the behavioral treatises of the first three quires, including *How the Wise Man Taught His Son, How the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter,* and *Dame Courtesy* (items 3, 4, and 8). Drinking features prominently in *King Edward and the Hermit* (item 41), and the inability of the carpenter to uphold the ideals of his craft recall the similar failures listed in Lydgate's *Right as a Ram's Horn* (item 2). In its broad humor, the debate resembles *Sir Corneus* (item 21), another text that may have been intended for reading aloud at raucous feasts.

Text

Ashmole 61 preserves the only surviving text of this poem, but Rate was probably not its composer. He makes his usual scribal errors, including the omission of final abbreviations, and his grasp of the technical vocabulary seems slightly shaky at points, though the scarcity of other surviving attestations of some of these words makes this uncertain. The text seems to be complete and unabridged in its current form.

Printed Editions

Conlee, John W., ed. *Middle English Debate Poetry: A Critical Anthology*. East Lansing, MI: Colleagues Press, 1991. Pp. 222–35.

Halliwell, James Orchard, ed. Nugae poeticae. Pp. 13-20.

Hazlitt, W. Carew, ed. *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*. 4 vols. London: J. R. Smith, 1864–66. 1:79–90.

Wilson, Edward. "The Debate of the Carpenter's Tools." Review of English Studies n.s. 38 (1987), 445–70.

Reference Works

NIMEV 3461 MWME 3.7.31.708-09, 869

See also M. Bossy, Goodman, Phythian-Adams, Reed, and Salzman in the bibliography.

- Title No title or *incipit*. Halliwell, the poem's first editor, gave the poem this title, which has been favored in subsequent references. The text begins one-quarter down the page of fol. 23r, with no space separating it from the previous item.
- 1 Shype-Ax. Most likely an ax used for chipping or trimming. See MED, "chip-ax."
- 3 Clene hose and clene schone. The sense of these lines appears to be "I will earn you food and drink, but you'll have to work harder to earn yourself clothing."
- 6 Thall. "Thou will." See MED, "thou."
- 7 *longys the crafte*. *Crafte* may here refer to the profession of carpenters in general, or the local craft guild of carpenters more specifically.
- 9 Belte. An "allet maul, hammer; also, a bat or club." See MED, "betel."
- 13 Twybyll. A "kind of ax with two cutting edges; formerly used for cutting mortices"; see OED, "twibill," 1.
- Wymbyll. A name applied to several different kinds of boring tools; see OED, "wimble."

- 22 *twenti pounde*. This is an outlandish sum, perhaps double the amount of an experienced master carpenter's yearly wages.
- 31 *Groping-Iren*. A chisel or gouge.
- 43 *ale-wyffe*. Brewing ale was a common household industry for women.
- 48 *twenti merke*. A mark was two-thirds of a pound; since the Whetstone is speaking of yearly wages, this boast seems more plausible.
- 53 Adys. An adze is an ax-like tool with a curved blade, used for cutting away wood.
- 577 seven pens drynke. Seven pence, the rough equivalent of a carpenter's daily wages, would purchase up to seven gallons of ale (depending on its strength), a comically extravagant amount.
- 79 Lyne and the Chalke. Strings coated in chalk are still used by carpenters for drawing lines on wood to be cut.
- 87 *Prykyng Knyfe. MED* and *OED* quote only this line; if not an awl, this tool is likely to be some other instrument for marking wood.
- 93 *Persore*. "An awl, a gimlet, an auger"; see *MED*, "percer(e)." Lines 100–04 suggest that this is a drill.
- schyreff of the toune. Sheriffs originally had considerable local authority in administering the royal legal system, but by the later Middle Ages, their importance had waned. Nevertheless, the job was typically held by minor gentry, and being appointed sheriff would be an honor considerably beyond the hopes of carpenters.
- 107 *Skantyllyon*. A gauge, used for measuring the depth of mortises (recesses made in wood for joinery).
- drynke never peny. A penny's worth of ale might vary between one-third and one gallon.
- 139 *Brode-Ax*. Salzman describes this as "made with a chisel edge, beveled only on one side, which enabled it to follow a marked line accurately" (*Building in England*, p. 342).
- 145 *Twyvete*. Uncertain. *OED* suggests that this is a double-edged axe, via an etymology endorsed by Wilson ("*Debate of the Carpenter's Tools*," p. 406). Salzman argues plausibly that the tool is a mallet (*Building in England*, p. 344).
- a knyght. Though late medieval knighthood was a marker of wealth rather than birth, carpenters would have been extremely unlikely to rise to this rank. The Windlass's disbelief in lines 167–68 is entirely justified.
- Wyndas-Rewle. A windlass is an axle or roller used for winding or moving.
- The devyles dyrte. This expression appears in the Towneley Plays, in the Play of the Buffeting, ed. England, p. 233, line 170. The sense of the insult is "something wretched or excremental."
- This seven yere. The customary duration of an apprenticeship.

Nother the mayster ne the man. I.e., "neither the master nor his apprentices and journeymen."
Draught Nayle. Uncertain. MED and Salzman suggest that this is a punch for countersinking nails (Building in England, p. 345). Wilson argues that the etymology favors the interpretation of the phrase as a nail-drawer ("Debate of the Carpenter's Tools," p. 468).
hym that it dud make. See the introduction to this item.

17. A PRAYER AT THE LEVATION

Origin, Genre, and Themes

The Eucharist was the central rite of medieval liturgy, founded on the words of Jesus at the Last Supper when he instructed his followers to consume bread and wine in communion with him. The ritual version of this moment, reenacted by the priest at the altar, brought the embodied Christ before the worshippers by means of the miracle of transubstantiation, the transformation of ordinary matter into the body of God. Though the performance of the Mass remained off-limits to all but the ordained clergy, in the later Middle Ages the Church developed a variety of ways for the laity to celebrate the miraculous power of the Eucharist.

Foremost among these was the feast of Corpus Christi, a holy day that grew out of local practices in Liège (in modern Belgium) in the middle decades of the thirteenth century. ⁵² The feast steadily gained popularity through the fourteenth century until it became one of the most important days in the liturgical year. This feast was part of growing attention to the mysteries of the Eucharist; substantial thought went into defining the process of transubstantiation, defending attacks on it from heretics like the English Lollards, and into refining the ritual itself. Scholastic writers defined the exact moment when the priest's words turned the host into Christ's body, and ecclesiastical authorities wrote increasingly precise instructions for the priests who performed the ceremony. After the priest spoke the words "hoc est corpus meum" ("This is my body"), an attendant rang a small bell known as a sacring bell, and in many cases the larger church bells were rung, so that even those outside the church knew that the Mass had reached its central moment. The priest then raised the host above his head, allowing the lay worshippers to see the host in its transubstantiated state as the body of Christ.

Since taking communion (that is, eating a consecrated host and drinking consecrated wine) was not as common as it is in today's Christian churches, the moment when the laity saw the host, known as the levation (or elevation), was their primary form of contact with the Eucharist. Ecclesiastical writers strongly emphasized the importance of the levation. A widely-circulated list of the benefits gained from seeing the host daily included promises that the worshipper would not suffer sudden death, a lack of food, or blindness on any day that he or she saw the consecrated host. ⁵³ Writers also required the laity to view the host with highly concentrated devotion. The statutes of Coventry suggest that the sacring bell is like "a gentle trumpet announcing the arrival of a judge, indeed of a savior," and many authorities encouraged the laity to utter heartfelt prayers at the moment of the levation. ⁵⁴

⁵² For a full account of the origins and foundation of the feast of Corpus Christi, see Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 164–212.

⁵³ For a version of this list, see Mirk, *Instructions for Parish Priests*, lines 316–29.

⁵⁴ The Coventry statutes are quoted in Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p. 58.

These prayers exist in a variety of vernacular forms; as Russell Hope Robbins has argued, the heightened emotion of this moment required laity to pray in the language they knew best.⁵⁵ Perhaps for the same reason, writers who offered their own suggestions for levation prayer stressed that it did not matter which version the laity used, so long as they prayed in some form. Lydgate introduces his levation prayer with a stanza suggesting the proper use of such prayers:

With all your myght, and in your best intent, Awayteth aftyr the consecracion, At lyftyng up of the holy sacrament Seythe, "Jesu, mercy!" with hooly affeccion, Or seyth som other parfyte oryson, Lyke as ye have in custom devoutly, Or ellys seyth thys compilacion Whyche here ys wrete in ordyr by and by. ⁵⁶

prayer

The number of Middle English levation prayers that survive share certain patterns.⁵⁷ The prayers begin with a salutation that emphasizes Christ's appearance "in forme of bred" (in the form of the host). The prayers mention an event in Christ's life and then petition for some spiritual aid (usually protection from sudden death) and express hope of salvation. The prayer presented here, which exists in several other manuscripts besides Ashmole 61, varies slightly from this usual pattern, though its first stanza preserves most of this formula. Rather than simply presenting a petition, it venerates Christ through an extended list of Christ's epithets, attributes, and properties. Though the list makes the prayer rather long for use at the brief moment of the levation, it functions well as a consideration of the mystery of the Eucharist. The contemplation of Christ in multiple roles as "blyssed blossom on tre," "duke and emperour," and "bred beste" seems entirely an appropriate response to the moment when God is worshipped as both material bread and spiritual mystery, human and divine, sacrificed and alive.

Manuscript Context

Though the four prayers in Ashmole 61 are interrupted by the repeated stanzas of *The Ten Commandments* and *The Debate of the Carpenter's Tools* (items 14 and 16), they appear in the same five leaves of the manuscript. The four prayers thus form a group in several ways, sharing their genre as private prayers and their humble style, based on familiar images and epithets for Christ and the Virgin. This is the kind of simple, ritual piety suggested by the conduct material of the first eight items. In *How the Wise Man Taught His Son* (item 3), the wise man tells his son, "Every dey, thi fyrst werke — / Loke it be don in every stede — / Go se thi God in form of bred" (lines 19–21). *Dame Courtesy* (item 8) advises saying the *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria*, similarly familiar acts of devotion that could be performed by nearly all classes of the laity.

⁵⁵ Robbins, "Levation Prayers," pp. 131–33.

⁵⁶ Lydgate, "The Virtues of the Mass," lines 313–20, in *Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, 1:101.

⁵⁷ See Robbins, "Levation Prayers," pp. 134–40.

Text

A Prayer at the Levation appears in six other manuscripts besides Ashmole 61, including the Vernon MS. There are relatively few variations between these texts (other than those of dialect, which affects the rhyme in the second stanza here), with the exception of the final stanza, which differs more considerably.

Printed Editions

Baugh, Nita Scudder, ed. *A Worcestershire Miscellany Compiled by John Northwood, c. 1400*. Philadelphia: Macon, 1956. Pp. 149–50. [Prints the text of London, British Library Additional MS 37787.]

Horstmann, Carl, ed. *The Minor Poems of the Vernon Manuscript*. 1:24–25. [Based on text of the Vernon MS.]

Reference Works

NIMEV 3883

See also Gray (1972), McGarry, Robbins (1942), and Rubin in the bibliography.

- Title No title or *incipit*. The title given here comes from the rubric given to the text in the Vernon MS. The medieval index of the Vernon MS calls the poem "Sixe salutacions to the Trinité in tyme of the elevacioun of Godis body." Though the poem is sometimes referred to by its first line, "Welcome, Lord, in forme of bred," several other Middle English levation prayers share this same opening or very close versions of it. The text begins halfway down the page of fol. 26r, immediately after the conclusion of the preceding text.
- 22 *Heyll the Sone*. Rate has transposed this and the following line, but since this mistake makes no effect on the sense, no emendation has been made.
- 31 rose upon ryse. A traditional image that appears in many secular love lyrics and in praises of the Virgin Mary. For an example of the former, see "Ichot a burde," in Brook, *Harley Lyrics*, pp. 31–32. For an example of the latter, see "Heyl gloryous virgyne," in C. Brown, *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century*, pp. 53–54.
- 32 *perle of price*. See Matthew 13:46–47.
- 33 *Heyll God*. This reading is a conjectural emendation; see the Textual Notes. The stanza is defective, lacking a rhyme for the final line. Compare the reading in the Vernon MS:

Heil Rose uppon Rys,
Heil mon of most pris,
For us thou were ded;
Heil God ful of miht,
Godus sone that art so briht,
In forme thou art of bred. (Horstmann, *Minor Poems*, pp. 24–25)

35a AMEN QUOD RATE. A drawing of a grinning fish separates this colophon from the following text.

18. THE KNIGHT WHO FORGAVE HIS FATHER'S SLAYER

Origin, Genre, and Themes

Though many of the narratives in Ashmole 61 may be read as examples (positive or cautionary) of moral conduct, *The Knight Who Forgave His Father's Slayer* is the first of several *exempla*, short narratives designed for the demonstration of a moral. Preachers cultivated this vast class of literature, and *exempla* form a category so large that it is not easily defined as a genre; historical record, natural lore, biblical episodes, and the kind of miraculous story presented here all served as material for *exempla*. Though major collections of short narratives were actively compiled and circulated among preachers looking for assistance in writing sermons, a never-ending professional duty, the appreciation of *exempla* was not limited to the pulpit. Many of the stories told by Chaucer's pilgrims and Boccaccio's *brigata* in the *Decameron* trace their roots to these preachers' collections, though it is not always possible to tell whether a preacher has adopted a popular story for use as an *exemplum* or whether an author has turned an *exemplum* into a literary entertainment.

The story here is from Robert Manning of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*, a loose translation of the Anglo-Norman *Manuel des péchés*. The Anglo-Norman *Manuel* was meant as an aid for clergy hearing confessions and giving penance, but Robert Manning, who wrote his work between 1303 and 1317, intended *Handlyng Synne* as an aid to lay readers who wished to examine their consciences in preparation for confession. The story of the forgiving knight appears in his discussion of Anger, "the synne men calle Yre" (line 3703). By the time Manning translated this *exemplum* into Middle English verse, it had already gained wide circulation in Latin, and by the time Ashmole 61 was copied, the story existed in several Middle English prose versions and one other verse rendition. In the prose versions that appear in both Latin and Middle English handbooks for preachers, the story is told tersely, presumably so that a preacher could tell it quickly and efficiently in the course of a longer sermon. Manning's version stretches out a little; in the words of Derek Pearsall, "Mannyng loves a good story . . . and always embarks on them with the relish of a born story-teller." Perhaps this explains why the story came to be detached from Manning's larger work and presented independently in Ashmole 61.

At the climax of the story, a crucifix recognizes the triumph of mercy over anger by clasping the young knight who chooses to spare his father's slayer. The miracle is entirely appropriate. The cycle of vengeance established at the beginning of the story seems deadlocked until Good Friday, when the older knight sees the faithful marching barefoot to church to honor the day on which Christ was crucified. ⁵⁹ The importance of the timing (not acknowledged in all surviving versions of the story, but emphasized strongly in *Mirk's Festial*, which inserts this story in a sermon for Good Friday) is never fully stated, but it would not need to be for medieval readers. The Crucifixion represented Christ's merciful assumption of the guilt imposed on mankind, and thus the release from Good's justifiable anger at Adam's original sin. It was not only a traditional day for the forgiveness of disputes, but the anniversary of the most important act of forgiveness celebrated by the Church. ⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Pearsall, Old English and Middle English Poetry, p. 108.

⁵⁹ On the custom of "creeping to the cross" barefoot on Good Friday, see Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 29.

⁶⁰ For the English tradition of "love-days" — settlements of disputes outside of law courts — see Bennett, "Mediaeval Loveday."

The miracle of a crucifix responding to exceptional instances of human sin or virtue appears in various stories; though not as venerated a holy object as the Eucharist and not the subject of as many legends, the crucifix and the sign of the cross have considerable miraculous powers in medieval literature. Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogue on Miracles*, one of the most important repositories of *exempla*, includes accounts of a crucifix that illuminated a dark chapel for a devout woman who spent the night there, and two instances of crucifixes bleeding after being pierced by warfaring knights. ⁶¹ British Library Additional MS 18364, a collection from a variety of sources, includes a tale in which a monk who has decided to abandon his monastery sings a hymn to the cross, and then finds every exit barred by a crucifix. ⁶² But in *The Knight Who Forgave His Father's Slayer*, the miraculous power of the cross is not the subject of attention. Instead, the bending crucifix points to an even greater miracle, mercy.

Manuscript Context

This item shares connections of genre and style with two other *exempla* in Ashmole 61, *The Jealous Wife* and *The Incestuous Daughter* (items 22 and 23); the latter also reaches its climax on Good Friday. Though generically quite different, *A Prayer at the Levation* (item 17) shares a similar sense of Christ's divine presence in the liturgy and liturgical objects of the Church, and seeks the kind of forgiveness touched upon in *The Knight Who Forgave His Father's Slayer*.

Perhaps the most interesting connections are between this text and the romance that follows it, *The Erle of Tolous* (item 19), which also begins with a feud and ends with forgiveness. The Crucifixion and the resulting Redemption are the subject of *The Northern Passion* and *The Short Charter of Christ* (items 28 and 29), and in a slightly more elliptical form *The King and His Four Daughters* (item 26) treats this doctrine as well.

Text

Though this text appears in copies of *Handlyng Synne*, Ashmole 61 is the only manuscript to preserve it independently. Another very similar Middle English verse version appears in *The Northern Homily Cycle* and independently in several manuscripts. Rate's copying, with the exception of some of his usual dropped word endings and one instance of confused pronouns, is not noticeably defective; his text follows the text of *Handlyng Synne* quite closely.

Printed Editions

Horstmann, Carl, ed. *Altenglische Legenden, neue Folge mit Einleitung und Annerkungen*. Pp. 339–41. [Prints the text of Ashmole 61.]

Manning, Robert. Robert of Brunne's Handlyng Synne. Ed. F. J. Furnivall. 2 vols. EETS o.s. 119, 123. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1901, 1903. Rpt. Millwood, NY: Kraus Reprint, 1973. Pp. 130–33, lines 3797–3914.

——. Robert Manning of Brunne: Handlyng Synne. Ed. Idelle Sullens. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 14. Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1983. [Collates Ashmole 61.]

⁶¹ See book 8, chapter 22 and book 10, chapters 19 and 20 of Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum*, 2:99–100; 2:232–33.

⁶² See Herbert, Catalogue of Romances, 3:618.

Reference Works

NIMEV 516 (full entry under 778)

MWME 9.24.202.3263, 3555 (for Handlyng Synne, see 7.20.1.2470)

Tubach, Frederic C. *Index Exemplorum*. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1969. [Lists various versions in *exempla* collections; see #1375]

See also Banks, Brandeis, Horstmann (1877), Lipton, Mirk (1905), Owst, and Rosenwein in the bibliography.

- Title No title or *incipit*. This *exemplum* is referred to by many different names; the name used here is from the *Manual of the Writings in Middle English*, chosen for its descriptive accuracy. The text begins one-third down the page of fol. 26v.
- beyond the se. The Middle English versions in Jacob's Well and the Alphabet of Tales (the tales of which attribute this story to Caesarius of Heisterbach's Dialogue on Miracles) locate the events in Germany.
- 4 slo. The original version in Handlyng Synne has two additional lines here: They mette togedyr, Y ne wote how / Algate the toon the tother to slow. I.e., "They encountered each other, I know not how; / At any rate, the one killed the other" (Manning, Robert of Brunne's Handlyng Synne, lines 3801–02).
- 11 *The other knyght.* This phrasing slightly confuses the protagonists; it is the son who successfully besieges his father's slayer, as becomes clear in line 38.
- 25 Barefote to the chyrch thei yede. Rate has anticipated lines 27–34, and mistakenly written he yede (and, in line 26, his mysdede). The reading, clearly defective, has been emended.
- And clyped the chyld hym betwyx. In some of the surviving treatments of this story, the crucifix speaks to the forgiving knight at this moment; in *Mirk's Festial* it proclaims, "I foryeve thee, as thow hast foryeven for me." (Sermon 29, line 19).
- The merakyll sprong wele wyde. In the version preserved in the Middle English Alphabet of Tales, the news of this miracle spreads more methodically. After the first miracle of the kissing crucifix, the forgiving knight makes a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem another crucifix bows down to him, and he must explain the miracle to the other worshippers (Banks, p. 337).
- 113 Therfore. Here Rate's text departs from the original in Handlyng Synne, where the story is followed by a new section on the third deadly sin, envy.
- 116a AMEN QUOD RATE. A drawing of a grinning fish separates this colophon from the following text.

19. THE ERLE OF TOLOUS

Origin, Genre, and Themes

No direct source for *The Erle of Tolous* has been identified, but a great many analogues in both historical record and literature may lie behind its composition. Stories of noblewomen wrongly accused were popular in nearly every medieval vernacular (including Chaucer's Man of Law's Tale in Middle English). Since chastity formed the essential basis of female honor, slanderous accusations of promiscuity were dangerous weapons in court intrigues. In the ninth century, Judith, the wife of Emperor Louis the Pious, was accused of having committed adultery with Bernard of Barcelona, son of William of Tolouse, and her story may provide a historical source for the events of *The Erle of Tolous*. Judith was sent to a convent, only to be restored to her former status after her accusers failed to appear at her trial.⁶³

In some of the stories of accused women, including Chaucer's tale, the woman receives miraculous vindication at her trial, but in *The Erle of Tolous* she is vindicated by a decisive judicial combat befitting this swashbuckling romance. The hero of the title, himself the victim of a wrongful expulsion from the court of the Emperor Diocletian, returns to verify the empress's chastity, first in secret and then publicly in combat. His victory restores the empress's honor and earns the Earl the recovery of his land and status.

Besides restoring the Earl's rights, the judicial combat at the close of this story restores a code of chivalric behavior that has been violated repeatedly. The story opens with the Emperor's seizure of the Earl's land, a violation of one of the key principles of feudal law: a vassal receives his property by doing homage to his lord, but that property cannot be revoked without just cause. This legal breach leads to several others, including the deceitful Tralabas's renunciation of his oath to the Earl upon his release from captivity. The Emperor himself manages to recover something of his dignity at the close of the story, but the treachery of Tralabas and the Emperor's chamber knights who accuse the Empress Beulybon suggests the turpitude at the heart of the Emperor's court.

The Earl exposes the corruption of chivalric ideals and restores them to their rightful importance by fleeing to the margins of this damaged world. He first becomes an outlaw at war with his former lord. When Tralabas, whom he has captured in battle, tells him of the Empress's beauty and purity, the Earl disguises himself as a hermit to verify this report. Hermits were by nature marginal figures, having rejected most ties to the world, and the Earl's guise as a hermit only deepens the sense of him as an outlaw, a renegade at the edge of the respectable world who is nevertheless more honorable than the Emperor at its center.

Perhaps this paradox explains some of the more sensational moments in the story, as when the Empress gives a ring to the hermit she knows to be the Earl in disguise. Tralabas had promised the Earl the sight of Beulybon, and she upholds his oath, but the gift of the ring exceeds the terms of the agreement between Tralabas and the Earl. Though this act comes scandalously close to the adultery she is later accused of, it also resembles the marriage vow and may even evoke the oaths of fealty between subjects and their lords. Beulybon's gift of the ring and her insistence on keeping promises — including promises others have made — thus emphasize the perfidy of the story's villains. Nevertheless, the scene in which Beulybon consciously displays herself for the Earl's viewing is charged with a dangerous eroticism. That the

 $^{^{63}}$ For a full account of the Empress Judith and her trial in 831, see Cabaniss, "Judith Augusta and Her Time."

Earl must wait for the Emperor's death before he can finally marry Beulybon further emphasizes the illicit status of the desire they share.

The Erle of Tolous follows one of the driving forces of romance, wish fulfillment. A desire that seems socially wrong but in every other sense profoundly right is finally granted social acceptance by the end of the story. Justice prevails over injustice, the honorable consistently defeat the treacherous, and strength in battle reveals the truth. Though the hero takes some questionable risks, including disguising himself as a monk in order to hear Beulybon's confession, the plot rewards them all. Where Diocletian ruled tyrannically, Barnard becomes emperor by election; where one marriage was marked by suspicion and the absence of heirs, the other is based on true love and results in a marvelous abundance of children.

With its serious consideration of the underpinnings of feudal justice and its playful expression of unbounded desire, *The Erle of Tolous* exemplifies the genre of chivalric romance, and it must be considered one of the most well-constructed Middle English romances on account of its coherence and craft. The author has used the tail-rhyme stanza well, balancing action with dialogue and description, creating a sequence of well-defined narrative moments rather than an unconnected series of events.⁶⁴

Though I have called the poem a romance, the poet calls it a "ley of Brytene" (line 1207). The Breton lay (or *lai*) is perhaps best considered a subgenre of romance defined primarily by moderate length and a passing resemblance to the *Lais* of Marie de France, a twelfth-century poet. Lays attribute their origins to Brittany, the Celtic region in western France, though the reasons for these attributions are not always clear. The best (and perhaps the only) reason for considering *The Erle of Tolous* a lay is that it calls itself one, but it certainly does resemble another self-identified lay in Middle English, *Emaré* — another tail-rhyme story of a suffering woman.

Manuscript Context

The Erle of Tolous seems closely connected with the items that immediately precede and follow it. The Knight Who Forgave His Father's Slayer (item 18) resembles the larger story of The Erle of Tolous in its narrative of war and reconciliation. Lybeaus Desconus (item 20) is another romance, though the two may be best compared as representing very different varieties of the Middle English popular romance. The Erle of Tolous shares its identity as a Breton lay with Sir Cleges and Sir Orfeo (items 24 and 39).

Text

Rate has bracketed the lines in groups of three, but they are rendered in 12-line stanzas here, as is common practice with tail-rhyme romances. On occasion, as in the first stanza, Rate's emendations (or possibly those of his copy) have rendered the rhyme scheme defective. Generally, the text is without major defects or omissions, though in several stanzas Rate's characteristic abridgment has cropped off three lines. Of the three other surviving copies, Rate's most closely resembles that of the Lincoln Thornton manuscript (Lincoln Cathedral Library MS 91); the text also appears in the Leicestershire miscellany C.

⁶⁴ For a brief introduction to the tail-rhyme form, see the introduction to *Sir Isumbras* (item 5).

 $^{^{65}}$ See the definition offered by Finlayson, "Form of the Middle English Lay."

Printed Editions

French, Walter Hoyt, and Charles Brockway Hale, eds. *Middle English Metrical Romances*. 1:383–419. [Based on C.]

Lüdtke, Gustav, ed. *The Erle of Tolous and the Emperes of Almayne*. Berlin: Weidmannsche, 1881. [Collates all MSS.]

Laskaya, Anne, and Eve Salisbury, eds. *The Middle English Breton Lays*. Pp. 309–65. [Based on C.]

Reference Works

NIMEV 1681

MWME 1.1.94.142-43, 297

Rice, Joanne A. Middle English Romance: An Annotated Bibliography, 1955–1985. Pp. 249–50.

See also Barron, Diamond, Greenlaw, Hopkins (2002), Mehl, and Reilly in the bibliography.

- Title No title or *incipit*; the text begins near the bottom of fol. 27v. Though the title is occasionally modernized as *The Earl of Toulouse*, the long-standing practice of retaining the Middle English spelling (based on the title in C) has been followed here.
- 3 Gyff us wele to spede. "Permit us to prosper (speed well)," though the parallel syntax with line 4 ("Gyff us wele. . . gyff us grace") might suggest: "Give us means (wele) to prosper, / And give us grace to do so." But "wele to spede" is so common an idiom that the first reading is probably the more likely.
- Sir Dioclysian. Gaius Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus, Roman emperor in the late third and early fourth centuries, is remembered primarily as a successful military leader who restored order after a period of anarchy. The Diocletian persecutions in the later years of his reign were among the last major persecutions of Christians in the Empire. It is this nefarious association that may be loosely evoked here. Though the Holy Roman Empire of the later Middle Ages was centered in Germany (Almane), the Diocletian of antiquity did not reside there.
- He desyret many man. In feudal legal systems, a lord was entitled to revoke the lands and privileges of a vassal in extraordinary circumstances such as treason. But to do so for any other reason would be viewed as an egregious crime that endangered the rights of other vassals. In 1399 Richard II's seizure of lands inherited by the exiled Henry Bolingbroke precipitated his deposition and subsequent assassination, as English nobles felt threatened by Richard's attempt to centralize power.
- And other men also. Three lines present in C are omitted here, describing the Earl's war on the Emperor: "He ordeyned hym for batayle / Into the Emperours londe, saun fayle; / And there he began to brenne and sloo" (burn and kill).
- Delyver the Erle his ryght. Medieval literature frequently depicts queens as tempering the ferocity of kings, asking for mercy or for reasoned judgment (see the introduction to item 15, note 1).

- 96 *luburryng*. The *MED* cites this as the sole instance of this word, putatively a variant of "loperen," "to curdle, to harden."
- Mete ne drynk schall do hym gode. Swearing to refrain from food or drink until a deed is performed is a common trope in medieval romance.
- lady Beulybon. Not named until now, the Empress's name suggests a fusion of belle (beautiful) and bonne (good) and marks her as the ideal heroine.
- raunson. The possibility for acquiring large sums in the ransoming of high-born magnates was one of the principal attractions of warfare for those who participated in the Hundred Years' War between England and France. King John of France, captured in the battle of Poitiers in 1356, was ransomed for an enormous sum of four million écus. He then returned to France to raise the money to pay his ransom, leaving other hostages behind in England as a guarantee of his payment. When the hostages escaped and returned to France, John chivalrously turned himself over to the English, and died a prisoner in 1364. His behavior illustrates the mix of chivalric honor and crass economic interest involved in ransoms. Noble captives were generally treated as honored guests and lived lives of comfort, while their families were often devastated by the demands of raising money to ransom them. John's honoring the terms of his release also suggests how shocking Tralabas's later behavior would seem to medieval readers.
- The Emperour eme. In other manuscripts, Tralabas is not the Emperor's uncle but a cherished friend. The suggestion that he is a Turk would immediately make him suspect to medieval readers; his name may be meant to recall the French trahir ("to betray") and bas ("low, contemptible").
- 187 *I suere by boke and by belle*. Swearing by the Mass book and the church bell was a common oath, made by innumerable romance heroes.
- 307 By the oryell syde. The oriel, in this case, seems to be a recessed side chapel, perhaps with stained glass bay windows. Small side chapels were used for holding private Masses.
- 323 The montans of halfe a myle. The expression conflates spatial and temporal measurement: "The time it takes to ride half a mile."
- 430 The one hyght Kankerus, that other Kayne. Other manuscripts offer slightly differing versions of the first name (Kaunters, Camtres, etc.), but Rate's version alludes to the Middle English word "canker" (cancer, tumor). In all manuscripts, the second name bears a clear resemblance to the biblical villain Cain.
- Feyn he was to fle. Rate has mistakenly anticipated line 450. Compare the reading in C: "An hundred there men myght see."
- Rhyme defective here, in anticipation of line 504. Other manuscripts read "I plyght to thee."
- Worthi to be hangyd and draw. Drawing (with horses) and hanging was the traditional punishment for treason.

605	to touche syche a tale. A sexual double entendre seems at work here, based on the double senses of touche ("mention" or "touch") and tale/tail ("matter" or "rear end, genitals").
678	Eten were all oure brede. Proverbial; see Whiting, B520.
707	That kervyd befor that lady bryght. Carving meat for a lord or lady was considered both courteous and a sign of prestige (see the introduction to item 7).
745	This chyld had gret wounder. Dieter Mehl cites the following lines, describing the fearful confusion of the young knight, as an example of the skillful realism of the Erle of Tolous (Middle English Romances, p. 91). This kind of psychological and dramatic tension is unusual in Middle English romance.
806	a swevyn he mette. Boars often signify lust and/or sexual violence; compare Troilus's dream in Chaucer's TC, book 5, lines 1233–42.
811	a myghty man. C's reading, "a wytty [intelligent] man," makes better sense, since the Emperor's power is not in question here.
853	Syr Antore. The name may suggest Antenor, one of the legendary traitors of Troy (see, for example, Guido delle Colonne, Historia destructionis Troiae, lines 226–29). But here, Antore is entirely innocent. He also shares his name with the father of the young women abducted by giants in Lybeaus Desconus (item 20, line 716).
866	My joy for to kele. The line has been emended on the basis of C; Rate's reading, "My sorow for to kele," may be the result of a misunderstanding of the verb, kelen, "to cool, to slacken."
869	That traytorys have unsell. Lines 867–69 appear to have been badly corrupted, and other manuscripts offer readings only slightly preferable to Rate's. Compare the reading in C: "He hente a knyfe wyth all hys mayn; / Had not a knyght ben, he had hym slayn / And that traytour have broght owt of heele."
879	an old knyght. The wisdom of old counselors is a commonplace of medieval literature; see, for one influential source of this motif, Job 12:12–13.
896	Durste fyght agen them two. Judicial combat was extremely rare by the fifteenth century, but it remained a feature of chivalric romances, where questions of honor can only be arbitrated by violence.
924	If he may wyte that sche be trew. Somewhat unexpectedly, the Earl does not assume without doubt the Emperess's integrity. But unlike her husband, he actively attempts to ascertain her innocence and to defend her.
957	The merchant answered. The trusty merchant, like the abbot in lines 987–1061, stands as a clear contrast to the treacherous Tralabas; the merchant is indeed the Earl's "trew gyde" (line 981).
991	wandryng. The original reading was wandreme, a somewhat rare word meaning "anxiety" or "mental distress"; either Rate or his exemplar chose a more familiar term that disrupts the rhyme.

- Save a ryng so fre. Strictly speaking, the mention of the ring violates the confidentiality of confession. Perhaps, like the ring itself potentially a sign of adulterous love the breach of confidentiality here suggests that laws may be broken in the name of a larger justice. The Emperor has lost moral authority, and thus other laws may lose their force as well.
- 1034 I trow that may do gode. Three lines are missing after this line, containing the abbot's response to the Earl's request for secrecy. C, for example, follows the equivalent of line 1034 with "The Abbot seyde be bokes fele / And be his professyon that he wolde hele, / And ellys he were wode" after which the Earl acknowledges that he is the recipient of the ring.
- Lord, and thi wyll be. Three lines are missing after this line, containing the Emperor's agreement. C, for example, adds: "Yys," seyd the Emperour full fayne, / "All my kynne thogh he had slayne, / He ys welcome to mee."
- 1188 Louely togyder gan thei kys. A traditional form of reconciliation; see The Knight Who Forgave His Father's Slayer (item 18).
- stewerd. Though stewards in some romances (especially Arthurian romances) are evil characters, it was an office of considerable privilege and monetary value. See, for example, *Sir Orfeo* (item 39), line 207 and note.
- 1195 *Be eleccyon.* Though Holy Roman Emperors were nominally elected by a group of magnates, this election seems to take place because the Emperor has left no heir.
- In Rome this geste crownakyld is. The sense of this line is not entirely clear. Lüdtke suggested that Rome ought to be emended or at least read as romance, i.e., a text written in the vernacular. This is entirely possible; the word is not capitalized in the manuscript. Laskaya and Salisbury suggest other possibilities, that Rome may refer to the Gesta Romanorum or the Seven Sages of Rome, story collections that include other stories involving "Diocletian" (Middle English Breton Lays, p. 365).
- 1207 A ley of Bryten callyd is. See introduction to this text.
- 1211a AMEN QUOD RATE. A drawing of a five-petaled flower on its stem separates this colophon from the following text.

20. Lybeaus Desconus

Origin, Genre, and Themes

Lybeaus Desconus was written sometime in the middle of the fourteenth century, possibly by a minor poet named Thomas Chestre. Another Arthurian romance, Sir Launfal, is securely ascribed to Chestre, but the attribution of Lybeaus Desconus to him can only be made on the basis of lexical and formal similarities; a third romance, the Southern Octavian, is ascribed to him on similar grounds. Little else is known about Chestre, so the attribution is more a matter of convenience than a crucial contextualization. Hereafter (and in the notes) Chestre is referred to as the author, though interested readers should see the relevant works in the bibliography below for opinions on this attribution.

The story begins by introducing a character familiar from various romances, "the Fair Unknown." Such characters arrive at cultured courts, without apparent family or wealth, and demand to be knighted. Often, as is the case with Gyngeleyne in *Lybeaus Desconus*, the Fair Unknown is a rustic, rough around the edges from a wild country upbringing, and does not fully know his own paternity. Several continental romances feature similar heroes, as do the Middle English romances of *Sir Perceval of Galles, Sir Degaré*, Malory's *Tale of Sir Gareth*, and book 1 of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. The Fair Unknown may be quickly knighted, but must earn his reputation through repeated trials before finally acquiring maturity, property, and (as in the case of Gyngeleyne, Perceval, and Gareth) a wife. In Ashmole 61's version of *Lybeaus Desconus*, as in the case of Spenser's Redcrosse Knight, Gyngeleyne also learns his true name and his paternity at the close of the poem, thus completing his acquisition of a social identity.

A thirteenth-century romance by Renaut de Bâgé, *Le Bel Inconnu*, closely resembles Chestre's *Lybeaus Desconus*, but various crucial differences suggest that the Middle English poem either draws from additional sources or is based on a lost French text that bears an unknown relationship to Renaut's *Bel Inconnu*. ⁶⁶ In both *Le Bel Inconnu* and *Lybeaus Desconus*, Gyngeleyne sets out from Arthur's court in order to rescue the Lady of Synadone and engages in various adventures on the way: a fight with a guardian of a ford or bridge, William Dolebraunce, and a later encounter with William's avenging family; the rescue of a maiden from two giants; a competition for a hawk; a battle with a hunter (Sir Otys de Lyle); a battle with Magus, the guardian of the Yl d'Ore, followed by a stay with the sorceress of the Yl d'Ore; and victory over the necromancers, Mabon and Irain, who hold the Lady of Synadone captive. The order of these adventures is not the same in the two romances, and *Lybeaus Desconus* also borrows motifs and themes present in other romance material.

The most crucial changes Chestre seems to have brought to his material are the kind that often mark Middle English adaptations of French romances: abridgment, simplification of "courtly" eros, and a more insistent emphasis on action. In the case of *Lybeaus Desconus*, these changes diminish the importance of Gyngeleyne's passage from rude rustic to courtly hero. As Lybeaus Desconus, Gyngeleyne is headstrong and unafraid of combat, but his rashness is not consistently emphasized. He ignores the warnings of his travel companions, but does not generally offend his antagonists with rude speech, as Percival does in many of the romances that describe his maturation. One exception is Gyngeleyne/Lybeaus's rude behavior with Sir Otys over a disputed hunting dog, but even that encounter ends with an eventual (and surprising) reconciliation.

Despite this diminished emphasis on the hero's rusticity, the narrative retains its basic shape as a story of Gyngeleyne's ascent into social prominence. Stephen Knight argues that *Lybeaus Desconus* "develops a series of problems associated with a knight's rise to power and maintenance of that position, exploring the fourteenth-century specifics of title, exclusion, devolution and competitive assertiveness." In this competitive and demanding world, Gyngeleyne's fearless aggressiveness becomes a social asset rather than a liability. Whether he initiates a fight to win a captured maiden, a falcon, a hound, or simply to demonstrate his willingness to fight, the romance consistently rewards his instincts, even when the initial motivations seem foolhardy or even self-destructive.

⁶⁶ Le Bel Inconnu (sometimes known by the alternate title Li Biaus Descouneüs) was formerly attributed to a Renaut (or Renauld) de Beaujeu, but recent scholarship has argued that this author's family name was de Bâgé (see Renaut, Le Bel Inconnu, pp. ix–xii).

⁶⁷ Knight, "Social Function of Middle English Romances," p. 105.

Lybeaus Desconus has received little critical praise from modern scholars, who cite its lack of psychological depth, its failure to reproduce the subtlety of its sources, and its general inattention to detail as examples of Middle English romance's tendency toward mediocrity. Even the editor of the standard modern edition has called Chestre's composition "consistently inept and careless." This disparagement got an early start by Chaucer's inclusion of "sir Lybeux" in the heroes he compares to Sir Thopas (CT VII[B²]900). Since the Tale of Sir Thopas is a mercilessly funny burlesque of tail-rhyme romance, inclusion in this dubious pantheon has tended to color subsequent views of the poem.

A more informed understanding of the virtues of the tail-rhyme romances can help qualify this judgment. ⁶⁹ And while *Lybeaus Desconus* may always suffer in comparison to its French analogues, its original audience would have been unlikely to make such comparisons and might have appreciated it on its own merits. The text survives in six manuscripts, all from the fifteenth century or later, which suggests some popularity. Various scenes might have been particularly compelling when read aloud to an audience, such as the final combat in the enchanted hall of Mabon and Irain, with its mysterious minstrels and shaking walls. Just as his father Gawain earned a reputation for impeccable courtesy in other Arthurian romances, Gyngeleyne retains his pluck and composure in demanding circumstances, whether he is being struck by a sizzling boar on a spit or finding clothes for a naked woman who appeared only moments before in the form of a serpent. The poetry rarely goes beyond the common formulas of the tail-rhyme romances, but these formulas are chosen for their excitement and efficiency.

Manuscript Context

Rate seems to have chosen this and other texts on the basis of their value for entertainment, but the audience of Ashmole 61 may have also appreciated Lybeaus Desconus for his industriousness and service; Arthur never regrets knighting him, and he becomes a model vassal, sending back to Arthur's court a steady stream of conquered knights for the greater glory of the Round Table. Though *Stans Puer ad Mensam* (item 7) never mentions tributes of giants' heads, it does advise zealous service of one's lord. *Lybeaus Desconus* is not notable for its piety or its exemplication of Christian virtues, but it does resemble some of the more spectacular tales of Christian heroism in Ashmole 61, including *Saint Margaret* (item 37). Its closest connections, however, are to the other chivalric romances, including *The Erle of Tolous* (item 19) and *Sir Orfeo* (item 39); the latter involves another rescue of a lady held captive in an enchanted landscape. Though *Sir Corneus* (item 21) proceeds along very different generic lines, it shares an Arthurian setting, and the juxtaposition of these two items may be one of Rate's more inspired choices.

Text

Of the five other manuscript copies, the text of *Lybeaus Desconus* presented in Ashmole 61 most closely resembles that of Naples, Bibliotheca Nazionale MS XIII B.29. Both manuscripts probably derive from the work of a reviser who attempted to rationalize some of the inconsistencies in Chestre's original text.⁷⁰ Rate's copying of his text seems to have been reasonably

⁶⁸ M. Mills, "Composition and Style," p. 89.

⁶⁹ For further discussion of the style of tail-rhyme romances, see the General Introduction and the introduction to *Sir Isumbras* (item 5).

⁷⁰ M. Mills, "Medieval Reviser at Work."

close until approximately line 1510, at which point he engaged in some of his characteristic abridgment or his exemplar became defective. The 12-line stanzas, reproduced fairly consistently up to that point, become nine lines or six lines with some frequency thereafter; Rate has bracketed rhyming lines in groups of three.

Printed Editions

Hales, John W., and F. J. Furnivall, eds. Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript, Ballads and Romances. 3 vols. London: N. Trübner and Co., 1866–68. 2:415–97. [The text of London, British Library MS Additional 27879, Percy's transcription of an early print.]
Libeaus Desconus: Die Mittelenglische Romanze. Ed. Max Kaluza. Leipzig: Reisland, 1890. [Collates most of the surviving manuscripts, including Ashmole 61.]

Lybeaus Desconus. Ed. Maldwyn Mills. EETS o.s. 261. London: Oxford University Press, 1969. [Collates all manuscripts. Variants from Ashmole 61 printed in appendix.]

Reference Works

NIMEV 1690

MWME 1.1.38.68-70, 248-49

Rice, Joanne A. Middle English Romance: An Annotated Bibliography, 1955–1985. Pp. 325–27.

See also M. Braswell, Broadus, Everett, Hahn, Knight, Laskaya and Salisbury, M. Mills (1962, 1963, and 1966), Renaut de Bâgé, Schofield, and Zaerr in the bibliography.

- Title *Lybeus Dysconius*. In brown ink (unlike the usual black) but in Rate's hand. Rate follows this spelling (or slight variants of it) throughout. The text begins one-third down the page of fol. 38v.
- Gyngeleyn. In Le Bel Inconnu the hero's true name (Guinglain) is not revealed until the end. Gyngeleyn (Gyngolyn, Gyngalyn) appears in other Arthurian texts, including the Post-Vulgate Queste del Saint Graal (where he is defeated by Arthur the Less) and Malory's Morte Darthur (where he joins the plot to trap Lancelot in adultery with Guinevere and is eventually slain by Lancelot); for further details, see the entry for "Guinglain" in Bruce, Arthurian Name Dictionary (pp. 246–47). In The Wedding of Sir Gawain and Dame Ragnelle, a version of the Loathly Lady folktale that resembles Chaucer's Wife of Bath's Tale, Gyngeleyn is mentioned as the offspring of Gawain's marriage to Dame Ragnelle; see The Wedding of Sir Gawain and Dame Ragnelle, line 799 (Hahn, Sir Gawain, p. 69).
- 8 Getyn he was of Sir Gawyne. Gawain is one of the most complex Arthurian characters, changing dramatically in different contexts. As Arthur's nephew and the sometime rival of Lancelot, Gawain plays a major role in many romances. Middle English literature tends to emphasize his courtesy and his embodiment of the chivalric ideal, though his frequent womanizing also receives attention as well. French romances discuss many of his sexual liaisons; some border on rape, but more commonly young maidens enthusiastically seek him out (see B. J. Whiting, "Gawain: His Reputation, His Courtesy and His Appearance in Chaucer's Squire's Tale"). The phrasing here suggests but does not clearly specify rape.

- 15 Basterd thoff he were. Bastardy was often imagined as manifesting itself in moral or physical defect.
- 16 His moder hym kepte with alle hyr myght. In Le Bel Inconnu, Guinglain's mother is a fairy named Blanchemal, but no suggestion of her otherworldly power appears in Chestre's text.
- so feyr and wyse. Though Lybeaus has already been described as wytty (intelligent), this description of his wisdom seems to contradict the rash violence mentioned in the previous stanza as well as his nyse ignorance mentioned in line 28. This inconsistency runs throughout the text, perhaps because Chestre has diminished the hero's tendency to rashness and uncouth outbursts but has not entirely eliminated his sources' depictions of the sauvage youth.
- 26 Beuys. The name clearly should be "Beaufis" or "Bewfiz," which would mean "handsome son." Rate's grasp of French seems tenuous, and he makes similar mistakes elsewhere. He may be evoking another famous romance hero, Bevis (or Beues) of Hampton, who is not otherwise connected to this story.
- bename. "To take, to seize." *MED* does not include this verb form, but it clearly comes from the common ME verb "nimen." Rough play with wild animals is a common motif in stories of the *enfant sauvage* (wild child).
- 36 Sleyn and made full tame. In some of the sources and analogues to this story, the hero kills the knight in order to acquire arms.
- 38–39 Gyngeleyn shows his innate knighthood in intuitively removing the armor from the slain knight and putting it on himself. Perceval, in comparison, has trouble with the task (to great comic effect) in the Middle English *Perceval of Galles*, until he is helped by Gawain, who was sent by the king to report on the fight. Similarly humorous scenes occur in other versions of the Perceval story.
- Glastunbery. Glastonbury, in the southwest of England, is only occasionally associated with Arthur's court in the surviving Arthurian romances. But in 1191 the monks of Glastonbury Abbey claimed to have discovered Arthur's grave in their graveyard, and Glastonbury has since then been an active center of the Arthurian cult.
- 80 *Lybeus Disconyus*. From *Le Bel Inconnu*, "The Fair Unknown." These kinds of epithets for people and places are common in Arthurian romance.
- 91 He caste on hym in a pylte. The idiom here is not a common one, and seems to be the result of Rate having altered the rhyme of the couplet to conform with his spelling overgylte (instead of overgeld in the other manuscripts, where it rhymes with scheld).
- 98 Full sone the kyng a boune he bade. Asking a boon of the king (often the privilege of fighting a particular battle) is a common motif in Arthurian romance, and often is an example of "the rash boon," a gift that immediately becomes embarrassing or difficult to give. See Sir Cleges (item 24) for another example (and also Frappier, "Le Motif du 'don contraignant' dans la littérature du moyen âge.")

stowte. MED cites this line for stowte, meaning "noble," "princely," "splendidly adorned," the latter sense being well attested by his finery. But the sense might also be "fierce," an implication evident in the fury with which he approaches Arthur (lines 193–204), demonstrating well that he is "stowte in herte" (line 138).

- 163 *Synadon*. The city of Segontium, also known as Caer Seint, at the foot of Mount Snowdon (hence Synadon) in north Wales (see C. Loomis, "From Segontium to Sinadon Legends of a *Cité Gaste*.").
- The may began to chyd. Elyne embodies the romance motif of the demoisele mesdisante, a sharp-tongued maid who never hesitates to voice severe criticism, particularly when the hero engages in something foolhardy.
- 191 *Persyvall.* Perceval, a knight of the Round Table whose introduction to Arthur's court resembles that of Lybeaus Desconus. In the various texts that treat his childhood, Perceval is raised by his widowed mother in the forest, barges into Arthur's court demanding to be knighted, and subsequently overcomes his boorish manners. Perceval also becomes one of the central characters in the various romances of the Grail quest.
- 202–03 the Poynte Perelus / Besyde the Chapell of Antrus. Various bridges in Arthurian romance earn the name "Perilous Bridge," including the famous sword bridge crossed by Lancelot in his attempt to rescue Guinevere. Antrus is a corrupt form of the name found in other manuscripts, Awntrous, and the Chapell of Antrus may be translated as "the Chapel of Adventures." Chapels, often enchanted, are the sites of numerous encounters in Arthurian romance, including the Green Chapel in Sir Gawain and the Green Knight and the Perilous Chapel governed by the enchantress Hellawes in Malory's Morte Darthur.
- 239 *Tyll the bord was up-brayd.* In medieval halls, the large dining tables were movable boards, taken up and stored after meals to make space for other activities.
- 256 Eweyn. A Middle English form of Yvain or Owein, the son of King Urien and a knight of the Round Table. Yvain is a prominent figure in various romances, including Chrétien de Troyes's Yvain and its Middle English adaptation, Ywain and Gawain.
- Geffreyn. A corruption of Agravain, Gawain's brother and a knight of the Round Table who appears in many Arthurian romances. Agravain later earns notoriety for his betrayal of Lancelot's affair with Guinevere.
- his awne fere. The obvious gloss for fere is "companion," in that Arthur had assigned Lybeaus to Gawain for training in "prinsys pley" (line 96). But it may also imply the yet-unknown kinship, as Gawain, his father, gives him an identifying coat of arms, as he hangs the shield emblazoned with a griffin over his neck. This later reading is supported by both L and British Library MS Cotton Caligula A.2, which read "his owne syre."
- 293 Sone upon the knyght. Rate has omitted the final word of the line, "alweye," and thus confused the sense of the passage; Elyne and Wendeleyn criticize Lybeaus continually for three days.

- With suerdys on to dynge. This is an example of eyeskip; Rate has replaced the line ending of his copy-text, "out to flynge," with the ending of line 376.
- That many a man it syghe. Since no one else is present besides Wendeleyn and Elyne, the expression is merely figurative.
- Thow schall to Arthor wende. Arthur acts as both a lordly receiver of tribute and as a recording authority or audience who validates the accomplishments of the hero. See Maddox's discussion of this arrangement in *The Arthurian Romances of Chrétien de Troyes*, pp. 14–25.
- 474 *Game and grete solace*. As M. Mills notes, these lines certainly suggest "a night of love-making," unelaborated otherwise (*Lybeaus Desconus*, p. 58).
- Skarlyon. Caerleon, in Wales, one of the traditional locations of Arthur's Round Table, though perhaps not yet added to his realm in this romance (see line 573).
- 502–03 anone / And lefte hym ther as lame. Line missing, presumably the line that follows in N: "And brake in two his thigh bone."
- 616 Two gyantys. This episode has roots in the twelfth-century Roman de Brut by Wace, one of the seminal accounts of Arthurian legend. In Wace's Brut, Arthur travels to Mont St. Michel and attacks a giant who has raped and killed a young woman as the giant roasts pork over a fire (Wace, Roman de Brut, lines 11319–11552).
- In Frenche boke as it is in found. Though this phrase suggests that Chestre is working directly from a French source, several factors limit the certainty of this interpretation. Several other manuscripts preserve entirely different readings of this line, and it is a common formula used by many other Middle English romances.
- Anter. A character with a similar name (Antor, Antour) appears in several Arthurian romances as Arthur's foster father and the father of Kay the Seneschal. See *The Erle of Tolous* (item 19), line 853 and note. Perhaps the name is meant to evoke loose associations of benevolent paternity.
- 717 *Vyolete*. A name that suggests her narrowly-avoided fate as a violated woman.
- Gafe Lybeus to mede. In British Library MS Cotton Caligula A.2, another stanza describes Earl Antore's offer of his land and daughter as reward for Lybeaus's valor, prompting Lybeaus to declare that he is not yet ready to marry.
- A joly faucon whyte as fome. The most famous version of this motif appears in Erec et Enide by Chrétien de Troyes, where the hero wins his wife in a similar contest of beauty.
- 775 Gefferon. Chestre's text introduces the name of this knight rather haphazardly, only providing his full name, Gefferon LeFroudeus (given as LeFlowdous in some other manuscripts) at line 795.
- 797 *begyle*. As M. Mills notes in his edition, this description of Gefferon seems unjustified, since he fights honorably (*Lybeaus Desconus*, p. 221). It may simply suggest that Gefferon has been consistently triumphant, the ruin of many a knight.

6844 *Cardull.* Possibly Carlisle, in northern England, but, as M. Mills argues, the Welsh city of Cardiff is more likely (*Lybeaus Desconus*, p. 222). As in many romances, the geography of the poem bears only a distant connection to reality.

- Betwyx them is partye. In comparison to other versions of this motif, the outcome here is surprising. Usually the hero's lady is judged more beautiful, prompting a combat to settle the dispute. Though Elyne has been described as bryght, schene, and sembly (lines 120–32), perhaps her beauty is downplayed here so that Lybeaus's attempt to win the falcon seems all the more rash. Since Lybeaus does not ultimately marry Elyne, the judgment against her may also remind the audience that Lybeaus's fortunes in marriage have yet to be determined. The phrase betwyx . . . is partye is not entirely clear, and does not appear to be a common expression, though the context makes it clear that the spectators prefer Gefferon's lady.
- 1030 Lucas. Other manuscripts name him Gludas, Cadas, Claudas, and Clewdas.
- In the left margin of the leaf, a contemporary hand, very possibly Rate's, has written *Nota* by this line. It is not clear what this annotation means to emphasize.
- a rache. This recalls a similarly multicolored dog, Peti-Greu or Peticrew, given as a love token to Isolde by Tristan in the various Tristan romances, including the Middle English Sir Tristrem (see Lupack, Lancelot of the Laik and Sir Tristrem, pp. 224–25, lines 2399–2420).
- 1110 Otys de la Byle. Other manuscripts name him Otes de Lyle.
- Rate's spelling of the insult, *carle*, and the place name, *Carlehyll* has created a little joke here, perhaps inspired by another Middle English romance, *Sir Gawain and the Carle of Carlisle*.
- 1196 In romans to rede ryght. See note to line 699 for the difficulties in interpreting this line.
- *hys sonnys fowre*. The appearance of Sir Otys's sons is not otherwise mentioned, and seems an afterthought on the part of Chestre.
- 1245 *Under a cheston tre*. M. Mills (*Lybeaus Desconus*, p. 230) notes the romance motif of one character (often supernatural) overcoming another under a tree, as in *Sir Orfeo* (see item 39, line 57).
- 1323 Magus. In the French Le Bel Inconnu, one of the probable sources for Chestre's poem, the defender of this island is a knight (not a giant) who guards a causeway for seven years so that he might win the love of the Lady of the Isle of Gold.
- 1326 *pyche*. Rate or his copy-text has also omitted the following line here, perhaps "Lybeus saw never non syche" (as in N).
- 1362 *stylle*. Rate or his copy-text has also omitted a line here, perhaps "Thoughe that I be lyte" (as in L).
- 1373 Fowre mawmentys. The Middle English word mawment (idol, pagan god) derives from the prophet Mohammed, though the implication that the giant Magus is Muslim is only vague.

- sone he rode. In line 1389, Magus is described as advancing on foot, a more likely method for a giant. The seeming discrepancy can be traced back to Chestre's inconsistency in transforming his sources.
- 1399 *Termegant*. A god wrongly (but widely) supposed to be worshipped by Muslims; see note to line 1373.
- Magus grantyd hys wyll. This recalls a corresponding episode in the Anglo-Norman and Middle English romances known as Guy of Warwick. In those stories, Guy fights the giant Amourant, until the giant becomes thirsty and asks for a chance to drink. Guy agrees, but the giant later attacks Guy as he takes his own turn to drink. When Guy recovers and strikes back at the giant, he makes a similar reference to his "baptism" (see lines 1457–61 below, and see Zupitza, Romance of Guy of Warwick, 3:481–83). See also Spenser's Faerie Queen 1.11.29–34, where the Redcrosse Knight falls into a "Well of Life" during a fight with a dragon and later rises up healed as if baptized.
- Now ame I to thee lyght. Rate's revision misses the little joke present in the other manuscripts, which read "Nowe am Y two so light," (i.e., twice as light without his armor).
- 1499 Denamowre. A badly corrupted form of the name given in other manuscripts, La Dame d'Amoure (the Lady of Love). Rate's form loses the erotic power inhering in the name.
- caste. Two lines are missing after this line, perhaps (as in L) "For sche was bright and shene. / Alas she hadde be chaste!" Though the lines may have been missing in Rate's exemplar, it is also possible that he omitted them due to their suggestion of a sexual liaison. But line 1513 "sche dyde hym traye and tene" nevertheless hints at Denamowre's seduction of Lybeaus.
- Syr Gesloke. This steward is named "Gyffet" in British Library MS Cotton Caligula A.2 and "Turfete" in L. Robert W. Ackerman suggests a link with Girflet, son of Do of Carduel, who became a knight of the Round Table and was slain by Lancelot in the abduction of Guinevere (Index of the Arthurian Names in Middle English, p. 112).
- Lamberte. Rate's presentation of this character resembles the depiction in N, but differs from that in other manuscripts. He is not described as a giant elsewhere and other manuscripts describe a brutal custom of the residents of Synadowne, in which the knights defeated by Lamberte are covered with filth. Neither version is entirely coherent in its portrayal of Lamberte. Knight suggests that the name evokes the Lombards, the great bankers of the later Middle Ages, and their powerful importance to aristocratic landholders ("Social Function of Middle English Romances," pp. 106–07). Lombardy is the setting of Sir Launfal's great tournament with a giant prior to his return to Arthur's court in Chester's *Sir Launfal*.
- thre lionus. The line has been emended on the basis of N, L, and the other related MSS, but Blanchfield argues that Rate's reading, "thre loxus" (i.e., salmon), is intended to recall his own drawings of fish scattered throughout Ashmole 61 ("Idiosyncratic Scribe," pp. 133–34).

1697	Peyzen, vynteyl, and gourger. The pisane is a piece of metal or mail attached to the
	helmet and covering the neck and upper breast; the ventail, sometimes attached
	to the helmet, protects the lower face, upper chest, and upper back, while still
	allowing the knight to breathe; and the gorger also covers the neck.

- 1699 *upryght*. This stanza and the following are defective, with several lines missing (describing Lambert's unsteadiness in the saddle and the crowd's reaction); Rate's copy-text may have been damaged here or he may have been abridging the story.
- 1717 *Yyff thou were of Gaweyns kynne*. Another reminder of Lybeaus's unrevealed ancestry.
- 1765 *Klerkys of nygromansye*. The term *clerk* often refers to anyone of considerable learning. Though magic is a common feature of romances and can be employed by good and bad characters for a variety of reasons, when it is described as necromancy it usually implies either evil sorcery or dangerous meddling with divine secrets.
- 1790 To weld all with wyne. Rate has omitted three lines completing Sir Lambert's description of the Lady of Synadone, present in L and the other related manuscripts: "She is meke and bonoure; / Therfor we ar in spere / Luste they done hir synne." He has also omitted three lines at the end of the stanza; see note to line 1793.
- 1793 That lady wyll I wynne. Rate has omitted three lines from the end of this stanza; present in L and the other related manuscripts: "Bothe Mabon and Irayne / I shall hewen in the playne, / The hedys by the chynne."
- 1823 *Yyf he wold ther abyde*. Some of the analogues and possible sources for this story make it clear that Lybeaus must undertake this final adventure by himself, but in Chestre's version, his dismissal of Gesloke seems only another example of Lybeaus's rash bravery.
- the pales. The haunting description of the enchanted palace recalls descriptions of similar palaces, including the Fairy King's palace in *Sir Orfeo* (item 39). See Patch, *Other World*, pp. 290–94.
- 1896 the feld. Since the battle seems to be taking place indoors, this reference and subsequent references to "the field" apparently simply mean a place of battle, whether indoors or out. Chestre is considering the hall a "battlefield" in the general sense, and relying on various formulas for descriptions of battle.
- 1959 Lybeus faught with them bothe. A line is missing here, present in L and the other related manuscripts: "Though they weren wrothe."
- 2009–11 Like N, Rate's copy-text had these lines instead of three lines present in the Cotton MS and in L explaining that Mabon has poisoned the swords. As a result of this foul play, Lybeaus's refusal to spare Mabon's life seems more explicable in those manuscripts.
- 2093–95 Tyll I had kyssed Gaweyn. The Lady of Synadone's situation resembles many folk tales, including the legends of the "Loathly Lady," a beautiful woman cursed to be an ugly hag until someone chooses to marry her. Chaucer's Wife of Bath's Tale and Gower's "Tale of Florent" in Confessio Amantis are only two of the more

famous versions of this legend; see also *The Wedding of Sir Gawain and Dame Ragnelle* (Hahn, *Sir Gawain*, pp. 41–80). Most versions of the influential *Mandeville's Travels* feature a lady on an island in the Aegean who is cursed by a witch to be a dragon until a knight kisses her; though she promises suitors that she will turn back into a lovely woman and reward them with wealth, no one can withstand her hot breath or brave her appearance (see, for example, Seymour, *Defective Version of Mandeville's Travels*, pp. 15–16).

This confusion about the ultimate fate of Irain stems from various changes made in earlier copies of the text. An earlier reviser of the poem inserted the stanza describing Lybeaus's discovery and decapitation of Irain, left unaccounted for in other versions, but failed to emend this line. That Irain has been killed is confirmed by lines 2137–39.

21. SIR CORNEUS

Origin, Genre, and Themes

Though the wit of Jonson, Shakespeare, and other Jacobean writers can still amuse readers four centuries later, modern audiences can find their innumerable jokes about cuckolded husbands a little wearying; this vein of humor has not lasted as well as others. But medieval and Renaissance audiences clearly found cuckoldry highly amusing, an even more popular source of humor than corrupt clergy or cunning peasants (though the ideal medieval joke combines all three tropes). If Chaucer's stories of cuckoldry are exceptional for their comic precision, their subject was certainly a very familiar one. *Sir Corneus* is slightly unusual for jesting about cuckoldry in a locale not ordinarily associated with low humor, the Arthurian court.

As an Arthurian burlesque, *Sir Corneus* is not a pioneer; the thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman *Lai du Cor* tells a very similar story, in which a young man gives Arthur a magic horn which no cuckold can drink from without spilling. Arthur drinks, spills, and nearly stabs Queen Guinevere before being restrained. When nearly all the other men present fail to drink from the horn without spilling, Arthur's mood lightens and he forgives his wife. Another thirteenth-century text, the French *Livre de Carados*, features a similar episode. While either text may be the source for *Sir Corneus*, it contains major differences present in no other analogue. Arthur already owns the horn at the start of *Sir Corneus*, and he does not react angrily to his exposure as a cuckold. ⁷¹ This may reduce the dramatic progression of the story, but it preserves the general atmosphere of low comedy throughout. This is a genial, frivolous world, where cuckolds sit in the seats of honor and are entertained by minstrels before dancing for the entertainment of everyone else. It is not unlike the Arthurian court at the start of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* in its youthful silliness, though in that text there is a competing sense of chivalric pride that only appears in *Sir Corneus* when the Duke of Gloucester politely refuses to drink from the horn before Arthur.

⁷¹ Both of these features of *Sir Corneus* also distinguish it from its closest relative in surviving Middle English literature, *The Boy and the Mantle*. There, a young man brings a magic mantle (robe), knife, and cup to Arthur's court, which test the faithfulness of women. Arthur is enraged to discover that he is a cuckold, until everyone else's wife ends up equally condemned, except for the wife of "Craddock" (Caradoc). See Furrow, *Ten Fifteenth-Century Comic Poems*, pp. 295–311.

The Arthur of *Sir Corneus* bears little resemblance to the Arthur of much Middle English literature, where he is celebrated as a great warrior-king and national hero. But another Arthurian tradition, based in France, often imagines an ineffectual Arthur whose own exploits pale in comparison to those of the other knights of the Round Table. In this tradition, which appears in England in the form of the stanzaic *Morte D'Arthur* and Malory's *Morte D'Arthur*, Lancelot's adulterous affair with Guinevere assumes a greater importance. In Malory's retelling, Morgan le Fay sends a charmed horn to the court in order to reveal Guinevere's unfaithfulness. The horn is intercepted and sent instead to King Mark's court, where it endangers another couple, Tristan and Queen Isolde. Yet King Mark and his court decide to ignore the horn's evidence, thus ensuring that Tristan and Isolde will live and love a little longer. This dismissal, though considerably more self-deceiving than Arthur's cheerful reaction in *Sir Corneus*, suggests that medieval literature sees cuckoldry as an inconvenient but unalterable fact, one that must be either suppressed for the sake of male pride or ignored for the sake of the glorious plotlines created by adulterous lovers.

Sir Corneus consistently describes the cuckolds who dance in Arthur's court as a brotherhood, and when Arthur learns that he too is a cuckold, he tells them "We be all of a freyry [brotherhood]: / I ame your awne brother" (lines 215–16). Queen Guinevere appears in the poem only briefly, blushing, and in a real sense women are entirely peripheral in this story. Cuckoldry, a crime against male honor, is by its very nature a male obsession. But this means that men can also choose to ignore it; the system of honor emerges as an arbitrary male game. Once Arthur declares himself a brother of the cuckolds, rendering them all equal in respect, the poem can (with a straight face) declare that Arthur "Lyved and dyghed with honour, / As many hath don senne [since], / Both cokwoldys and other mo" (lines 251–53).

Manuscript Context

As a burlesque, *Sir Corneus* resembles the other comic pieces in Ashmole 61, including *The Debate of the Carpenter's Tools* and *The King and the Hermit* (items 16 and 41). More specifically, it shares those two texts' associations with drinking (a reliable sign of comedy). It follows directly after *Lybeaus Desconus* (item 20), which fully idealizes the Arthurian world, and another romance, *The Erle of Tolous* (item 19), in which the chastity of the Empress Beulybone drives the central plot. But in its irreverent detachment from customary moral sanctions and its mild vulgarity, *Sir Corneus* stands slightly apart from the prevailing spirit of Ashmole 61. The grim punishment of adultery in *The Sinner's Lament* and *The Adulterous Falmouth Squire* (items 35a and 35b) and the idealization of the family in many of the other texts in the manuscript emphasize the idiosyncrasy of *Sir Corneus*.

Text

Ashmole 61 preserves the only surviving text of the poem, but the text seems relatively free from serious defects. If Rate made any extensive revisions, his work is not obvious. It is written in 6-line tail-rhyme stanzas that are carefully rhymed, with only one anomolous 9-line stanza (lines 241–49).

⁷² For a brief comparison of these two traditions, see Pearsall, *Arthurian Romance: A Short Introduction*, pp. 60–61.

Printed Editions

Child, F. J., ed. *English and Scottish Ballads*. 8 vols. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1857. 1:24–34.

Furrow, Melissa M., ed. Ten Fifteenth-Century Comic Poems. Pp. 273-91.

Hazlitt, W. Carew, ed. *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*. Vol. 1. London: John Russell Smith, 1866. Pp. 35–49.

Reference Works

NIMEV 219

MWME 9.24.13.3167, 3494-95

Thompson, Stith. Motif-Index of Folk Literature. [See H411.4]

See also *The Boy and the Mantle*, Brewer, T. Cross, Furrow, Heller, Kelly, P. MacCracken, Nykrog, Patton, and Rider (1985) in the bibliography.

- Title No title or *incipit*. The title is that used by Furrow's edition and several descriptions of the manuscript, based on the author's name as claimed in line 246. The name Corneus seems to be derived from the Latin *cornus*, "horn." The text begins halfway down the page of fol. 59v, immediately after the colophon of the preceding text.
- as I rede in story. This formula may not refer to any text at all or to any in particular, but stories of Guinevere's adultery were available in various Arthurian texts of the later Middle Ages, particularly in Malory's Morte D'Arthur and French Arthurian cycles.
- 22 bugyll horn. The horn of a wild ox, used as a drinking horn. Animal horns, or cups in the shape of horns, were used as ceremonial drinking vessels, particularly in pre-Conquest England.
- 52 *tabull dormounte*. Most of the tables in a medieval hall were movable boards placed on trestles; the table dormant was a fixed table reserved for the highest-ranking members of the household and selected guests of honor.
- 59 *Garlandys of wylos*. Willows were traditionally associated with those unlucky in love.
- 74 Duke of Gloseter. The first duke of Gloucester was Thomas of Woodstock (1355–97), one of the sons of King Edward III; the title is thus an anachronism in this context. The title has traditionally been given to one of the younger sons of the king.
- 91 *erle*. The poem uses *duke* and *erle* interchangeably to refer to the duke of Gloucester.
- 98 *spake*. The correct reading should be *sayd*, for the sake of rhyme.
- *merchandabull.* From the verb, "merchaunden," "to sell." The *OED* lists this as the earliest instance of the word *merchantable*.
- baske fysyke. The MED lists one other instance of the compound "bask-fisik" (from baske, "bitter," and fisike, "medicine"), which may also be a reference to sexual intercourse.

119 lecherus craft. As Furrow points out in the notes to her edition, there may be a pun here on leecher, "physician" (Ten Fifteenth-Century Comic Poems, p. 384). 176 wont beforn. As line 27 makes clear, Arthur has drunk successfully from the horn before; he has only recently been cuckolded. 207 To wesch. The ritual washing that preceded the meal followed the same hierarchies of rank involved in the service of the meal itself. See Stans Puer ad Mensam (item 7), line 154 and note. 241 Skarlyon. Caerleon, in Wales, is one of the traditional locations of Arthur's court in Arthurian romance. 246 Syr Corneus. See note to title. A Corneus is mentioned in Malory's Morte D'Arthur, but without any suggestion of cuckoldry. 249 In herpyng or other gle. Furrow suggests that this line means "to bear that name whenever the gest is performed, to a harp or other music" (Ten Fifteenth-Century Comic Poems, p. 385). 255 To hevyn Amen Amen. The final line is followed by drawings of a grinning fish and a five-petaled flower on its stem, which separate Sir Corneus from the following text (The Jealous Wife).

22. THE JEALOUS WIFE

Origin, Genre, and Themes

The Jealous Wife is the first of three texts in Ashmole 61 that are incomplete. Due to the loss of two leaves after fol. 65, the conclusion of this tale is missing. Fortunately, although Ashmole 61 preserves the unique text of this verse version, we can make an educated guess about the ending of the tale on the basis of the numerous surviving analogues in Middle English, Latin, French, German, and Italian.⁷³ And even without its ending, *The Jealous Wife* ranks as one of the finest surviving Middle English miracles of the Virgin Mary.

Miracles were attributed to Mary from the early centuries of Christianity onwards. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, spurred by the fervent Mariolatry of St. Bernard of Clairvaux (and then the Franciscans and Dominicans), Latin writers compiled large collections of Marian miracles, which in turn made their way into the vernacular. Middle English collections of Mary's miracles include the *South English Legendary*, a group preserved in the Vernon manuscript, and Wynkyn de Worde's printed anthology, *The Myracles of Oure Lady*. Hiracles of the Virgin were read on the various feast days devoted to her and used as the basis for numerous dramatic performances. The Virgin was widely venerated in England among all classes of the laity and the religious, both at the local shrines dedicated to her (especially Walsingham, where a replica of the Virgin's house was a major pilgrimage site) and in daily devotion. *A Prayer to Mary* (item 15) is only one example of a wide range of prayers, extra-liturgical rites, and contemplative exercises dedicated to the Virgin. These practices made use of the

⁷³ For the analogues, see Gripkey, "Mary-Legends," p. 25.

⁷⁴ For these collections, see the works by Tryon, Boyd, Meale, and Whiteford in the bibliography below.

Virgin's reputation as the great intercessor for sinners, and miracles of the Virgin demonstrate how her devotees were rewarded.

Though in theory the Church insisted that the Virgin was not the equal of the Trinity and could only persuade the Father and the Son to act on her behalf, in practice the Virgin's miracles suggest an almost limitless sense of her powers. In various tales "she defends people in court, rescues them from prison, helps them build a church, saves a besieged town, nurses the ill with her own breasts, restores limbs, fights in a tournament, touches, consoles, and even kisses those devoted to her." She is able to rescue those in their last moments of life from damnation (hence the closing phrase in the current form of the *Ave Maria* prayer, "Pray for us sinners, now and at the hour of our death"), and in the oft-told tale of Theophilus, she goes so far as to rescue a cleric who had sold his soul to the devil.

This last example resembles the situation in *The Jealous Wife*, where the title character, having killed her children and committed suicide in a jealous rage, seems justifiably damned until rescued by the intercession of Mary. Though the text breaks off before the wife's rescue is complete, in other surviving versions of the tale the wife and children are restored to life. The wife has done nothing to earn this reprieve, but her husband's dedication to Mary has earned it for her. This in turn recalls another theme of Marian miracles, the Virgin's habit of rewarding those devoted to her, even those who are otherwise sinful. As Chaucer's Prioress's Tale and many others illustrate, even the simplest, most naïve forms of devotion to Mary (including prayers and songs whose words are not understood) earned her special protection. In *The Jealous Wife*, the husband's regular habit of rising in the middle of the night to pray to the Virgin goes above and beyond the usual veneration, but the point remains the same: anyone, without the aid of clerics or the sacraments of the Church, could gain Mary's mediation on their behalf.

At the center of *The Jealous Wife* lies a narrative improbability that is not present in most other surviving versions of the story and is nevertheless essential to the workings of the plot as it is preserved here.⁷⁶ The wife's jealousy arises from her casual question asking her husband whom he loves most of all; the husband replies that he loves only one woman more than his wife. Obviously, the wife might press him further on this, inquiring what he meant by loving an unnamed woman more than "any erthly thyng," and the husband rather foolishly misses an opportunity to clarify his curious statement (line 96). Yet this unlikely misunderstanding relies on another cherished literary tradition surrounding the Virgin, one that reveres her in quasi-erotic terms with the language of secular love poetry.

Ashmole 61's text breaks off at the moment when the wife has been rescued from damnation by the Virgin, while the grieving husband is still in prayer, fearing that he will be accused of killing his wife and children. In many of the surviving analogues the husband returns from his anxious vigil to find his wife alive and nursing the children. The version presented here has laid the narrative and emotional groundwork for this ending by including the story of the remarkable birth of those children following a long period of lamented childlessness. The story is thus rich with biblical — and specifically Marian — echoes. Assuming the story ends as these others do, it includes a miraculous birth, a Judas-like betrayal (by the witch who tempts the jealous wife), a descent into hell, a redemption, and a final scene that recalls the holy family of Mary, Joseph, and Jesus. In its careful structure, skillfully-

⁷⁵ Thomas D. Cooke, "Miracles of the Virgin," MWME 9.24.3181.

⁷⁶ In the other versions, the workings of the witch and/or the discovery of the husband's nightly disappearances suffice to make the wife jealous.

handled dialogue, and swift-moving plot, the story is nothing less than a minor masterpiece of its genre.

Manuscript Context

The Jealous Wife demonstrates the potential efficacy of A Prayer to Mary (item 15) and the value of contemplating her sorrow, aided by texts such as The Lament of Mary (item 30). In this way it differs from the other short exemplary narratives, The Knight Who Forgave His Father's Slayer and The Incestuous Daughter (items 18 and 23). Those tales describe the rewards of extraordinary acts of forgiveness and contrition; The Jealous Wife describes the rewards of daily devotion, a practice available to all. Though the loss of two leaves means that we cannot be absolutely certain that The Incestuous Daughter followed immediately after The Jealous Wife, it seems likely, and the two texts share the common theme of redemption from the brink of damnation. In some analogues, The Incestuous Daughter is also a miracle of the Virgin. Along with the preceding text, Sir Corneus (item 21), these three adjoining texts all feature women whose deadly sins ultimately go unpunished.

The Jealous Wife recalls many other texts in Ashmole 61, including *The King and His Four Daughters* (item 26) with its debate between Mercy and Justice, and the many narratives that end with joyous family reunions (items 1, 5, 20, and 39).

Text

Aside from the glaring fact of the text's incompletion due to the missing leaves after fol. 65, the text is not noticeably defective, and there is every reason to believe that it was originally complete. Rate makes many of his customary minor errors (dropping many letters), but none disfigure the text and there are no apparent omissions of stanzas. He has bracketed the rhyming lines of the *aabccb* stanzas.

Printed Editions

Boyd, Beverly, ed. *The Middle English Miracles of the Virgin*. San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1964. Pp. 92–104. [Prints the text of Ashmole 61.]

Horstmann, Carl, ed. *Altenglische Legenden, neue Folge mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen*. Pp. 329–33. [Prints the text of Ashmole 61.]

Reference Works

NIMEV 1987

MWME 9.24.87.3218–19, 3526–27

Thompson, Stith. Motif-Index of Folk Literature. [See T376.1]

See also Gripkey, Meale (1990), Southern (1958), Tyron, Ward, and Whiteford in the bibliography.

Title No title or *incipit*. The tale is referred to by various names by the editors of the various versions; the most common alternative to the title chosen here is "The Good Man and His Jealous Wife." The text begins halfway down the page of fol. 62r.

- 1 Lordyngys curtase and hende. This call to an audience with the promise of a worthy tale resembles the formula used in many of the romances and other narratives in Ashmole 61; see Sir Isumbras and Sir Cleges (items 5 and 24).
- thei myght no chyld have. The arrival of a child after a long period of barrenness recalls the pregnancy of several biblical couples, including Abraham and Sarah in the Old Testament and Zacharias and Elizabeth, the parents of John the Baptist, in the New. For the medieval aristocracy, the failure to produce an heir had serious consequences, and women who did not become pregnant were exposed to damaging accusations from relatives.
- 64 Into hys chapell. Private chapels were commonly part of aristocratic houses in the later Middle Ages. Services there would be conducted by the household's chaplain, and the chapel would be available for the lord and lady's personal use.
- slew hyr feyr chylder tweyn. The act recalls Medea's murder of her children after being abandoned by Jason, but her anguish (and subsequent suicide) suggests a kind of temporary insanity. Medieval English courts, when confronted with cases of mothers killing their children, seem to have lightened their sentences on the grounds of presumed insanity; see Salisbury, "Domestic Violence and the Law," p. 11.
- 286 Ther schall no man. Lines 286–88 repeat lines 10–12 verbatim, and thus emphasize the central argument of the *exemplum*. The repetition also announces the turning point of the story, dividing the plot into two symmetrical halves.
- Herkyns how the fendys felle. Hans Sauer has noted a strong parallel between the description of the devils' exit from hell in lines 289–300 and a passage in a late thirteenth-century body and soul debate. The resemblance, including the use of the rare description "Scharpe clawyd and long nayled" (line 296), suggests that the author of *The Jealous Wife* knew the earlier poem; see Sauer, "Verbal Echo from *The Desputisoun Bitwen the Bodi and the Soule* in *The Good Knight and His Jealous Wife*."
- 294 The sawle have to pyne. As becomes clear in lines 314–18, the soul in question is the wife's.
- 319 quen of heven. One of the Virgin Mary's traditional epithets (Regina Caeli or Caelorum).
- *asyse.* I.e., "assize," the English legal term (by way of Anglo-Norman) for a court session.
- 337 congour. Though the verb "conjuren" can mean "To charge or urge someone solemnly," it also suggests magical conjuring and the control of spirits; see MED, "conjuren."
- Without schryft and repentans. Under normal circumstances, deadly sins required confession and penance to prevent the sinner's damnation. Mary's response in lines 368–78 sweeps aside the devils' objection without specifically answering it, a response consistent with the *exemplum*'s insistence that the formal requirements of God's justice could be suspended at Mary's request. See also the conclusion

to the following *exemplum*, *The Incestuous Daughter*, for similar exceptions to the rules of sin, confession, and penance.

full sore. The text breaks off here at the bottom of fol. 65v, and the following two leaves are missing.

23. THE INCESTUOUS DAUGHTER

Origin, Genre, and Themes

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Though the loss of a leaf has rendered the tale of *The Incestuous Daughter* incomplete, the existence of complete texts of the tale in two other manuscripts means that the shape of the story can be easily grasped (see below, *Text*). There are also many other versions of the same plot: the incestuous daughter kills her father after their incest is discovered by her mother and goes on to become a prostitute before a tearful repentance and a sudden death from the grief of contrition. It appears in many collections of *exempla* and in another fragmentary text, the Middle English drama *Dux Moraud*.

The popularity of this story, attested by these many different versions, is hardly mysterious. Preachers who used it as an *exemplum* in their sermons would surely be guaranteed the attention of their audiences; though there are equally titillating *exempla* featuring even greater amounts of violence, depravity, and miraculous intervention, *The Incestuous Daughter* features an impressive combination of these elements, along with a highly encouraging moral. Though this moral varies somewhat among the different versions, the tale generally exemplifies the remarkable mercy of a God who forgives even the most unspeakable sins, even when those sins have scarcely been atoned for. The other stanzaic Middle English version (in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson poet. 118) emphasizes the need of sinners to make use of the considerable grace that Christ has earned for them, while others use the tale to emphasize the importance of heartfelt contrition.

Here, the tale warns against despair (*wanhope*), but the final emphasis is on the readily available mercy of God rather than the dangers of forgetting it. The claim expressed in the closing lines that God recognizes genuine contrition for a sin that cannot be properly confessed may seem radical, but scholastic theories of confession upheld this doctrine. Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas viewed confession to a lay person in a time of great need as creating the equivalent to the sacrament of penance properly given by a priest, though subsequent claims by John Wycliff and other unorthodox writers forced the Council of Trent in 1551 to clarify the Church's position at the close of the Middle Ages. The Council explicitly denounced the notion that laity could hear confessions, though it left open the possibility that a contrite sinner who genuinely *desired* to confess to a priest, but who could not due to extraordinary circumstances, might still receive absolution from God.

The crimes of the incestuous daughter make her an ideal demonstration of God's mercy. Incest was considered a particularly heinous sin, and many medieval narratives do not distinguish between the perpetrator and the victim of incest. ⁷⁸ Both are held accountable for the sin and both are thoroughly dishonored by it. In *The Incestuous Daughter* the father's conscience forces him to repent, whereas the daughter responds to incest by falling deeper into depravity.

⁷⁷ For a brief summary of this evolution see the entry for "Penance" in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 11.623. See also Tentler, *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation*, pp. 16–27.

⁷⁸ Archibald, *Incest and the Medieval Imagination*, pp. 1–8.

This response resembles the actions of many other women in *exempla*: once feminine sexual desire is allowed expression, it becomes an unregulated force of destruction. In her multiple murders and her willingness to seduce every squire and clerk she encounters, the incestuous daughter quickly becomes a misogynist nightmare of the unbridled feminine libido, subject to neither reason nor conscience.

It is because of, not despite, this carnality and carnage that the daughter demonstrates so well the power of genuine contrition. Even in the moment when she seems most hardened in her sin, as she attempts to seduce men at a Good Friday sermon, her heart is most vulnerably human, and the words of the preaching bishop turn her from evil. Not all of the surviving versions of the *exemplum* feature the fiends leading the daughter by chains around her neck, a terrifying sight visible only to the preacher, but it is an effective means of demonstrating how dangerous the bonds of sin can be and how easily tears of contrition can break them.

Manuscript Context

If Saint Eustace, Sir Isumbras, The Jealous Wife, and Sir Cleges (items 1, 5, 22, and 24) imagine the family as the setting for a virtuous, happy life, and celebrate the triumphant reunion of long-suffering families, The Incestuous Daughter moves in an opposite (but not contradictory) direction. Here the family is disordered from its beginning and sets the daughter off on her fall into the depths of sin until she destroys it. But in this story the family cannot be recreated, and it recedes into the background as the narrative shifts its focus to the salvation of the individual and not the family unit. Yet the idea of the family persists: the incestuous daughter seems to create a kind of substitute family with her "felos thre," perhaps a horrible reminder of the three sons she murders because of her incest.

In addition to the other exempla, The Sinner's Lament and The Adulterous Falmouth Squire (items 35a and 35b) make useful comparisons for considering the consequences of sexual sin and the hardening of the sinner's heart. The Adulterous Falmouth Squire also appears in the two other manuscripts that contain The Incestuous Daughter, suggesting a particularly close relationship between the two.

Text

The two other extant texts of *The Incestuous Daughter* are in Cambridge University Library MS Ff.5.48 (P) and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson poet. 118; though the Manual of the Writings in Middle English considers these two different versions (with the Ashmole and Cambridge manuscripts making up one "version"), they may best be seen as three copies of the same text with considerable variation. The Ashmole text shares many readings with the Rawlinson MS, but is on the whole closer to the Cambridge MS. The lost text in Ashmole 61 corresponds to the first 117 lines of the text in P, and the line numbers given here correspond to the line numbers in Horstmann's edition of that text. The missing lines introduce the tale as an example of dangerous despair saved by the grace of repentance, and go on to describe how the father was tempted by a fiend into incest with his daughter. The daughter is made pregnant three times, and each time she murders the children to conceal their sin, until the mother discovers the incest. The daughter then murders the mother and the incest continues until the father repents and confesses to a priest, who tells the father he must cease having sex with his daughter and make a pilgrimage to the holy land as penance. The Ashmole 61 text begins in the midst of a dialogue between the father and the daughter in which he informs her that he will no longer sleep with her.

Many significant differences exist between the Ashmole and Cambridge texts, and in many readings the latter is clearly superior. But the Cambridge text is itself imperfect, with many missing lines, suggesting that both have been subject to considerable revision and loss.

Printed Editions

Horstmann, Carl. "Nachträge zu den Legenden." Pp. 421–24. [Prints the text of Rawlinson poet. 118.]

——. Altenglische Legenden, neue Folge mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen. Pp. 334–38. [Collates Ashmole 61 and P.]

Thum, Albert Otto. "Untersuchungen über die mittelenglische Fromme Erzählung: A Tale of an Incestuous Daughter." Rostock dissertation. Berlin, 1892. [Collates all three MSS.]

Reference Works

NIMEV 1107

MWME 9.24.208.3266-67, 3557

Tubach, Frederic C. *Index Exemplorum*. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1969. [Lists various versions in *exempla* collections; see #2731, #2729, and #2739]

See also Archibald, Banks, Brandeis, Herrtage, Hieatt, Homan, and Karras (1990 and 1992) in the bibliography.

- Title No title or *incipit*. Though the beginning has been lost, it seems unlikely that a title ever existed, as none of the other *exempla* in the manuscript receives a title. It is referred to as *The Tale of an Incestuous Daughter* in *MWME* (9.24.208.3266). For a summary of the first 117 lines from P, see the introduction, Text.
- with thee dele. To have intercourse with sexual, conversational, or social.
- Thow hast me made. This line suggests that the murders were not simply acts of volition by the daughter but that she felt at least partly coerced.
- On pylgrymage. Pilgrimage was a common form of penance, particularly for heinous sins; see also *Sir Isumbras* (item 5), lines 122–29. Most of the other surviving versions of the tale omit this detail.
- All the women that wold be folys. The reading in the Cambridge MS, "Alle wyckud men that were folis," is surely more reasonable, but the notion that the incestuous daughter becomes both a prostitute and a bawd is not entirely implausible.
- hyr scolys. An ironic use of scole (n.) in the MED's sense 3, "a place or environment where one's character or disposition is molded."
- An holy buschop. The version of the tale that appears in a cycle of homilies in Lincoln Cathedral MS 51 names the bishop as "the holy doctur Seynt Austen" (i.e., Saint Augustine), but this attribution seems unusual in the surviving versions of the tale.

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203 God Frydey. This detail does not seem to appear in other surviving versions of this exempla. For the significance of Good Friday as a day of forgiveness, see the introduction to The Knight Who Forgave His Father's Slayer (item 18). 226 The byschop therof was full glad. The text appears to be corrupt here, as lines 226 and 227 repeat lines 220 and 221 in reverse order. 269 Is now in hevyn bryght. In many other versions of the exemplum, the voice from heaven suggests that rather than praying for the soul of the dead woman, the preacher and his flock should pray to her for their own sakes, since she is already in heaven. 271 Crysten men. Rate seems to have omitted a stanza in which the voice from heaven instructs the bishop to give the incestuous daughter a proper Christian burial. 272 wanhop. Wanhope, or despair, was considered the most dangerous of sins, since it presumed that God's mercy could not save the sinner. Its very nature precluded confession, and despair could encourage the sinner to fall into further depravity. 294a AMEN. This colophon is separated from the following text by a drawing of a grinning fish.

24. SIR CLEGES

Origin, Genre, and Themes

Sir Cleges stands alone in the surviving corpus of Middle English literature; efforts to identify its sources or to place it firmly within a recognizable genre only end up emphasizing all that is unique about it. The tale's elegant construction and colorful detail testify to the skill of the unknown author, who may have written the text in the late fourteenth century. The text survives in only one other manuscript besides Ashmole 61 (A), but its fortunate survival is reminder of how much remarkable Middle English poetry may have been lost in the centuries since.

Though no surviving texts can be cited as certain sources, the tale is built on a series of motifs or tropes familiar from medieval romance, biblical apocrypha, saints' lives, and folktales. The opening stanzas, describing the extraordinary generosity and subsequent poverty of Sir Cleges and his wife Dame Clarys, resemble episodes in various romances, most notably the Middle English *Sir Amadace* and *Sir Launfal*. But while those prodigal knights give expensive gifts to knights and squires, Sir Cleges's generosity revolves around his hospitality to the poor and those ruined by war, as well as his lavish feasts (attended by well-rewarded minstrels) open to everyone. Thus his eventual recovery from his self-induced poverty suggests a religious lesson about the importance of charity. But one of the remarkable aspects of the poem is its subtlety; the moral is never stated explicitly.

The miraculous cherries that appear on Christmas Day, as Sir Cleges offers a thankful prayer despite his poverty, recall miracles performed by saints that involve similar unseasonable fruits or flowers. A more direct source for Sir Cleges's Christmas cherries is the apo-

⁷⁹ Sims-Williams makes an argument for a source in a lost *Lai de Glygys*, possibly mentioned in a thirteenth-century list of narratives ("Turkish-Celtic Problem," pp. 226–30). Though his evidence bears consideration, his claims make very little difference for an understanding of *Sir Cleges* in its extant form.

cryphal Pseudo-Matthew, one of several gospels that circulated from the times of early Church. In the Pseudo-Matthew, Mary, Joseph, and Jesus stop by a date palm during their flight to Egypt after the Nativity. Mary asks for fruit and the tree bends its branches so that she may pick the dates. ⁸⁰ This story was transformed into an episode in the N-Town Plays (also known as the Ludus Coventriae), one of the great Middle English drama cycles. The date palm, unfamiliar to English audiences, became a cherry tree, and the unseasonable nature of its bearing fruit in mid-winter became further proof of Mary's holiness. ⁸¹ Whether or not the author knew the N-Town Plays, a similar Middle English carol of Mary and the cherry tree, or some other adaptation of the Pseudo-Matthew episode, the transference of this miracle from the Virgin to a poor, devout knight seems to have been an entirely original idea. ⁸²

The third recognizable motif worked into the plot of *Sir Cleges* occupies the last half of the poem and is known as "the strokes shared." Many folktale analogues, from Brittany to Russia, involve either a peasant or jester who travels to the court of a king to offer natural bounty (such as a giant fish) or entertainment. The visitor encounters either greedy household officers or Jews, who later receive strokes as a recompense for their insistence on sharing the king's reward. Here *Sir Cleges* marks its originality by its small touches, such as King Uther's initial disgust at granting Sir Cleges twelve strokes with his staff, since this request seems to the king to be churlish and unwarranted hostility in the midst of joyous revelry. And since Cleges has already demonstrated his unremitting charity, the greed of the court officers appears in sharper contrast.

As in the case of Chaucer's best tales, where familiar narrative tropes are linked in entirely new ways, the skillful combination of the three motifs of "the spendthrift knight," "the unseasonable fruit," and "the strokes shared" makes *Sir Cleges* more than the sum of its parts. Much of the tale's charm derives from the crucial role played by Dame Clarys, Cleges's patient, virtuous wife. She aids Cleges in his almsgiving and pulls Cleges out of his mourning once they have descended into poverty. When Sir Cleges morosely views the marvelous cherries as an ill omen, it is Dame Clarys who confidently (and correctly) interprets them as a token "Of more godnes that is comyng" (line 213). Yet even then she reminds him of their duty to be thankful, whether or not their fortunes improve. But her clarity and patience always seem human; we are told she rejoices as a proud mother and wife when Sir Cleges and his son receive their final reward. The fundamental humanity of both Cleges and Clarys, a quality that makes them identifiable and a virtue that makes them exemplary, may be connected to the poem's larger celebration of the Incarnation and Nativity, the arrival of a human Christ in the world. ⁸³

Though the story takes place in an Arthurian (or pre-Arthurian) setting and involves a cunning knight who endures difficulty and who punishes his enemies, *Sir Cleges* does not easily

⁸⁰ See Roberts and Donaldson, Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, p. 95.

⁸¹ See Play 15, "The Nativity," in Spector's *N-Town Plays*, 1:152–53. See also Sugano's *N-Town Plays*, pp. 133–42.

For "The Cherry Tree Carol," see Kinsley, Oxford Book of Carols, p. 1. Putter also draws attention to various legendary flowerings that were believed to take place on Christmas Day ("In Search of Lost Time," pp. 130–31). A more distant analogue is the fourth of the "love questions" in the fourth book of Boccaccio's *Il Filocolo* (a source of Chaucer's Franklin's Tale). There, a magician makes a garden bloom in midwinter on behalf of a young man seeking to earn a woman's favor; see the English-Italian facing-page edition in Correale and Hamel, Sources and Analogues of the Canterbury Tales (pp. 220–39).

⁸³ For the connections between the events of *Sir Cleges* and the liturgical calendar around Christmas, see Putter, "In Search of Lost Time," pp. 125–31.

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fit into most definitions of the romance genre. Dieter Mehl classifies it as an exemplary or pious romance, like *Sir Isumbras* (item 5), but such a categorization can never be fully satisfactory in the case of a text as idiosyncratic as this one, which uniquely combines elements of the burlesque *fabliau*, the moral *exemplum*, and the short romance or *lai*. 84

Manuscript Context

The context of *Sir Cleges* in Ashmole 61 suggests an emphasis on its morality rather than its trappings of romance. *Sir Cleges* follows two exemplary narratives, the stories of *The Jealous Wife* and *The Incestuous Daughter* (items 22 and 23). And as in *The Knight Who Forgave His Father's Slayer* (item 18), miracles reward human virtue in *Sir Cleges*. Among the romances of Ashmole 61, *Sir Isumbras* (item 5) seems most closely related in its description of a family's descent into poverty and subsequent recovery, and *Saint Eustace* (item 1) shares these same connections.

Just as *Sir Cleges* works well as a Christmas story, the text that follows it, *The Feasts of All Saints and All Souls* (item 25), also celebrates important days in the liturgical calendar, and the same could be said of *The King and His Four Daughters* (item 26) and *The Northern Passion* (item 28). But *Sir Cleges* works equally well as a comic text, and the audiences that might appreciate *Sir Corneus* and *King Edward and the Hermit* (items 21 and 41) might find the same pleasure in this story.

Text

Aside from two groups of missing lines, the text in Ashmole 61 is very good, and where it differs from the Advocates manuscript the differences do not make the Ashmole text noticeably worse. The Ashmole text contains a more complete conclusion, which may possibly be Rate's composition. The 12-line tail-rhyme stanzas are (with the exception of the missing lines) preserved intact.

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McKnight, George H., ed. *Middle English Humorous Tales in Verse*. Boston: Heath, 1913. Rpt. New York: Gordian Press, 1971. Pp. 38–59, 171–80. [Based on Ashmole 61.]

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Treichel, Adolf. "Sir Cleges: Eine mittelenglische Romanze." Englische Studien 22 (1896), 345–89. [Collates both Advocates MS and Ashmole 61.]

Adaptations and Modernizations

Curry, Jane Louise. *The Christmas Knight*. Illustrated by DyAnne DiSalvo-Ryan. New York: Macmillan Books, 1993. [Adaptation for children.]

⁸⁴ Mehl goes on to call it "a particularly attractive combination of pious legend and popular *fabliau*" (*Middle English Romances*, p. 121).

Darton, F. J. Harvey, and A. G. Walker, eds. *A Wonder Book of Romance*. New York: F. A. Stokes. 1907.

Hadow, Grace Eleanor, and W. Hadow, eds. *The Oxford Treasury of English Literature*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906–08. Pp. 37–50.

Krapp, George Philip, ed. Tales of True Knights. New York: Century, 1921.

Weston, Jessie, trans. Sir Cleges and Lybeaus Desconus. London: D. Nutt, 1902.

Reference Works

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MWME 1.1.114.170-71, 330

Rice, Joanne A. Middle English Romance: An Annotated Bibliography, 1955–1985. Pp. 407–08.

See also Carr, Ellzey, E. Foster (1997), R. Loomis, Putter, Reinhard, and Sims-Williams in the bibliography.

- Title No title or *incipit*. The title, based on the spelling of the hero's name in A, the only other surviving manuscript copy, has been used by most previous editions of the poem. The item begins halfway down the page of fol. 67v.
- 4 *Uter and Pendragon*. The following line makes it clear that this is one person, Uther Pendragon, the legendary father of Arthur. The *and* inserted between the two names is very likely Rate's error.
- 7 Clegys. This is not a common English name, though minor characters by that name appear in Malory's *Morte D'Arthur* and the Middle English *Awntyrs of Arthur*. The titular hero of Chrétien de Troyes's romance, *Cligés*, bears little resemblance to the Clegys here. Sims-Williams argues that both Chrétien's Cligés and Sir Clegys ultimately trace back to the Welsh King Glywys ("Turkish-Celtic Problem," pp. 217–30).
- 9 Ronde Tabull. In most Arthurian texts, the Round Table is founded by Arthur himself, not his father.
- squyres that traveyled in lond of werre. War was an extremely expensive undertaking, as knights had to provide their own armor, weapons, horses, and provisions. This phrase may also suggest those who were unlucky enough to be captured and ransomed, a process that could be financially crippling. See note to *The Erle of Tolous* (item 19), line 171.
- 20 buske ne bete. The sense here seems to be that Cleges never hurried guests, even poor ones, out of his hall, a hospitality that compares favorably to the attendants of Uther's court later on in the text.
- Dame Clarys. Various characters named Clarice appear in French romances; the name seems to be chosen here for its associations with light, clarity, and beauty. Her almsgiving exemplifies her pity and tenderness of heart, qualities much valued in medieval heroines.
- 39 *dey*. Three lines are missing here, present in A: "As ryall in all thynge, / As he hade ben a kynge. / For soth, as I you saye."

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70 *Hys ryalty*. Describing Cleges's magnanimity as his *ryalty* makes more sense in A, where Cleges's generosity has already been called *ryall* (see note to line 39).

- 71 *maners*. The wealthier gentry lived on several estates, sometimes dispersed over a wide area, and traveled between them throughout the year.
- 84 *Cardyff.* A city in southern Wales, often mentioned in Arthurian literature.
- dyverse mynstralsy. Minstrelsy (music) is commonly associated with the supernatural and otherwordly. See the final combat of Lybeaus Desconus (item 20) and Sir Orfeo (item 39). In "The Second Shepherds' Play" of the Towneley Plays, angelic music plays a similar role on the night of the Nativity; in line 1036, the play also features a "bob of cherys," given by one of the shepherds to the infant Jesus. See "The Second Shepard's Play," in Stevens and Cawley, Towneley Plays (1:126–57).
- stynte. Three lines are missing here, present in A: "Let your sorow awaye gon / And thanke God of hys lone / Of all that he hath sent."
- Be chesyn of hys wyfe. Eve Salisbury, in her notes to the Middle English Breton Lays edition of Sir Cleges, points out the various possible senses here (p. 400). Cleges may be praying because of his wife's exhortation to avoid sorrow or because of her resolute optimism; alternatively (or simultaneously), Cleges may be thanking Christ for his wife's intelligence and good nature.
- this tyme of yere. Cherries were a symbol of transience, being available in abundance for a very short time in the year. See item 3, *How the Wise Man Taught His Son*, line 68, where the world's joys are described as passing as quickly as a cherry festival.
- 205 relesyd. This is an early form of the word relish. See OED, "reles."
- On Crystenmes dey. Salisbury notes what seems to be a problem in chronology here, namely that the journey to King Uther's court should take place the day after Christmas, i.e., Boxing Day, since the miracle of the cherries occurs after the Mass on Christmas Day (Laskaya and Salisbury, Middle English Breton Lays, p. 403). But Ad Putter has argued for an ingenious solution: Sir Cleges and his family eat a midday meal on Christmas Eve, go to sleep after evensong, and awake to attend Mass at midnight on Christmas Eve (a common practice). The miracle of the cherries then takes place in the very early hours of December 25, when it would still be proper to speak of taking a journey "tomorrow" (in the morning) on Christmas Day. Christ, as Putter points out, was thought to have been born at midnight, making the Midnight Mass a crucial service ("In Search of Lost Time," pp. 125–31). This also suggests that the appearance of the cherries has been "carefully synchronized . . . with the liturgical time of Christ's birth" (p. 130).
- 251 *The porter*. The porter's office involved admitting those guests welcome in the household and refusing the unwanted.
- The offycer at the dore. Specified in line 299 as an usher, this officer was in charge of seating guests according to rank.

314 The stewerd. The chief officer of the household, responsible for financial oversight and discipline on the lord's estate. 378 awne Quen. Uther's queen was Igraine, Arthur's mother. 419 With my staff to pay them all. Naturally, Sir Cleges does not receive the "gifts" himself but pays them directly to the three officers. 423 I repent my grantyng. This is an example of "The Rash Boon," a common motif in medieval literature. In the usual versions of this motif, a character asks a favor without specifying what it will be. The grantor agrees, also without inquiring what the favor will be, and the favor then turns out to place the grantor in a difficult (or at least undesirable) position. See note to Lybeaus Desconus (item 20), line 98, and see also Sir Orfeo (item 39), lines 435-49. 470 parlere. A smaller private room off of the hall, where the lord and lady might seclude themselves with a select group after a meal. 473 An harper had a geyst iseyd. In A, the reading suggests that the song sung by the harper is about Sir Cleges (lines 484–89 in French and Hale's edition: "An harpor sange a gest be mowth / Of a knyght there be sowth, / Hymselffe, werament. / Than seyd the kynge to the harpor, / 'Were ys knyght Cleges, tell me here; / For thou hast wyde iwent""). 536 he made hym hys stuerd. A steward's office came with considerable rewards of both honor and wealth. See *The Erle of Tolous* (item 19), line 1191, and note. 543 a coler. Granting collars, often with a personal insignia, was a common late medieval way of designating retainers; collars were also given to newly-designated squires.

25. THE FEASTS OF ALL SAINTS AND ALL SOULS

grinning fish.

Origin, Genre, and Themes

565a

The holy day of All Saints (All Hallows) dates back to the practices of the early Church, but it was not universally observed until the eighth century, when Pope Gregory III fixed November 1 as the day dedicated to the worship of all saints. The rapid expansion of Christianity meant that new saints were canonized every year, some with only small, regional cults, and the Church sought a means of reordering the liturgical calendar to include the thousands of saints who had no (or little) recognition on any other day. It remains one of the most important days in the Catholic Church's liturgical year.

AMEN. This colophon is separated from the following text by a drawing of a

Now celebrated on November 2, the observance of All Souls was slower to develop. Though various local traditions, particularly in monasteries, devoted a day for the commemoration of the community's dead, historians generally credit the popular spread of All Souls Day to the influential French monastery of Cluny and its abbot Odilo (d. 1048). Under Odilo, Cluny carefully recorded the names of lay benefactors and prayed for their souls after their deaths, encouraging a long-held belief that the welfare of the dead could be improved

by the intercession of the living. ⁸⁵ In the later Middle Ages, All Souls Day provided a climax for activities that went on continually through the year, the Office for the Dead and memorial Masses. ⁸⁶ But these other memorial rites were usually on behalf of individuals — family members, monastic brethren, etc. — whereas All Souls Day emphasized the community of the universal Church. The readings for that day included a passage from Augustine insisting that the dead be remembered collectively rather than individually, and All Souls Day demonstrated that the proper answer to the uncertainty of the afterlife was the solidarity and organization provided by the Church. ⁸⁷

The primary source for the text presented here is the discussion of All Saints Day in the *Legenda aurea* (*Golden Legend*) of Jacobus de Voragine, though it is likely that a vernacular version of this text served as an intermediate source for this Middle English text.⁸⁸ All three of the surviving Middle English analogues radically abridge Jacobus's lengthy list of justifications for All Saints Day, and the text presented here goes the furthest in eliminating most of the non-narrative material.

This text belongs to a loose genre of "foundation legends," narratives that explain how and why some practice of the Church came into being. Though the vision reaffirms the Church's contemporary devotional practices, it nevertheless recognizes that both All Saints and All Souls Days were at one time innovations. ⁸⁹ The implicit suggestion that the Church is subject to historical change appears in a text that in other respects emphasizes the transcendent authority of the Church, particularly the papacy. In this version of events, Pope Boniface establishes both feast days by simple decree; in reality the papacy more often responded to, rather than initiated, devotional innovations, and the papacy's attempts to impose liturgical changes were rarely accepted without some resistance. Whereas some versions of this legend feature two heavenly processions, one led by John the Baptist dressed in camel skins and the other led by St. Peter, this text only mentions the latter, giving the traditional figure of papal authority pride of place in the heavenly hierarchy.

The text presupposes a great deal about how the afterlife operates. Just what happened to souls after the death of the body had been the subject of debate from the earliest days of Christianity; the Bible offered metaphors but little in the way of precise description. But by the time *The Feasts of All Saints and All Souls* was written (probably the early fifteenth century), the terrain of the afterlife had been thoroughly charted by theologians, visionaries,

 $^{^{85}}$ On the practices at Cluny, see Iogna-Prat, "Dead in the Celestial Bookkeeping of the Cluniac Monks."

⁸⁶ For an overview of some of these activities, see Rosenthal, *Purchase of Paradise*.

⁸⁷ See McGuire, "Purgatory, the Communion of the Saints, and Medieval Change," pp. 70–71.

⁸⁸ For the legend of All Saints Day, see *GL* 2.272–80. This text includes the vision of the warden of St. Peter's and the founding of All Souls Day. The material in the *Legenda aurea*'s entry for All Souls Day has no direct bearing on the Middle English text presented here. Similarly abridged translations of the *Legenda aurea*'s discussion of All Saints Day appear in the *South English Legendary* and the "expanded" *Northern Homily Cycle* as it is preserved in British Library MS Harley 4196. Neither of these two texts are likely to have been the direct source for the text presented here, though Harley 4196's text resembles Ashmole 61's in many, but not all, crucial details.

⁸⁹ This is not to suggest that such innovations were unusual. Changes in the liturgical year would have been noticeable to any attentive churchgoer, as the Church introduced many new feasts and abandoned others in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Yet nearly every innovation included a legend justifying its introduction; see Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*. For example, see the various legends surrounding the invention of the Psalter of the Virgin, a predecessor of the Rosary; the Middle English versions of this legend are described in *MWME*, 9.24.130.3236–37.

and poets. Though Dante's *Divine Comedy* is the most famous exploration of the three-part world of hell, purgatory, and heaven, it was not the most influential. Texts like the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great, the *Vision of St. Paul*, the *Vision of the Monk of Eynsham*, the *Vision of Tundal (Tnugdal)*, and the popular *St. Patrick's Purgatory* circulated widely in Latin and many vernacular languages. While the Church did not always officially endorse the views of the afterlife presented in these works, they were largely accepted, and some (especially Gregory's *Dialogues*) became crucial texts in the establishment of the doctrine of purgatory.

Though the purgatorial punishments and heavenly rewards described by this text are derived from a patchwork of these familiar sources with relatively little innovation, the emphasis given to the congruity of this world and the next is notable. The worship of All Saints Day on earth is mirrored by a similar day of worship in heaven. The prayers of those on earth have a direct bearing on the punishments of souls in purgatory, and the generosity of the rich on earth corresponds to the generosity they earn in the afterlife. In all of these ways the text emphasizes the importance of worldly action, both the corporate action of the Church and the behavior of individuals, in determining the workings of the afterlife.

A few decades after the compilation of Ashmole 61, the Henrician Reformation radically altered the complex purgatorial economy that involved pardons, indulgences, memorial Masses, chantry priests, and the parish guilds that paid for their services. *The Feasts of All Saints and All Souls*, though theologically uncomplicated, shows just how sophisticated and thorough that system was at its fifteenth-century height.

Manuscript Context

The Feasts of All Saints and All Souls initiates a series of closely connected religious texts in Ashmole 61, a sequence only interrupted by *The Dietary* (item 31). Within this group, the text may share its closest connections to the *Stimulus Consciencie Minor* (item 33), another consideration of the pains of purgatory and the joys of heaven. The lives of both Saints Eustace and Margaret (items 1 and 37) close with reminders of their power as intercessors in heaven, a power clearly on display in this text. *The Sinner's Lament* and *The Adulterous Falmouth Squire* (items 35a and 35b) demonstrate the painful limits of memorial prayer, which can only benefit souls in purgatory, not those in hell.

Though not obviously a "family" story in the way that *Sir Cleges* (item 24) is, the lesson of All Souls was that family members must offer prayers and Masses for their departed members. The household virtues of industriousness and solidarity were as essential in the economy of purgatory as they were in the economy of this world, and perhaps this text served to remind a family of its mutual duties.

Text

Ashmole 61 preserves the unique text of this version of the legend, and the possibility that Rate composed it himself cannot be discounted. If so, he may have based his version on that of the *Northern Homily Cycle*, which resembles this text in its basic content (but not its wording). But the strained syntax of many lines suggests that Rate has engaged in his usual manner of revision, rewriting as he copied. A few lines seem to be missing, and the texts lacks a few details that appear in other Middle English versions of the legend; these may be the result of Rate's customary abridgment.

Printed Editions

Horstmann, Carl. "Nachträge zu den Legenden." Pp. 435–40. [Prints the text of Ashmole 61.]

Reference Works

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Easting, Robert. Visions of the Other World in Middle English. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1997.

See also Gurevich, Harrison, Horstmann (1881), Iogna-Prat, LeGoff (1984), Matsuda (1997), McGuire, and Russell in the bibliography.

- Title The title in the manuscript, *Festum Omnium Sanctorum*, is written in Rate's slightly larger display script. The modern title has been chosen as more descriptive. The text begins two-thirds down the page of fol. 73r.
- 12 *kalender*. The kalendar was included in many service books and lists saints days and other feast days, such as those dedicated to the Virgin Mary and to events in the life of Jesus.
- 21 A dubull fest. A double or "duplex" feast day took precedence over other feasts that might fall on the same day and had an elaborate liturgy.
- Panteon. The Pantheon was built c.27 B.C. and rebuilt by the Emperor Hadrian c.125 A.D. after a fire destroyed the original. As its name suggests, the Pantheon was intended as a temple for all the gods, including those celebrated by non-Roman subjects of the empire. Its impressive dome was among the few major Roman monuments to survive the Middle Ages. This was largely due to the fact that it was converted into a Christian church in 609, when the Byzantine Emperor Phocas gave the building to Pope Boniface IV.
- *to have ther cours.* A "procedure or practice established by law or custom." See *MED*, "cours" n. 11a.
- 45 *forth pope*. In fact, Boniface IV was the third pope after Pope Gregory I (St. Gregory or Gregory the Great, one of the doctors of the Church).
- 74 In the worschyp of Seynt Mary. The church at the Pantheon was dedicated to the Virgin Mary and the martyr saints; it retains this function today.
- At evensong, matyns, ourys, and messe. These are some of the various church offices performed throughout the day; on certain feast days such as All Saints Day, the devout would attend more than one service.
- 129 In a hous of relygeon. In some versions of the legend, the holy man is a canon of St. Peter's Cathedral in Rome.
- *so neyghe above*. Presumably the line should read *so neyghe the trone*, thus preserving the rhyme; Horstmann's reading, *a bone*, makes little sense.
- 233 *Now pray I God.* As Blanchfield suggests, lines 233–38 seem to be a clear example of Rate's habit of mistaken anticipation: the angel dismisses the monk with his

instructions, only to announce rather suddenly in lines 239–40 that the vision is not yet over ("Idiosyncratic Scribe," pp. 95–96).

- In the water som were ine. The following lines, describing sinners standing in various depths of water, are taken directly from the popular vision of St. Paul which circulated in Latin, French, and Middle English versions; see Saint Paul's Visions of the Pains of Hell (in Horstmann, Minor Poems, pp. 251–60). There, however, these punishments appear in hell, not purgatory.
- Bryght and suete of savour. The description of beds and seats as sweet-smelling may seem odd, suggesting that several lines mentioning other traditional delights of heaven (flowers, clear springs, etc.) may have been lost here. But the sanctity of heaven is often presented in terms of floral scent, especially in saints' lives. Compare the odor of roses and lilies in Chaucer's Second Nun's Tale, CT VIII(G) 246–52, with its allusion to 2 Corinthians 2:14–16 on the good odor of Christ, figured there as the odor of roses and lilies that permeates heaven.
- seys the letter. This is an emendation; the manuscript reading is never the late, which makes little sense and renders the rhyme defective.
- 320 Seys he passyd fyre and water. This refers to Psalm 65(66):12, a crucial line for the medieval theologians who sought biblical support for the doctrine of purgatory.
- 321 Lord and thi wyll. It is not clear whether these two lines are meant to be a further quotation of one of the many pleas for mercy from David's Psalms, or the interjection of the narrator.
- 382 *hemselve wold not ken*. For this sense of "*ken*" as "commend" or "recommend," see *MED*, "kennen" v.1, 6b.
- The fyrst at matens. Matins were performed in the early hours of the morning, before dawn.
- 491 A comforth us. This use of "a" for the pronoun "he" is extremely unusual for Rate's scribal dialect but is commonly used in various Middle English dialects in instances when the pronoun appears in unstressed positions.
- He schewyd to hym. Pope Boniface interrogates the monk about his vision, but this is not necessarily an expression of doubt. The pope is simply following an established set of criteria to determine whether the vision has been divinely inspired or is the work of evil spirits, who could also create dream visions. Macrobius's *Dream of Scipio* was the most influential account of dreams in the Middle Ages, though other, competing sets of distinctions existed as well; see, for example, Chaucer's *House of Fame*, book 1, lines 1–52.
- 600a AMEN. The colophon is followed by drawings of a grinning fish and an eightpetaled flower, which separate this text from the following one, *The King and His Four Daughters*.

26. THE KING AND HIS FOUR DAUGHTERS

Origin, Genre, and Themes

The Latin etymology of the word "redemption" is "buying back," and Christian thought has long seen the process by which Christ voluntarily died in exchange for the release of humanity from eternal punishment as a transaction. Yet defining the terms of this purchase has tested theologians for centuries, and the doctrine of the Redemption changed considerably from the days of the early Church through the end of the Middle Ages. In what sense was humanity owned by the devil before the purchase made by Christ? How and in what sense was Christ able to purchase humanity with his death? The issue became particularly controversial in the twelfth century as scholastic theologians attempted to reconcile and rationalize the divergent claims of the Church Fathers. Heanwhile, vernacular literature addressed the questions surrounding the Redemption as well; one of the most influential of these attempts was Robert Grosseteste's Anglo-Norman allegory, *Le Château d'Amour (The Castle of Love)*.

Grosseteste was a product of the university world that developed scholastic thought, and he taught at Oxford in the early decades of the thirteenth century before his appointment as bishop of Lincoln. His writings encompass an amazing range of topics, including Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, comets, optics, biblical exegesis, confession, domestic and agricultural itineraries, and the jurisdiction of civil and ecclesiastical authority. Though his most important contributions to subsequent medieval culture were his translations of Greek works into Latin, *Le Château d'Amour* had an impressively long life of its own. This verse text of approximately 1800 lines survives in eighteen manuscripts, and was translated four different times into Middle English. The translation presented here consists of only a segment of Grosseteste's work, and Ashmole 61 preserves the only surviving copy.

Le Château d'Amour seeks an explanation for the dynamics of the Redemption by turning to a line from Psalm 84 (numbered Psalm 85 in most modern bibles) that had already been allegorized in both the Hebrew Midrash and earlier Christian writing. ⁹² The Psalm describes the reconciliation of Mercy, Truth, Justice (or Righteousness), and Peace. In Grosseteste's allegory, these become the four daughters of a king (i.e., God) who engage in a dispute over a vassal of the king who has committed an offense. Mercy asks for lenience, but Truth and Justice demand that the vassal be punished. Peace sides with Mercy, and the son of the king (i.e., Christ) proposes a solution: he will take the punishment due to the vassal upon himself, and thereby release the vassal from torment.

Though Grosseteste's *Château d'Amour* then moves through a series of other allegories, including the allegorization of the Virgin Mary as the castle where Christ begins his conflict with the devil, the Middle English translation presented here ends at the moment the king's son announces a solution to the dispute of the four daughters. This was by far the most popular section of Grosseteste's allegory, and it appears in other forms in many other works,

⁹⁰ For an account of this debate as it relates to the texts discussed here, see Marx, *Devil's Rights and the Redemption*, pp. 1–46.

⁹¹ For a recent survey of Grosseteste's career, see McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste*; see also Thomson, *Writings of Robert Grosseteste*, and Southern, *Robert Grosseteste*.

⁹² Sajavaara traces the complex relationship of Grosseteste's allegory of the four daughters to the Midrash, works of St. Bernard of Clairvaux and Hugh of St. Victor, and the earlier Latin allegory *Rex et Famulus*; see *Middle English Translations*, pp. 63–90.

including Langland's *Piers Plowman*. ⁹³ Though the text in Ashmole 61 may be a fragment of a complete translation (its abrupt ending suggests this is the case), it is possible that the translator only wished to treat this portion of Grosseteste's poem.

Though *The King and His Four Daughters* does not deviate very widely from Grosseteste's Anglo-Norman text, its language and its reduced scope emphasize a few particular aspects of his work. One is the sense of the Redemption's place within history; though allegory can tend towards atemporal stasis, the allegorical portion of *The King and His Four Daughters* operates in a carefully constructed historical frame. The text begins with the Creation, discusses the obligations of Adam in Paradise, and introduces the allegory of the four daughters at the moment when Adam's fall has condemned his descendents to punishment. The debate of the four daughters thus bridges the span of Old Testament history, and when Mercy loses the initial round of the argument, the narrator describes the Flood, using it as a metonym for the entire range of afflictions visited upon humanity after the fall. When Peace intervenes, her speech leads to the appearance of the king's son, Wisdom, and the end of the text points forward to the Incarnation and Redemption.

In his other major statement on the Redemption, his Latin *Dictum* number 10, Grosseteste had used an economic metaphor. Herist was the purchaser of man's freedom and paid the just price, while the devil attempted to keep both the payment (Christ) and the goods purchased (humanity), and therefore rightfully lost both. In *Le Château d'Amour*, however, Grosseteste turned to legal and feudal metaphors, which are in turn emphasized by the translator of *The King and His Four Daughters*. Here, Adam is a vassal, who loses seisin (claim) of paradise after his disobedience and thus becomes a serf, devoid of legal rights. Only Christ, as both a descendent of Adam and one untouched by Adam's sin, can make a plea for the recovery of mankind's heritage. Though the text ends before the king's son makes his legal case, hints of it appear in Mercy's claim that the vassal's enemies "dyd to hym trespas" (line 283). In Grosseteste's text, Christ goes on to claim that Satan deceived Adam, and thus improperly gained his rights over fallen humanity.

Even as it answers some of the doctrinal questions surrounding the Redemption, Grosseteste's allegory inevitably raises other, equally difficult questions, or at least questions that are not answered within the frame of the story. Is the king (God) somehow constrained by the feudal law he applies? In what sense, if any, can the king's servant be restored to his legal rights? What authority vis-à-vis the king do the four daughters really have? Because it is only a fragment or an excerpt, *The King and His Four Daughters* leaves even more unanswered than Grosseteste's original does, but his literary choices remain the source of this text's advantages and difficulties. The appeal of Grosseteste's work, as James Rhodes has recently argued, is its willingness to humanize the divine — which also means infusing humanity with divine attributes. The characters in this theological allegory act according to human laws; the characters themselves include both human figures (the king, the son, the servant) and qualities embodied by both God and human beings (justice, mercy, etc.). The poem manages to suggest that we might understand God and that God might understand us. If *The King and His Four Daughters* runs certain risks by taking on complex doctrinal questions within the medium of

⁹³ For a survey of the material derived from and related to Grosseteste's allegory of the four daughters, see Traver, *Four Daughters of God*.

⁹⁴ Marx prints both the Latin *Dictum* 10 and a translation in *Devil's Rights and the Redemption*, pp. 155–59.

⁹⁵ Rhodes, *Poetry Does Theology*, pp. 46–47.

vernacular allegory — and by the fifteenth century this was indeed an endeavor that risked severe punishment — it also offers an appealingly human variety of religious orthodoxy. ⁹⁶

Manuscript Context

The King and His Four Daughters is closely related to the texts surrounding it: it shares a heavenly setting with The Feasts of All Saints and All Souls (item 25), and concerns many of the same topics of salvation history with Ypotis (item 27). The King and His Four Daughters can even be seen as initiating a sequence of logically ordered texts all concerned with the history and consequences of the Redemption. The Northern Passion (item 28) narrates the crucial episode at the heart of the Redemption, and The Short Charter of Christ (item 29) lays out its effects. The Short Charter also shares its governing legal metaphor with The King and His Four Daughters; both would appeal to the audience of The Rules for Purchasing Land (item 10).

As a debate, this text shares distant connections with *The Debate of the Carpenter's Tools* (item 16), but more closely resembles the debate at the end of *The Jealous Wife* (item 22), in which the Virgin Mary, arguing for mercy, triumphs over the seemingly justifiable claims of the devil.

Text

Ashmole 61 preserves the only text of this translation of *Le Château d'Amour*, and thus it cannot be called a fragment with any certainty. Though the text does seem to break off at the end of a section rather than at a definitive conclusion, these 440 lines nevertheless may have seemed sufficiently autonomous to circulate on their own. If there is a missing ending, the break is not due to the loss of leaves from the manuscript, and *Ypotis* (item 27) follows directly after the last line of this text on fol. 83r.

Though Rate makes some of his usual errors (primarily omitted letters), the text is not noticeably defective. The readings in a few lines seem strained, suggesting that some scribal alteration of the original translation has occurred, but the absence of other surviving texts makes any emendation of these lines purely conjectural. Rate has bracketed the rhyming couplets.

Printed Editions

Horstmann, Carl, ed. *Altenglische Legenden, neue Folge mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen*. Pp. 345–54. [Prints *The King and His Four Daughters* from Ashmole 61.]

Sajavaara, Kari, ed. *The Middle English Translations of Robert Grosseteste's Chateau d'Amour*. [Prints all four Middle English verse translations, including *The King and His Four Daughters* from Ashmole 61.]

Reference Works

NIMEV 1677

MWME 7.20.182.2337-39, 2542-45

Morey, James H. Book and Verse: A Guide to Middle English Biblical Literature. Pp. 95–97.

See also Creek, Grosseteste, Hunt, Marx (1995), McEvoy, Rhodes, Southern (1986), Thomson, and Traver (1907 and 1925) in the bibliography.

⁹⁶ For the risks associated with discussing doctrine in vernacular literature, see Watson, "Censorship and Cultural Change in Late-Medieval England."

Title No title or *incipit*. The title used here was established by Sajavaara and adopted by *MWME*. The text begins three-quarters down the page of fol. 78v.

- 9 romance. This nebulous term often refers to any narrative text in the vernacular; see Strohm, "Origin and Meaning of Middle English Romaunce."
- Was made in the lond of France. This is almost certainly incorrect, perhaps based on a mistranslation of the original prologue. Though Grosseteste may have spent time studying in France, *Le Château d'Amour* was most likely written after he had returned to England to take up various ecclesiastical appointments.
- 11–14 Though the text that follows is indeed based on both scripture (lines from Isaiah and the Psalms) and the Latin *Rex et Famulus*, Grosseteste's Anglo-Norman original is not a direct translation of any surviving Latin text; see introduction to this item.
- 41 *pourtynans*. This is a legal term used to describe the properties and rights that accompany a conveyance of land, and it introduces the metaphor of legal/feudal ties between God and humanity.
- Compare Isaiah 8:10 and 30:26; though these passages describe alterations in the brightness of the sun and moon (including a sevenfold increase in the sun's light), they do not refer to the fall of Adam and Eve. Subsequent commentary on the Bible made this connection; see *PL* 116.869.
- In the veyll of Ebron of cley gent. Various traditions locate the creation of Adam in the valley of Hebron, south of Jerusalem, where reddish clay was used in pottery making. See Seymour, Bodley Version of Mandeville's Travels, pp. 46–49. See also The Stations of Jerusalem (item 34), line 699 and note.
- 90–98 As Sajavaara notes, these lines on the establishment of marriage are not present in *Le Château d'Amour*, the French source (*Middle English Translations*). They are based on Genesis 2:22–24, and may possibly be Rate's addition, though the text contains several other divergences from the source.
- The natural and the posytyfe. Natural law is the immutable, universal law inherent in the natural world as created by God; positive law is human and historically specific. Thomas Aquinas made the standard distinctions between these two categories; the relevant sections of his Summa Theologica (Questions 90–97) have been translated by McInerny in Aquinas, Treatise on Law.
- defaute. Sajavaara suggests that the translator has adapted the French legal term defaut (absence) without understanding its sense (Middle English Translations, pp. 378, 406). In Le Château d'Amour Adam is guilty of defaut, the failure to appear in court after being summoned twice. Here, however, the word is used in its Middle English sense of "offense," "crime." Though the subtlety of the original legal metaphor is lost, the passage still makes reasonable sense.
- servys he underfongys. Serfs, unlike free men, were legally bound to perform considerable labor for their lords.

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195	He may not pleyn. Serfs had no recourse to law courts other than the manor courts of their lords, whereas free men could take suits to the royal courts.
212	that of the mounte of Synay. The Ten Commandments become a third law that mankind is obliged to follow, after the two laws of Paradise, "natural" and "positive" (see line 122).
223-32	See John 1:1–4.
253–70	The source for these lines is not <i>Le Château d'Amour</i> but may be from the Latin <i>Rex et Famulus</i> , another allegorization of Psalm 84. See introduction to this item and Sajavaara, <i>Middle English Translations</i> , pp. 76–82.
266	dubyng. The MED records one other instance of this word being used in this negative or sarcastic sense, in The Tale of Beryn, line 456.
283	<i>trespas</i> . The legal sense of <i>trespas</i> was considerably broader in medieval English common law than it is in modern usage and encompassed a large category of torts, including the destruction of property and even breach of contract.
294a	<i>Misericordia et veritas obviaverunt sibi</i> . See Psalm 84:11. Though in the Bible the idea seems to be that mercy and truth have "met" in the sense of "come together, agreed," here the verse is used to introduce the meeting as a conflict.
355–60	The story of Noah and the flood appears in Genesis 6:5–8:22. Noah's three sons (Shem, Ham, and Japheth) were believed to have populated the three known continents (Asia, Africa, and Europe, respectively).
380	<i>noye</i> . The rhyme of this couplet is defective, and it is not clear whether Rate has carelessly revised one line, both lines, or ignored an inherited error.
440a	<i>Iusticia et pax osculate sunt</i> . See Psalm 84:11. There is no other <i>explicit</i> ; this line is followed by Rate's usual drawing of a smiling fish, separating this text from <i>Ypotis</i> (item 27).

27. YPOTIS

Origin, Genre, and Themes

Middle English scholars have either ignored or avoided the odd dialogue *Ypotis*, perhaps with good reason. The reasons for ignoring it are its workmanlike verse and unoriginal content. The reasons for avoiding it include its bewildering origin, arcane sources, uncertain genre, and confusing textual problems. But there are some very good reasons for paying closer attention to it, particularly its popularity — the text survives in fifteen manuscripts and one early print by Wynkyn de Worde, suggesting that it was read by a wide audience for approximately two centuries. Its mishmash of biblical facts, pseudo-scientific lore, and proverbs may not appeal to many modern readers, but it appealed to medieval audiences, perhaps for its usefulness, for its faint hints of arcane lore, or as an example of the well-established genre of advice for princes. The text claims to have been written by the apostle John, and thus

masquerades as a piece of quasi-biblical apocrypha; though the claim was probably never taken seriously, it surely helped the text find readers.⁹⁷

The name of the title character, Ypotis, derives from the name of a first-century stoic philosopher, Epictetus (whose name was corrupted to Epitus, and thus Ypotis). Born a slave, Epictetus supposedly became a favorite of Emperor Hadrian, and a fabricated text called the *Altercatio Hadriani Augusti et Epicteti Philosophi* circulated from the third century onwards. This dialogue became connected with a list of riddles and questions regarding biblical trivia known as the *Joca monachorum*. Out of the mingling of these texts came a French dialogue between a wise child and Hadrian, *L'Enfant sage*, and this is the main source for the Middle English *Ypotis*. Other, similar works include the various dialogues of Solomon and Saturn in both Middle and Old English, the Old English *Adrian and Ritheus*, and other descendents of this tradition in Latin, Catalan, Spanish, Portuguese, German, Breton, Provençal, French, and Welsh.

Ypotis provides a slender framework for the dialogue between the three-year-old Ypotis and Emperor Hadrian, though this is more of a frame than is provided in many of the related texts. Though the chain of events that leads the precocious child to an audience with the emperor remains unclear, the situation takes a dramatic turn at the end of the dialogue, when Ypotis declares that he is Christ, and departs to heaven without further explanation. The French Enfant sage does not conflate "Apitus" and Christ, and this seems to be the curious choice of the Middle English translator composer of *Ypotis*. ¹⁰¹ The conflation may have been suggested by other dialogues that do feature Jesus, including the Disputation Bitwene Childe Jesu and Maistres of the Lawe of Jewus present in the Vernon manuscript (based loosely on the biblical episode of Jesus' debate with the rabbis in the Temple), and perhaps his interrogations by Pilate and Herod. 102 The claim that the text comes from St. John the Evangelist may have provided further authority by connecting it to the presumed author of Revelation, another text that concentrates on the workings of heaven and the angels. But the unlikelihood of a dialogue between Hadrian and Jesus (taking the name Ypotis without explanation), recorded by St. John, can best be described as "a curious example of the power of traditional names."103

Though it seems completely without organization, the dialogue moves through a logical sequence of topics, from the origins of heaven and earth, the fall of man, the varieties of sin, and finally to the means of overcoming that sin through ritual and repentance. The questions posed by the emperor concern the kinds of information that lay beyond the basic articles of

⁹⁷ In many of the Middle English texts of *Ypotis* and the French *Enfant Sage* texts, the record of the dialogue is attributed to either the apostle John or John the Evangelist, who were widely regarded as being the same person in the Middle Ages; a few texts attribute it to John the Baptist, but this is clearly a scribal error.

⁹⁸ The account that follows is indebted to the description by Francis Lee Utley, *MWME* 3.7.740–741, and to the monumental survey of Suchier in *L'Enfant sage*. For another useful (and briefer) appraisal of the tradition, see the introduction of Cross and Hill to *The Prose Solomon and Saturn and Adrian and Ritheus*, 3–13.

⁹⁹ Though considerable variation exists between the surviving versions of *L'Enfant sage*, for the sake of convenience, I refer to this as a single work here and in the Explanatory Notes.

¹⁰⁰ Suchier prints many of these texts in *L'Enfant sage*.

¹⁰¹ For the French texts, see Suchier, *L'Enfant sage*, pp. 422–62.

¹⁰² Luke 22–23; see also the expanded version of these episodes in *The Northern Passion* (item 28).

¹⁰³ Smith, Common-place Book of the Fifteenth Century, p. 24.

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faith and the Creed, but which any curious believer might want to know: the number of heavens and angelic orders, the sequence of the six days of creation, the reasons for fasting on Friday, and so forth. Some questions elicit a very commonplace type of exegesis, as when Ypotis lists all of Adam's sins and those sins which God does not forgive. The information conveyed in *Ypotis* is considerably less arcane than in some of the source material and only touches on questions of scientific lore (e.g., the composition of Adam from seven elements). Whereas the *Joca monachorum* poses questions that require a profound knowledge of the Bible and a delight in wordplay, Ypotis only answers a question about Adam's lifespan.

Ypotis thus popularizes the material in these earlier Latin works, concentrating on subjects of the greatest practical use for those readers who did not have years of formal education but who nonetheless wished to learn more about the Bible than they might glean from regular readings of the Psalms and gospels in church services. The text probably served as a catechism for younger audiences, providing an education in some of the basic elements of the faith. If so, then the text's form becomes even more remarkable, as a story of an adult taught by a child used by adults to teach children.

Manuscript Context

Ypotis makes a strong connection between the texts that adjoin it in Ashmole 61. The text that immediately precedes it, *The King and His Four Daughters* (item 26), is also a kind of dialogue, and is primarily concerned with the establishment of Adam in paradise and the nature of his fall, and ends with a case for the necessity of the Redemption. *Ypotis* revisits all of these questions, though it has less to say about the workings of the Redemption and more to say about the creation. *The Northern Passion* (item 28) follows up where *The King and His Four Daughters* and *Ypotis* leave off, with a much more concentrated retelling of the events at the heart of the Redemption. In the last section of *Ypotis*, the narrator reminds us that the text has enjoined readers "The Passyone of Cryst to have in mynd" (line 486); *The Northern Passion* takes up this task in earnest.

Though it derives from very different sources and operates in a different genre, *Ypotis* bears a close resemblance to *Stimulus Consciencie Minor* (item 33); both are hodgepodge collections of important religious information that expand upon the basic facts presented in works like *The Ten Commandments* (item 6) and *The Wounds and the Sins* (item 38). All these texts testify to the widely held desire of late medieval readers to learn more about the tenets of their faith than the Church's basic requirements demanded. *Ypotis* was also likely read to the same young audiences targeted by *How the Wise Man Taught His Son* (item 3) and the other conduct literature of the first three quires.

Text

The text is quite corrupt, with some errors attributable to Rate and some to previous scribal practice. Ashmole 61's text most closely resembles the texts in British Library MSS Cotton Titus A.26, Additional 36983 (B), and Arundel 140, of which all share many clearly defective lines. Some errors even seem attributable to the original translator/composer of *Ypotis*, who may have garbled portions of *L'Enfant sage* and thus forced scribes to struggle with confusing passages.

Many lines and even entire sections are missing from the Ashmole text. Though some of this is due to common forms of scribal error, Rate also seems to have deliberately omitted couplets and entire sections of text at several points, particularly in the final sections on

infamous Fridays and the Virgin. Though they are mentioned in the Textual Notes, no attempt to replace these lines has been made.

Printed Editions

- Gardiner-Scott, Tanya. "The Missing Link: An Edition of the Middle English *Ypotis* from York Minster MS XVI.L.12." *Traditio* 46 (1991), 235–59.
- Gruber, H., ed. "Zu den mittelenglischen Dialog Ipotis." Dissertation. Berlin, 1887. [An attempt at a critical edition, though it does not collate all the manuscripts; readings from Ashmole 61 collated in the Textual Notes.]
- Horstmann, Carl, ed. *Altenglische Legenden, neue Folge mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen*. [Prints *Ypotis* twice: from the Vernon MS (Bodleian Eng. poet. a.1) with variants from the Simeon MS (British Library MS Additional 22283), on pp. 341–48; and also from British Library MS Cotton Caligula A.2, with variants from three other MSS, including Ashmole 61, on pp. 511–26.]
- Smith, Lucy Toulmin, ed. A Common-place Book of the Fifteenth Century: Containing a Religious Play and Poetry, Legal Forms, and Local Accounts. London: Trübner and Co.,1886.
 Pp. 23–46. [Prints text of the Brome MS, now New Haven, Beinecke Library MS 365 (Br).]
- Suchier, Walter, ed. L'enfant sage (Das Gespräch des Kaisers Hadrian mit dem klugen kinde Epitas). Dresden: Niemeyer, 1910. [Treats the whole tradition, including Latin, Welsh, French, Provençal, Catalan, Spanish, Portuguese, German, and Breton. Prints Ypotis from B and Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.2.18, pp. 465–91.]
- Sutton, Josephine D. "Hitherto Unprinted Manuscripts of the Middle English *Ipotis*." *PMLA* 31 (1916), 114–60. [Prints Bodleian English poet. c.3; Cambridge, St John's College MS 29; Cambridge, Trinity College MS 61 (B.2.18); and B. Argues that Ashmole 750 represents best text.]

Reference Works

NIMEV 220 MWME 3.7.71.740-41, 898-99

See also Burton, Cross and Hill, Furnivall (1901), and Suchier in the bibliography.

- Title No title or *incipit*. The text is occasionally referred to as *Ipotis*; Rate's spelling is *Ypotys* (line 144). The text begins one-fifth down from the top of fol. 83r.
- 4 *Seynt John*. John the Apostle is traditionally believed to have written the Gospel of John, but that text contains no references to Emperor Hadrian or to any aspects of the *Ypotis* story.
- 10 *Syr Adryan*. Hadrian ruled the Roman Empire from 117 to 138 A.D. He did not convert to Christianity, as this text implies. His name appears here largely due to his supposed connections to the stoic philosopher Epictetus (see introduction).
- 24 *dedly synne*. Four lines are missing after line 24, in which Ypotis reveals his name;
 B also lacks these lines, which suggests that the lines may have been absent in
 Rate's copy-text. In British Library MS Cotton Caligula A.2, the missing lines read
 as follows: "The emperour sayde wythout blame: / "Chylde, tell me thy ryght

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name." / "My name," he sayde, "ys Ypotyse, / That mych kon telle of heven blysse" (lines 29–32 of Horstmann's edition).

- Godys privyté. Generally, this phrase refers to sacred mysteries; see MED, "privete" 3b. Here, however it also suggests another common sense of privyté, "intimacy, familiarity."
- That joy. In lines 41–43, Rate has made a common scribal eyeskip error, and skipped from one mention of the Trinity to the next, omitting nine lines as a result. These lines include the emperor's next question about the number of God's heavens, and Ypotis's description of the first and second heavens (for the Trinity and for humanity after the day of judgment, respectively). The notion of seven heavens derives from Jewish mysticism and is shared by Islam. Compare, for example, the reading in B:

The Emperoure sayde tho wel [Ieven] "Child, thou hast be in hevene, How felle hevenus hath God Allmight?" "Sevene," sayde the childe aplight. "The hiest hevene that may be, There is the holy Trintity. There is the Fadir and the Sonne The Holi Gost togedyre wonne, Thre persons in one godhede, As clerkes in bokes dothe rede That joye . . ."

How many immediately

- 55 innocentys. Child martyrs, including the 144,000 children legendarily slain by Herod at the time of the nativity of Jesus.
- Nine ordoures of angellus. The notion that there are nine orders of angels was created by counting the nine different terms used in the Bible; the theological groundwork for most medieval accounts of the angelic hierarchy is the *De coelesti hierarchia*, attributed to St. Denis the Areopagite.
- 108 herd and nessch. Following this line, Ashmole 61 and two closely-related manuscripts (British Library MSS Arundel 140 and Cotton Titus A.XXVI) are missing a couplet describing the creation of trees and grass on Tuesday, as in B's reading: "Erbus, treys and gras, / And all other thinge as his wille was."
- Of seven. The following list of elemental sources of Adam's body ultimately derives from *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, an apocryphal work of Hellenist Judaism dating back to the first century A.D. The scheme of seven elements used in *Ypotis* is not simply an expansion of the usual four, but derives from an entirely different tradition of lore. The list appears in slightly different forms in the tradition of "Solomon and Saturn" dialogues, and the exact sources for the list here are unknown. Though she does not mention *Ypotis* or the *L'Enfant sage* tradition, J. M. Evans provides an overview of this list of seven elements of the body and notes appearances in the *Cursor Mundi* and Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World*; see "Microcosmic Adam," pp. 38–42.

204 wyld wey of wendyng. This question and answer, present in both the Latin Altercatio and French Enfant sage, recalls the predominance of riddles and aphorisms in the source material of Ypotis.

- The angel that guards Eden; see Genesis 3:24.
- In this seven. Because of textual corruption present in several manuscripts, lines 222–25 only list six sins sacrilege, fornication, avarice, covetousness, gluttony, and pride and omit envy (and oddly double the sin of greed, for which avarice and covetousness are usually considered synonyms). The subsequent recounting of sins is further complicated by the inclusion of manslaughter in lines 235–38, thievery in lines 239–42, and sloth in lines 253–55. The confusion may go back to the French Enfant sage, the main source of Ypotis, where the child responds that Adam was guilty of eight sins (not the usual seven): pride, sacrilege, homicide, theft, fornication, avarice (desire to learn more than he needed), concupiscence (greed for what God had prohibited), and "excusacion de penitance" (i.e., failure to repent); see L'Enfant sage, lines 430–31.
- No wondowr. Several lines accusing Adam of gluttony are missing here; compare the reading in B: "In glotonye he synned ylle, / Whanne he pute hymselfe to that perille, / Whanne he that apulle gon take, / That God forbede hym and his make."
- with wykyd wyll. Adam's will (desire, intention) is evil in that rather than acknowledge his fault, he places the blame elsewhere.
- 264 The eddyr. In an omission probably due to eyeskip, several lines in which Adam blames Eve and Eve in turn blames the serpent ("eddyre") are missing here. Compare the equivalent reading for lines 261–64 in B:

Our Lorde to Adam sayde

"Man, why deste thou that dede?"

Adam answerde ayen with wille,

"Eve tysed me thertylle.

Sche made me to doth that dede"

Oure Lorde to Eve seyde,

"Woman, why wroughttest thou that perille?"

"The addur, Lorde, me gaune bygille."

- A meyden schall bere a byrth blyth. Though this goes considerably beyond God's words in Genesis 3:15, the curse upon the serpent was commonly interpreted as the protoevangelium ("first gospel"), the promise of the Incarnation.
- 290 Nine hundreth and thre and thritty yere. Though Genesis 5:5 gives Adam's lifespan as 930 years, Roman numerals were particularly vulnerable to scribal error, and other texts of *Ypotis* set Adam's lifespan at either 930, 932, or 933.
- 298–304 *Holy Goste*. The allusion appears to be to the Harrowing of Hell when Adam and Eve, along with the good patriarchs, are released from hell and led to eternal joy and bliss in paradise. Traditionally, God's agent for this task is Christ (or Anima Christi, as in the N-Town play), who releases them on Holy Saturday, after the Crucifixion but before the Resurrection. Perhaps *Holy Goste* implies Anima Christi (i.e., "Spirit of the Creator").

POEM 27: YPOTIS 511

329 Seynt Paul seys in his story. Saint Paul was legendarily supposed to have had a vision of the pains of hell and purgatory; for the wheel of punishment, see lines 47–53 of Saint Paul's Visions of the Pains of Hell (in Horstmann, Minor Poems, pp. 251–60). However, in that poem and the Latin original, the wheel is not specifically reserved for the sin of covetousness. See Brandes, Visio S. Pauli, p. 71.

- 375 They suere than. Medieval preachers frequently associated gluttony and drunkenness with blasphemous oaths; see, for example, the Pardoner's Tale (CT VI[C] 468–75), the Parson's Tale (CT X[I]817–80), and Owst, Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England, pp. 425–49.
- 392 Gode word and thought and gode dede. On the effects of good deeds, compare lines 625–48 of Stimulus Consciencie Minor (item 33).
- 434 See Genesis 4.
- *conseyved*. Other texts more properly read *circumcised*; the conception of Christ is thought to have taken place at the moment of the Annunciation, already mentioned in lines 435–38.
- Seynt Stephyn. St. Stephen, whose death by stoning is recounted in Acts 6–8. Though Herod was king at the time of Stephen's martyrdom, he was not directly involved.
- a stound duelle. Here the text is missing four lines on the death of John the Baptist,
 as in B: "Apon a Fryday Seynt Jon Baptyste / Was martered for the love of Criste
 / In the herveste aftur Assumpcyoune / His day is clepud Decollacioune."
- 453 Seynt Andrew. The apostle Andrew was thought to have been martyred in Greece by being crucified on a "decussate" (x-shaped) cross.
- 456 *How Seynt Elyn fond the rode*. St. Helen, mother of the emperor Constantine, was believed to have found the relic of the cross in the year 326, buried under a temple of Venus.
- Saterdey after. Saturdays had been dedicated to veneration of the Virgin Mary since the ninth century; the origins of this association are not fully known.
- for Oure Lady. After this line, Rate's text skips over several more lines describing the virtues of the Virgin. Compare the reading in British Libarary MS Cotton Caligula A.II (lines 575–86 in Horstmann's edition):

Thorow her we ben of bale unbonde And browght out of helle grounde; She ys called welle of mercy To alle that wyll to her cry, To wash and to make clene All tho that yn synne bene. The see-sterre called she ys The ryght way us to wys. Of her sprong that swete flour, Jhesus Cryste, our savyour. I-blessed mote they all be That serven Marye mayden fre.

to show to us

These lines are much curtailed in B, and Rate's copy-text may have been missing them entirely.

hys blyssyng. There is no explicit; this line is followed by a drawing of a smiling fish and then a large five-petaled flower on a stem. The drawings separate Ypotis from The Northern Passion (item 28).

28. THE NORTHERN PASSION

Origin, Genre, and Themes

Few narratives are more compelling than the accounts of the Passion contained in the four canonical gospels, but dedicated readers have always demanded more than the gospels alone. There are discrepancies between them, many actors whose motives remain unclear, and Jesus' words (as so often in the gospels) deepen the enigma of his role in the events. His refusal to answer Pilate's question in John 18:38 — "What is truth?" — posed one such problem for medieval readers. In his account of the Passion in the Golden Legend, Jacobus de Voragine lists some of the possible answers offered by medieval exegesis: Pilate did not deserve to hear the answer; Pilate suddenly thought of the custom of releasing a prisoner at the feast of Passover and thus abruptly changed his tactics; or Pilate deliberately posed a question so complicated that it would take too long to answer, thus allowing him to claim that he had interrogated Christ without sincerely doing so $(GL\ 1:205)$. But Jacobus takes his final answer from the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus: Jesus did respond, and his subsequent description of truth offers a clear indictment of Pilate's earthly authority. Jacobus's recourse to this apocryphal work suggests how useful medieval writers found the apocryphal legends surrounding the Passion; the presence of these legends throughout *The Northern Passion* is not a sign of the author's credulousness, but of his learning.¹⁰⁴

Recourse to the apocrypha could answer many questions, and careful study helped elaborate the Passion narrative further still. Scholastic works such as Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*, and Clement of Llanthony's gospel harmony treated the Passion narrative as the subject of rational investigation. But other kinds of demands on the Passion were created by mystical writers such as Bernard of Clairvaux and by the Franciscans' emphasis on affective piety. These movements created their own accounts of the Passion suitable for private contemplation. These new retellings included lyrics, dialogues, and extended prose meditations that recast the story of the Passion as a confrontation between the devout reader and the suffering Christ. 105

The Northern Passion is, in various ways, a product of all these traditions. It was written in the late thirteenth century and is primarily a translation of the Old French Passion composed about a century earlier. The French work is primarily based on the Vulgate gospels and legendary material from the Historia Scholastica. ¹⁰⁶ The Middle English translation also incorporates material from influential meditative works such as the Dialogus Beatae Mariae

¹⁰⁴ For the scope of the apocryphal works that circulated in the medieval West, see Elliot, *Apocryphal New Testament*.

¹⁰⁵ The best recent overview of the vast body of Latin Passion texts is in Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, pp. 26–68 and 186–92; see also Marrow, *Passion Iconography*, pp. 7–27, and Salter, *Nicholas Love's* "Myrrour," pp. 4–19.

 $^{^{106}}$ The French text is printed in NP, 2:102–25. Its sources are discussed in the same volume, 2:59–65.

et Anselmi de Passione Domini erroneously attributed to Anselm and the pseudo-Bernardine Meditatio in passionem. ¹⁰⁷ It thus represents a synthesis of many of the most popular and influential accounts of the Passion, combining legendary material about the various participants (Judas, Pilate's wife, etc.) and the materials of the Crucifixion (the nails, the cross) with affective material describing the hideous tortures and Christ's lyrical speech from the cross.

Perhaps as a result of these different kinds of sources, *The Northern Passion* presents an account of the Passion that might serve many different uses. With its swift-moving plot and compelling episodes, it resembles other texts tailored for oral delivery (including romances and saints' lives) and is perfectly suited for preaching. And while it lacks the kind of sustained depiction of Christ's suffering or Mary's sorrow present in other, more affective texts, it could certainly serve as the stimulus for further contemplation (including the informed reading of other texts in Ashmole 61). ¹⁰⁸

The text's greatest strength is its interlaced plot: the central plot of the arrest and crucifixion of Jesus, Jesus' own gradual submission to his role, and the stories of the many characters who emerge and disappear as the structure of the gospels demand. Lying behind the entire plot is the question of how to respond to the Incarnation: who will accept that God became man? Judas falls prey to his basest desires, before recognizing the tragedy of his own mistake. Peter confidently asserts his unwavering loyalty to Jesus — "I schall folow thee were thou wyll gon" (line 378) — but he painfully learns the limits of his loyalty as the cock crows outside Pilate's hall. Pilate struggles to see justice served, but his attempts to find an escape from the decision forced upon him are only a series of moral failures, as he falls back upon the protections provided by his legal authority. His last line before the crucifixion, "Als it is wryte, so it schall be," is both a pompous defense of his mocking inscription "Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews" and an unwitting testament to the final triumph of Christ (line 1610).

Though many characters who encounter Jesus throughout *The Northern Passion* waver in their commitments and finally fall into the sin of denying him, the poem represents one group as consistently, resolutely, and thoroughly evil: the Jews led by Caiaphas receive no sympathetic analysis of their motives or fears. The degree of understanding extended to Judas and Pilate does not include the Jews, and they are portrayed as a uniformly bloodthirsty mob. Similar (and often more fervent) anti-Semitism appears in other Passion narratives from this period, and it relates to the wider phenomenon of medieval anti-Semitism that produced blood libels, expulsions, and pogroms. ¹⁰⁹ But the anti-Semitism of the Passion narratives also has its own specific causes deeply rooted in the Christian belief of the later Middle Ages. These causes include the desire to stimulate the emotions as part of an affective response to the crucifixion, and the increasing emphasis on the crucifixion as an act of profanation, a sacrilege committed against the body of Christ. ¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ The additional sources used by the Middle English translator are discussed in *NP*, 2:65–74; on the pseudo-Anselm's *Dialogus*, see Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, pp. 53–54.

¹⁰⁸ As Kolve points out, narrative accounts of the Passion can only hint at the kinds of emotional matter that lyric or dramatic treatments can explore more thoroughly (*Play Called Corpus Christi*, pp. 176–77).

¹⁰⁹ For the historical connections between the anti-Semitism of Passion narratives and specific campaigns against Jews, see Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, pp. 73–110.

Passion, p. 71. On the importance of profanation in medieval understandings of the Passion, see Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, p. 71. On the importance of profanation in medieval understandings of the Passion, see Beckwith, *Christ's Body*, pp. 56–57 and *passim*.

What ultimately makes *The Northern Passion* a compelling text is also its great limitation. The absence of a larger context for the Passion within the broader scope of Christian teleology means that the events here seem to follow upon each other unpredictably, adding much to the story's excitement. The narrative unfolds according to the secret desires of the characters, who are often largely unaware of their own motives. The controlling perspective of God's plan for the Redemption is only hinted at in the opening and closing sections, and at fleeting moments such as Jesus' words at the Last Supper. During the Last Supper, John sees the vision of the Apocalypse, but the narrator passes over the details, refusing to speak about the larger consequences of the story at hand. Though no medieval audience could be unaware of the Passion's place within the grander scheme of divine history, it is still worth noting how little of this enters into *The Northern Passion*. Other recountings (including lyrics, prose meditations, and plays) infuse it with a complex sense of its salvific importance, but *The Northern Passion* plunges the reader into the dizzying immediacy of the event itself.

Despite its qualities as a narrative and the relatively high standard of its poetry, *The Northern Passion* has generally interested later readers as a source for other works, most notably the plays of the York and Towneley (Wakefield) cycles.¹¹¹ In two manuscripts, the text was incorporated into the "expanded" *Northern Homily Cycle*, and the large number of surviving manuscripts (fourteen) suggests that *The Northern Passion* was quite popular, serving the needs of various audiences for over two hundred years.

Manuscript Context

As the second-longest text in Ashmole 61, and one that lies near the center of the collection as it now stands, *The Northern Passion* goes a long way towards defining the manuscript's commitments. It serves as a focal point for the two texts that precede it — *The King and His Four Daughters* and *Ypotis* (items 26 and 27) — and the two texts that follow — *The Short Charter of Christ* and *The Lament of Mary* (items 29 and 30). Other texts rely heavily on an understanding of the Passion, especially Richard Maidstone's *Seven Penitential Psalms*, *The Stations of Jerusalem*, and *The Legend of the Resurrection* (items 32, 34, and 36). This is, of course, entirely in keeping with the orthodox piety of the late fifteenth century, which placed the suffering of Christ at the center of its devotion, but it also hints at Rate's own interests and perhaps his design for the manuscript as a whole.

In style, *The Northern Passion* shares close connections with many of the romances of Ashmole 61. Its interlaced structure that moves from one character or episode to another, its brisk presentation of action and adventure, and its vigorous, plainspoken language tie it closely to the methods of Middle English romance. In part, it inherits this from its Old French source, which was equally influenced by the style of the Old French *roman de geste*. ¹¹² Many of these same characteristics tie it to saints' lives, including *Saint Eustace* and *Saint Margaret* (items 1 and 37). Taken collectively, works like *Saint Eustace*, *The Erle of Tolous*, *Isumbras*, and *The Northern Passion* demonstrate Rate's taste for fast-moving narratives and simple verse, the standard fare of a rousing preacher or an entertaining storyteller.

Text

Rate's text is characteristically eclectic. It closely resembles Cambridge University Library MSS Ff.5.48 (P) and Ii.4.9 in many details, but omits many couplets present in these

¹¹¹ On the use of *The Northern Passion* in the cycle plays, see *NP*, 2:81–101.

¹¹² For the scope of these connections, see Roy, Le Mystère de la Passion en France.

two manuscripts. This suggests that Rate has consciously abridged the text; the omitted lines rarely compromise the sense of the narrative. Elsewhere, Rate makes unique additions to the poem; see the note at line 228. More striking, however, is his alteration of the end of the poem, where he omits a large section on the Resurrection and revises the remaining portions. The obvious explanation for this radical abridgment is that Rate already planned to copy item 36, *The Legend of the Resurrection*, and chose not to duplicate that material in this text; there is evidence that some of the lines omitted from *The Northern Passion* have been borrowed for that later text.

Over two centuries of frequent copying many defective readings inevitably creep into a text, and Rate's copy-text was clearly riddled with them. Most of these readings do not require emendation, but some seriously compromise the sense of the text. More often (as in the case of Cambridge University Library MS Ii.4.9), a more familiar word has been substituted for an older, less familiar one (*NP*, 2:39).

Printed Editions

Foster, Frances A., ed. *The Northern Passion: Four Parallel Texts and the French Original, with Specimens of Additional Manuscripts.* [Volume 1 prints four parallel texts and includes variants from Ashmole 61; volume 2 prints the Old French *Passion* and notes.]

Heuser, Wilhelm, and Frances A. Foster, eds. *The Northern Passion (Supplement)*. EETS o.s. 183. London: Oxford University Press, 1930. [Prints two other MSS.]

Reference Works

NIMEV 1907

MWME 2.5.303.444–45, 638 (discusses only the Legend of the Cross) Morey, James. Book and Verse: A Guide to Middle English Biblical Literature. Pp. 265–68.

See also Axton, Beckwith (1993), Bennett (1982), Bestul, B. Brown, F. Foster (1926), Marrow, F. Pickering, Salter, and Witalisz in the bibliography.

- Title Passio Domini Nostri. "The Passion of Our Lord." The title is written in a slightly larger version of Rate's regular script, and in lighter ink than the text itself, which suggests that he may have added it later. The text has long been known as *The Northern Passion* because of its connection to the Northern Homily Cycle (see introduction to this text) and its origins in the north of England, and to distinguish it from other Middle English accounts of the Passion. The text begins halfway down the page of fol. 87v.
- 12 *Jhesu fastyd fourty deys*. See Matthew 4:1–4.
- 13 Hys vertues thei sprong wyde. See Matthew 4:23–25.
- 21 Seryzens. Rate probably inherited this reading from his copy-text; the reading of British Library MS Additional 31042, "pharezenes" (Pharisees) is preferable. The following section is based on John 11:46–53.
- 32 Ye wate not what may befall. John 11:49.
- 42 That Romans com to do us wrong. The province of Judea had only recently (and violently) been incorporated into the Roman Empire and remained a restive

region. Various Hebrew insurrections culminated in the Roman destruction of the Second Temple in 70 A.D. and the bloody suppression of the Bar Kochba revolt in 135 A.D.

- 59 *To a cyté*. This is Bethphage, on Mount Olivet. The following episode is based on Matthew 21:1–8.
- 93 *He passyd forthe.* The following episode is based on the interrelated accounts of Matthew 26:14–16 and John 12:1–8.
- 96 Lazer. The story of Lazarus is found in John 11. It also appears in all the cycle plays "as the greatest miracle of Christ's ministry and a central antetype of the Resurrection" (Bevington, Medieval Drama, p. 470). See Sugano, N-Town Plays, pp. 193–204, for the N-Town "Raising of Lazarus."
- 109 *Sche knelyd doune*. The syntax of the following lines is slightly strained, due to the fact that Rate or his copy-text has transposed the lines of both this couplet and lines 111–12.
- He was terrand and a theffe. Other accounts expand these accusations of Judas's treachery prior to his betrayal of Jesus; *GL* claims that he stole one-tenth of all that was received by the disciples, and that he accepted the thirty pieces of silver to make up for the perceived "loss" of the ointment used by Mary (1:167–69). The version of *The Northern Passion* preserved in the "expanded" *Northern Homily Cycle* includes this account as well; see *NP* 1:19–21.
- Syr, were wyll ye hold your feste. The following account of the preparations for the Last Supper is based on Luke 22:7–23 and Matthew 26:20–25.
- He stole owte of hys lordys dyssche. As Foster notes, this detail seems to be an invention of the Old French Passion (the principal source of The Northern Passion), though other texts hint at Judas's gluttony, and there are early associations of fish with the Last Supper (NP 2:63–64).
- 217 blessyd it with melady. This reading is unique to Rate's text; most others read "blessyd it ful mildely" or "ful hendyly" or "ful bowsumly."
- These lines do not appear in the other texts of *The Northern Passion*, but they do appear in the poem's main source, the Old French *Passion*; see *NP* 2:105, lines 198–202, and 2:181. The ultimate source for these lines is 1 Corinthians 11:27; Rate may have interpolated this passage on the basis of that text, or his copy-text preserved a translation of the Old French *Passion* that uniquely included these lines. If the addition is Rate's, it is certainly in keeping with the centrality of the Eucharist in many of the items of Ashmole 61, and its vigorous orthodoxy.
- Als oft as I schall be take. I.e., as often as the sacrament of the Eucharist will be performed, Christ's sacrifice will be mourned and commemorated.
- Seynt John at the soper sate. The following account of John's falling asleep on Jesus' breast and dreaming of the Apocalypse is partially based on John 13:23–25 and partially taken from a long tradition that linked John the Evangelist with John of Patmos, author of the Book of Revelation. Early Church Fathers, including Au-

gustine and Bede, claimed that John acquired secret knowledge from Jesus' breast, and the legend as it appears here dates back to at least the twelfth century; see *NP* 2:62–63.

- 286 *the Apocalyps*. I.e., the Book of Revelation.
- Als Jhesu sate at the cloth. The following episode is based on Luke 22:24–27 and John 13:4–15.
- 293 contek. Rate seems to have considered this a "hard" word (meaning "strife," "argument" or "battle"); this is the first of four occasions in this text in which he has substituted a less satisfactory word (in this case "counsell"). The readings have been emended in each case except for the last (see note to line 1821).
- Of hyghe and law, more and les. Rate has inserted this couplet, adding further praise of "buxsumnes" that is entirely in keeping with the message of other works in Ashmole 61, including *How the Wise Man Taught His Son* and *How the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter* (items 3 and 4).
- 376 Than seyd Peter wordys fre. The prophecy of Peter's denials and the detail of the two swords are taken from Matthew 26:31–35 and Luke 22:35–38.
- *Sytyh*. This is the imperative plural, used occasionally by Rate elsewhere, as in the opening line of *The Short Charter of Christ* (item 29).
- *Bethany the Bate.* This name for Bethany is obscure. The *MED* suggests that the epithet means "Bethany the lowly," a paraphrase of Bethany's etymology, "house of the poor." This is the only instance of *bate* cited in this sense.
- John and hys brother. I.e., John and James the Greater, the two "sons of Zebedee" mentioned in Matthew 26:37.
- 417 *the Mounte of Olyvete.* Mount Olivet (the Mount of Olives) lies to the east of Jerusalem, across the Kedron valley. The account of Jesus' prayers and the comforting angel is based on Luke 22:39–46.
- 488 After that, they toke the strete. The following account of Jesus' arrest is based on Matthew 26:47–56 and John 18:2–11.
- John entryd with other mo. The episode of John and his mantle is based on Mark 14:51–52, combined with John 18:15–16; neither gospel names the disciple who flees, but tradition had long identified him as John.
- Jhesu stod that ilke thraw. The episode of Jesus before Caiaphas is based on Matthew 26:57–75 and Luke 22:54–71.
- 657 For soth. P and other manuscripts read "Par ma fay thou hast mysgon." Rate's translation of the French phrase ("By my faith") suggests that he did not expect his readers to understand it.
- 660 non other wone. "An alternative; a hope." See MED, "won(e)" n. 3, 1a, and 1b.
- 676 *Malcus*. Rate's text is unique in naming Malchus at this point; the name appears in John 18:10.

754 Tell now who smote thee. Though this terse account of the buffeting of Jesus follows the text of Luke 22:63–65 quite closely, this scene might evoke a range of associations for a medieval audience, including the gruesome depictions of this same event in the York and Towneley cycle plays and the violent children's games known as "blindman's bluff" or "hot cockles"; see Kolve, Play Called Corpus Christi, p. 185.

- Now at Judas I wyll duelle. The following account of Judas's returning the pieces of silver and his suicide is based on Matthew 27:3–10 and Acts 1:18–19.
- in two full skete. This is an emendation. The reading of the manuscript, "with a bow skete" might make sense as "bow sharp" (see MED "skete" [adj.], "swift, fierce" or "skete" [adv.], "swiftly, immediately"), but Foster's gloss, "a bow shot," seems less likely. No bow is involved, and the action imagined is physically impossible. Rate's reading is a corruption of the reading in British Library Additional MS 31042, "in twa full skete."
- the Mounte of Calvery. Though the Old French Passion makes this same identification of the Field of Blood with Mt. Calvary, this connection is unusual, appearing only in *The Northern Passion*, the York cycle play, and other works derived from the same Old French source; see NP 2:83. For the customary location of the Field of Blood, see *The Stations of Jerusalem* (item 34), line 601 and note.
- For-delyd was never none. The reading is corrupt but plausible. Other closely related manuscripts read "So besette was never none" (Cambridge University Library Ii.4.9), "For swa boghte was nevir nane" (British Library MS Additional 31042), and P reads "So bewunne was nevyr none." The sense of Rate's reading is that the thirty pieces of silver shared a dark history.
- On other thyngys I must duelle. The account of Jesus before Pilate and Herod is based on Matthew 27:11–26, Luke 23:1–25, and John 18:28–40.
- Al so wyde as he hath bene. The sense of these lines is that Jesus has preached in an area as broad as the distance between Jerusalem and Galilee. Rate has badly garbled these lines by mistakenly transposing part of Pilate's question, and this passage has been significantly emended on the basis of the closely related manuscripts (see the Textual Notes for the MS reading).
- Wele I wote what longys therto. Pilate recognizes Herod's jurisdiction over Galilee and uses this as a pretext for remitting the case against Jesus to Herod's authority. Such a maneuver would be familiar to English medieval audiences; the different jurisdictions held by lords, ecclesiastical authorities, and the crown meant that many competing jurisdictions might overlap in a small area or single case.
- 934 Herod gan hym for to prechen. Most other manuscripts read "to threte." The loud ranting of actors who played the angry Herod was legendary; the rubric for a Coventry mystery play describes Herod raging in the street (see Craig, Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays, p. 27).
- 998 *I wyll yow tell of Sathanas*. The legend that Satan provided the impetus for the dream of Pilate's wife dates back at least to Peter Comestor's twelfth-century

Historia scholastica (see PL 198.1628), and Satan's appearance in her dream is described in very similar language by the Middle English Gospel of Nicodemus (Hulme, Middle English Harrowing of Hell, lines 189–92). The general idea that Satan feared the Redemption and attempted to avert it is even older; see Marx, Devil's Rights and the Redemption. See also The King and His Four Daughters (item 26).

- schuld me were. Rate has mistakenly anticipated the following line; P reads "that ben full dere" ("that are dear to me").
- Thou schalt an a evyll deth dey. Rate shares this reading with P, but most manuscripts read "done an evyll dede todey."
- Of that tre I wyll you telle. The following legend of the Tree of the Cross is a composite of many similar legends dating back at least as far as the eleventh century; for a collection of some of the various legends surrounding the cross, see the Golden Legend's entry for the Feast of the Holy Cross (GL, 1:277–84). For examples in Middle English, see Morris, Legends of the Holy Rood.
- Of sedyr was the fyrst rote. The Northern Passion inherited from the Old French Passion a confusing mixture of legendary descriptions of this tree and added further complications from other sources. Though lines 1241–48 seem to imply that one of the grafts came from an apple tree (the Tree of Knowledge), in lines 1256–58 most manuscripts of *The Northern Passion* identify the stock as cedar and the grafts as cypress, palm, and olive trees. This legend appears in Bernard of Clairvaux's Vitis Mystica (PL 184.732–33) and also in some versions of Mandeville's Travels; see NP 2:67–72. Rate has further confused the issue by changing the number of trees from four to three, eliminating the cypress.
- 1290 Ther werkys wex unslyghe. The miraculous inability of the Tree of the Cross to fit into Solomon's temple is present in both the Old French *Passion* and in other legends of the cross. The episode foreshadows lines 1527–50, when Jesus' body cannot be fitted to the cross without gruesome racking.
- The angell made that water flowe. This part of the legend refers to the Sheep Pool described in John 5:2–7; in that episode Jesus cures a crippled man who has come to bathe in the waters there.
- Than thei wantyd nayles thre. The following legend of the smith appears in the Old French Passion and may be alluded to in other works, though it is not a commonly repeated episode; see NP 2:64–65. Legends surrounding the nails used in the crucifixion multiplied in the fifteenth century; these included charms based on the "Measure of the Nails." See Duffy, Stripping of the Altars, pp. 274–75 and plates 110 and 112.
- 1374 *foure nayles*. This is a curious example of Rate's scribal habits; all other manuscripts (and most descriptions of the Crucifixion elsewhere) mention three nails (as in line 1368), not four. Rate probably mistakenly read a Roman numeral as four, and then rewrote lines 1387–88 to cover his mistake. He continues the error in lines 1423–24. He then had an extra nail to account for, and thus alters line 1555 so that two nails (rather than the traditional one) are driven into Jesus' feet.

1457	Jhesu sey women wepe sore. The following account of the journey to Calvary is based on Luke 23:26–32.
1517	Withouten seme hys clothys were. See John 19:23.

- They toke the rode with sturdy wyll. The following account of Jesus being racked on the cross is probably derived from the *Dialogus beatae Mariae et Anselmi de passione Domini (PL* 159.282–83); see *NP* 2:66, and Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, p. 59. The Pinners' Play of the Crucifixion in the York Cycle features a very similar episode (see Beadle, *York Plays*, pp. 315–23).
- 1578 So seys Seynt John. See John 19:19–22.
- 1583 *mekly iwys*. The sense of "mekly" here is presumably ironic. This is Rate's misreading of "thus mycull iwisse" (as in P).
- The palme is a sympull tre. In some of the sources for *The Northern Passion* the palm wood forms part of the cross and the inscription is written on olive wood, a more traditional symbol of peace; see *NP* 2:69.
- 1610 Als it is wryte so it schall be. See John 19:22.
- The one theff gan to cry. See Luke 23:39–43.
- 1649 Than ther stode besyde the rode. See John 19:25–27.
- 1673 Ye that be this wey pas. This speech from the cross is based on Lamentations 1:12 and had long been associated with the Crucifixion, as in the influential Meditatio in passionem falsely attributed Bernard of Clairvaux (PL 184.744). It is the basis of several Middle English Passion lyrics; see, for example, NIMEV numbers 110, 2596, and 4263.
- 1703 *Hely, hely.* "O God, O God"; see Matthew 27:46–48 and Psalm 21:2.
- *lamazabatany*. "Why hast thou forsaken me?" See note to line 1703.
- 1725–40 A reference to the apocryphal Harrowing of Hell, where Christ rescued the virtuous Jews and pagans from hell.
- Centyr, that was hys name. See Matthew 27:54 and Luke 23:47; in the gospels, the centurion is an unnamed Roman military officer. Elsewhere, this figure is occasionally identified with Longinus, treated here as a separate character in lines 1777–98. The legend that he later suffered martyrdom, alluded to in line 1748, is a very old one; see Peebles, Legend of Longinus.
- The other dey aboute none. Rate's odd reading makes this needlessly confusing; most manuscripts read "That selve day" or "That same daye." But since Cambridge University Library MS Gg.5.31 also reads "The tothyr day," the error may have been in Rate's copy-text.
- 1753 Joseph was hys name ryve. Joseph of Arimathea; see John 19:38.
- 1779 Longeus. Elsewhere, this legendary knight is named Longinus, a name given by legend to the soldier who pierces Jesus' side in John 19:34 (on the basis of the

Greek word for lance, "longe"). His legend was very popular, and appears in both *Piers Plowman* (B.18) and various cycle plays. See also Peebles, *Legend of Longinus*.

- 1821 *a consyll*. See note to line 293; since Rate's substitution is more plausible here, it has not been emended.
- They kepyd that ston all the nyght. Rate has skipped over a passage of fourteen lines describing the knights guarding the sepulcher, an episode treated at greater length in *The Legend of the Resurrection* (item 36).
- Rate has inserted these two couplets referring to Jesus' appearance to the Virgin Mary. The insertion is puzzling, since other texts of *The Northern Passion* (following Matthew 28:1–11) cite Jesus' appearance to Mary Magdalene as the first of the post-Resurrection appearances. Legends of Joseph of Arimathea date back to the early Church; the source for Rate's allusion to his imprisonment and vision of Christ may be the *Gospel of Nicodemus*. For the Middle English verse translation of this episode, see Hulme, *Middle English Harrowing of Hell*, lines 769–1080. Legends of Christ's appearance to the Virgin Mary date back at least as far as Ambrose (see *PL* 16.270). Jacobus de Voragine offers a systematic treatment of the appearances of Christ after the Resurrection (*GL*, 1:219–22).
- In his revision of this section, Rate has omitted a couplet present in P and other closely related texts: "And that I yede into Galilé / Lyvynge with greet dignité."
- Rate has omitted approximately eighty lines describing the account of the knights at the tomb, material treated in *The Legend of the Resurrection* (item 36); see the introduction to that text.
- hys names seven. The manuscript reads "joys seven," which is a mistake based on the well-known "Seven joys of Mary." The less well-known "Seven names of Jesus" may be those derived from Isaiah 9:6 and discussed in Bernard of Clairvaux's fifteenth sermon on the Song of Songs (PL 183.843–48).
- 1902 Amen Amen for charyté. There is no explicit or other colophon; beneath the last line Rate has drawn a small sprig of flowers and a smiling fish in the bottom margin of fol. 105v.

29. THE SHORT CHARTER OF CHRIST

Origin, Genre, and Themes

In the early fourteenth century, the Franciscan friar William Herebert wrote a Middle English lyric that uses the metaphor of a charter to consider the Crucifixion. At approximately the same time, the author of the Franciscan handbook for preachers known as the *Fasciculus Morum* employed a very similar metaphor in composing a *Latin Charter of Christ* (Wenzel, pp. 146–47). The Short Charter of Christ was probably written a century later, and its relationship to the *Fasciculus Morum* and the works of Herebert remains uncertain, but it clearly belongs in a family of related Middle English poems that include the *Carta dei* and

¹¹³ See lines 19–30 of "Thou wommon boute fere," in Davies, Medieval English Lyrics, pp. 95–97.

*The Long Charter of Christ.*¹¹⁴ Collectively, these Middle English charter lyrics were widely circulated and survive in a large number of manuscripts.

All of these texts join one of medieval England's richest sources of figurative language, the law, with its most popular devotional subject, the Passion. Thinking about the Redemption in legal terms was hardly an innovation; in *The King and His Four Daughters* (item 26), Robert Grosseteste (and his translators) use the language of feudal justice to explain how Christ's sacrifice acquitted humanity. The origins for this line of thought lie in the epistles of Paul, but even the biblical authority of legal metaphor cannot fully explain its pervasive influence on Middle English poetry. As Emily Steiner has argued, legal diction and forms gave poetry an authorizing model for effective language; in the case of lyric poetry, legal documents offer a model whereby a text's material presence can manifest the will of the absent speaker.¹¹⁵

Few legal texts conveyed as much authority as charters, the most important documents in English law and the English system of land tenure. They could grant liberties and privileges to individuals or classes of people, as in the case of the Magna Carta or the charters that established the rights of towns, universities, and other corporations. Charters could also be used to convey property rights. They were precious documents fiercely sought after by men and women of all classes, who copied them into cartularies, produced them as evidence in legal disputes, and occasionally forged them (perhaps the greatest tribute to their power). The Short Charter of Christ imitates the legal formulae of charters very closely, translating many Latin phrases with scrupulous precision to capture the same sense of grave authority possessed by royal charters.

The Short Charter's medieval scribes also made great use of its form as a charter, writing the lyric on the back of legal charters and affixing drawn seals that imitate the form of royal seals. Most of these seals follow from the poem's own suggestion (in lines omitted by Rate at the end of the poem) and imagine Christ's body or wounds as the marker of the charter's authenticity. The body of Christ, as the *Fasciculus Morum* author explains, resembles a sealed charter in that it provides a secure way of recording the charter's authority:

Notice that a charter that is written in blood carries with it extreme reliability and produces much admiration. Just such a charter did Christ write for us on the cross when he who was "beautiful above the sons of men" stretched out his blessed body, as a parchment-maker can be seen to spread a hide in the sun. In this way Christ, when his hands and feet were nailed to the cross, offered his body like a charter to be written on. The nails in his hands were used as a quill, and his precious blood as ink. And thus, with this charter he restored to us our heritage that we had lost. (Wenzel, p. 213)

Rate follows up on this suggestion with his own interpretation of Christ's seal; he has ended the poem abruptly and drawn underneath it a heraldic shield bearing four suns in each corner and a fifth in the center. As Mary Spalding suggested, this shield almost certainly

¹¹⁴ For the textual history of the related Middle English poems, see *MWME* 7.20.187.2343–44. Other, less closely related charter texts include *The Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost* (a Middle English prose allegory) and those in Langland's *Piers Plowman* and Guillaume de Deguileville's *Pèlerinage de l'Ame*.

Steiner, Documentary Culture, pp. 21–28 and passim.

refers to the five wounds of Christ, the five suns being a common visual representation of the wounds. 116

Despite the underlying importance of the wounded body of the Passion, what is most striking about *The Short Charter* is its cold directness and its odd but powerful mixture of feudal legalisms and divine mercy. Later medieval literature produced a kaleidoscope of perspectives on the Passion and Redemption; here these mysterious events are turned into a tangible *thing*, a document that guarantees the possibility of salvation. In the climate of fifteenth century devotion, when believers eagerly sought documentation of pardons and indulgences and carried the texts of charms or saints' lives as talismans, this document securing humanity's claim to mercy may have been seen as the most valuable of all.

Manuscript Context

The juxtaposition of *The Northern Passion* (item 28) and *The Short Charter of Christ* is one of the most suggestive pairings in Ashmole 61; though Cambridge University Library MS Ii.4.9 follows *The Northern Passion* with *The Long Charter*, Rate may well have made this connection independently. The two texts work well together as complimentary perspectives on the Redemption. The first offers an expansive historical narrative, the second delivers a compact summary, clarifying theological mysteries with familiar legal formulae. Read in the other direction, *The Short Charter* can be seen as a template for the longer narrative. The text that follows, *The Lament of Mary* (item 30), further expands these readings of the Passion and Redemption, adding the element of affective piety and reimagining the sufferings of Christ and Mary in the most vivid human terms.

As suggested, *The Short Charter* also shares strong connections with *The King and His Four Daughters* (item 26), which frames the sacrificial role of Christ in similar legal terms. Both texts speak a language intimately familiar to the landowning classes of England, the same readers who would consult *The Rules for Purchasing Land* (item 10). The *Rules* advise careful buyers to procure a charter after every purchase, further illustrating *The Short Charter*'s importance as the ultimate guarantee of legal right.

Text

The Short Charter survives in twenty-four manuscripts; the textual situation is too complex to associate Ashmole 61's text with any one manuscript. 117 Many of the others have Latin phrases as subheadings; Rate or his copy-text have omitted these. The most distinctive feature of Rate's text is his omission of the poem's last four lines (see Explanatory Notes). In other respects it is an unremarkable and largely unblemished copy.

Printed Editions

Förster, M. "Kleinere mittelenglische Texte." *Anglia* 42 (1918),192–93. [Prints the text of Ashmole 61, with variants from Ashmole 189.]

Spalding, M. C. *The Middle English Charters of Christ*. Bryn Mawr, PA: Bryn Mawr College, 1914. [Text of Ashmole 61 on p. 12; prints the text of most manuscripts of *The Short Charter* and the two versions of *The Long Charter*.]

¹¹⁶ Spalding, Middle English Charters, p. xxvi

Spalding groups Ashmole 61 with British Library MS Harley 237, but as Blanchfield points out, this is based on only superficial resemblances (Spalding, *Middle English Charters*, p. lxv; Blanchfield, "Idiosyncratic Scribe," p. 222).

Reference Works

NIMEV 4184 MWME 7.20.187.2343-44, 2548-50

See also Breeze, Horstmann (1895–96), J. Keen, Steiner, Wenzel (1989), and Woolf (1968) in the bibliography.

Title *Testamentum domini*. Rate has written this title in a slightly larger version of his regular script. Fictional wills, like fictional charters, were a common medieval form, and there is an exegetical tradition of interpreting Christ's last instructions to the apostles and his words from the cross as his "Last Will and Testament." For the literary tradition, see Perrow, "Last Will and Testament." More commonly scribes call this text a charter (*carta*), such as the "Carta humane redempcionis" ("Charter of the Redemption of Humanity") or the "Magna Carta de libertatibus mundi" ("Great Charter of the World's Freedoms"). The title used by modern scholars and used here is preferred, because it distinguishes the text from other, related charter lyrics (see introduction).

- 1 Wyteh wele all that ben here. This phrase imitates one of the customary openings of legal charters, "Sciant presentes et futuri." The Latin is often added in the margin or as a subheading in other copies of this text. The verb "Wyteh" is in the imperative form.
- 5 wondys fyve. The five wounds of Christ (only occasionally counted as seven, as in item 38, *The Wounds and the Sins*) are those in each hand and foot and the spear wound in the side. Devotion to the wounds was popular in the fifteenth century; see the introduction to *The Wounds and the Sins*.
- 7 I have gyven and made a grante. The doubled verb imitates the Latin legal formula of many charters, "Dedi et concessi," and like the other formulas, the Latin is written in the margins or as a subheading in some of the other copies of this text.
- 14 And love thi neyghbour. Lines 12–14 paraphrase Mark 12:30–31, the two commandments of the New Law.
- 16 cheffe lord of the fe. Here "fee" is not money but a fief, an inheritable tenure of land or office held by permission of a lord. In English law, to hold land "in chief" was to hold it directly from the crown rather than from an intermediary.
- 21 Wytnes. Lines 21–26 refer to the omens of Luke 23:44, often interpreted (and expanded, as here) as nature's "witness" to the Crucifixion.
- 30 *therto I hynge*. All other surviving texts include four further lines, adding an additional "seal" and dating the charter, as in British Library MS Harley 237:

And fore more sekirnes
The wonde in my side the seil it is.
This was gifyn at Calvarye,
Dayt the first day of the gret mercy.

Dated

greater security

In all likelihood, Rate has omitted these last lines in order to draw attention to the "seal" he has drawn (see introduction). Woolf sees in these lines an allusion to Psalm 21:15, "My heart is become like wax" (*English Religious Lyric*, p. 214). There is no *explicit* or colophon. The last line is followed by a drawing of a quartered shield with five suns, with the central sun inscribed in a heart (see introduction).

30. THE LAMENT OF MARY

Origin, Genre, and Themes

The roots of this poem go back to the Eastern Church of the fifth and sixth centuries, when Mary was confirmed as "Theotokos" or "Mother of God" (literally, "the one who bore God") by the Third Ecumenical Council in 431 and a tradition of Marian laments for the crucified Christ began to be recorded. But the poem is very much a product of late fifteenth-century piety, probably composed no earlier than the second quarter of the century and strongly influenced by literary, artistic, and devotional trends of this period. Fervent, emotional contemplations of the Passion and the wounded body of Christ were produced in an enormous number of literary forms. Among these were poems influenced by the Latin tradition of the "Quis dabit," a text often erroneously attributed to Bernard of Clairvaux. In these poems, a speaker (sometimes identified as Saint Bernard) cannot properly feel sorrow for the Passion and asks for help. He receives a vision of the Virgin Mary, who narrates the events of the Passion in emotional detail, thus teaching him to feel appropriate pity for Christ's suffering.

The "Quis dabit" and related works were paralleled by the rise of the Pietà in the figurative art of fifteenth-century Europe. The Pietà presents the Virgin Mary holding the dead Christ in her lap, and it appeared widely in sculpture, painting, manuscript illumination, and woodcuts, particularly in Books of Hours. ¹²⁰ In the poem presented here, the speaker encounters just such an image, and (through means unexplained) the Virgin begins to speak. The poem thus aims at the conversion of looking into feeling: just as Mary looks at her son and turns his pain into hers, the narrator sees the Pietà and turns it into a living voice. But this gaze also involves discomfort, and as Sarah Stanbury has argued of other Middle English Passion lyrics, the Pietà is one of "many images of the Passion that systematically violate traditional boundaries between self and non-self, male and female, [and] the Virgin's gaze touches Christ's body . . . coercing us to confront the spectacle of her act of looking." When Mary mourns that she can thrust her longest finger through the wounds in her son's feet, the reader's gaze is invited to violate the body of Christ once more (lines 53–55).

In presenting the Virgin's lament as a chance encounter, the poem follows the form of the *chanson d'aventure*, a lyric presented as the result of a dramatic confrontation. The structure is not at all unique, present in both the "Quis dabit" and in Middle English poems such as

¹¹⁸ For the Byzantine origins of the tradition of Marian laments, see Sticca, *Planctus Mariae in the Dramatic Tradition of the Middle Ages*, pp. 31–49; see also Alexiou, *Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition*.

¹¹⁹ For the history of the "Quis dabit" and subsequent translations into French and English, see Marx, "Middle English Verse 'Lamentation of Mary to Saint Bernard'" and "*Quis dabit* of Oglerius de Tridino."

Woolf provides a brief overview of the Pietà in England (*English Religious Lyric*, pp. 392–94); the English tradition has been largely obscured by the iconoclasm of the Reformation.

¹²¹ Stanbury, "Virgin's Gaze," p. 1091.

"Filius regis mortuus est." As George Keiser has pointed out, Marian laments (also known as the *planctus Mariae*) usually work by means of a rhetoric of antithesis, comparing the Son and the joys Mary once knew with the Son and the sorrows she bears now. 123 The image of the Pietà plays upon an antithesis between the familiar depictions of Mary nursing or holding the Christ Child on her knee and its depiction of Mary cradling the crucified Christ. In this poem, the antithesis, repeated in the refrain, is between the adored, living sons of mothers, and the scorned, tortured dead body of the Son of God.

This address to mothers is quite unusual for both Marian laments and medieval lyrics more generally, but it is a highly effective strategy. Mary compares the pampering, fawning pride of mothers and the hideous, unwept crimes committed upon her own son, a comparison that initially makes shocking claims upon the reader's sympathies. Maternal love for children never seems misplaced, yet Mary demands "make ye no mone for your chyld, / . . . if it dede be" (lines 11–12). But by the final stanza, the refrain's insistence on the sacrifice of one child for all children culminates in Mary's final resolution of the antithesis: "My son is your and lufys you wele" (line 94). The Son of God is also the Son of Man; the loss must be felt universally.

Manuscript Context

This poem's unusual address to mothers and its dependence on the maternal bond for its rhetorical power makes it an obvious fit with the other depictions of the family throughout Ashmole 61. Laments for lost children appear in *Saint Eustace*, *Sir Isumbras*, and *The Jealous Wife* (items 1, 5, and 22). *Sir Orfeo* includes similarly powerful grief in the lament of Orfeo for Dame Heurodys (item 39). Yet in contrast to those celebrations of familial love, this lyric emphasizes its limits. Family must not be valued above the ties of kinship between humanity and Christ, the only ties based on complete love and sacrifice. This emphasis places *The Lament of Mary* closer to *Vanity* (item 40), with its similar insistence on the contingency of all human good other than the love of God.

Text

This poem survives in two distinct forms. The first, preserved in three manuscripts (Cambridge University Library MSS Ff.2.38 [C] and Ff.5.48 [P], and Manchester, John Rylands Library MS Chetham 8009), does not include the *chanson d'aventure* opening or the following two stanzas of the text printed here, but includes two other stanzas not included in Ashmole 61's version and presents two stanzas (7 and 8 here) in a different order. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson C. 86 (R) and Ashmole 61 represent the other version; the priority of the versions is not clear.

The stanzas are generally rhymed *ababbcbc*, but in four stanzas Rate has revised lines with his characteristic indifference to rhyme (see the notes to lines 10, 39, 59, and 94). In other respects, the text is not noticeably defective.

Printed Editions

Brown, Carleton, ed. Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century. Pp. 13–16. [Prints text of P.]

¹²² Printed in C. Brown, Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century, pp. 8–13.

¹²³ Keiser, "Middle English *Planetus Mariae*," pp. 169–73. The "now" of this framework is, of course, a fiction, since Mary's sorrow was replaced by her joy at the Resurrection and her own Assumption, but for the purposes of contemplation the moment of the Crucifixion is effectively timeless.

- Cords, Rose. "Fünf me. Gedichte aus den Hss. Rawlinson Poetry 36 und Rawlinson C. 86." *Archiv für das Studien der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 135 (1916), 292–302. [Prints text of R on pp. 300–02.]
- Davies, R. T., ed. *Medieval English Lyrics: A Critical Anthology*. Pp. 210–11. [Prints text of C.]
- Förster, M. "Kleinere mittelenglische Texte." *Anglia* 42 (1918), 167–72. [Prints text of John Rylands Library MS Chetham 8009.]
- Sandison, Helen Estabrook. *The "Chanson d'aventure" in Middle English*. Bryn Mawr, PA: Bryn Mawr College, 1913. [Prints parallel texts of Ashmole 61 and R, pp. 104–09; discusses religious *chanson d'aventure* pp. 68–81.]

Reference Works

NIMEV 1447 (see also 2619)

Greentree, Rosemary. The Middle English Lyric and Short Poem.

See also Gray (1972), Keiser (1985), Marx (1990 and 1994), Stanbury, Sticca, G. Taylor, and Woolf (1968) in the bibliography.

- Title *Lamentacion Beati Mariae*. This title is written in Rate's regular hand, to the side of the drawing of the shield with the five suns (see introduction). The text begins two-thirds down the leaf of fol. 106r. The poem has not been titled consistently by modern editors or in descriptions of the manuscript. The title used by C. Brown, "An Appeal to All Mothers," is more descriptive, but is purely his own creation.
- for to here messe. The reference to the Eucharist hints at the doctrine of transubstantiation, in which the consecrated host becomes the body of Christ; many medieval miracles involve a participant or spectator who sees the crucified Christ at the climax of a Mass. The connection of the Mass to the vision here is less clear, but perhaps it is to be understood as a similar miracle.
- 5 Pyté. This is a literal translation of the Italian word for compassion, "pietà." The Pietà is a frequently depicted image of Mary holding the dead Christ, popular in late medieval and early modern art; see the introduction to this text.
- 10 To all women: "Behold and se. Compare the reading in R: "To all women in this kyns wyse" ("in this way"). In line 12, R reads: "A fair deth yf he dies."
- Why ne had I dyghed. Mary's desire to have died in place of her son is a standard part of the *Quis dabit* texts: "Quis michi dabit ut ego moriar pro te?" ("Who will allow that I die for you?"; *PL* 182.1135).
- 35 Thou pykys hys erys. "To pick or clean out by picking." See MED, "piken," v. 1.3, a.
- 39 *I pyke many a thorn.* The rhyme is defective; compare the reading in R: "I pyke thornes many oon."
- *thynke it is grete harme.* The rhyme is defective; compare the reading in R: "thenketh it a grete payne."
- 90 *Rehers*. The verb "rehersen" can mean both "to describe" and "to versify, to write poetry"; both senses seem applicable here.

94 My son is your and lufys you wele. The rhyme is defective; compare the reading in R: "My childe hath ever be kynde to yow here."

96a AMEN QUOD RATHE. This is the only time Rate spells his name this way; see the General Introduction, pp. 3–6.

31. THE DIETARY

Origin, Genre, and Themes

John Lydgate's *Dietary* was one of the "best sellers" of the fifteenth century; it survives in fifty-seven manuscripts and was printed by each of the first three major English printers — Caxton, de Worde, and Pynson. Besides his major secular and religious works, such as *The Fall of Princes, The Siege of Thebes, The Troy Book*, and *The Life of Our Lady*, and his many occasional poems (panegyrics, mummings, etc.), Lydgate wrote an astonishing number of shorter didactic pieces that were of considerable popularity in the century following his career. *The Dietary* can claim to be among the most popular of these, and it seems to have filled an important niche in the market for Middle English writing.

The English employed many different kinds of medicine in the later Middle Ages, which can be divided roughly into two categories: the medicine of the university-trained physicians and the "folk" medicine that had developed over centuries. The former was generally expensive, the privilege of aristocratic patients, and based on written authority, particularly the Greek writings of Galen as interpreted by Arabic science and translated into Latin. "Folk" medicine was applied by a very wide range of practitioners, and derived from a mixture of sources, including very old Roman practice, folk customs of the Anglo-Saxons, and the popular *Secret of Secrets* tradition (itself an Arabic compilation). ¹²⁴

This "folk" medicine often stressed that medical care of any kind could be avoided by keeping to a careful regimen of diet and exercise, and that strongly-held belief lies behind the popularity of Lydgate's *Dietary*. The text offers itself as a remedy for the failures of professional care — "Iff fysyke lake, make this thy governans" (line 16) — but it must have appealed to many who hoped to avoid the expenses of "lechys" altogether (line 9). Though based on various ideas derived from learned sources, the text presents a bluntly pragmatic regimen that likely seemed the antithesis of the arcane theories of the university-trained physicians, whom many distrusted. And although Lydgate's text is a fairly close translation of the twelfth-century Latin *Flos medicinae*, it presents itself as a mixture of commonsense proverbs and English practicality. ¹²⁵

The *Dietary* discusses much more than food and nutrition. The theoretical underpinnings of the text derive primarily from a view of the body as composed of four humors (blood, choler, phlegm, and melancholy) which were seldom, if ever, in perfect balance. The body was also affected by "non-naturals," external influences that included food, drink, excretion, sleep,

¹²⁴ On the varieties of English medicine, and the differences between these "Greek" and "folk" strands, see Getz, *Medicine in the English Middle Ages*, pp. 1–19, and Gottfried, *Doctors and Medicine*, pp. 168–206. Both Getz and Gottfried stress the impossibility of making sharp distinctions between these two categories, which is why I place the terms in quotation marks. On the *Secret of Secrets* tradition and its relation to the kind of text presented here, see Getz, pp. 53–64.

¹²⁵ For the relationship between *The Dietary* and the *Flos medicinae*, see Förster, "Kleinere mittelenglische Texte."

air, exercise, emotion, and sexual intercourse. At various points *The Dietary* touches upon all of these factors and in each case proclaims the essential virtue of moderation. Using the Middle English sense of "food," a much broader term than ours that encompassed all forms of sustenance, Lydgate closes with the proclamation, "Moderate fode gyffes to man hys helthe, / And all surfytys do fro hym remeve" (lines 75–76).

Claire Sponsler has argued that this doctrine of moderation may have been a response to specific trends in the late medieval economy, with its new forms of surplus and consumerism. ¹²⁷ *The Dietary*, she argues, defines bourgeois restraint as a new virtue opposed to older models of extravagant aristocratic consumption. Though some evidence supports this claim, the text's emphasis on moderation would not have received the enthusiastic embrace of the reading public had it not been based on long-held beliefs, including surviving traditions of Roman Stoicism and Christianity's insistent balance of feasting and fasting. ¹²⁸

As Lydgate's poem makes clear, moderation could indeed be understood as a social virtue, not simply a physical one. The poem makes no distinction between moderate eating and moderate behavior more generally; this would now be called a "holistic" view of medicine, but it was quite common for pragmatic medieval treatises, which viewed prosperity, emotional stability, and the restraint of sinful vices as essential parts of good health. ¹²⁹ Avoiding flatterers, gamblers, melancholic pensiveness, and arguments with neighbors meant just as much to the well-being of the body as the avoidance of fevers or digestive disorders. As the last stanza suggests, the maintenance of the body's well-being was in any case a secondary task compared to the maintenance of the soul (line 77).

Manuscript Context

The only surprising aspect of *The Dietary*'s appearance in Ashmole 61 is its placement. The text makes a perfect complement to the conduct literature earlier in the manuscript, including *Dame Courtesy* (item 8) and the adaptation of Lydgate's *Stans Puer ad Mensam* (item 7), a text that appears with *The Dietary* in several other manuscripts. But instead *The Dietary* interrupts a series of closely-related religious pieces, without an obvious explanation. It does not begin or end a new quire, which rules out explanations that it was used as filler material or that it represented a new direction that Rate failed to develop. Perhaps, as Blanchfield suggests, it appears here because it was intended for an audience of adults, rather than the children addressed by the earlier material. ¹³⁰ But the most likely explanation is that Rate simply found his copy-text at some point after he had composed the first eight texts in the collection. Ashmole 61 is generally *more* thematically organized than most miscellanies, and thus the interruption created by *The Dietary* should not be seen as unusual.

¹²⁶ See Getz, Medicine in the English Middle Ages, pp. 87–88.

¹²⁷ Sponsler, "Lydgate's 'Dietary' and Consumer Conduct," pp. 16–19.

¹²⁸ For the most influential account of these beliefs, see Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, pp. 31–69. A fine literary model of moderate diet may be seen in the "sklendre" meals of Chaucer's "poure wydow" in the Nun's Priest's Tale, whose "attempree diete was al hir phisik / And exercise and hertes suffisaunce" (*CT* VII[B²]2838–39).

¹²⁹ It is worth noting that although the surveys of Lydgate's work by Ebin, Pearsall, Renoir, and Schirmer all suggest that what they see as the eclectic mix of dietary advice and moral didacticism in *The Dietary* is characteristic of Lydgate, the combination is entirely typical of other work in this genre by anonymous writers.

¹³⁰ Blanchfield, "Idiosyncratic Scribe," p. 101.

Text

As noted above, *The Dietary* survives in fifty-seven manuscripts and several early printed editions; no attempt to collate all the manuscripts in a critical edition has yet been made. In most manuscripts, the text contains twenty-one stanzas, whereas Ashmole 61's text has only ten. This is not the result of Rate's abridgment, since other manuscripts preserve a similarly reduced text (including Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson C.86 [R], which shares several other texts with Ashmole 61). Rate's text is fairly corrupt and includes errors that suggest both a faulty copy-text and hasty copying on Rate's part. In one stanza, Rate may have engaged in his characteristic revision, but without significantly altering the substance of the advice (see note to line 37).

Printed Editions

Caxton, William. *Governal (In This Tretyse That is Cleped Governayle of Helthe)*. The English Experience 192. Amsterdam: Da Capo Press, 1969. [A facsimile of Caxton's 1489 printed edition; *The Dietary* appears after a prose text on the same subject.]

Förster, Max. "Kleinere mittelenglische Texte." *Anglia* 42 (1918), 176–92. [Collates ten MSS and Pynson's early print, along with the related stanzas of the *Flos medicinae*.] Lydgate, John. *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*. 2:703–07. [Prints the text of British Library MS Lansdowne 699, and collates several other MSS.]

Robbins, Rossell Hope, ed. *Secular Lyrics of the XIVth and XVth Centuries*. Pp. 73–76. [Prints the text of R.]

Reference Works

NIMEV 824 MWME 6.16.34.1827, 2092–94

See also Bynum, Ebin, Getz, Gottfried, Mullet, Pearsall (1970 and 1997), Rawcliffe, Schirmer, and Sponsler (2001) in the bibliography.

Title The Governans of Man. This title appears in a slightly larger version of Rate's regular hand. Titles vary among the many manuscripts that preserve this text, and Caxton's early print titles it Medicina stomachi, but it has been consistently referred to by modern scholarship as The Dietary or Lydgate's Dietary since MacCracken's edition. The text begins two-thirds down the leaf of fol. 107r, following immediately after the colophon of the preceding item.

- 3 Drynke holsom drynke. In at least two other manuscripts (R and British Library MS Lansdowne 699), the instruction is to "Drink holsom wyne." Rate may have altered the line to conform with Ashmole 61's generally negative view of alcohol. Some of the other texts of *The Dietary* include a stanza about good wine in moderation, but its absence here does not necessarily mean that Rate omitted it, since it is also missing from R.
- All fals rouners. This has been emended; the reading in the manuscript is "boners." Though the MED records the word "bonair" (adj.), meaning "kindness, graciousness," the word does not seem to have existed as a noun except as "bonairness." All other printed editions read "rouners."

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34 *kepe thi promys blyve*. The reading in the manuscript is "kepe thi penys blyve." Other manuscripts read "promys," and since keeping pennies "blyve" (quickly, readily) strains the sense of the adverb, the text has been emended. Rate's reading may suggest his interest in thrift, apparent elsewhere in the texts of Ashmole 61 (see item 4, *How the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter*).

- With thy suget and neyghbors to stryve it were scham. Other manuscripts preserve a different version of the following four lines, though the sense is substantially the same. See lines 125–28 in MacCracken's edition: "Ageyn thy felaw no quarell do contryve, / With thi soget to fihten it were shame, / Wherfor I counsel pursewe al thi lyve, / To live in pes and gete the a good name."
- Fyrst at morn. Rate's faulty reading suggests that attending Mass will protect against pestilence, a promise offered by contemporary treatises on the virtues of the Mass (see the introduction to item 17, A Prayer at the Levation). Other manuscripts advocate fires early in the morning to protect against the damp mists thought to cause pestilence.
- 42 Ageyn mystys blastys and the aire of pestylens. The other manuscripts warn against "mystys black." Foul air was widely considered one of the possible causes of fevers; see Lydgate's "Doctrine for Pestilence," lines 8 and 16 (in Minor Poems, 2:702).
- 44 Fyrst at thy rysing to God do reverens. See How the Wise Man Taught His Son (item 3), lines 19–24.
- 50 rere-sopers. "Late dinners." See MED, "rere" (adj. 1) d. Nearly all of the MED's cited references to "rere-sopers" are strongly negative; late-night meals had associations with gluttony, loose living, and bad dreams.
- walkyng makys gode degestyon. Gower recounts a gruesome experiment supposedly performed by Nero that demonstrated the benefits of walking after meals. Nero had the stomachs of three men cut open after a splendid meal; the one who had gone for a walk had best digested the meal (CA 6.1151–1207).
- thyngys contrary to ther complexcion. This is an allusion to the humoral theory of the human body that saw each person as having a physical makeup dominated by one of the four humors, and with particular vulnerabilities and disorders as a result. See introduction, pp. 528–29.
- Of mayster Antony. . . master Hew. Neither a Master Anthony nor a Master Hugh can be confidently identified among the many practicing physicians, apothecaries, and writers of medical treatises with those names. A Master Anthony de Romanis (of Naples) was practicing in London in the first decade of the fifteenth century. In the 1270s and 1280s, Master Hugh of Evesham gained a considerable reputation for his medical skill, becoming a medical advisor to the pope and eventually cardinal. But these can only be guesses; for these and other possible candidates, see Talbot and Hammond, Medical Practitioners in Medieval England, pp. 18 and 90–94.

32. MAIDSTONE'S SEVEN PENITENTIAL PSALMS

Origin, Genre, and Themes

Of all the books of the Hebrew Bible, none was more important to the daily life of the medieval Church than the psalms. Psalms were a major part of the earliest Christian liturgy, and the Divine Office of the Benedictine Order required monks to read all 150 psalms over the course of a week's worship. In the eighth century (and possibly earlier) monks also began reciting the fifteen "gradual" psalms (Vulgate numbers 119–133) and the seven penitential psalms (Vulgate numbers 6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129, and 142) in private devotion. These groups of psalms later circulated in primers, handbooks of devotion for the laity that were also used for the instruction of children in the basics of Latin. [31]

The majority of primers were in Latin, and the Latin text of the psalms (or rather texts, since the Vulgate was only one of several Latin texts of the psalms in circulation) retained its authority up to the Henrician Reformation. But the English laity demonstrated a desire to read the psalms in their native tongue, as evidenced by the number of complete Middle English psalters, particularly in the translation by Richard Rolle. The seven penitential psalms, perhaps a more manageable unit for many lay readers, also survives in a number of translations and in many manuscripts. The popularity of these seven psalms owes something to their powerful emphasis on confession and contrition, a fitting topic for private devotional reading.

The ubiquity of the psalms in medieval culture meant that much vernacular literature relied extensively on their language; Dante and Langland, for example, were deeply indebted to the psalms for both their styles and their understanding of poetry's function.¹³³ Yet the psalms posed genuine difficulties for medieval readers. Many of these difficulties were the kinds posed by any lyric poetry read outside of its original context; the form, voice, and historical context of the Hebrew poems were largely obscure to medieval readers. Scholastic exegesis never resolved debates about whether or not David wrote all 150 psalms, and individual phrases prompted considerable dispute. Even a reader as confident as Petrarch found the psalms dangerous territory. In a letter to Boccaccio thanking him for the gift of Augustine's influential commentary (the *Enarrationes in Psalmos*), Petrarch describes the study of the psalms as an exhausting, humbling experience.¹³⁴ Augustine's commentary was one of several important guides to the psalms, only partly superseded by Peter Lombard's consolidation of the commentaries of Augustine, Cassiodorus, and others in his *Catena*, which was widely used as a classroom text.¹³⁵

Given the difficulties posed by the psalms, it is hardly surprising that translators frequently incorporated commentary into their translations, making the text more approachable for the less-educated reader (including both lay people and clerics who did not have a monastic or university education). Richard Maidstone's translation of the seven penitential psalms is often called a paraphrase, but this does not accurately characterize his method. He provides both

¹³¹ For the history of the English primers and for their origins in early monasticism, see the introduction by Edmund Bishop in Littlehales, *Prymer or Lay Folks Prayer Book*, pp. ix–xxii.

¹³² James Morey offers a good recent overview of the various Middle English translations of the psalms in *Book and Verse*, pp. 172–94.

¹³³ For a discussion of the psalms' influence on Langland's *Piers Plowman*, see Kuczynski, *Prophetic Song*, pp. 189–215.

Petrarch, Letter XVIII, "To Giovanni Boccaccio."

¹³⁵ See Colish, "Psalterium Scholasticorum."

translation and commentary, and manages to split this process neatly in two while retaining the appearance of a single text. The first two lines of each eight-line stanza generally translate a single Latin verse, and the remaining lines of the stanza draw out the significance of the text in various ways.

Any translation necessarily interprets, but Maidstone's psalms have readily identifiable interests. Strongly Christological, they frequently return to the Passion as a way of allegorizing the suffering spoken by the speaker of the psalms and as a moment that demonstrated God's abundant mercy. Even when the Latin verses make no obvious reference to passionate suffering, Maidstone's stanzas return to the Incarnation, Passion, and Redemption (as in Psalm 50). Maidstone's psalms also keep a clear focus on the Last Judgment, with many references to damnation, bliss, and the struggle between the sinner and the devil for the future of the soul. Maidstone was hardly original in interpreting the frequent mention of "enemies" that appear throughout the psalms as references to the enemy — for a Christian reader, the rather venomous calls for the humiliation of the psalmist's enemies could hardly be interpreted otherwise. But Maidstone vigorously dramatizes this struggle, and the speaker voices emotional pleas for release from the "gostly bandys" (spiritual bonds) that tie him to the devil (line 867).

In addition to what Maidstone emphasizes and allegorizes in the psalms, what he does not address also suggests the particular nature of his translation. Many medieval commentaries on the psalms expressed interest in David as the putative author and offer interpretations based on the supposed context of David's repentance. The enormous gravity of David's sins — adultery with Bathsheba and the indirect murder of her husband Uriah — made him a fascinating and exemplary sinner. Maidstone never mentions this context of the psalms, and Valerie Edden suggests that as a result of this choice, the psalms become meditative texts to be voiced by the reader rather than read as someone else's (i.e., David's) words. 136 Maidstone also largely ignores the titles of the psalms as they appear in most psalters, titles that were often subject to the same careful interpretative commentary as the psalms themselves. He makes no particular division between the seven psalms, a feature borne out in Rate's layout, where only the large double-line initials at the head of each psalm let the reader distinguish between them. Though Edden does not consider the absence of the titles as evidence, she argues from other aspects of the text that Maidstone conceived of them as a single sequence, to be read in toto, and that "Maidstone's psalms move beyond psalm paraphrase, using the psalms as the basis for a single, continuous penitential meditation to be used in private devotion and in preparation for the sacrament of penance." ¹³⁷

Maidstone's biography, insofar as it is known, offers a few further suggestions about the context of his translation. He was a Carmelite monk, ordained in 1376, and received a doctorate in theology from Oxford before 1390. He engaged in one of the public disputes about apostolic poverty, attacking the views of Oxford Wycliffites and one John Ashwardby in particular. He seems to have spent some time as a confessor in the service of John of Gaunt, the uncle of Richard II and the most powerful magnate in England in the 1370s and 1380s. Possibly as a result of this connection, in 1392 Maidstone wrote a celebratory Latin account of the concord between Richard II and the city of London, taking a distinctly

¹³⁶ Edden, "Richard Maidstone's *Penitential Psalms*," pp. 79–80.

¹³⁷ Edden, "Richard Maidstone's *Penitential Psalms*," p. 77.

¹³⁸ For the details of this dispute, see Edden, "Debate between Richard Maidstone and the Lollard Ashwardby"; see also Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 91–94. Maidstone's treatise on the subject is printed by Williams, "*Protectorium Pauperis*."

royalist view of the settlement that opened the coffers of the wealthy London merchants for forced loans to Richard's household. Maidstone died in 1396 and was buried in the Carmelite house of Aylesford in Kent. His translation of the seven penitential psalms cannot be dated with precision, though the 1380s or early 1390s seems most likely.

This career confirms, though it cannot establish, Edden's conclusion that Maidstone's psalms strongly support clerical authority, the sacrament of penance, and staunchly anti-Wycliffite orthodoxy. Though ideal for private lay devotion, the text may have also been intended as a preparation for confession to a priest. And despite the irony that Maidstone seems to have borrowed a few translations from the later Wycliffite Bible, the extensive commentary and orthodox interpretation would have kept this text from the kind of suspicion faced by some vernacular translations of scripture and doctrine after the Wycliffite controversy. 141

As a literary work, Maidstone's psalms have earned some mild praise, and the twenty-one surviving manuscripts (as well as six others that preserve Psalm 50 only) suggest that medieval readers responded to it quite favorably. The frequent repetition of certain phrases, the strong images of the Passion, and Maidstone's use of alliteration give these psalms a power different from, but not unlike, the biblical originals. A few decades after Ashmole 61 was compiled, Wyatt and other English poets would begin translating the seven penitential psalms anew, but for over a century Maidstone's version seems to have stood as the most popular in England.

Manuscript Context

As a meditative exercise that forces the reader to contemplate his or her own sinfulness, *Maidstone's Seven Penitential Psalms* share a very close connection with the item that follows immediately after it, *Stimulus Consciencie Minor* (item 33). Though that text is more explicitly constructed as an exercise, the two fit nicely together. The seven psalms demand inward contemplation, while the *Stimulus* concentrates on the larger consequences of sin and God's mercy. The emotion of the former is balanced by the logical scholastic structure of the latter.

Maidstone's Seven Penitential Psalms also recalls the other works in Ashmole 61 that focus on the Passion, most notably The Northern Passion, The Lament of Mary, and The Wounds and the Sins (items 28, 30, and 38). These last two texts are also meditative works that confront readers with their sins. In a faint but suggestive way, all these texts also illustrate the logic of the penitential romance Sir Isumbras (item 5).

Text

Rate has extensively altered the language of the text, changing innumerable words (often to avoid "hard" or unfamiliar words) and occasionally rewriting entire lines. His largest alteration is his radical abridgment of the stanzas of Psalm 129, where he has omitted four lines from each stanza, leaving only the translation and a line or two of commentary. Since many

¹³⁹ See Maidstone, *Concordia*, pp. 4–16.

¹⁴⁰ Edden, "Richard Maidstone's Penitential Psalms," pp. 89–90.

¹⁴¹ For the relationship to the Wycliffite Bible, see Edden, "Richard Maidstone's *Penitential Psalms*," pp. 92–93, note 16. For an argument that "vernacular theology" faced scrutiny after Archbishop Arundel's anti-Lollard *Constitutions* of 1409, see Watson, "Censorship and Cultural Change in Late-Medieval England"

¹⁴² Pearsall, for example, writes of the "occasional vigour" of the translation (*Old English and Middle English Poetry*, p. 135).

of Maidstone's stanzas divide naturally in half, Rate's abridgment does not render the text in any way unreadable, though any attentive reader would certainly notice the shorter stanza form. Since no other manuscript abridges Psalm 129 this way, the choice was almost certainly Rate's, perhaps because he felt the psalm was already very familiar to him and his audience as part of the Office of the Dead, or perhaps simply to save space in copying a longer text. He abridges one other stanza (at line 713), though in that case it is less certain whether the omission of four lines is intentional.

According to Edden's edition, Rate's text is closest to those in San Marino, CA, Huntington Library MS HM 142 and London, Longleat House MS 30 (the latter being a copy of the former). But even within this manuscript group Rate introduces a large number of idiosyncratic readings.

Printed Editions

Adler, M., and M. Kaluza. "Studien zu Richard Rolle de Hampole." *Englische Studien* 10 (1887), 215–55. [Collates three manuscripts, including Ashmole 61.]

Day, Mabel, ed. *The Wheatley Manuscript: A Collection of Middle English Verse and Prose in a MS Now in the British Museum, Add. MSS 39574*. EETS o.s. 155. London: Oxford University Press, 1921. Rpt. New York: Kraus Reprint, 1971. [Collates several manuscripts; based on London, British Library MS Additional 39574.]

Kreuzer, James R. "Richard Maidstone's Translation of the Fifty-First Psalm." *Modern Language Notes* 66 (1951), 224–31. [Edits Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 141, one of six manuscripts that preserve Psalm 50 alone.]

Maidstone, Richard. *Richard Maidstone's Penitential Psalms*. Ed. Valerie Edden. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1990. [Collates all manuscripts; text based on Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson A 389.]

Reference Works

NIMEV 1961

MWME 2.4.18.388, 540-41

Morey, James H. Book and Verse: A Guide to Middle English Biblical Literature. Pp. 177-80.

See also Brampton, Deanesly, Edden (1986 and 1987), Hull, Kuczynski, Maidstone, Rolle (1884), J. Thompson (1988), Van Deusen, Williams, and Zim in the bibliography.

Septem psalmos penitensiales. The title is written in a larger version of Rate's regular script, and the text begins approximately fifteen lines down from the top of the leaf of fol. 108r, immediately after the *explicit* of the preceding item. The text is attributed to Richard Maidstone in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson A 389 and Manchester, John Rylands Library MS English 51. The attribution has never been strongly challenged. Five manuscripts include an introductory stanza declaring the purpose of the text:

To Goddes worshepe that dere us boughte To whom we owen to make oure moon Of oure synnes that we have wroughte In youthe and elde, wel many oon; The seven salmes are thourghe soughte In shame of alle oure goostly foon,

And in Englisshe thei ben broughte For synne in man to be fordon.

Oa Domine, ne in ira furore. Psalm 6. This psalm emphasizes the sinner's awareness of his sin and the sincerity of his penitence. Nearly every stanza of Maidstone's translation mentions God's mercy.

- 3 throught sought. For the primary sense of this phrase, see MED, "sechen" 8b, "attack, assault." But this apt phrase also suggests other senses of sechen, such as "to examine" and "to penetrate."
- 5 wantones. Though this word often refers to lecherousness in particular (perhaps recalling David's adultery), it also refers to the more general sins of recklessness or willfulness.
- 31 *upspryng*. Though other manuscripts read *unpinne*, and despite the fact that *upspringen* is not normally a transitive verb, the sense of Rate's reading is clear enough.
- doune-fell. Though one other manuscript preserves this same reading, the verb downfallen seems to be a neologism not otherwise attested.
- 77 The werld, the fend, the flessch. The traditional "three enemies of mankind"; see 1 John 2:15–16. See also Howard, Three Temptations, pp. 61–65.
- 80a Beati quorum. Psalm 31. This psalm begins by describing the sinner's continuing penitence, and then imagines God's reply, which addresses both the psalmist and the audience. The voice becomes increasingly hard to identify in the last stanzas, as the psalmist's authority merges with God's.
- knyteth. Though most other manuscripts read retteth / No synne ("imputes no sin"), Rate's reading makes plausible sense. The verb knytten frequently appears in theological senses, meaning "to unite [with God]" or "join together," as in Nicholas Love's description of the Annunciation: "For this day was mankynd souereynly wirchiped in that he was oned and knyt to the godhede in crist" or the description of solitary mediation as the soul's "onyng and knittyng to hir spouse Jesu criste" (Love, Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ, pp. 27 and 73).
- 102 I have trespassyd. Rate has transposed line 102 and line 104, but the sense has not been impaired.
- kyng of thrones. Thrones are one of the angelic orders; see *Ypotis* (item 27), line 79.
- Throught schryft wyll I. The future tense of this phrase may serve as further evidence for seeing Maidstone's text as a preparatory exercise for sacramental confession before a priest.
- That hatyth myn enmys me abowte. Most other manuscripts read "That hath envyrounde me aboute" ("Who has encircled [protected] me").
- 168 ever among. Among is an adverb here, not a preposition; see MED, "amonges" (adv.) 4.

- 171 bot thou refreyn. The object of the verb refreyn ("withholds, restrains") is unstated, leaving open the question of whether God withholds his anger or God keeps the sinner in check.
- 192a Domine ne in furore. Psalm 37, a plea for mercy that makes extensive use of the body's decay and passivity as metaphors for the debilitating nature of sin. The opening lines of the first stanza recall the opening of the first penitential psalm, Psalm 6.
- 201 arwys. Rate's reading, lawys, makes plausible sense but ignores the Latin verse.
- so is the wonde. This ambiguous phrase seems to have invited many scribes, including Rate, to try to improve it. Wonde is, according to Edden's edition, an alternate spelling of wande ("wand" or "rod"), but Rate's spelling also allows the word "wound."
- 229 *quykedyst hym that stanke*. I.e., Lazarus, raised from the dead by Jesus in John 11. Lazarus was dead for four days before his resurrection; the smell of the corpse is mentioned in John 11:39.
- 236 endyng dey. Most other manuscripts read longe way.
- freylty. As Edden notes, the original reading was fairy, an accurate translation of the Latin *illusiones*. Scribes seemed to have found fairy unfamiliar in this sense, and frequently altered it.
- Therfor, of grace, God, send me granes. See MED, "grain" (n.), for the many applicable senses of this figurative expression; "granes" can be either "seeds," "precious stones," or simply "a small amount."
- 274 *Noyghed*. While this is clearly a mistake for *Neyghed* ("Neared"), as the Latin indicates, it nevertheless makes sense.
- 376a *Miserere mei.* Psalm 50, recited more frequently than any of the other penitential psalms and often copied independently. Kuczynski notes that reciting it or reading it "was thought to confer special spiritual benefits on the soul" (*Prophetic Song*, p. 37). On the fame and importance of this psalm see also J. Thompson, "Literary Associations of an Anonymous Middle English Paraphrase of Vulgate Psalm L."
- 381 *me rede*. Other manuscripts read *I grede* ("I implore").
- holy water. Maidstone has fully allegorized the biblical text, which refers to cleansing with hyssop, a bushy evergreen herb. Though references to cleansing with hyssop appear elsewhere in the Bible (e.g., Exodus 12:22 and Leviticus 14:51), Psalm 50 has arguably already begun the process of allegorizing this ceremony.
- Jerusalem, as wytnes Seynt John. Equating Jerusalem with the Church is an exegetical commonplace, and the allegory appears in Peter Lombard's commentary; see *PL* 191.942. The attribution of this interpretation to Saint John stems from the Apocalypse, where John speaks of the "new" and "heavenly" Jerusalem at several points (though never clearly equating it with the Church).

527 *Jhesu was the corner ston.* See Matthew 21:42, where Jesus quotes Psalm 117:22.

- Domine exaudi. Psalm 101. Many texts title this psalm "The prayer of the poor man, when he was anxious and poured out his supplication before the Lord." Maidstone, following a long line of commentators stretching back to Augustine, interprets this poor man in anxiety as Christ in his suffering. The psalm becomes a dramatic monologue, in which Christ recalls the Passion and the Crucifixion, before the speaker's voice returns to praise the sacrifice of Christ.
- 547 Late greynes grow. See note to line 243.
- byke the pylicane. Medieval bestiaries claimed that the pelican kills its young, mourns for three days, and revives them with its own blood by piercing its breast (an image that appears in many medieval Crucifixion paintings). Here and in his treatment of the "night crow" and sparrow as types of Christ, Maidstone follows the commentary of Peter Lombard (*PL* 191.909).
- *nyght crow*. The Latin *nicticorax*, an owl of some kind, posed medieval commentators particular problems; the bird is variously glossed as an owl or "night raven."
- 598 of Mary. Rate's reading here, as maryghe ("as marrow"), though it draws upon the idea of Christ's gruesome suffering on the cross, makes little sense. The line has been emended to follow the reading of other manuscripts.
- 615 *meke*. Though Rate's reading is feasible, he has corrupted the better reading, *mete* ("fitted, suited"), in order to preserve the rhyme altered by his earlier substitution of *breke* for *lete* in line 613.
- 631 Senturyo. See Luke 23:47. See also item 28, The Northern Passion, lines 1742–44.
- ther is non to that estat. Though his reading retains the basic sense of the passage, Rate has altered the better reading, he to non estat, which develops the point in the previous line that Jesus' refusal to glorify himself offers an example that "iche man may lere."
- 713 In gederyng. Rate has omitted four lines from this stanza, so that it barely makes sense. But the syntax of the original is difficult as well (see lines 713–20 of Edden's edition):

In gaderynge of peplis in oon,
And of kynges God to serve,
To be studfaste as the stoon,
Fro his servyse that we not swerve,
The wey of treuth than shaul we goon,
To tricchery shulde we not terve,
For, if we dud thus everichon,
Ther schulde no kare oure counfort kerve.

Unlike his abridgment of the stanzas in Psalm 129, Rate has here omitted four lines from the middle, not the end, of the stanza.

764a *De profundis*. Psalm 129, used in the Office of the Dead and also one of the fifteen gradual psalms. For Rate's abridgment of the stanzas of this psalm, see the introduction to this text.

796b: *Domine, exaudi*. Psalm 142. Maidstone casts this psalm as a petition to Christ, with frequent use of the various epithets for Christ and allusions to the Passion, Crucifixion, and Redemption.

908a Nomen scribentis benedicat lingua legentis. A colophon attested in various other manuscripts; see numbers 22618 and 22621 in volume 6 of Colophons de Manuscrits Occidentaux des origines au XVIe siècle. The colophon appears at the bottom of fol. 119v.

33. STIMULUS CONSCIENCIE MINOR

Origin, Genre, and Themes

Surviving in more than 120 manuscripts, as well as in a Latin translation and an early print, *The Prick of Conscience* was the most popular Middle English verse text. Its popularity owed much to its vivid imagery, learned foundation, and comprehensive treatment of sin and the afterlife. Preachers likely appreciated it as a bountiful source of material for homilies. But since its seven books run to over nine thousand lines, brevity could not have been considered part of its appeal. *The Prick of Conscience* was composed in northern England during the middle decades of the fourteenth century, and several abridgments and summaries appeared shortly thereafter. One of these is the text presented here, the *Stimulus Consciencie Minor* (or "Shorter Prick of Conscience"), which was probably written no later than 1380.

The complete *Prick of Conscience* relies on a number of Latin sources, including Augustine's *City of God*, Honorius of Autun's *Elucidarium*, and the *Meditationes piissime* attributed to St. Bernard. But perhaps its most important source is Pope Innocent III's *De miseria humane conditionis* (*On the Misery of the Human Condition,* also known as *De contemptu mundi*), a widely influential text whose vivid images and forceful rhetoric attracted readers for centuries. Chaucer's translation of *De miseria humane conditionis* does not survive, but Innocent's text helped foster a wide variety of writing in the *contemptus mundi* tradition, and its residual influence can be seen in the *Stimulus Consciencie Minor*. The three books of *De miseria humane conditionis* discuss the wretched beginnings, conduct, and end of human life, a threefold structure that appears here in lines 345–432. These lines treat the human body as mere matter, "a sake full of fylthe pryvye / That over is coveryd with a skyne" (lines 363–64), and seek to shock the audience out of complacent worldliness. The approach is the same adopted by Chaucer's Pardoner, albeit without the winking irony: flamboyant rhetoric in the service of sober moralism.

Stimulus Consciencie Minor relies on The Prick of Conscience for the first 424 lines. After that point the poem is based on other sources, and it follows the Compendium theologice veritatis of Hugh Ripelin of Strasburg from line 648 to the end of the poem. Hugh Ripelin was a Dominican, and wrote his Compendium between 1250 and 1264. The Compendium circulated widely, was printed several times in the fifteenth century, and was fully translated into French. As its title suggests, Hugh's Compendium is a compilation of Christian doctrine that treats the nature of God, sin, Christ, the sacraments, and the Last Judgment. A source for the intervening section of Stimulus Consciencie Minor, lines 425–648, has not yet been

¹⁴³ Unlike the *Compendium* itself, the French translation has been printed in a modern edition; see Michler, *Le Somme Abregiet de Théologie*.

identified, and these lines may be based on a hodgepodge of Hugh's *Compendium*, other Latin manuals for priests, and meditations on the Passion.

Though stitched together out of these various sources, *Stimulus Consciencie Minor* follows a recognizably logical sequence of topics. It begins by considering the three possible destinations of the soul after death — hell, purgatory, and heaven — comparing the pains and joys of each by means of linked analogies. The fire of hell is hotter than fire on earth in the same way that fire on earth is hotter than fire painted on a wall; the pains of purgatory make the pains of women in childbirth comparable to a warm bath. Rather than using the vivid images employed by some meditations, these comparisons rely on sensory experience in an attempt to make the afterlife palpable, though the analogies ultimately concede the impossibility of such understanding.

From the afterlife, the text moves to the messy physicality of human existence, arguing that no worldly pleasure can be worth the pains of hell or purgatory, or surpass the true pleasures of heaven. Then the text turns to the help offered by God in the form of Christ's suffering and Redemption, before concluding with an examination of the balance between grace, good works, mercy, and justice.

In these latter sections, the poem operates much more as a forensic argument than a meditation, but two manuscripts call this text "The Markys of Meditacion," and its intended function can only be guessed at. Like the complete *Prick of Conscience*, it was probably valued by clerics as a manual of doctrine and a resource for preaching; one fifteenth-century owner was John Pery, canon of the Holy Trinity at Aldgate in London. ¹⁴⁴ It may have served as preparatory reading for confession or perhaps as reading during Embertide, the three days of fasting repeated once in each of the four seasons that were occasions for somber contemplation of mortality. ¹⁴⁵

Manuscript Context

Stimulus Consciencie Minor follows directly after Maidstone's Seven Penitential Psalms, and these two texts share a similar penitential impulse (as well as learned origins and the same 8-line abababab stanza form). Several other works in these later quires of Ashmole 61 also brood over mortality and the afterlife, most notably The Sinner's Lament, The Adulterous Falmouth Squire, and Vanity (items 35a, 35b, and 40). Of these, Stimulus Consciencie Minor resembles The Sinner's Lament and The Adulterous Falmouth Squire most closely; all three texts imagine the grotesque tortures of hell and emphasize sin's deadly consequences. Though The Feasts of All Saints and All Souls (item 25) covers similar territory in its vision of purgatory and heaven, its frame narrative emphasizes communal obligation to remember the dead and the Church's protective governance over this world and the next. In contrast to this emphasis on community in All Saints and All Souls, Stimulus Consciencie Minor invests most of its energies in examining the choices each soul makes that determine its fate. The individual, not family members or fellow parishioners, remains responsible for his or her own salvation.

¹⁴⁴ Pery's copy was London, British Library MS Additional 10053, witnessed by the colophon to *Stimulus Consciencie Minor* in that manuscript.

¹⁴⁵ For a medieval explanation of the Ember days, see *GL* 1:139–40; see also Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 41.

Text

Stimulus Consciencie Minor survives in eight manuscripts, though one of these is a fragment (Wellesley College Library MS 8). The only prior edition of the text was made by Carl Horstmann, but his chosen text was incomplete and unrepresentative of the majority of the other texts. The best text is that of Ad3, which was copied in the last decades of the fourteenth century in north Yorkshire. This is the earliest surviving copy, and the distribution of the other manuscripts strongly suggests that the poem (like The Prick of Conscience) originated in the North and spread southwards into the Midlands. Ashmole 61's text follows Ad3's readings more closely and more often than several other surviving texts, but Rate has nonetheless introduced many of his own revisions. His exemplar had already partially "translated" many of the northern dialect forms inherited from Ad3 or other early copies, but Rate goes further, and swaps out much of the remaining northern vocabulary. He also engages in his usual practices of rolling revision, changing the word order of many lines and substituting his own stock phrases in others. The readings of the closely contemporary Leicestershire manuscript C (see General Introduction to the volume) often reveal where Rate has strayed from his copy-text.

Printed Editions

Horstmann, Carl, ed. Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole, An English Father of the Church and His Followers. 2:36–45. [From British Library MS Royal 17.B.17.]

Reference Works

NIMEV 244

MWME 7.20.18.2268–70, 2486–92 [On *The Prick of Conscience*; briefly mentions the *Stimulus Consciencie Minor*]

See also Beaty, Britton, Kühn, R. Lewis and McIntosh, and R. Morris in the bibliography.

- Title No title or *incipit*. The title given here is taken from the *explicit*, where the text is called the *Stimulus Consciencie Minoris*. Wellesley College MS 8 preserves only a fragment of the text, but it also contains *The Prick of Conscience*, and that text appears with the *incipit* "Here begynnes the langer Pryck of conscience," thus corroborating the title given in Ashmole 61. In C and Cambridge, Magdalene College MS Pepys 1584, the text is called "The Markys of Meditacion."
- 8 we schall yeld the goste. C reads "we the dethe shall taaste," a reading supported by the other manuscripts.
- in this exile. A common trope in *contemptus mundi* literature, the idea of earthly existence as an exile from the joys of heaven dates back to some of the earliest Christian writers, especially Augustine, and to neo-Platonism. See line 378.
- 25 Many deyes. All other manuscripts read "Many lyfs" (or variants thereof). The sense of the original line is that many live heedlessly or without self-knowledge. Rate's error anticipates the next line's concern with the death of those unprepared for judgment.

28	That can wele lyve and is redy. Ad3 reads "That can lif wele and es ay slyeghe" (i.e., "is always clever"). C reads "That here in erthe leveth ryghtwyselye" ("righteously").
42	To lyve wele and ryghtfully. Other manuscripts read "To lyve wele and dye ryghtfully."
45	Weynd out every dey of thi lyve here. This suggests that the text was meant to be used as a prompt for daily meditation; C and other manuscripts read "Wende owt eche day of thy selfe here," emphasizing this meditative goal.
84	Whyll thou here lyves, the fendys to felle. The strained syntax is Rate's; C and other manuscripts read "Whyles thou levest where fendys ben felle" ("numerous" or "keen").
97	For as fyre is hotter everywher. Compare lines 97–100 to PC lines 6615–20; there, in lines 6625–26, the text goes on to quote a Latin couplet as the source of these lines: "Quam focus est mundi picto fervencior igne, / Tam focus inferni superat fervenicia mundi."
101	Yite is ther sych colde ever more. Compare lines 101-04 to PC, lines 6637-44.
105	Ther is ever smoke and stynke imonge. Compare PC line 6748: "And that sal be menged with smoke and stynk."
106	And derknes more than ever was here. Compare PC line 6796: "The sext [pain] es over mykel myrknes."
107	Ther is hungour, thyrst, and throng. Compare PC line 6563: "The ferthe [pain] es hunger sharpe and strang."
108	And ugly fendys of grete powere. Compare PC lines 6841-94.
113	Ther is no hope of helpe ne rede. Compare PC lines 7233-70.
117	withouten deth. All other manuscripts read "withouten dede" and thus preserve the rhyme. Compare PC lines 7285–88: "Bot thair lyf salle seme mare ded than lyfe; / Thair lyfe in mydward the ded salle stand, / For thai salle lyfe ever-mare deghand, / And deghe ever-mare lyfand with-alle."
123	Of the syght of blys that lastys aye. As line 130 eventually makes clear, the damned were believed to have sight of the blessed in heaven, though the syntax in this stanza obscures the point here. The belief that the damned could see heaven and that this furthered their torment was based on the story of the rich man and

The lest peyn that to them is wrought. Compare *PC* lines 7476–77: "And the lest payne thare es mare to se / Than alle the payns of this world may be."

of all. Compare PC lines 7298–7301.

the poor man (Dives and Pauper) in Luke 16. In line 121, all other manuscripts read "Over all other peynes," making it clear that this punishment is the worst

137 Therfor, the lest peyn in helle. Compare lines 141–44 to PC lines 7482–85: "For alle the sorow of this world, ilka dele, / War noght bot als solace and joy to fele, / Als to regard of the lest payne / That es in helle; this es certayne."

- That all the tourmentys scherpe and felle. Compare PC lines 2722–24: "Wharfore the payne that the saule thar hentes / Es mare bitter than all turmentes / That alle marters in erthe tholed."
- Bot as a bath of water clere. Compare PC lines 7480–81: "Als to the lest payne thare moght noght be tald, / Bot as a bathe of water, nouther hate ne cald." In *The Prick of Conscience*, this analogy describes the pains of hell, not purgatory.
- That fyre is hotter and more myghty. Compare lines 169–72 to PC lines 3094–99.
- Als is the gold in fyre meltand. Compare PC lines 2720–21: "For swa pured and fyned never gold was / Als thai sal be, ar thai thethen pas."
- 181 *unsought*. The *MED* definition for "unsought" (ppl.) records several instances of the phrase "sorrow unsought," and suggests that the word may be influenced by "unsaught" ("violent, fierce, hostile"). Ad3 also reads "unsought," but C reads "unthought."
- And can not thinke were are they. This is probably a figurative description of the pain felt in purgatory and not a claim that those in purgatory did not know whether or not they were damned. Bonaventure and Aquinas both affirmed that souls in purgatory remained secure in their knowledge that they would eventually escape torment; for a summary of this debate see *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, "Purgatory Duration and Nature," p. 578.
- the lest peyn is more to dre. Compare lines 195–96 to PC lines 2732–35.
- More joy than erthly man can neven. This text's description of the joys of heaven very closely follows PC lines 7783–88. In The Prick of Conscience, the text takes its cue from 1 Corinthians 2:9, "But as it is written, that eye hath not seen, nor ear heard: neither hath it entered into the heart of man, what things God hath prepared for them that love him."
- 217 *syker and endles beying*. Rate has repeated "syker" on the basis of the previous stanza; Ad3 and C read "sely" ("happy or blessed").
- Rate, or possibly his copy-text, has transposed lines 231–32 and lines 229–30, without any significant alteration of the sense of the stanza.
- Rate has transposed the two halves of this stanza.
- The werldys joys are bot fantyse. Rate has revised this line and the following, somewhat altering the sense of the extended conditional statement in lines 321–26. C's reading follows Ad3 and the other manuscripts:

If thou beholde on thys wyse
The worlde when thou these joyes haste sene,
That false ys and full of fayntyse
And ever dysceyvable to men hathe bene,
That syght schall stere thee to dyspyse
And forsake the worlde all bydene.

347 *Some tyme was that thou were nought.* Compare *PC* line 442: "Some tyme was, when a man was noght."

were thou conseyved and wrought. Compare PC lines 452–55, where the lines appear as a translation of Psalm 50:7, "For behold I was conceived in iniquities; and in sins did my mother conceive me."

- Naked and pore withouten myght. Compare PC lines 518–22: "Thus a man es, at the first comyng, / Naked and bringes with him nathyng / . . . That es bot a blody skyn." There the lines interpret Job 1:21, "Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall return thither."
- Thou arte bot stynkand slyme withine. Compare PC lines 564–66: "... man here es nathyng elles / Bot a foule slyme, wlatsome [loathsome] til men, / And a sekful of stynkand fen [dirt]." There the lines translate a quotation from the Meditationes piissime attributed to Bernard of Clairvaux, "Homo nihil aliud est, quam sperma fetidum, saccus stercorum et esca vermium" (PL 184.490).
- Fowler fylth may here non be. Compare lines 365–76 to PC lines 614–28. Once again, the ultimate source is the Meditationes piissime attributed to Bernard of Clairvaux (PL 184.489).
- 378 Thou arte here in a exile. Compare lines 378–82 to PC lines 1164–69.
- Thow arte in a wyldernes weyst. Compare PC lines 1225–28: "Yhit may the world here, that wyde es, / Be likend to a wildernes / That ful of wild bestes es sene, / Als lyons, libardes and wolwes kene." In Canto 1 of Dante's Inferno, the narrator enters a wilderness and is beset by a lion, a leopard, and a wolf, often taken as symbols of pride, lust, and greed. This trio of beasts derives in part from Jeremiah 5:6, "Wherefore a lion out of the wood hath slain them, a wolf in the evening hath spoiled them, a leopard watcheth for their cities: every one that shall go out thence shall be taken, because their transgressions are multiplied, their rebellions are strengthened."
- 385 Thou arte as in a forest duelland. Compare PC lines 1235–37: "The world alswa may lykend be / Til a forest, in a wilde cuntré / That es ful of thefs and outlawes."
- 387 Thou arte as in a se floward. Compare PC lines 1212–20.
- 393 Thou arte as in a feld of batayle. Compare PC lines 1244–48: "The world may yhit, as yhe sal here, / Be likend . . . / To a feld ful of batailles / Of enemys that ilk day men assayles."
- 395 thes thre. For these three traditional "enemies of man," see the note to line 77 of Maidstone's Seven Penitential Psalms (item 32).
- 407 Yit schall thou have no sertenté. The certainty of death but the uncertainty of its timing is one of the most frequently cited proverbial sentiments in medieval English literature; see Whiting D96, and Ecclesiastes 9:12. See also How the Wise Man Taught His Son, line 87 (item 3).
- ordeynyd ryght. All other manuscripts read "so[o]ne." In a characteristic example of rolling revision, Rate has altered line 440 so that his error has a rhyme in "thinkys thou full lyght"; most other manuscripts, including Ad3 and C, read "thynkes over fone," perhaps a shared error for "sone."

- Fyve thousand. The traditional number of Christ's wounds was five, occasionally enlarged to seven (see *The Wounds and the Sins*, item 38), but various legendary tales involve the revelation of 5,475 wounds to a holy anchoress or other devotee, who then is told to venerate them by saying fifteen Pater Nosters or Aves every day of the year (thus producing the number 5,475). For examples of this legend, see Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances*, 3:552. The number crops up elsewhere; cf. line 93 of "Meditation on the Passion" (*IMEV* 2613), in Bowers, *Three Middle English Religious Poems*, pp. 33–43. John Hirsh notes a Middle English poem followed by a prose commentary that promises 5,475 years of pardon for the "memoryall of all Hys wondys gret and small" ("Fifteenth-Century Commentary on 'Ihesu for Thy Holy Name'"). Other texts feature a similar, but variable, number; see line 245 of Horstmann's "St. Bernard's Lamentation on Christ's Passion" (in *Minor Poems*, p. 308).
- 471 For what thou doyst withouten synne. A standard doctrine of St. Paul; see Romans 13.1 and Philippians 2.13.
- Foules and fyssches small and grete. A definitive source for these lines has not been identified, but compare chapter 6, lines 35–55, of St. Edmund of Abingdon's Mirour de Seinte Eglyse, also known as the Speculum ecclesie, an influential set of instructions for mystical contemplation (Wilshere, Mirour, pp. 18–21).
- Bot if thou to God be unbuxome. All other manuscripts read "unbuxom," but Rate mistakenly copied "buxsome," and then attempted to cover up his mistake by altering the next line to "synne fro the take." But since the phrase "Bot if" cannot mean "unless," the lines have been emended to conform with the readings of the other manuscripts.
- 505 mene. "To remember, to mull over." See MED, "menen" (v. 1), 4a and 4c.
- 520 serve swythe. This is Rate's misreading; all other manuscripts read "service kithe" ("perform").
- *know and se.* "Know and perceive." The phrase emphasizes the understanding of behavior as well as the awareness of what is happening. Cf. line 537.
- fro all hys Godhed. Compare the reading in Ad3, "fra alle thee shede." Sheden means "to divide, to separate"; Rate may not have recognized the word "shede" as a participle.
- Though the syntax of these lines seems slightly strained, Ad3 and C share this reading.
- 618 And fro the foull desyring of pride. Rate has revised the reading shared by Ad3 and C: "Of the fyre of foule yernyng pryvé" ("secret longing"). He then alters line 620 to create a rhyme; for line 620, Ad3 reads "That thou noght in tham drunkened be," while C reads "Of the synne of lecherye to flee."
- 619 water of lust and lyking. Here water suggests the "spring" or "well" of lechery and delight (desire).

And fro the cley of lechery for to se. Rate's reading should be compared to the reading of Ad3, "Of the day of litchery to fle." Other manuscripts vary considerably in this line. Rate's metaphorical ("clay of lechery") reading may have been inspired by the somewhat unusual phrase in line 619 of "the water of lust and lyking." See preceding note.

- For thei wold nought unto the pore. The first four lines of the stanza comprise a single dependent clause: "Because they would not show mercy to the poor . . . they shall be damned."
- 732 Opyn when the other is privey. The balance between God's mercy and justice was the subject of much theological discussion and literary allegorization; see, for example, *The King and His Four Daughters* (item 26).
- 736a *Thomas Alquinus dicit*. In fact, this quotation comes from Hugh Ripelin of Strasbourg's *Compendium theologice veritatis*, a work that was erroneously attributed to Aquinas, Albertus Magnus, and Bonaventure. The original text from book 1, chapter 33, of the *Compendium* reads as follows:

Nota quod in omnibus operibus Dei invenitur justitia et misericordia: sed justitia quandoque est occulta, et misericordia manifesta, ut in justificatione impii, et in primo adventu Christi; aliquando est e contrario, scilicet aperta justitia, et occulta misericordia, ut in punitione parvulorum sine baptismo decedentium, et in secundo adventu Christi; aliquando utrumque est occultum, ut in tribulatione justorum et innocentum, sicut fuit in infirmitatibus parvulorum; aliquando utrumque est apertum, ut in remuneratione justorum, et damnatione reproborum: quia illos remnerat supra meritum, et istos punit citra condignum, quod est misericordiae: sed utrisque retribuit secundum merita, hoc est, bonis bona, et mailis mala, quod est justitiae. (S. Bonaventurae Opera omnia, 8:86–87)

In C and Cambridge, Magdalene College MS Pepys 1584, the quotation appears before the previous stanza. In Ad3 and Wellesley College Library MS 8, the Latin appears as in Ashmole 61.

- beth ay myghty. In London, British Library MS Royal 17.B.17, this line is followed by another couplet present in no other manuscript: "If mon serve God and paynes drede / And to endeles blis hym dight redy."
- 766 Of alkyns werke fully sought. Rate has made an obvious error, repeating the end of line 764. Compare the reading in Ad3: "Of alle werkys of worde, of wille and thought."
- 769 *Now have ye herd.* London, British Library MS Royal 17.B.17 ends not with these two stanzas, but with two stanzas not recorded in the other seven manuscripts:

And therfore chese thee, or thou wende, Whether thou wolt to payne or blis. But if thou purvyaunce byfore send Til that place that redy is, With gode dedes thi lyve amende, Ellis comes thou never ther al joye is, But ever to duelle with tho fende, Departyd fro God and fro alle His.

For His love on Rode con blede
And boght monnus soule unto blis,
On this boke takes gode hede
And reulis yow after rightwisnys.
He that loves God and Hym wol drede,
Mon and wommon, more and lesse,
To that blis He wil you lede
Ther joy and blisse ever es.

- Both dey and nyght, on this maner. Rate has reversed lines 772 and 774, with little change to the sense of the stanza. The exact sense of this injunction to meditate on the text day and night and to "Hold it in mynde whyll ye are here" (line 774) remains subject to interpretation. The text may have been intended as a prompt for meditative contemplation of some of its images (of hell, the Passion, etc.), or simply as a set of principles to be kept in mind at all times.
- 779 For hym specyally that ye wyll praye. Though this request that the audience pray for the author/translator is conventional, it may suggest that the author's name was once known.
- 784a *EXPLICIT STIMULUS CONCIENCIE MINOR*. The bad Latin of the manuscript reading, *MINORIS*, has been emended. Rate has drawn horizontal stems of flowers between the lines of this colophon. The second line seems to be a demand for payment, but may simply have been taken from the copy-text. See the section on the scribe in the general introduction. Rate has added one of his usual drawings of a smiling fish after the end of this colophon and before the title of the following text.

34. THE STATIONS OF JERUSALEM

Origin, Genre, and Themes

Christian pilgrims had toured the sites of the Holy Land in the early centuries of the Church and throughout the following millennium, but the fifteenth century may have marked the high tide of pilgrimage traffic. It was certainly a golden age for *writing* about pilgrimage in Latin and most of the European vernaculars. This increased interest in pilgrimage derived from the deepening of lay piety (thus enlarging the pool of potential pilgrims), the longing for the Holy Land following the end of the Crusades, and the establishment of a sophisticated industry based on transporting, supplying, hosting, and guiding pilgrims. This industry, dominated by Venice and the Franciscan order, made travel to the Holy Land possible for pilgrims of only modest wealth. While the journey remained a dangerous, exhausting, and often deadly affair, individual pilgrims found well-established networks of support at every stage.

The Stations of Jerusalem is a witness to the standardization of the Jerusalem pilgrimage in the fifteenth century. It describes what Mary Campbell has called a "pointillistic collection of officially administered sites," a standard set of ports, sites, and biblical episodes to be reimag-

ined; it resembles a list more than a fluid narrative account. ¹⁴⁶ The text is probably a revision of one or more guides to the Holy Land, and in places it closely resembles the Middle English verse account in William Wey's manuscript, now Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 565. Wey was a fellow of Eton College who went to Jerusalem twice in the fifteenth century and left accounts of his journeys in both Latin and English. The Middle English verse in his manuscript may not be his, and in any case it is not a direct source for the text here, though many couplets and phrases are identical. ¹⁴⁷ The most likely explanation is that the two texts share a common ancestor, a Middle English text no longer extant. But the interchangeable nature of many of the Latin and vernacular texts on this subject makes the question of source essentially irrelevant. Many mention nearly the same list of sites, relics, indulgences, biblical and apocryphal anecdotes, and sentiments, with variation primarily in the order and scope of the list. These lists may have derived from texts used or distributed by the Franciscan guides in the Holy Land.

As these close resemblances between different texts suggest, most pilgrimage accounts (including this one) do not imagine the trip to the Holy Land as a subjective experience that differed widely between individuals. In some respects, the standardization of the pilgrimage routes and the limitations imposed by the Mamluk overlords of the region ensured that pilgrimages were indeed very similar (aside from the crucial but random afflictions of weather, war, thievery, and disease). Nor was this likely to be seen as a problem; as a ritual, pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land was meant to follow set patterns of prayer, reverence, confession, and the receiving of indulgences. *The Stations of Jerusalem* uses the past tense to describe the trip as an event, but the frequent first person "we" also suggests an impersonal detachment: these are the holy sites and they can be seen by anyone in exactly the ways described here. The text could conceivably be the product of someone who had no direct experience of the Holy Land at all.

Several more famous texts do indeed describe the pilgrimage as an intensely personal experience, or display a precision of detail that departs markedly from the patterns described here. The pilgrimage described in *The Book of Margery Kempe* involves as much inward contemplation as outward ritual, and even though Margery was hardly an average pilgrim, her account may preserve something of the way many pilgrims actually experienced the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and other important sites. The remarkable writings of Felix Fabri, a fifteenth-century German Dominican, demonstrate how a curious, perceptive pilgrim might approach the trip; however, Felix's dedication was even more unusual than Margery's piety. Donald Howard is surely right to call him "the Proust of the genre." 148

The Stations of Jerusalem presents a fairly standard route, beginning in Venice, with stops in the Venetian-held ports of the Adriatic and eastern Mediterranean, and landing in Joppa. From there pilgrims rode overland to Jerusalem and arrived at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, which had been built up since the fourth century on what was believed to be the site of Jesus' burial and Resurrection. After discussing many of the sites and religious practices within the church itself, the text then moves around the city of Jerusalem in a roughly clockwise direction. The tour starts in the northeastern corner, where the Temple Mount (and the Muslim Dome of the Rock, forbidden to Christians) was located, and leaves

¹⁴⁶ Campbell, "Object of One's Gaze," p. 12.

Lines shared by both accounts include lines 104, 143–44, 357–58, 371–72, 421–22, 467–70, and 485–96 of the Ashmole 61 text; see Wey's *Itineraries*, pp. 9–12. But the two texts differ in too many respects for one to be a revision of the other.

¹⁴⁸ Howard, Writers and Pilgrims, p. 38.

the city walls to visit the sites in the Kedron Valley (the "Vale of Jehosephat") and then moves on to the Mount of Olives, east of the city. From there the text moves south and then turns west to reenter the city and ascend towards Mount Zion, site of a Franciscan church built on the supposed location of the Last Supper. Finally, the account then tours the sites to the south, east, and northeast of Jerusalem (Bethlehem, the Dead Sea, Jericho, the Jordan river, etc.) before its pious conclusion.

Though this route has a basis in the topography of the real Jerusalem as a pilgrim would find it, *The Stations of Jerusalem* is only occasionally concerned with the realities of the medieval Holy Land. ¹⁴⁹ Instead, it charts a textual Holy Land comprised of biblical episodes and apocryphal legends (particularly of the Virgin Mary). Each site prompts the recollection of a biblical passage, and the route of the Passion is described with frequent quotation of the gospels. When the account reaches Bethlehem and considers the image of Mary and the Christ Child, it includes a miniature Marian lyric. The other surviving copy of this text, in S, goes even further, inserting a lengthy section of Lydgate's *Life of Our Lady*.

Just how a text like this one might be used remains uncertain; it is obviously not a practical guidebook in the manner of William Wey's Middle English prose text or the *Information for Pilgrims*, which discusses currency exchange, precautions against theft and illness, and even offers useful Greek and Arabic phrases. Indeed, texts like this one might not have been used by pilgrims at all, and certainly many who read it would never make the demanding trip to the Holy Land. For those readers, it offered an imaginary tour as a spiritual exercise, another approach to contemplating biblical episodes, legendary events, and the stages of the Passion. In *The Book of Margery Kempe*, Christ promises Margery that she will receive the same pardon for worshipping the sites of his Passion in her mind as she received for worshipping them *in situ*. ¹⁵⁰ This seems to have been an exceptional privilege, but readers could also visit one of the replicas of the Holy Sepulcher or the "image" relics (i.e., paintings and simulacra) that bestowed similar indulgences on those who traveled to them. ¹⁵¹ *The Stations of Jerusalem* might allow a devout reader to conjure up the absent Holy Land within the bounds of her parish. Though workmanlike and largely devoid of literary flourish, this text might thus contribute to the medieval Church's increasingly flexible understanding of pilgrimage.

Manuscript Context

The Stations of Jerusalem shares some obvious connections with other narratives located in the Holy Land, including *The Northern Passion* and *The Legend of the Resurrection* (items 28 and 36). All three texts work to create a sense of intimacy with the events of the Passion and the biblical world, and all three rely extensively on the vast apocryphal literature that supplements the canonical books of the Bible. Many of the other texts in Ashmole 61 concern the duties of daily worship (prayer, attendance at Mass, etc.); the pilgrimage to the Holy Land marked a lifetime's devotion.

Though *The Stations of Jerusalem* would seem to have little in common with the romances of Ashmole 61, the titular hero of *Sir Isumbras* (item 5) undertakes a pilgrimage as a penitential

¹⁴⁹ This text's most unusual (though not unique) treatment of medieval Jerusalem is its appraisal of the various clergy who sing Mass in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Felix Fabri often engages in this sort of cultural commentary, but it appears less frequently in other pilgrimage texts.

¹⁵⁰ Kempe, Book of Margery Kempe, pp. 81–82.

¹⁵¹ For these practices, see the chapters by Morris and Duffy in Davidson and Dunn-Wood, *Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages*. The shrine at Walsingham, with its replica of the Virgin's house, was only the most famous of the numerous sites throughout England that were based on simulacra.

act, and the high point in his recovery is a victory over the Saracens and the recovery of the Holy Land. That fantasy appears here at the tombs of Baldwin and Godfrey of Boulogne, where the narrator wistfully hopes for two more such crusading heroes (lines 375–80).

Text

The Stations of Jerusalem survives in only one other manuscript, S. The text appears there amidst fifteenth-century devotional works as well as Chaucer's Tale of Melibee. The Huntington manuscript appears to date from the same period as Ashmole 61, and neither text of *The Stations of Jerusalem* looks to have been the copy-text of the other. Each text features considerable defects and signs of extensive scribal revision. The Huntington text omits many lines present in Ashmole 61, lines that are unlikely to have been Rate's own additions, and shows an unusual indifference to rhyme endings. Rate has undoubtedly rewritten many lines according to his usual practice, and at least two sections of the text appear out of order. Nevertheless, the Ashmole text often provides superior readings. The lines omitted in the Huntington manuscript have been recorded in the Explanatory Notes, but the notes discuss only the most important of the many variant readings.

Printed Editions

Horstmann, Carl, ed. *Altenglische Legenden, neue Folge mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen*. Pp. 355–66. [Based solely on Ashmole 61.]

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NIMEV 986¹⁵² MWME 7.19.14.2246–2247, 2460

See also J. Bernard, Biddle, Davidson and Dunn-Wood, Duff, Duffy (2002), Dyas, Fabri, Howard (1980), C. Morris, Peters, Poloner, Wey, and Zacher in the bibliography.

- Title The Stasyons of Jerusalem. The title is written in a slightly larger version of Rate's usual script. The text has been known by this title (or the modernized spelling used here) since the publication of Horstmann's edition. In S, the text is preceded by an *incipit*: "Here bygynnyth the Pilgrymage and the wayes of Jerusalem." The text begins one-third down the leaf of fol. 128r.
- 5 Venys toune. Venice was the most common departure point for northern European pilgrims to the Holy Land, in part because of its location but largely due to its importance as a naval and mercantile power. Venice dominated the trade networks of the eastern Mediterranean, including pilgrimage traffic; see Chambers, Imperial Age of Venice.
- 11 kyng. S reads "kynge been," but omits the previous line.
- 15 For seyntys. S reads "Cor-sayntes" (i.e., "relics," as in line 36), a more likely reading, since the text goes on to list more than four saints.

¹⁵² The *NIMEV* entry incorrectly suggests that an edition of *The Stations of Jerusalem* appears in EETS o.s. 212 and does not list Horstmann's edition.

- 17 Seynt Marke and Seynt Nycholas. The relics of Saint Mark the Evangelist had been in Venice since the early ninth century and were housed in the basilica of St. Mark; he is the patron saint of the city. Saint Nicholas, the fourth-century bishop of Myra (in modern Turkey), was martyred in the Diocletian persecutions. His relics remained in Myra until the eleventh century, when the city was captured by Muslims, and the two Italian trading centers of Venice and Bari competed to acquire the relics. Bari ultimately won out as the primary site of the veneration of Nicholas, but Venice and the church of San Niccolò del Lido continued to press its claim; see Jones, Saint Nicholas of Myra, Bari, and Manhattan, p. 208.
- Seynt Elyn that founde the cros. Though this seems to suggest that relics of Saint Helena were the objects of veneration in Venice, it is most likely a corruption of a reference to a piece of the True Cross, legendarily discovered by Saint Helena. Venice housed several fragments that purported to be pieces of the True Cross, some taken from Byzantium when Venetians led the Fourth Crusade to sack that city in 1204.
- 20 And Seynt Jeorge. Venice featured several relics of Saint George, including an arm taken from the town of Fiore de Calabria and housed in the Benedictine monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore; for the importance of the cult of St. George in Venice at this time, see Wills, Venice: Lion City, pp. 253–59.
- 23 Seynt Paule, the fyrst hermyte. Saint Paul the first hermit (an epithet used to distinguish him from other saints named Paul) lived in the Egyptian desert caves in the third and early fourth century; relics of his body were taken from Byzantium to Venice in the thirteenth century.
- Seynt Symeon, Justus that hyght. This is Simeon, the "just and devout man," who hails the Christ Child at the time of his presentation at the temple; see Luke 2:25. The 1498 edition of *Information for Pilgrims* locates these relics in Jarre, a city in Slovenia then under the rule of Venice (p. c.ii.v; see also *The Itineraries of William Wey*, p. 93).
- 25 the fader of Seynt John Baptyst. S: "Zachare, the fadre of John Baptiste." Zachariah, the husband of Elizabeth and father of John the Baptist, was venerated at the Venetian church of San Zaccaria.
- Seynt Lucy. Blinded by pagan torturers, Saint Lucy was one of the most popular of the virgin martyrs; see the introduction to Saint Margaret (item 38). Her relics were brought to the city from Byzantium and initially kept at San Giorgio Maggiore (see note to line 20). S also mentions Saint Barbara here, but its reading looks corrupt and introduces an unrhymed line: "Saynt Luce and Saynt Barbera / That holy were both olde and younge."
- 31 Seynt Christofe. This line and the next are likely corrupt, as the sense is very strained. S's reading does not clarify matters, as it too looks corrupt and omits lines 32–34 as well as line 36: "Saynt Cristofer lythe in the cyté / Twyes in the yere who so theder wyll come / He shall have playne Remyscioun / Al so wel as in the yere of grace." Saint Christopher, an early Christian martyr, was widely venerated as the patron saint of travelers and sailors (as was Nicholas). His relics

were housed on the Venetian island of St. Christopher at a monastery of the same name; see Fabri, *Book of the Wanderings*, 1:110.

- 40 *Curfe, Modyn, and Candy*. Corfu, Modon, and Crete were important outposts of the Venetian trading empire in the Adriatic and Mediterranean. The island of Corfu, off the northwestern coast of Greece at the southern end of the Adriatic, had been held by the city of Genoa and the dukes of Anjou before passing to Venice in the late fourteenth century. Modon (Metona), in the southwestern corner of Greece, was a port city held by Venice until 1501 when it was lost to the Ottomans. The Venetians ruled Crete (and its major harbor, Candia) from the thirteenth century until the seventeenth, when it too fell to the Ottoman Empire.
- 45 *Ile of Rodys*. Rhodes was at this time held by the Knights Hospitaller (also known as the Knights of Rhodes or Knights of St. John); it withstood several major attacks in the fifteenth century before falling to the Turks in 1522.
- We founde relykes many one. Several of the relics mentioned in the following lines, including the thorn from the crown of thorns and the arm of St. Catherine, are mentioned in other accounts; see Nicholson, *Knights Hospitaller*, p. 97.
- These lines are not in S and may be Rate's own additions.
- That blomys every Gode Frydey. William Wey describes this legendary thorn in greater detail and claims that it changes colors over the course of the day, as the hours of the Passion are read and sung. Wey also notes that Rhodes possesses another thorn that changes color but does not bloom, and attributes the difference to the fact that only one actually touched Christ's head (*Itineraries*, p. 93).
- Seynt Loy and Blasy. Saint Eligius (also known as St. Eloi or Loy) lived and died in northern France in the seventh century; his cult was widespread in England and France. Saint Blaise, a bishop martyred in fourth-century Armenia, was venerated in both the Eastern and Western Churches. Relics of these saints are not otherwise attested in Rhodes. William Wey mentions relics of Saint Blaise in Ragusa (on the Dalmatian coast) and Saint Leo (not Loi) in Axtin, south of Corfu; the reference here may be a confusion of these details (*Itineraries*, p. 93). Alternatively, since other documents attest to important relics of Saint Anthony held by the Knights Hospitaller in Rhodes, it seems possible that this line is a misrendering or revision of a reference to Saint Anthony; see Nicholson, *Knights Hospitaller*, p. 97.
- 56 Omitted in S.
- 57 Seynt Cateryn. Saint Catherine of Alexandria, a virgin martyr of the early fourth century, was enormously popular in the later Middle Ages. Her cult was centered in the Monastery of St. Catherine in the Sinai desert and was a major pilgrimage site for those who could afford the additional expense of traveling there from Jerusalem.
- 61 Sypres. Cyprus was ruled by the Lusignan dynasty until 1489, when the island passed to the Venetians.
- 62 one or two. S: "many moo."

- The cros of the gode thefe. A relic of the cross used to crucify "Dismas," the thief who attested to Christ's innocence (see Luke 23:40–43), was venerated in a monastery at Stavrovouni in Cyprus. According to some sources, this is a piece of the True Cross; see Seymour, Defective Version of Mandeville's Travels, p. 17. Friar Felix Fabri also describes a visit to this monastery, which is (as line 65 claims) "onne a hylle" (Fabri, Book of the Wanderings, 1:193).
- 64 That cryed mersy and found gode preve. S: "That askyd mercy for his mysdeede."
- Wher Seynt Kateryn was born. Saint Catherine of Alexandria (see note to line 57). Various traditions associate Saint Catherine of Alexandria with the city of Famagusta on the east coast of Cyprus; for a fanciful claim that the city's name derives from the name of Catherine's father, see lines 494–511 of John Capgrave's Life of Saint Katherine.
- 73 another place. Presumably [affa/Joppa; see Jonah 1:3.
- 84 Twenty hundreth myle and thre. This is most likely a corruption of the mileage between Venice and Jaffa/Joppa, given in the Middle English itinerary in William Wey's manuscript as "ii" myle and hundrys thre" (*Itineraries*, p. 8).
- 86 Ther Seynt John was quyke and dede. This is probably Sebastos (Samaria), where Saint John was buried, according to legend. S: "Where Seynt Gorge was quyke and dede."
- 88 the grave of Samuelle. The tomb of the prophet Samuel was on Mount Joy, so called because pilgrims could first see Jerusalem from there. Line 91 has likely been created from a reference to Mount Joy in the source text.
- 90 Cleophas. See Luke 24:18.
- 98 the hospytall. This refers to the Hospital of St. John, described by Felix Fabri and others as the lodging for pilgrims who were not associated with one of the religious orders that maintained their own houses in Jerusalem. Fabri describes the hospital as large enough to house four hundred pilgrims at once (Book of the Wanderings, 1:285–86 and 395–97).
- the temple. This refers to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, not the temple of Solomon. The *Guide-Book to Palestine* mentions this stone (see line 101) as located in front of the church gates (J. Bernard, p. 10).
- S inserts a couplet following this line, probably misplaced: "Also the plase there we see / Where Cryst made his Mawndye." S also omits lines 105–18, perhaps a deliberate abridgment made by the scribe.
- be a treyn. The MED does not attest this sense of traine, but see the OED, train (n. 1), 9, "a line."
- 108 *lokyd the dore with a keye*. Muslim officials charged a fee for entrance to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and locked pilgrims in overnight (*Book of the Wanderings*, 1:429).

124	Ther Jhesu mette with Mary Maudeleyn. See John 20:17. This was located within the Church of the Holy Sepulcher; see J. Bernard, Guide-Book to Palestine, p. 6.
125	<i>kyssed his fete</i> . The rhymes of lines 125–28 are defective, and this may be a sign that Rate has revised these lines. S describes this episode in only one couplet: "To kys his fete was here thoughte / But he seyde Marye touche me not."
134	<i>mydys of the mundye</i> . This is a partial translation of the Latin "media mundi" (middle of the world) and refers to a stone in the middle of the choir of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. The claim that this point marked the middle of the world was based on exegesis of Psalm 73:12 and Ezekiel 38:12. Lines 133–34 are omitted in S.
139	<i>joddyd</i> . The <i>MED</i> cites this as the only use of <i>jodden</i> and suggests "to pierce," as a variant of <i>jaggen</i> . But it seems equally likely to be a variant of <i>jobben</i> or <i>joppen</i> , "to knock, to thrust." S's reading, "jottyd," is otherwise unattested.
181	in a orytory. This legendary spot is mentioned in the <i>Guide-Book to Palestine</i> as being on the north side of the church (J. Bernard, p. 7). There, however, it is described as a window, suggesting that <i>orytory</i> may be a corruption of "oriel."
189	<i>Inde</i> . Felix Fabri describes the austerity and fervor of the Indian Christians in vaguely similar terms (<i>Book of the Wanderings</i> , 1:436).
205	cyté of Grekys. This refers to the Greek Orthodox priests, and perhaps is meant to include those Churches (such as the Georgian and Syrian Christians) that followed most aspects of Eastern doctrine and liturgy.
258	Constantyn hyr sone. The first Christian Roman emperor, Constantine was responsible for building the Church of the Holy Sepulcher; it was dedicated in 336.
261	$\it Seynt Sylvester.$ In legend, Pope Silvester I (d. 335) had close ties with Helena and Constantine.
267	The Jewys askyd Jhesu of ther wylle. The dialogue presented here seems loosely based on John 6:41–47. S's reading of these lines makes clearer sense: "The Juge axed Jhesu where he was, / Then bad hym answere to this cace. / 'In the myddys of the worlde, upon an hille, / The profecy for to fulfylle."
272	hyder wylle wende. Rate has transposed the lines of the following two couplets (cf. S): "He seyde 'What man that is in charité / That thedyr comyth to seke me, / To joye and blisse his soule shall wende / And with me dwelle withoutyn ende."
293	the stronge theffe. See the note to line 63.
295	lenger delaye. Rate's reading, "laughyng ley," is unclear and has been emended on the basis of H.
299	And yit dyde he more to seyn. Rate may have omitted a couplet and/or altered the

reading of his copy-text. Cf. S: "There suche a theffe, a *latro* [MS: alarom] than, / Was the fyrste that hevyn wanne. / And yet he dyd more wonder: / He foryaf hym that brokyn his bonys asondyr." Rate may have deliberately avoided the

unrecognized Latin word latro (robber).

- 303 Ther he betaught hys moder. See John 19:26–27.
- 316 Lama zabatamye. See Mark 15:34, "Eloi, Eloi, lamma sabacthani?" ("My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me?").
- As the pylican. The pelican was believed to feed its young with blood from its own breast, thus recalling Christ's sacrifice. See the note to line 585 of Maidstone's Seven Penitential Psalms (item 32).
- 377 Godfrey of Boleyn and Baudwyn. Godfrey and Baldwin (Baudwin) of Boulogne were among the leaders of the First Crusade who captured Jerusalem. Baldwin became the first king of Jerusalem after Godfrey's death. Though both were revered as heroes, Godfrey was also lionized as one of the "Nine Worthies," the greatest of chivalric heroes of history.
- we toke all the nyght. A vigil at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher was a traditional part of the Holy Land pilgrimage, described in many other accounts.
- 389 Som at the Mounte of Calvarye. Rate has mistakenly inserted lines 401–02 here.
- in forme of bred. See A Prayer at the Levation (item 17).
- 413 *a cornere*. On the *via Dolorosa*, at an intersection of several streets.
- ther thei constreyned Symon. Simon of Cyrene is compelled to carry the cross in the Passion accounts of the synoptic gospels; see Matthew 27:32, Mark 15:21, Luke 23:26.
- Wepe onne your selve. See Luke 23:28.
- Ther sche brought forth hyr derlyng. This seems to refer to the chapel of St. Anne, to the northeast of the temple near Jehosephat Street.
- sche was sette to scole. Felix Fabri describes this as a house adjoining the courtyard of the temple (Book of the Wanderings, 1:453). Depictions of St. Anne teaching the Virgin Mary were common in late medieval art; see, for examples, Sheingorn, "Wise Mother."
- the same lake. The "Sheep Pool"; see John 5:1–15.
- Symon Leperus halle. For the visit to the house of Simon the Leper in Bethany, see Matthew 26:6 and Mark 14:3; see also John 11.
- *Dyves.* Dives is Latin for "rich," but was given as the name of the rich man in the parable of Lazarus the beggar; see Luke 16:19–31.
- *ther is a cave under the erth by.* There was a chapel near Gethsemane marking this spot; see Luke 22:41–44.
- Were Oure Lady lete hyre gyrdell falle. For an account of this girdle, see GL 2:82. This legendary event is located near Gethsemane, at the base of the Mount of Olives, by the anonymous Guide-Book to Palestine (J. Bernard, p. 17).

488	nobylle cité of Galilé. Rate's reading, "Mounte of Calveryghe," has been emended on the basis of S. Galilee, unlike Calvary, was the site of some of Christ's encounters with the apostles after the Resurrection, and is north of Jerusalem.
520	trans torrentem Cedron. The same descriptive phrase from John 18:1 is used in Seymour, Defective Version of Mandeville's Travels, p. 39.
526	Was Isay the prophet sawyn in two. The Old Testament prophet Isaiah was supposedly killed by Manasseh, according to the apocryphal Martyrdom of Isaiah and exegesis of Hebrews 11:37. S offers a different set of sites in lines 525–28: "Bysyde that a lytell ther fro / Is the Tombe of Isaac the profete. / And fast by lythe the stone of Bethan, / There God relevyd Lazar the ded man."
527	$\it awellalone$. The Pool of Siloam, at the southeastern edge of Jerusalem; see John 9:1–12.
532	Was the roste of the holy lambe that stond. The line may be corrupt (and has been partially emended); its sense is certainly strained. S's reading differs considerably and reads more smoothly: "Was the plotte of the holy grownde." But Felix Fabri discusses the site in the Church of Mount Zion where the kitchen used for the roasting of the paschal lamb was supposed to have been (Book of the Wanderings, 1:308), and Rate's reading may be closer to the original, though the object referred to is unclear.
539	Within a chyrch, at an auter. The altar of the Church of Mount Zion was supposedly located on the exact site of the Last Supper.
548	in the mynd of me. S adds another line here: "In hym dwellyth the Trinité."
549	And what man that be fals in thought. These lines do not appear in any of the gospel accounts of the Last Supper. But many medieval exempla testify to the dangers of taking the host in a state of sin. See <i>The Northern Passion</i> (item 28), lines 228–31.
555	When Jhesu com throughe a walle. See John 20:24–29.
561	When Thomas had rowyd in his wonde. S presents a slightly different version of lines 561–64: "Thomas was ful sory of that caase / Whan he sawe his lorde in the face. / He lift up his hondis on hye / And with alle his herte cryed mercy."
577	And sche toke John ther the palme tre. See GL 2:78.
592	Spyte no more. S's reading is less inflammatory: "dispise no more."
593	is Cayfas halle. The Chapel of St. Saviour on Mount Zion was believed to be built on the site of Caiaphas's hall.
603	Ther is a ston. Several accounts mention this stone in the Chapel of St. Saviour, but this text may be unusual in attributing miraculous blood to it; see Poloner, John Poloner's Description, p. 13, and J. Bernard, Guide-Book to Palestine, pp. 10–11.

Though this text attributes its keeping to the Greeks, the chapel was administered

by Armenian Christians.

- That Davyd made the Sater upon. The tomb of King David is located on Mount Zion in all accounts, but this text concurs with the *Guide-Book to Palestine* in claiming this is also the site of David's authorship of the Psalms (J. Bernard, p. 13).
- the feld of blod. The Field of Blood, also known as the Potter's Field, was a burial ground south of Mount Zion. This is not, however, where the site of Peter's lamentations were venerated; see Poloner, John Poloner's Description, p. 12, and Fabri, Book of the Wanderings, 1:314.
- 642 he seyd, "I saw ston." S's reading explains this cryptic scene: "he sayde in scorne, 'I sawe stones."
- 646 Ther is the grave of Rachelle. The tomb of the Old Testament matriarch Rachel, the wife of Jacob, lies near Bethlehem. It was (and remains) a pilgrimage site for Muslims, Christians, and Jews.
- 654 a feyr chyrch. For descriptions of the Church of the Nativity, see Poloner, John Poloner's Description, pp. 19–20, and Fabri, Book of the Wanderings, 1:584–604.
- 691 *into a valey*. Several accounts mention caves (not a valley) where the bodies of the Holy Innocents slaughtered by Herod at the time of Jesus' birth were deposited; see Fabri, *Book of the Wanderings*, 1:565–67.
- 699 a grete valey. The valley of Hebron was one of the legendary locations of Adam's tomb as well as the site of his creation; see Poloner, *John Poloner's Description*, pp. 21–22, and *The King and His Four Daughters* (item 26), line 73 and note.
- *the hous of Zakary*. Zechariah was the husband of Elizabeth and father of John the Baptist. For the story that follows, see Luke 1:5–56.
- Magnificat. The first word of Mary's prayer of thanks (also known as the Canticle of Mary) in Luke 1:46, "My soul doth magnify the Lord." The Magnificat was one of the most important hymns of the medieval liturgy, used in various parts of the daily office. In S, this line is followed by Lydgate's translation of the Magnificat, lines 981–1060 of his *Life of Our Lady* (pp. 380–85). After the last line of the Lydgate poem, S follows the Ashmole 61 text again at line 725.
- 732 Ther Lazar was reysed fro deth to lyve. See John 11, where Bethany is named as the place.
- 743 *descryve*. Horstmann's suggested emendation for *desyre* has been adopted here, but the couplet's rhyme remains defective. S omits lines 743–44.
- 745 In Betphage sate Our Lord upon a ston. This episode is described in the three synoptic gospels (Matthew 21:1, Mark 11:1, and Luke 19:29).
- 751 Standys the compas of the rote. This was located in the Georgian Church of St. Cross, described by Felix Fabri (Book of the Wanderings, 2:1). S omits lines 747–52.
- We fond a hond of Seynt John. The Monastery of St. John, between the Jordan and the city of Jericho, seems to have claimed the left hand of John the Baptist as a relic. See J. Bernard, Guide-Book to Palestine, p. 29. Felix Fabri describes the monastery as largely ruined by 1480 (Book of the Wanderings, 2:35–36).

757	callyd the Grekys Law. This reference is unclear, and very likely garbled; S lacks lines 757–78. The line may refer to the fact that the Monastery of St. John and the chapel adjoining it belonged to Greek Orthodox monks.
759	Zaches, the lytell man. Zacchaeus, the tax collector (Luke 19:1-10).
764	<i>Sodom and Gomour</i> . For the story of Sodom and Gomorrah and the appearance of angels before Lot's escape, see Genesis 19.
766	unkyndly synne. S includes three additional lines here, perhaps the work of S's scribe: "Unkendly synne was cause of alle there cryme; / Foule delyte takynge there owne wylle / Made them deserve the paynes of helle."
783	Ther growys nother corne ne haye. Felix Fabri discusses some of the many legendary properties of the Dead Sea, including those mentioned here (<i>Book of the Wanderings</i> , 2:154–74).
798	Quryntyne. This seems to have been located near Gilgal, outside of Jericho; see Poloner, John Poloner's Description, pp. 38–39.
808	Als fer as men myght hym se. The slightly confusing syntax of this line may be the result of Rate's attempt to make up for a skipped line. S's version of this couplet makes better sense: "And theder with hym he flye / And set hym on a penakyll an hye."
824	a garthyn of Abraham. This seems to have been a palm grove near Jericho; see A. Stewart, Anonymous Accounts, pp. 10, 19, and 25. S reads "grave of Abraham."
827	Now have we told all that we have sene. S lacks lines 827–48 and uses a shorter conclusion:
	Jhesu, that for us deyd uppon a Crosse, Let us never in synne falle, And at oure dethe to have Thi mercy and Thi grace That we in hevyn may have a place. Amen, for charité;

I pray Crist Jhesu have mercy on me.

848a AMEN QUOD RATE. Rate has drawn a fish holding a stem of flowers in its teeth underneath this colophon, in the bottom margin of fol. 135v.

35a-b. THE SINNER'S LAMENT AND THE ADULTEROUS FALMOUTH SQUIRE

Origin, Genre, and Themes

Though these two texts are entirely independent, Rate has deliberately fused them together in this manuscript. His conjunction of these two texts, paired in no other manuscript, has confused scholarship for over a century. The first text, *The Sinner's Lament*, has mistakenly been considered a "Prologue" for the second text, The Adulterous Falmouth Squire, solely on the basis of their appearance together in Ashmole 61. ¹⁵³ Readers may choose whether or not to read them as a continuous text (as Rate seems to have intended).

The Sinner's Lament was probably written in the first half of the fifteenth century, and is one of a vast number of contemporary lyrics concerned with mortality, sin, and the punishments of the afterlife. The fiction that gives shape to the lyric is its speaker from beyond the grave, whose opening lines suggest a sudden appearance before a surprised audience, who must return to hell at the end of the poem, called by Death's (or the devil's) trumpet. The punishments he describes — biting snakes and toads, fetters, a cage of fire, flaying — recall the many similar lists of punishments in the popular descriptions of hell and purgatory, yet he offers just enough vivid detail to particularize the horrid suffering of the damned. The speaker's apparent individuality even prompted Rate to give him a name — Sir Wylliam Basterdfeld — though this appellation appears in no other manuscript.

This name suggests the centrality of adultery in Rate's version of *The Sinner's Lament*; he has tailored it to strengthen its imagined connections to *The Adulterous Falmouth Squire*. But even in Rate's altered version, *The Sinner's Lament* lays out a wide array of sins that, if unrepented, will be punished in hell: gluttony, vanity, sloth, a lack of generosity to the poor, and the dangerous indifference of youth in its "flowres" to the seriousness of death. Time, as the *Lament* makes clear, is the central problem of human existence. In this life, all is mutable and sins may come and go; at the unpredictable moment of death, humans suddenly enter eternity, burdened forever with their sins and fixed in an inescapable afterlife. The *Lament* plays off this antithesis in stanza after stanza, contrasting the impermanence of life and the finality of death. The language is often formulaic, but anguished outbursts of colloquial directness lend the poem emotional power, as in line 35: "Than was to late off 'Had I wyste!"

The themes and images of *The Adulterous Falmouth Squire* follow on from *The Sinner's Lament* in many ways that Rate must have appreciated. Here too is the grotesque punishment of the damned and a renewed emphasis on the permanence of their fate. When the title character delivers his mournful address in hell, *The Adulterous Falmouth Squire* briefly resembles the *Lament* as a dramatic monologue. But as the narrator states in line 52, its fully formed narrative makes *The Adulterous Falmouth Squire* a "sampull," or *exemplum*, the short narrative form that was the stock-in-trade of medieval preachers. ¹⁵⁴

A simple antithesis lies at the heart of the story. Two brothers die at the same moment, and the only stated difference between them is that the elder brother was an adulterer; their differing fates in the afterlife thus demonstrate the devastating effects of adultery. As the opening stanzas acknowledge, lechery may be the "least" (or easiest to excuse) of the deadly sins, but it is no less deadly for that. Though medieval societies often tolerated the extramarital affairs of well-born men (but not of women), canon law and religious doctrine made few distinctions between men and women who broke the bonds of marriage. All adultery, as lines 40–44 make clear, endangers the entire family, including both legitimate and illegitimate children.

Perhaps it is with this in mind that the *exemplum* then focuses on the adulterer's son. The son's pity for his father and his shock at finally seeing his father in the most grotesque of

¹⁵³ Fein's recent edition of *The Sinner's Lament (Moral Love Songs)* ought to set the matter at rest, but Rosemary Woolf pointed out the error nearly forty years ago, and the claim that *The Sinner's Lament* is "The Lament of William Basterdfeld" or "The Prologue of *The Adulterous Falmouth Squire*" still appears regularly in print; see, for example, Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 340.

¹⁵⁴ For a brief discussion of the *exemplum* as a literary form, see the introduction to *The Knight Who Forgave His Father's Slayer* (item 18).

infernal punishments lead to the climax of the poem's pathos. The father explains to his son that the damned lie beyond the help of the saints or priestly intervention. He ends by pleading with his son *not* to pray for him: "For ever the more thou prayst for me, / My peynes schall be more and more" (134–35). For a medieval audience, accustomed to the comforting rituals of Masses for the dead, indulgences, and the economy of purgatorial time, this would surely have been the text's most chilling message. ¹⁵⁵ One of the crucial functions of the late medieval family was to remember (and thus protect) its dead; here the adulterer has cut himself off from the remedies the family could provide. ¹⁵⁶ The remainder of the poem further emphasizes the limits of the family's power by keeping the son at a distance from his uncle; the two do not speak, and the bleeding Tree of Knowledge signals the son's exclusion from the community of heaven, at least while he remains burdened by sin. The text as a whole is a picture of a family divided by sin into three worlds, each incapable of assisting the other.

Manuscript Context

These two works share the closest connections with other works in the second half of Ashmole 61 that treat the consequences of sin, mortality, and the afterlife, including *The Feasts of All Saints and All Souls, Stimulus Consciencie Minor, The Wounds and the Sins*, and *Vanity* (items 25, 33, 38, and 40). As an elegy, *The Sinner's Lament* closely resembles *Vanity* and (more loosely) *The Lament of Mary* as well (item 30). *The Adulterous Falmouth Squire* can be grouped with other *exempla* in Ashmole 61, particularly those centered around the family, *The Jealous Wife* and *The Incestuous Daughter* (items 22 and 23). The emphasis on adultery and the vulnerability of the family present in both of these texts also connects them to many other texts in Ashmole 61, including *Lybeaus Desconus* and *Sir Corneus* (items 20 and 21).

Text

As mentioned above, Rate has radically altered the status of *The Sinner's Lament* by adjoining it to *The Adulterous Falmouth Squire*; only a two-line initial signals the start of the second text. His other major alteration to *The Sinner's Lament* is his insertion of three lines in the opening stanza naming the speaker as Sir Wylliam Basterdfeld. Four other manuscripts (and one fragment) preserve *The Sinner's Lament*; none has the same number of stanzas as any of the others, though Ashmole 61's text lacks only one of the stanzas in Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 237 (the longest version). The stanzas rhyme *ababbcbc*, but Rate shows his usual inattention to stanzas larger than quatrains, and most of the other scribes who copied the poem also rendered it in quatrains. ¹⁵⁷

The Adulterous Falmouth Squire appears in seven other manuscripts; Ashmole 61's text is generally closest to that in Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.5.48 (P), another household manuscript from the northern Midlands. With the exception of one lost line the text is not particularly defective and Rate has engaged in little of his habitual revision.

¹⁵⁵ On the economics of purgatory, see the introduction to *The Feasts of All Saints and All Souls* (item 25).

¹⁵⁶ Though the living compelled each other to uphold their responsibilities to their dead kindred, the dead were believed to have their own means of enforcing kinship bonds from beyond the grave; see Schmidt, *Ghosts in the Middle Ages*, pp. 185–94.

¹⁵⁷ For complete details of the manuscripts and the textual variants of *The Sinner's Lament*, see Fein's METS edition (*Moral Love Songs*).

Printed Editions of The Sinner's Lament

- Fein, Susanna Greer, ed. *Moral Love Songs and Laments*. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1998. Pp. 361–94. [Collates all MSS including Ashmole 61.]
- Furnivall, F. J., ed. *Political, Religious, and Love Poems.* EETS o.s. 15. 2nd ed. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1903. Rpt. London: Oxford University Press, 1965. Pp. 123–26. [Prints the text of Ashmole 61.]
- Horstmann, Carl, ed. *Altenglische Legenden, neue Folge mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen*. Pp. 367–68, 529–30. [Collates Ashmole 61 and the Lincoln Thornton MS.]
- Jansen, Sharon L., and Kathleen H. Jordan, eds. The Welles Anthology, MS. Rawlinson C. 813: A Critical Edition. Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1991. Pp. 96–100.
- Leonard, Anne L., ed. *Zwei mittelenglische Geschichten aus der Hölle*. Zurich: Orell Füssli, 1891. [Collates Ashmole 61 and 3 other MSS.]
- Perry, George G., ed. *Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse*. EETS o.s. 26. Rev. ed. London: N. Trübner, 1889. Rpt. New York: Greenwood, 1969. Pp. 115–18. [Prints the text of the Lincoln Thornton MS.]

Printed Editions of The Adulterous Falmouth Squire

- Furnivall, F. J., ed. *Political, Religious, and Love Poems*. EETS o.s. 15. 2nd ed. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1903. Rpt. London: Oxford University Press, 1965. Pp. 126–32. [Prints the text of L, with collation of Ashmole 61.]
- Hartshorne, Charles Henry, ed. *Ancient Metrical Tales: printed chiefly from original sources*. London: William Pickering, 1829. Pp. 169–78. [Prints the text of P.]
- Horstmann, Carl. "Nachträge zu den Legenden." Pp. 411–70. [Prints the text of Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson poet. 118, pp. 419–21.]
- Leonard, Anne L., ed. *Zwei mittelenglische Geschichten aus der Hölle*. Zurich: Orell Füssli, 1891. [Collates Ashmole 61 and all other MSS.]
- Wright, Thomas. "Anecdota Literaria." *Retrospective Review* n.s. 2 (1854), 101–04. [Prints the text of C.]

Reference Works

NIMEV 172 (The Sinner's Lament); 2052 (The Adulterous Falmouth Squire)
MWME 9.24.196.3259–60, 3552 (The Sinner's Lament); 9.24.197.3260, 3552–53 (The
Adulterous Falmouth Squire)

See also Brundage, Duffy (2005), E. Foster (2004), Gray (1972), Keiser (1987), Tristram, and Woolf (1968) in the bibliography.

35a. The Sinner's Lament

Title The text begins at the top of fol. 136r with no *incipit* or title. The text was erroneously known as the "Prologue" to *The Adulterous Falmouth Squire* on the basis of Ashmole 61's arrangement of these two texts (see introduction to this text). The title used here is that provided by Fein's edition of the text, based on the Latin title used in the Lincoln Thornton MS, *Lamentacio peccatoris*.

1 All Crysten men that walke by me. See Lamentations 1:12, used in the liturgy for Good Friday and as the opening for many Passion lyrics; see also lines 1673–76 of *The Northern Passion* (item 28).

- 7 Syr Wylliam Basterdfeld. As Fein suggests, the name seems to mean "field of bastards," and there may also be a common pun on "will" (desire) and "Will(iam)."
- When I was now as ye be. Compare Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 237: "When I was yong as nowe be ye."
- Grete othes. Presumably these are profane oaths, frequently included in descriptions of the sins of a debauched, misspent youth.
- 17 I had no grace me to amend. See line 96, which refers to the grace of self-knowledge; the sense is not that the sinner lacked God's grace, but rather that he failed to recognize that grace or to reflect upon his need of it. Fein (Moral Love Songs, p. 383, n. 14) points to a similar definition of grace in an English prose treatise, De gracia dei (printed in Horstmann's Yorkshire Writers, 1:305–10).
- Allwey with them I ame aweyde. The exact sense of aweyde is unclear; it may be the past participle of aweien, "to remove," or of weien, "to weigh; to judge." Rate has omitted a line from this stanza, "The fendes fell they have me hent," leaving the pronoun in this line without a clear referent; compare Fein's edition (Moral Love Songs), lines 21–24.
- 27 For I had no grace me to amende. Rate has added this line, an obvious repetition of line 17, to make up for the missing line in the stanza.
- 35 Than was to late of "Had I wyste!" Compare line 56 of "The Proverbs of Good Counsel" (Furnivall, Queene Elizabethes Achademy, p. 68), "Beware, my son, ever of 'had-Iwyste."
- I knaw welle women more and mynne. The manuscripts offer a variety of other readings here, and this is clearly Rate's own creation. The reading in Corpus Christi College MS 237, "I knowe that we wil never twyn," refers to the snakes and toads surrounding the sinner.
- I have no gode bot God alone. The sense of this line is not clear; compare the reading of Corpus Christi College MS 237, "For I had no god but gold alone." The latter reading stresses the sinner's failure to make a proper distinction between treasures on earth and in heaven, whereas Rate's (mis)reading suggests the sinner's final, belated, subjection to God's power.
- For I ame rente fro tope to to. This refers to a punishment commonly mentioned in descriptions of hell, the flaying of the damned by demons. Often, the damned are strung up upside down or by their genitalia; see *The Adulterous Falmouth Squire* (item 35b), lines 102–05.
- 98 I here an horn blow. The blowing of a horn appears elsewhere as a call to the dead or dying. In the note to line 103 of her edition (Moral Love Songs), Fein notes the similar moments in the end of The Parlement of the Thre Ages, lines 654–56; Tutivillus's closing words in the Wakefield play The Judgment, "My horne is

blawen" (Stevens and Cawley, *Towneley Plays*, p. 410); and the warning from a dying man, "I sey no more but beware of ane horne!" in *Farewell, This World*, line 21 (C. Brown, *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century*, p. 236).

35b. The Adulterous Falmouth Squire

- Title No title or *incipit*. The text follows item 35a with no discernable break except for the two-line initial "M" at the beginning of the first line. The text begins near the bottom of folio 136v. The poem has been known to modern scholarship as *The Adulterous Falmouth Squire* on the basis of lines 54–59, but not on the basis of any manuscript authority.
- 6 And fro hell I wyll you tech. Compare the readings of P and R, largely shared by C: "For soule-hele Y wil you tech."
- 8 *that his teching do breke.* Compare the readings of P and R (largely shared by C): "that is cause of spouse-breke."
- 13 Hys awne word. Rate or his copy-text has omitted the first line of this stanza. Compare R: "For that bonde we may not breke / If we hys owne worde wil holde, / Tyll deth come that all schall wreke, / And lappe us done in clay full colde."
- 18 *Kyng Rycherd*. This is Richard II, who was deposed by his cousin Henry Bolingbroke, the earl of Derby and future Henry IV, in 1399. King Richard I died of battle wounds in 1199, but his death was not commonly cited as a divine punishment by later medieval historians.
- 19 *Kynge Saber and Absolone*. "Saber" is probably a reference to King Sapor I, though it is somewhat obscure and clearly posed problems for the scribes. Rate has written "Faber"; R and C, "Saber"; P, "Sother"; and L reads "Sacre." Sapor (Shapur) was a third-century Persian king who captured the Roman emperor Valerian; in legend he then fell victim to Zenobia, the warrior princess of Palmyra. The legend is told by Petrarch and Boccaccio, and subsequently by Chaucer in The Monk's Tale (*CT* VII[B²]2319–26). The fall of Absolom, the rebellious son of King David, is recounted in 2 Samuel 13–18.
- 20 And Kynge Davyd that made the Sauter boke. Though David did not, as line 22 suggests, lose the crown of Israel, the civil wars and family strife that followed his adultery with Bathsheba (described in 1 Samuel 11–12) were often seen as divine punishment. His authorship of the Psalms was widely accepted in the Middle Ages.
- 35 For all is bot a dygnité. The sense of this stanza seems to be that marriage is equally honorable and equally available for both king and beggar. Canon law held that both the poor and servile were allowed to marry freely; see Sheehan, "Theory and Practice: Marriage of the Unfree and Poor in Medieval Society."
- 54 In Felamownte. Falmouth is located on the south coast of Cornwall.
- 55 Thirti wynter sene the dede. P and R share this reading, but L reads "Thirty wynter befor the dethe" and C reads "Thirty wynter sythe the dethe." These readings

presumably refer to the Black Death of 1348 and would make more sense as an attempt to suggest a fixed date, though the narrative needs no such precision. 58 Be one fader and moder getyne. Rate (or possibly his copy-text) has omitted the rhyme word (which should be "borne") and copied lines 57–59 out of order. Compare the reading of C: "Be oon fadur and modur geton and borne / Squyres they were of grete renown, / As the story tellyth me beforne." 122 One oure space. R, C, and P read "Oon heere-brede," conceiving of the impossible escape spatially (a hair's breadth) rather than temporally. beralle. Beryl is a clear stone, like crystal, commonly said to be the foundation 147 stone of the New Jerusalem. 153 The tymour. This is presumably a songbird of some kind; the MED records this instance as the only citation for "timor" (n.). 177 pynakyll. The MED's definition of "pinacle" (n.) d., citing this instance, suggests that the word may mean "tent" or "pavilion" here. It is otherwise hard to understand a spire or promontory made of golden cloth, and R reads "pavelyone." 192 Man, fro myscheff thee amend. It is not clear when the angel ceases talking and the

36. THE LEGEND OF THE RESURRECTION

Origin, Genre, and Themes

Though *The Legend of the Resurrection* is a unique text, surviving in no other manuscript, it is not an unusual one. Many legends about the aftermath of the Passion circulated in the later Middle Ages, drawing from the canonical gospels, the various apocryphal works of the early Church, and scholarly Latin narratives such as Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*. The most popular legends recount the Harrowing of Hell and the fate of Pontius Pilate; legends of the Resurrection and the appearances of Christ were almost as popular, surviving in both narrative and dramatic texts.

narrator's voice resumes. R has an alternate stanza here, followed by two additional concluding stanzas warning the reader of death's inevitability and finality.

The only source for Ashmole 61's *Legend of the Resurrection* that has been positively identified is *The Northern Passion* (item 28). The influence of the latter can be seen in approximately forty lines which are borrowed directly, but many of the *Legend*'s events do not appear in *The Northern Passion*. ¹⁵⁸ The *Legend* may also derive from the late medieval mystery plays, which usually included several scenes involving the Marys at the sepulcher and some of the appearances of Christ to the disciples after the Resurrection. The *Legend* shares an odd

¹⁵⁸ F. Foster provides a table of these correspondences in her edition of *The Northern Passion* (2:96, n. 2). The borrowings are drawn from two different parts of *The Northern Passion*. One small group of lines (6–10) in the *Resurrection* corresponds to lines 762–65 of the *Passion* (i.e., lines 811–14 in F. Foster's edition). The majority of the remaining correspondences are between lines 537–95 of the *Resurrection* and lines that are not present in Ashmole 61's copy of *The Northern Passion* (as Rate seems to have deliberately abridged the section describing the Resurrection) but that appear in most other manuscripts (F. Foster's lines 2027–74). This section describes the decision of the knights to tell Pilate the truth about the Resurrection, and their subsequent agreement to conceal it.

detail, the names of the four knights who guard the sepulcher, with a play in the N-Town Cycle (formerly known as the Ludus Coventriae). In the *Legend* and the N-Town "Guarding of the Sepulcher" play the knights make similarly extravagant boasts and are painted as broadly comic figures. ¹⁵⁹ The two texts may share the same source (perhaps a lost French Passion text) or the *Legend* may be partly based on the N-Town play. ¹⁶⁰

The *Legend* shares more than just a possible source with Middle English drama: like the diverse *dramatis personae* of the urban cycle plays, the *Legend* features a wide range of characters, from the farcical knights to the majestic risen Christ, as well as the appealingly human Mary Magdalene and the doubting apostle Thomas. Middle English drama often balances vivid, naturalistic dialogue with lyrical monologues proclaiming the divine significance of the events underway, as in the thirty-five line speech of Christ as he rises from the sepulcher. In this proclamation, Christ announces the completion of the Redemption and reminds the audience once again of the Crucifixion.

These two themes, completion and remembrance, structure the entire story presented here. The Emmaus episode, in which Christ (disguised as a traveler) reminds the grieving disciples of the prophecies of his Resurrection, repeats the theme of fulfillment announced by Christ's own earlier declaration that the prophecies of Daniel and Jeremiah have come to pass (lines 149–60). And nearly every episode recalls some earlier moment in Christ's ministry or Passion: Mary Magdalene kneels in emotional submission, hoping to anoint Christ's wounds just as she did at her sister Martha's house in Bethany; the travelers to Emmaus recognize Christ just as he breaks bread in a clear recollection of the Last Supper; the appearance to Thomas involves a re-crucifixion of Christ, as his wounds are newly opened to save one more sinner.

Christ's body and its availability as tangible (or at least visible) proof of God's mercy remains at the center of this story. Despite the knights' boasts that they will guard it hand and foot, the body rises and is made manifest to believers. Easter and the Resurrection also ushered in a period of optimism and confidence within the cycle of the Church's liturgical year. On Easter, a large candle was placed in the choir of medieval churches, where it stood for forty days until Ascension Day. As John Mirk explains in his *Festial*, this light signified "that Christ, the which ys the chef lyght yn holy chyrch and hathe thes fourty deyes oponly apperyd to hys dyscyplys by mony wayes and taght hom the faythe." Though medieval belief in the Eucharist meant that Christ's body was always available in the mystery of the transformed sacrament, the symbolism of the Paschal Candle made Christ's physical presence, the proof and the promise of salvation, visible to all who believed.

Manuscript Context

The Legend of the Resurrection was likely composed partly on the basis of *The Northern Passion* (see above), and the two texts share a number of other close connections. Both mix the

¹⁵⁹ On the tradition of this comic portrayal, see Woolf, *English Mystery Plays*, pp. 273–75. See also Sugano, *N-Town Plays*.

¹⁶⁰ The connection was first noticed by Ernst Falke, who suggested the poem was the source of the play (*Die Quellen des sogenannten Ludus Coventriae*, pp. 84–85). Woolf pointed out that the influence could easily run the other way and that a lost source is a more likely explanation (*English Mystery Plays*, p. 407, n.22).

¹⁶¹ Mirk, *Mirk's Festial*, pp. 151–55.

¹⁶² For another view of the relationship between Resurrection texts and the Eucharist, see Beckwith, "Absent Presences."

gospels with enlivening legendary material and narrate events in a similar style, influenced by popular romance and the demands of oral performance. The *Legend*'s tail-rhyme stanzas further emphasize this relationship to romances like *Sir Isumbras*, *The Erle of Tolous*, and *Lybeaus Desconus* (items 5, 19, and 20). The *Legend* can also be compared to the other texts in Ashmole 61 that celebrate important days in the Church's liturgical year, including *The Knight Who Forgave His Father's Slayer*, *Sir Cleges*, *The Feasts of All Saints and All Souls*, *The Northern Passion*, and *Saint Margaret* (items 18, 24, 25, 28, and 37).

The text's precise location in the manuscript appears to be a matter of convenience or happenstance. Though it clearly belongs within the large group of devotional texts where it appears, it seems to share few obvious connections to the texts that immediately precede and follow it, *The Adulterous Falmouth Squire* and *Saint Margaret* (items 35b and 37).

Text

No other manuscript preserves a copy of this text; this is particularly unfortunate because Ashmole 61's text is demonstrably defective in several ways. Some of these defects were very likely in Rate's copy-text, and others are probably due to his inattentive copying. Several lines have been omitted, and others present strained or obscure readings. The repetition at line 210 of lines 182–210 suggests that Rate's concentration was not at its height in copying this text.

A more complicated problem is created by the discontinuity in the manuscript's text at line 358, when it leaps from Mary Magdalene's announcement to the apostles to the middle of the Emmaus episode. The manuscript presents these lines in the following order: 210–358, 420–73, 371–419, 359–70, 474–605. Horstmann presents one solution to the problem by simply switching the block of text that runs from the beginning of the Emmaus episode to the Doubting Thomas scene, but this in turn creates another odd juncture between lines 473 and 359, where the text seems to repeat itself. The text reads considerably more coherently if the exchange between Peter and Thomas in lines 359-70 is considered as a response to Mary Magdalene's announcement; this avoids, for example, the oddity of having Thomas introduced as "one discypull that ther was / Of Ynde his name was Thomas" fifteen lines after he has first spoken, as he does in Horstmann's arrangement. These two stanzas, lines 359–70, could conceivably belong after the return of the Emmaus pilgrims to Jerusalem (i.e., at line 437), but two further pieces of evidence suggest that Thomas first expresses his doubts in response to Mary Magdalene's testimony. Two gospels describe the apostles as initially dubious of Mary's report, and lines 359-60 are taken from The Northern Passion, where they are used to describe the apostles' reaction to Mary Magdalene's report, not that of the travelers to Emmaus. 163 Several more stanzas may be missing from the text, and in any case, readers ought to view the arrangement presented here as provisional.

Printed Editions

Horstmann, Carl. "Nachträge zu den Legenden." Pp. 441-47.

Reference Works

NIMEV 3980 MWME 2.4.36.394, 544–5

Morey, James H. Book and Verse: A Guide to Middle English Biblical Literature. Pp. 308-09.

¹⁶³ See *The Northern Passion* (item 28), lines 1889–90. The relevant passages in the gospels are Mark 16:11 and Luke 24:11.

See also Beckwith (2000), Bowers (1963), Furnivall (1896), O. Pickering, Sheingorn (1987), Spector, Sugano, and Woolf (1972) in the bibliography.

- Title No title or *incipit*. The title used here has been taken from the few scholarly descriptions of the text (i.e., in Guddat-Figge, *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, and in Blanchfield, "Idiosyncratic Scribe"). The text begins three-quarters down the leaf of fol. 138v, immediately after the colophon of the preceding item.
- 9 *thei toke ther gate*. See lines 1825–34 of *The Northern Passion* (item 28). This opening section is based on Matthew 27:62–66.
- 14 *He wold ryse up the thyrd dey*. This line has been emended, and two lines are missing from the start of the following stanza; Rate's copy-text may have been defective here.
- 55 Pylat callyd to hym knyghtys. A line is missing from the beginning of this stanza. In The Northern Passion and in Matthew 27, the soldiers are in the service of the Jews, not Pilate.
- 57 Syr Cosdram and Syr Emorant. The origin of these names for the knights is unknown, though they appear in the N-Town play "Guarding of the Sepulcher" as Amoraunt, Arphaxat, Cosdram, and Affraunt (see introduction to the text). The names are vaguely French, as if these knights belonged in a chivalric romance. Metlizki has pointed out another "Sir Amoraunt," a Saracen giant who fights Guy of Warwick (Matter of Araby in Medieval England, pp. 196–97). "Olde" in line 56 presumably means "mature" here, and not "elderly."
- 73 Ther if ther com syche two. As comparison to the boasts made by the soldiers in the N-Town play makes clear, the knights make increasingly ludicrous boasts; Sir Gemerant is promising to fight off two thousand (not merely two) tomb robbers. The comic qualities of both the knights and their extravagant language locates them firmly in the tradition of the *miles gloriosus*, the "braggart soldier" of Plautus and other classical dramatists.
- 96 Syr Amorant seyd, "Lysten to me. A line is missing from this stanza, and in line 99 "hede" is clearly a mistake for "fet." See lines 1955–58 of the Cambridge Dd.1.1 text of The Northern Passion (NP, 2:232): "Than seyde on, herken to me / Us behovith ful war to be. / On behoveth at his hevid to wake / Another at his fet good keping to make."
- thei had no power to wake. For a medieval audience, the lassitude of the knights at the sepulcher would be implicitly compared with the candlelight vigils performed by the faithful at the Easter sepulchers constructed in parish churches throughout England; see Sheingorn, Easter Sepulchre in England, pp. 57–58.
- *Jeromy*. The prophecy mentioned in lines 153–55 seems to be that of Isaiah 9:6–7, but various texts in Jeremiah were often used as prophecies of Christ as well.
- Danyell. Though several parts of the Book of Daniel were also often cited as prophecies of Christ, the prophecy described in lines 158–60 is a reference to Isaiah 53:5 (as interpreted by John 1:29).

212	Mary Jacobye. Mary, mother of James the Lesser, is mentioned in the accounts of the Resurrection in Mark 16:1 and Luke 24:10. Many medieval legends consider her the half-sister of the Virgin Mary, and she is often identified as the same Mary known as Mary Cleophas.
213	Mary Mawdeleyn and Salomé. Mary Magdalene is the one visitor to the sepulcher mentioned in all four gospels; see Matthew 28:1, Mark 16:1, Luke 24:10, and John 20:1. She was very widely venerated in the later Middle Ages and particularly cherished as the epitome of the repentant sinner and as a model of devotion to the body of Christ, the hallmark of fifteenth-century piety. Mary Salome is named in Mark 16:1 and was often considered the same as the Mary who was the wife of Zebedee and the mother of the apostles James the Greater and John, mentioned in Matthew 27:56.
221	Thi wyll be do. Raphael's response echoes the Lord's Prayer (Pater Noster).
227	Thus seyd the apostyll Seynt John. The deliverance of Joseph of Arimathea is not mentioned in the Gospel of John; the various medieval versions of the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus were the primary source for this legend (see <i>GL</i> , 1:221).
242	how sche seyd. This line and lines 244–45 have been emended; Rate (or possibly his copy-text) has confused the pronouns referring to the speaker of lines 245–82, but it is clearly Mary Magdalene.
257	my herte wyll breke. Mary Magdalene's response is characteristic of the emotional, affective piety commonly associated with her.
269	It were grete doute. This stanza is defective, possibly due to the addition of a line in the first half of the stanza.
306	He seyd to hyre full stylle. Presumably a stanza in which the angel speaks to Mary Magdalene has been mistakenly omitted.
328	And in the garthyn. See John 20:14–18, where the encounter takes place near the sepulcher.
349	To Oure Lady Mary. The first two lines of this stanza have been lost.
359	When his dyssiplus this word herde. On the placement of these two stanzas, see the introduction to this item.
371	Two palmers in that tyde. The following episode is based on the account in Luke 24:13–33.
383	Among us whyll that he yede. Rate (or possibly his copy-text) has rendered this stanza defective by altering the rhyme of line 385, which was probably "befall." He then added line 388, perhaps in an attempt to provide a near-rhyme for line 385.
392	agreved alle. The line clearly ought to end "agreved," for the sake of rhyme with line 395. Rate may have added the word as part of his alterations to the previous stanza (see note to line 383), in an attempt to provide a rhyming line for line 389.
397	Of Movses and of Isav See Luke 94.97

- That ilke dey. The following episodes (the appearances to the ten apostles and to Thomas) are based on the account of John 20:19–29.
- I ame com in thorow my vertu. As Jacobus de Voragine makes clear in the Golden Legend's treatment of the Resurrection, the miraculous ability of the risen Christ to enter into the sealed room was often compared to his miraculous birth from the "sealed" womb of the Virgin Mary as well as the escape from the sealed sepulcher (GL 1:217).
- When he com besyde the ston. This seems to be a reference to Christ's appearance to Peter after the Resurrection, an event that is referred to in Luke 24:34 but without specifying a time or place. Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica* is the likely source of the claim presented here; see also *GL* 1:220.
- 474 *Mary, Peter, and Seynt John.* A Mary is not mentioned in the gospel account, but her inclusion here is consistent with the medieval tendency to see both the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalene as fully involved in the life and ministry of the apostles.
- And put it in hys wonde. For a late medieval audience, Thomas's touching of the wound in Christ's side was not simply a means of overcoming his doubts, but an illustration of the way the wounds acted as the "entry" into Christ's body and thus God's mercy. See *The Wounds and the Sins* (item 38).
- I slepyd no slepe. This line could be emended to read "slepyd on slepe," which would make the appearance of the angels to Arfax a dream vision and also remain consistent with the earlier episode in which the soldiers could not stay awake. Otherwise, the line suggests a split between the tradition in which the soldiers slept through the Resurrection (as presented elsewhere here and in the N-Town "Guarding of the Sepulcher") and the more common one in which the soldiers witnessed the Resurrection but are rendered awe-struck and powerless to intervene. See Woolf, English Mystery Plays, p. 407, n. 20.
- 570 The kyghtys ther wey nom. See Matthew 28:11–15.
- And suere be ther god Mahune. Heathen knights swear by "Mahound" in many medieval texts, regardless of time or place; see the N-Town "Guarding of the Sepulcher," line 305, where Ameraunt swears by "Seynt Mahownd."
- 605a AMEN QUOD RATE. The text ends at the bottom of fol. 144v; Rate has left the bottom margin beneath this colophon blank.

37. SAINT MARGARET

Origin, Genre, and Themes

Though Saint Margaret had no documented historical existence and was not widely venerated until the ninth and tenth centuries, once her cult gained momentum she became one of the most universally beloved saints of the Western Church. In the Eastern Church she was venerated as Marina and depicted with similar iconography, though without the same

intercessory powers that were gradually attributed to her in the West. ¹⁶⁴ The earliest extant lives of Saint Margaret are in Greek, and there are various Latin versions that circulated widely; all the lives agree on the major details of Margaret's life and death. A virgin raised near Antioch, she is sought by the pagan Olibrius, who offers to marry her or make her his concubine. She refuses, proclaiming her love of Christ, and Olibrius imprisons her and subjects her to increasingly brutal tortures, which she endures cheerfully until her final martyrdom. In its basic elements, especially the lust of a pagan ruler that turns into sadistic torture, her life resembles those of other female virgin martyrs, and it often appears alongside the lives of Saint Katherine of Alexandria, Saint Agatha, Saint Juliana, Saint Lucy, or Saint Barbara. ¹⁶⁵

Two differing Latin versions are responsible for the major differences in subsequent vernacular lives, including the half-dozen surviving Middle English lives. In one early Latin version, when Margaret is threatened by a dragon in Olibrius's prison, she makes the sign of the cross and the dragon vanishes. In another early Latin version, later printed by the fifteenth-century Mombritius (and thus called the "Mombritius recension"), Margaret is swallowed by this dragon, but bursts forth unharmed from the dragon's belly before subduing another demon. ¹⁶⁶ Jacobus de Voragine, in his influential *Golden Legend*, testifies to the medieval awareness of these differing accounts. He dismisses the "Mombritius" account as unbelievable, but that version remained very popular, no doubt for the spectacular entertainment it offered audiences. The life presented here was probably written in the middle of the fifteenth century, based primarily on an earlier stanzaic version in Middle English descended from the "Mombritius recension." ¹⁶⁷ This text shares none of Jacobus's doubts about the believability of Margaret's triumph over the dragon and revels in the story's outlandish plot.

Modern readers are as likely to be struck by the gruesome violence of Margaret's torture as by the fantastic elements of the tale (such as the dragons). Graphic accounts of torture appear in the *passio* sections of many martyred saints, but legends of female virgin martyrs often concentrate on the bodily effects of torture to an even greater extent. As Elizabeth Robertson has argued, this seems to derive from the strong associations of women and the flesh; just as the body was imagined to be women's greatest source of spiritual weakness, the body was also the potential source of their spiritual victory. Margaret's virginal body attracts the unwanted attention of Olibrius, and then becomes the battleground of their encounter, as Olibrius tries to demonstrate his "posté" over her body while Margaret demonstrates the insignificance of this power.

This in turn relates to an underlying theme of the *Life of Saint Margaret*, the proper relationship of the physical and spiritual worlds. Olibrius, as Margaret consistently points out, worships sticks and stones; he also believes that since Christ was killed on the cross, he cannot be worthy of worship (lines 149–53). This literalism is compounded by the "nygramansy" of both Margaret's pagan father and Olibrius, sorcery which attempts to imitate God's power

 $^{^{164}}$ For a recent overview of Eastern and Western iconography of Margaret, see Drewer, "Margaret of Antioch the Demon-Slayer, East and West."

¹⁶⁵ For a useful overview of these legends, see Winstead, Virgin Martyrs, pp. 1–13.

¹⁶⁶ Frances discusses the various Latin versions in "Hitherto Unprinted Version of the *Passio Sanctae Margaritae*." She prints a copy of the "Mombritius" version in her edition of Wace's life of Margaret (*La Vie de Sainte Marguerite*). For the relationships between the various Middle English lives, see D'Evelyn's account in *MWME* 2.5.184.606–08.

¹⁶⁷ See below, Text.

¹⁶⁸ Robertson, "Corporeality of Female Sanctity," pp. 272–73.

over the physical world. Margaret, on the other hand, is supported by legions of angels and never seems troubled by the physical pain she endures. She also manages to turn Olibrius's tortures into spiritual signs of her Christian faith, as her immersions in boiling oil and water recall the sacraments of holy unction and baptism. There may even be, as Ruth Evans has suggested, a connection between the body of the virgin and the Eucharistic body of Christ, subjected to similar tortures in anti-Semitic legends. ¹⁶⁹

The strong emphasis on Margaret's bodily suffering also develops the close resemblance between Margaret's *passio* and the Passion of Christ. Some of the many points of connection include the scourging, the prayers preceding the climax, the attendant natural wonders of eclipse and thunder, and the forgiveness of witnesses (in Jesus' case, the penitent thief; in Margaret's, Malcus the executioner). Margaret's defeat of the dragons recalls the Harrowing of Hell, and the cross provides her with strength.

As this careful interweaving of themes and allusions suggests, though this legend of Margaret is luridly entertaining, medieval readers might find plenty to reflect upon here. The first to suggest that there is value in hearing or reading the legend is Margaret herself, who asks for and receives great benefits for all those who remember her. Her intercessory powers, described in careful detail within the legend itself, ensured that many people had good reason to keep her in mind. The most important of the powers ascribed to Margaret was her protection of pregnant mothers and as a guard against birth defects. Though a defiant virgin martyr, Margaret's miraculous escape from the belly of a dragon seems to have created this connection to childbirth, and this in turn ensured her considerable popularity throughout the later Middle Ages. Expecting mothers carried amulets depicting Saint Margaret and wore parchment strips containing her legend during labor. 170

Margaret's life was also likely to have been recounted on her feast day (July 20), and it was recommended reading for both cloistered women, who might imitate her commitment to virginity as brides of Christ, and young women of all kinds, who might read the legend as a broader lesson in chastity. Though Margaret's fierce rebukes of Olibrius's authority may have been appreciated by many female readers, the reliably misogynist *Book of the Knight of the Tower* nevertheless recommends that young women read the life of Margaret as a reminder that "many grete and evylle temptacions shall befyght and assaylle yow."

Manuscript Context

The nurse who raises Margaret outside of Antioch includes saints' lives in her oral instruction, another hint that the text sees itself as pedagogical, and this version of the life emphasizes Margaret's upbringing more than most. Though the behavior of Margaret might not fall under the accepted standards of *How the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter* (item 4), the two texts mark twin poles of pedagogical norms; where the one counsels prudence, industriousness, and a careful management of the goods of this world, the other insists on

¹⁶⁹ R. Evans, "Jew, the Host and the Virgin Martyr."

¹⁷⁰ One parchment amulet is illustrated on page 33 of Albert's essay, "La Legende de Sainte Marguerite." For Margaret's legend and maternity, see Wogan-Browne, "Apple's Message," and Larson, "Who Is the Master of This Narrative."

¹⁷¹ Caxton, Book of the Knight of the Tower, p. 92.

¹⁷² For a more complete reading of the nurse's value in providing female instruction that runs counter to the patriarchal brutality of Olibrius and Margaret's father, see K. Lewis, "Life of St. Margaret of Antioch," pp. 130–33.

the limits of prudence and the demands of earning treasure in heaven. Both see a woman's chastity as her most important means of earning honor in this world and the next.

Saints' lives presumably made useful pedagogical tools partly because of their capacity to entertain, and *Saint Margaret* is certainly designed to entertain. As in *Saint Eustace* (item 1), the romance elements of *Saint Margaret* have been strongly emphasized. The persistent trope of sorcery, the two villainous brothers who appear as dragons, Margaret's manner of victory over them, and even her brash confidence all recall the elements of *Lybeaus Desconus* (item 20). Margaret's exile from her noble birth and fervent adherence to her absent lover/hero are also the stuff of romance, as is much of the language and narrative technique.

Text

The text presented here in rhymed couplets derives from an earlier life of Margaret in four-line stanzas, which it closely resembles in many details and phrases, though it has cut out several of Margaret's speeches in order to hasten the narrative. ¹⁷⁴ Another copy of this couplet version appears in the Brome Manuscript, Br, though that text breaks off at line 365. Fragments of the text also appear in two early prints by Pynson and Redman (*STC* 17325 and 17326). The Brome text may have been written a few years before Ashmole 61, and in any case Rate does not seem to have been the author who turned the stanzaic life into couplets. That author introduced a few confused readings, further compounded in a few cases by Rate's mistakes and revisions. But Rate does not seem to have altered his text very considerably, and in several cases his readings are preferable to those in the Brome manuscript.

Printed Editions

Horstmann, Carl, ed. *Altenglische Legenden, neue Folge mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen*. Pp. 236–41. [Prints the text of Ashmole 61, with variants from early prints.] Smith, Lucy Toulmin, ed. *A Common-place Book of the Fifteenth Century*. London: Trübner and Co., 1886. Pp. 107–18. [Prints the incomplete text of the Brome MS.]

Reference Works

NIMEV 2673 MWME 2.5.184.606–08

See also Delany, Duffy (1990), Gravdal, Krahl, Larson (2002 and 2003), K. Lewis (1998 and 2000), Price, Reames, Robertson, Winstead, and Wogan-Browne (1994 and 2001) in the bibliography.

Title *Margaret*. The simplicity of this title, written in a slightly larger version of Rate's regular hand, resembles the title given for the other saint's life in Ashmole 61, *Saint Eustace* (item 1).

7 *Hyr fader*. Though many versions of Margaret's life, including the influential version in the *Golden Legend*, mention that Margaret's conversion to Christianity

¹⁷³ In at least one moment, Rate inadvertently recalls *Lybeaus* very directly; see the note to line 353.

¹⁷⁴ For this source, written in quatrains, see Reames, *Middle English Legends of Women Saints*, pp. 63–74. Though there are many verbal parallels between these two texts, the stanzaic version was written in the thirteenth century and undoubtedly predates the version presented here.

- angered her pagan father, few describe her parents in any great detail. The description here recalls the romance *topos* of the banished child in medieval romance and (more distantly) the Oedipus myth.
- 9 *a prince of hy degré*. Medieval saints' lives commonly specify the noble origins of saints; see line 136 below.
- Antych. Antioch, in modern Turkey. As a major city in the Roman Empire, with a hybrid population of Greeks, Jews, and other groups, Antioch was one of the centers of early Christianity. Though captured by crusaders in the First Crusade and held for nearly two centuries, it fell to the Mamluk Sultan Baibars in 1268. An attempt to recapture the city led by the English King Edward I failed, and the city remained in Muslim control.
- 21 the scryptour. Br reads "As the wrytyng hym told." Neither the MED nor the OED records a use of scripture in the sense suggested here; the word most commonly refers to the Bible or other holy writing. But divination by consulting texts at random, either the Bible or Virgil's Aeneid (the sortes Virgilianae), was a common form of augury, and the reading makes plausible sense.
- 35 *Into Azy.* Presumably Asia Minor; in other versions, Margaret is sent approximately fifteen miles outside of Antioch.
- 43 Sche was feyre. Br's reading, Sche waxyd fayre, is slightly better, as it prevents confusion with the norys mentioned in line 37 and more clearly advances the narrative into Margaret's adolescence.
- 60 *ever more*. Br has four additional lines here: "To the fader and sune and the holy goste, / That ys kyng and lord of mytys moste, / That hevyne and erth all wroght, / To hym sche betoke all hyr thowght."
- Seynt Laurance and Seynt Stevyn. Two of the most famous early Christian martyrs. Saint Lawrence was a deacon martyred by the Emperor Valerian in 258 by being roasted on a gridiron. Saint Stephen is usually considered the first martyr of the Christian Church; his death by stoning is recounted in Acts 6–8. Margaret's eager appreciation of these saints' lives is here presented as a model of education; see the introduction to the text.
- 76 Olybrius. In other versions, Olibrius is described as a prefect or judge.
- As he rode by the wey. As Sheila Delany suggests of the equivalent moment in Bokenham's life of St. Margaret, this encounter "represents a moment of pastourelle inserted into hagiography" (Impolitic Bodies, p. 80). A pastourelle is a dialogue poem in which a scholar, knight, or clerk encounters a maiden in a rural setting and tries to court her.
- 136 If thou be born fre. Olibrius asks about Margaret's social class; see line 9. In The Stanzaic Life of Margaret (Reames, Middle English Legends of Women Saints), Olibrius goes on to say that "If thou be of thral born, I geve thee gold and fee" (line 85), thus implying that if she is not noble, she will be his concubine rather than his wife.

145 *I wyll be baptyst.* The *Stanzaic Life* uses the past tense here: "I am a Crysten woman, baptised at the funtestone" (line 88). Though Margaret's devotion would normally suggest that she had already been baptized, the author of this text may be looking ahead to line 476, which seems to suggest that she has not yet been baptized. In the early Church, adult baptism or baptism shortly before death was not uncommon.

- parte of the crose. In many versions, including that in the Golden Legend, Margaret does not receive a piece of the Holy Cross but makes the sign of the cross instead.
 But the popularity of the version presented here may be seen in the many depictions of Margaret holding a cruciform staff or sword as she subdues the dragon.
- 297 *thee for to nevyn*. Br preserves an intriguing alternate reading, *wyfyne* ("to wed"). This would further identify Margaret as a "bride of Christ," a role often imagined for nuns and anchoresses.
- 304 was of colour as grasse gren. A misreading may have introduced the faulty couplet here; compare *The Stanzaic Life of Margaret*, line 182: "That mayde wexed alle greene as the gresse in somers tyde." Horstmann deletes line 305, which strains the syntax and sense of the verse.
- fouler best. This version appears to be unique in making this second assailant another beast; in most related versions (including the Stanzaic Life), he is described as a devil.
- fynnes. The MED cites this as the only use of "fin" in connection with a dragon or devilish beast; elsewhere the word is used only for fish.
- 351 Belgys. The names of these devils, Belgys and Geffron, are misreadings of the names used in the "Mombritius" Latin text and related vernacular versions (including the Stanzaic Life), which name them Beëlzabub and Ruffinus or Ruffus. The latter name is used for a devil in the Chester Cycle; see line 271 of The Fall of Lucifer in The Chester Mystery Cycle: A New Edition with Modernised Spelling (Mills, p. 75, lines 298–300) and in Audelay's Poems of John Audelay. Br calls them "Belgys" and "Refun"; the name Geffron may have mistakenly occurred to Rate on the basis of a character in Lybeaus Desconus; see item 20, line 795.
- 364 *In this lyknes sent us thus.* Most versions that feature this dialogue do not attribute the governance of the devils to Olibrius or mention his necromancy.
- *a woman with chyld.* The harm done by the devils to unborn children suggests Margaret's future role as a protector against birth defects. See the introduction to this text.
- 381 Salomon the wyse. The biblical Solomon was often imagined as having occult or magical power. The story here ultimately derives from the apocryphal Testament of Solomon; see Durling and Charlesworth, Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, 1:935–97.
- 448 *croune of gold.* The crown of gold wagered by Olibrius is an ironic touch; martyrs were believed to receive crowns of gold in heaven and are often depicted wearing crowns.

- 489 *Malcus*. Malchus was the name of the slave whose ear was cut off by Peter during the arrest of Jesus; see John 18:10 and *The Northern Passion* (item 28), lines 528–57 and 674–85.
- 533 were forth brought. The line should read "were borne" for the sake of rhyme.
- Michaell, Gabryell, and Raphaell. As Sherry Reames points out in her note to lines
 335–36 of The Stanzaic Life of Margaret (Middle English Legends of Women Saints,
 p. 135), the archangel Michael was also frequently depicted as a slayer of dragons and demons, and was occasionally paired with Margaret in church art.
- 592 Thyopy. Other Middle English versions refer to this biographer as "Theophyle" or "Theodocius"; all of these names are corruptions of "Theotimus," a fictional eyewitness first cited in the "Mombritius" Latin legend. The name most likely originates in Luke 1.3 and Acts 1.1, where Luke addresses "Theophilus," i.e., the one who loves God.
- 595 And he hyr norysschyd. This is a corruption of the claim that the nurse who raised Margaret joined "Theophyle" in preserving the body of Margaret and in founding a church in her name; see *The Stanzaic Life of Margaret*, lines 339–42.
- 607 Tewysdey. This is almost certainly a corruption of twenteuth, as in The Stanzaic Life of Margaret line 347, where Margaret's death and feast day is (correctly) dated July 20th.
- 619a AMEN QUOD RATE. This colophon is followed by a single blank line and then the first subtitle of the following text (*The Wounds and the Sins*).

38. THE WOUNDS AND THE SINS

Origin, Genre, and Themes

This simple poem of eight quatrains matching the seven wounds of Christ with the seven deadly sins was among the most popular lyrics of late medieval England. It survives in eleven manuscripts and probably dates from the very end of the fourteenth century. Though the poem features a few arresting images, its popularity likely stemmed from its convenient conjunction of two of the most widespread schema of medieval piety, the wounds of Christ and the seven deadly sins. The poem provides a very simple way to contemplate the Passion while enumerating (or identifying) one's sins, and this utility must have been the source of its appeal.

Devotion to the wounds of Christ was not a new practice in the fifteenth century, but it reached its greatest height in this period, with the spread of the Mass of the Five Wounds. ¹⁷⁵ The origins of this devotion go back to the influential meditations on the Passion ascribed to St. Bernard of Clairvaux and St. Anselm in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The brands of piety espoused by the Dominicans and Franciscans — and the cachet provided by St. Francis's stigmata — further developed interest in the wounds in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The wounds were often imagined as wells from which the faithful might be sustained

¹⁷⁵ On the origins and development of devotion to the wounds, see Gougaud, *Devotional and Ascetic Practices*, pp. 80–91; for the introduction of this cult to England, see Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, pp. 84–90.

or as places of shelter. The fourteenth-century English mystic Richard Rolle provided the most vivid contemplation of the wounds in Middle English, describing the wounds as innumerable stars that shine by day and by night, as the cells of a honeycomb, and as a dovecote: "For a dufhouse is ful of holys, so is Thy body ful of woundes. And as dove pursued of an hauk, yf she mow cache an hool of hir hous [enter a hole of her house] she is siker [safe] ynowe, so, swete Jhesu, in temptacion Thy woundes ben best refuyt [refuge] to us." This idea of the wounds as refuge came to center around the wound in Christ's side, which in turn led to the contemplation of the blood and heart of Christ. In the sixteenth century, devotion to the Sacred Heart of Christ eventually displaced the devotions involving the wounds, but not before these devotions produced an enormous amount of verse, prose, and visual art.

The seven deadly sins had their own long development in both theology and popular belief, and as early as Hugh of Saint Victor's twelfth-century writings the seven deadly sins were juxtaposed with the seven nations of Canaan overthrown by the Israelites, the seven petitions of the *Pater Noster*, and the seven virtues. Other works compared them to the seven sacraments and the seven works of mercy.¹⁷⁷

Medieval writers tended to see numerical correspondences in all aspects of the Bible, and they found correspondences between the five wounds of Christ (in the hands, feet, and side), the five senses in which he was afflicted, and the five senses (or "wits") through which mankind can be tempted. They also found correspondences between the seven words spoken by Christ from the cross and the seven deadly sins, or between the seven deadly sins and the seven times Christ shed blood (at the Circumcision, on Mount Olivet before the Passion, at the scourging, from the crown of thorns, the wounds in the feet, the wounds in the hands, and the piercing of his side). The series of fives applied to the five-pointed star on Gawain's shield in *Sir Gawain in the Green Knight* suggests how such correspondences could be used as a kind of talismanic protection, providing both a key to understanding the hidden connections of universal order and to overcoming the world's dangers.

Upping the number of wounds from the usual five to seven, as this poem does, provided another convenient correspondence that would allow the Passion to take its customary place at the center of all medieval devotion. Some of St. Bonaventure's Good Friday sermons make a very similar correspondence, but the poet responsible for this poem may have hit upon the idea independently. ¹⁷⁹ Matching the wounds and sins involved taking some liberties with the traditional representations of the wounds and introducing some curious incongruities (see Explanatory Notes to lines 13 and 20), but the appeal of making these two lists correspond seems to have outweighed the difficulties. In two manuscripts that preserve *The Wounds and the Sins* (C and Cambridge, Magdalene College MS Pepys 1584), the poem is linked into a similar series of correspondences, appearing after a sequence of poems on the seven works of bodily mercy, the seven works of spiritual mercy, the five senses, the five spiritual wits, and the seven deadly sins in isolation. ¹⁸⁰ In C, the sequence continues with prose texts on the twelve articles of belief, the seven sacraments, the three arrows at Doomsday, and the eight tokens

¹⁷⁶ Meditations on the Passion, printed in Rolle, English Writings of Richard Rolle, p. 35.

¹⁷⁷ On the development of these correspondences, see Bloomfield, *Seven Deadly Sins*, pp. 83–104.

For an example of a lyric contrasting the seven blood-sheddings with the seven sins, see C. Brown, *Religious Lyrics of the XIVth Century*, pp. 218–19.

¹⁷⁹ See Bonaventure, *Opera omnia*, 8:261 and 8:264–65.

¹⁸⁰ For the contents of C and its close relationship with MS Pepys 1584, see McSparran and Robinson's introduction to the facsimile, *Cambridge University Library MS Ff.2.38*. On the relationship of this manuscript to Ashmole 61, see the General Introduction.

of meekness. The mnemonic potential of these kinds of schemes was widely appreciated by the laity, and such numerical schema offered a useful means of catechism. Perhaps this is also why a similar poem appears in Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates' MS 18.7.21, the commonplace book of the fourteenth century preacher John Grimestone. ¹⁸¹

Another possible use of *The Wounds and the Sins* appears in a different manuscript that preserves the poem, British Library MS Additional 37049. This devotional miscellany was probably produced in a northern Carthusian charterhouse, and it illustrates the poem with Christ on the cross, wounded and bloody, on fol. 30r. ¹⁸² Illustrations of the wounds became increasingly widespread in the fifteenth century, available as manuscript drawings, on parchment rolls, in stained glass, and as printed woodcuts. ¹⁸³ Ashmole 61 offers a simplified version of this same practice in Rate's drawing of a badge with five suns, a common form of iconography for the five wounds, on fol. 106r after *The Short Charter of Christ. The Wounds and the Sins* is not unlike that drawing: a small, crudely made device that nonetheless evokes the most heartfelt concerns of late medieval piety.

Manuscript Context

The religious contents of Ashmole 61, like much fifteenth-century piety in general, are centered around the Passion and the body of Christ. In *The Wounds and the Sins, Maidstone's Seven Penitential Psalms*, and *The Stimulus Consciencie Minor* (items 32 and 33) the suffering body of Christ helps the reader identify sin, develop genuine contrition for sin, and remedy sin. All of these texts, like *The Northern Passion* and *The Lament of Mary* (items 28 and 30), involve varying degrees of visualizing the Passion, an event meant to be re-created frequently in the devout imagination just as it is re-created in the various texts here. The technique of inhabiting Christ's own voice (or Mary's) to reproach the sinner — and thus suffer for the sake of one's own sins — appears frequently in all of these works.

The Wounds and the Sins can also be compared to The Stations of Jerusalem (item 34): the lyric reimagines the Passion by mapping it onto Christ's body, just as the travel text maps the Passion onto the space of Jerusalem. The Wounds and the Sins has fewer obvious connections with the items that immediately adjoin it, though Saint Margaret (item 37) certainly involves a very Christ-like passio.

Text

Among the eleven manuscripts that preserve this text there is considerable variation in the order of the stanzas, variance not uncommon in Middle English lyrics. The main tradition, represented by British Library MS Harley 2339, C, and several other manuscripts, presents the sins in the following order: pride, wrath, gluttony, lechery, envy, avarice, and sloth. A variant arrangement, preserved in P, orders the stanzas to conform with the "Gregorian" scheme: pride, wrath, envy, sloth, avarice, gluttony, and lechery. ¹⁸⁴ Ashmole 61's text is closer to that of the main group (especially in the form of the final stanza) but presents the stanzas in yet another order: pride, envy, gluttony, lechery, wrath, avarice, and

¹⁸¹ NIMEV 3356; see Wilson, Descriptive Index of the English Lyrics in John of Grimestone's Preaching Book.

¹⁸² For a facsimile of this MS, see Hogg's *Illustrated Yorkshire Carthusian Religious Miscellany*.

¹⁸³ For discussion of examples, see Gray, "Five Wounds of Our Lord," pp. 164–65. For a few examples, see Mâle's *L'Art Religieux de la Fin du Moyen Age en France*, pp. 108–10.

¹⁸⁴ On the "Gregorian" and other arrangements of the seven deadly sins, see Bloomfield, *Seven Deadly Sins*, pp. 72–87.

sloth. Possibly Rate has tried to present the wounds in something of a systematic order, keeping the stanzas on the wounds in the two hands and the feet together in sequence. In other respects, his text is fairly close to the main group of texts represented by MS Harley 2339, with only minor errors.

Printed Editions

Brown, Carleton, ed. *Religious Lyrics of the XIVth Century*. Pp. 227–28. [Prints the text of MS Harley 2339.]

Davies, Reginald T., ed. *Medieval English Lyrics: A Critical Anthology*. Pp. 207–08. [Prints the text of P.]

Person, Henry A., ed. *Cambridge Middle English Lyrics*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1953. Pp. 9–11, 68–69. [Prints the texts of variant versions in Cambridge University Library MS Mm.4.41 and P; prints MS Harley 2339 in notes.]

Reference Works

NIMEV 4200 and 4185 (see also 3356)

Greentree, Rosemary. The Middle English Lyric and Short Poem.

See also Best, Bloomfield, Duffy (2005), Gougaud, Gray (1963 and 1972), Jeffrey (1975), Pfaff, Wenzel (1986), and Woolf (1968) in the bibliography.

- Title The *incipit, Sequitur septem peccata mortalia*, is written in Rate's regular hand. It begins one-third down the leaf of fol. 150v. The poem has been given various titles by editors, none with any manuscript authority. In C, it is preceded by the *incipit* "The VII virtues contrarie to the VII dedli synnes."
- 8 Therfor, man, of luffe thou lere. Compare the reading in London, British Library, MS Harley 2339: "Envyous man, of love thou lere."
- Of a clene meyden I was born. Christ's virgin birth cannot easily be thought of as a wound like the others in this category, and the Redemption as a whole (alluded to in lines 14–15) seems equally hard to fit into this scheme. Perhaps the poet was thinking of Christ's Incarnation in human flesh as a kind of wound (in that it was a purely voluntary act of submission). In P, the equivalent of line 15 reads "Alle my body was beten for sin" (Davies's line 27), which would make this stanza a clearer allusion to the Scourging. Another possibility is that the stanza is the haphazard result of combining the seven "blood-sheddings" of Christ with the five wounds, and that this allusion to the Nativity is a revision of a description of the Circumcision. In a similar poem comparing the seven blood-sheddings with the seven deadly sins, the Circumcision is contrasted with lechery (see poem 123 in C. Brown, Religious Lyrics of the XIVth Century, pp. 218–19).
- 20 Therfor forgyff and be not wroth. The correspondence between the wound in the right hand and the sin of wrath is not entirely clear, though perhaps they are based on the traditional associations of the right hand with agency (and thus vengeance) and the left hand with duplicity (as in Matthew 6:3). But Rosemary Woolf cites this stanza and the following stanza on avarice as an example of the poem's "lack of congruity in subject matter," suggesting that there is no reason "why the wound

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of the right hand should be opposed to wrath and that of the left to avarice (or indeed why either sin should be opposed to a wounded hand at all)" (*English Religious Lyric*, p. 224). In Cambridge University Library MS Mm.4.41, the comparisons are, in fact, reversed, and in P the wound in the right hand is attributed to both sins (see Person, *Cambridge Middle English Lyrics*, pp. 9–11, 69).

29 *Jhesu, for thi wondys fyve*. P and Cambridge, Jesus College MS 13 feature a different closing stanza that retains Jesus as the speaking voice:

I was beten for thy sake:
Sin thou leve and shrifte thou take,
Forsake thy sin and luf me;
Amende thee and I forgif thee.

32 And therwith there saulys fede. There is no explicit or colophon. A single blank line separates the end of this text from the title of the following item, Sir Orfeo.

39. SIR ORFEO

Origin, Genre, and Themes

Written around the beginning of the fourteenth century (perhaps in the vicinity of London), *Sir Orfeo* survives in three manuscripts. Though these three manuscripts alone do not indicate a widespread audience, they were copied roughly fifty years apart from each other, and in three different regions (London, Warwickshire, and Leicestershire), suggesting the work's enduring appeal. Two related Scots texts also survive, one as fragments of a narrative and the other as a ballad. ¹⁸⁵ While these traces constitute the sole evidence for *Sir Orfeo*'s medieval popularity, its modern popularity is well-documented. In the past century scholars have generally viewed *Sir Orfeo* as "a small poetic miracle" and have produced voluminous amounts of accompanying scholarship. ¹⁸⁶ Of all the texts in Ashmole 61, none has attracted the amount of critical attention that *Sir Orfeo* has. Though much of this attention stems from the poem's beauty and ingenious construction, a large portion of the scholarly interest can also be attributed to the poem's mysteriousness.

This mysteriousness does not come from unusual subjects (love, loyalty, the power of art), and the protagonists are very familiar, drawn from the classical myth of Orpheus, the Thracian harper who journeys to the underworld to retrieve his dead wife Eurydice only to lose her when he glances backwards on their return. But the Middle English text acquires its complexity by defamiliarizing crucial aspects of the story. Heurodys (Eurydice) does not die, but is taken — carried off alive by the mysterious Fairy King. ¹⁸⁷ Orfeo does not immediately set out to look for her but encounters her in the midst of a lengthy self-imposed exile. He does not lose her on their return from the land of Fairy, and the story includes a second climax when Orfeo returns to his own kingdom and tests the loyalty of his steward.

For the Scots King Orphius, see M. Stewart's "King Orphius." For the ballad version, see Child's English and Scottish Popular Ballads, 1:215–17. See also Wright, "From Sir Orfeo to King Orpheus."
 The quotation is from Pearsall, "Madness in Sir Orfeo," p. 51.

¹⁸⁷ See Severs, "Antecedents of *Sir Orfeo*." Though Rate spells the heroine's name "Meroudys" or possibly "Iuerodys" (see note to line 44), the more common Middle English form of this name is used throughout the introduction and notes.

By defamiliarizing the Orpheus legend, these innovations make it more difficult to apply the interpretations commonly applied to that legend. The content of the legend was well-known from a variety of classical texts, particularly Ovid's *Metamorphoses* X and Virgil's *Georgics* IV. ¹⁸⁸ Medieval retellings include versions by Boethius, Fulgentius, William of Conches, Nicholas Trevet, Boccaccio, Christine de Pizan, and Robert Henryson, a group that spans the entire thousand years of the Middle Ages and suggests that the story invited constant updating and retelling. From Boethius onwards, the text was interpreted as a philosophical or Christian allegory, particularly (for the later Middle Ages) in the popular *Ovide Moralisé* and the moralized Ovid of Pierre Bersuire. Orpheus becomes a figure for Christ, rescuing a fallen humanity from death, or he represents sinful humanity, who loses his soul (Eurydice) by sliding back into sin. ¹⁸⁹

Modern scholarship has often interpreted *Sir Orfeo* as another Christianized allegory in this vein. ¹⁹⁰ Yet such interpretations often leave many details unexplained or strain at some of the contradictions. If Orfeo is a Christ-figure, why is he unable to prevent Heurodis's seizure, and why does he declare his loyal steward as the heir-apparent at the end of the poem? If Orfeo is a sinner, what is his sin? Many critics have assumed that the sin is pride or lust (whether it is Orfeo's lust or Heurodis's), but the poem provides no more than a few faint hints of either. ¹⁹¹ The equation of the Fairy King with Satan, and his kingdom with hell, has some evidence to recommend it but poses similar problems of incongruity. The rational order of Dante's hell or the clearly moralized purgatory depicted in many medieval visions of the afterlife are reassuring in comparison to the Fairy King's realm, which remains "disturbingly insusceptible to any stable analysis." ¹⁹²

Many of these interpretive difficulties come from the poem's fusion of the Orpheus myth to the form and style of the Breton lay. ¹⁹³ This was likely not the work of the Middle English poet, but a combination made by an earlier, lost lay in either French or Breton, perhaps the same "lai d'Orphey" referred to in the French *Floire et Blancheflor*, the *Lay de l'Espine*, and the prose *Lancelot*. ¹⁹⁴ The poem's opening makes much of its status as a Breton lay and (by extension) the Celtic folklore it contains. As a result, some critics have suggested that Celtic folklore and other legends of "fairy" hold the key to understanding this text. ¹⁹⁵

¹⁸⁸ The most thorough survey of the medieval Orpheus legends is John Friedman's study, *Orpheus in the Middle Ages*. See also Warden's edited collection, *Orpheus: The Metamorphosis of a Myth*, and Gros Louis's "Robert Henryson's *Orpheus and Eurydice* and the Orpheus Traditions of the Middle Ages."

¹⁸⁹ Pierre Bersuire juxtaposes these two interpretations; see Friedman, *Orpheus in the Middle Ages*, pp. 127–28.

¹⁹⁰ See, for example, the works by Doob, Friedman, Grimaldi, Jeffrey (2003), Masi, and Riddy (1976).

¹⁹¹ Grimaldi tries this line of argument; see "Sir Orfeo as Celtic Folk-Hero," pp. 158–61.

¹⁹² Cartlidge, "Sir Orfeo in the Otherworld," p. 226.

¹⁹³ For a brief discussion of the Breton lay as a subgenre of romance, see the note to line 9, and the introduction to *The Erle of Tolous* (item 19); see also the introduction by Laskaya and Salibury to *Middle English Breton Lays*, pp. 1–14. Though Marie de France and various other writers in France and England seem to rely on a coherent understanding of what the Breton lay was, no lays in the Breton language have survived. Modern readers must therefore interpret the narrator's claim that *Sir Orfeo* is based on a Breton lay with the same caution used to decode other aspects of the text.

¹⁹⁴ On the sources of *Sir Orfeo*, see Bliss, *Sir Orfeo*, pp. xxvii–xli; see also Severs, "Antecedents of *Sir Orfeo*."

 $^{^{195}}$ See, for example, Grimaldi, "Sir Orfeo as Celtic Folk-Hero," pp. 149–53; Lasater, "Under the Ympe-Tre"; and Baldwin, "Fairy Lore and the Meaning of Sir Orfeo."

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These readings help define the context for the "ympe-tre" under which Heurodys is taken and some aspects of the uncanny relationship between the Fairy King's world and the world of Tracyens; but no single Celtic source shares more than a few of the elements of *Sir Orfeo*. ¹⁹⁶ It is not clear how much Celtic folklore was known by fourteenth-century English audiences or to what extent the poem's Breton origins are brandished as exoticism.

The political drama of Orfeo's lost-and-reclaimed kingship has also prompted considerable interpretation. This aspect of the poem seems relatively unimportant until the striking conclusion, in which Orfeo returns in disguise to test the loyalty of his steward. Medieval romances often examine the loyalty of stewards and vice-regents. Some are despicably treacherous, such as Mordred in Malory's *Morte D'Arthur*; or Marrok, the steward of King Ardus, in *Sir Tryamour*; or Gower's "Tale of the King and His Steward's Wife" (*CA* 5.2643–2825). Others are loyal, like the stewards who serve Bevis of Hampton and Guy of Warwick. That Orfeo's steward exemplifies loyalty to perfection, in both his passionate attachment to his king and his continuation of Orfeo's generosity (to minstrels), is clear. Less clear is Orfeo's wisdom in first abandoning his kingdom and finally declaring the steward his successor, though these decisions have also been defended by critics.¹⁹⁷

Other lines of inquiry include the historical and political background of the poem, its formal techniques, and theories of gender and psychoanalysis. ¹⁹⁸ Perhaps the most dominant strand of modern interpretation (and one agreed upon by many readers who agree on little else) concentrates on Orfeo's music as a figure for the power of art to bind and heal. ¹⁹⁹ In a poem marked by profound sorrow, Orfeo's harping is twice described as "blissedfull" ("blissful"), and it brings joy to those who hear it. The text's turning point can be located in the lines describing Orfeo's ability to enchant the wild animals with his music; from this point on, the poem shows Orfeo in action, overcoming the paralyzing grief of his ten-year exile and restoring his identity (even as he twice conceals it).

For a poem in praise of art, *Sir Orfeo* displays its artistry elegantly. Mary Hynes-Berry has pointed to the poem's masterful balance of artifice and simplicity:

The antithesis that distinguishes and elevates this romance to such a high level of art is that between its complexity as artifact and its essential simplicity. The language itself, with its simple diction and syntax, its spontaneous interjections and exclamations, and its speaking voice, belies all the formal complexities it transmits. The passionate simplicity of the language corresponds to the simple passions that inform the poem.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁶ See Bliss, *Sir Orfeo*, pp. xxxi–xxxix; see also D. Allen, "Orpheus and Orfeo, the Dead and the *Taken*."

¹⁹⁷ Edward D. Kennedy criticizes Orfeo's actions in "Sir Orfeo as *Rex Inutilis*." For a defense, see A. M. Kinghorn, "Human Interest in the Middle English *Sir Orfeo*." See also J. Eadie, "Suggestion as to the Origin of the Steward in the Middle English *Sir Orfeo*."

¹⁹⁸ For a recent historicist reading, see Falk, "Son of Orfeo." Hynes-Berry considers the poem's construction in "Cohesion in *King Horn* and *Sir Orfeo*"; see also Kooper, "Twofold Harmony of the Middle English *Sir Orfeo*." For gendered readings, see Spearing, "*Sir Orpheo*: Madness and Gender"; see also Carlson, "Minstrel's Song of Silence." O'Brien subjects the story to Jungian psychoanalysis in "Shadow and Anima in *Sir Orfeo*."

¹⁹⁹ Perhaps the most influential of these readings is Lerer's, "Artifice and Artistry in *Sir Orfeo*." See also Liuzza, "*Sir Orfeo*: Sources, Traditions, and the Poetics of Performance."

²⁰⁰ Hynes-Berry, "Cohesion in King Horn and Sir Orfeo," p. 68.

The poem's formal elegance involves many symmetries, such as those between Heurodis's description of the Fairy King's palace and Orfeo's later impression, between the loss and the reappearance of Heurodis during the "hot underyntydes," and between the two climactic harping scenes (to take only a few examples). The narrating voice betrays nothing, not even ironic detachment, leaving the reader free to enjoy the remarkable feat of a serene, otherworldly tale about violent passion and human vulnerability.

Manuscript Context

Given the poem's reputation for artistry and sophistication, *Sir Orfeo* might seem to stand apart from the rougher, homespun material that makes up much of Ashmole 61. But as a romance centered around the loss and recovery of a family, *Sir Orfeo* resembles *Sir Isumbras* and its partner text, *Saint Eustace* (items 5 and 1). In this it shares the concern with marriage that runs throughout the manuscript, attested in texts as diverse as *How the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter, Sir Corneus, The Jealous Wife*, and *The Adulterous Falmouth Squire* (items 4, 21, 22, and 35b). The construction of *Sir Cleges* (item 24), with its combination of folk-motifs, may approach the elegance of *Sir Orfeo*, and the two texts also share a humane appreciation for sacrifice, patience, and grace.

Even a cruder entertainment like *Lybeaus Desconus* (item 20) shares several important elements with *Sir Orfeo*, including the rescue of a heroine from a dark magic with indefinite Celtic origins. The eerily deserted palace of Sinadoun and the Fairy King's palace have a surprising amount in common. It is impossible to guess whether the audience of Ashmole 61 preferred the repetitive swashbuckling of *Lybeaus Desconus* to the understated (and unchivalric) interior drama of *Sir Orfeo*, but the presence of both texts in one manuscript suggests an audience prepared to enjoy both.

The uncanny horrors of Fairy Land's living dead can be profitably compared to the other afterlives and other worlds of Ashmole 61, particularly those of *The Feasts of All Saints and All Souls* and *The Adulterous Falmouth Squire* (items 25 and 35b). Finally, Rate's juxtaposition of *Sir Orfeo* with *Vanity* (item 40) seems like a particularly good example of his ability to pair related texts; this connection is discussed in the introduction to *Vanity*.

Text

Sir Orfeo survives in two other manuscripts: the famous Auchinleck Manuscript (Ak) and H, a composite manuscript. The Auchinleck Manuscript dates from the 1330s, and Harley dates from the first half of the fifteenth century. The relationship of each manuscript to the others is unclear. The Auchinleck Manuscript is damaged and lacks the prologue (usually supplied in critical editions by H), but generally preserves the best text. The Harley text and Ashmole 61's text share many inferior readings but on a few occasions present a more attractive reading than that of the Auchinleck text. The Harley text and Ashmole 61's text probably (as Bliss suggests) derive from a shared ancestor, possibly a text that was as good as or better than the Auchinleck's, but that has suffered from at least a century of scribal error and revision.²⁰¹

In many respects, Ashmole 61's text is superior to Harley's, but Rate's usual habits are fully in evidence: Ashmole 61's text lacks over fifty lines present in the Auchinleck text, and while some of these are also missing in Harley's text (suggesting that they may have been missing from Rate's copy-text), many are not. In addition to omitting certain lines, Rate's

²⁰¹ For a fuller discussion, see Bliss, Sir Orfeo, pp. xiii–xvii.

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copy has added forty-nine lines, most of which are probably Rate's own compositions. ²⁰² The omissions and additions are scattered throughout the text and do not show any deliberate agenda on Rate's part, but rather demonstrate his usual habit of rolling revision. With the exception of a few strained readings and one miscalculation towards the poem's close (see the note to line 551), Rate's text is quite readable. And while it lacks the complexity of Auchinleck's text, it preserves much of its affective power.

Printed Editions (based on the text of the Auchinleck MS unless otherwise noted.)

Alexander, Michael, and Felicity Riddy, eds. *The Middle Ages* (700–1550). London: Macmillan Education, 1989. Pp. 158–76.

Bliss, A. J., ed. *Sir Orfeo*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966. [A useful scholarly edition; prints the complete texts of all three MSS.]

Laskaya, Anne, and Eve Salisbury, eds. *The Middle English Breton Lays*. Pp. 15–59. [Thoroughly annotated.]

Rumble, Thomas, ed. *The Breton Lays in Middle English*. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1965. Pp. 206–26. [Prints text of Ashmole 61.]

Sands, Donald B., ed. *Middle English Verse Romances*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1966. Pp. 185–200.

Sisam, Kenneth, ed. *Fourteenth Century Verse and Prose*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921. Rpt. and corr., 1975. Pp. 13–31.

Speed, Diane, ed. *Medieval English Romances*. 2 vols. 3rd ed. Durham: Durham Medieval Texts, 1993. 1:122–48.

Stevenson, John Horne. "Syr Orfeo." *Scottish Antiquary* 16 (1902), 30–38. [Prints Ashmole 61.]

Tolkien, J. R. R. "Sir Orfeo: A Middle English Version by J. R. R. Tolkien." Ed. and intr. Carl F. Hostetter. *Tolkien Studies* 1 (2004), 85–123. [Based primarily on Ak, but emended to correct for meter and to recover the supposed Essex dialect of the original.]

Zielke, O., ed. Sir Orfeo, Ein englisches Feenmärchen aus dem Mittelalter, mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen. Breslau: Koebner, 1880. [A critical edition largely superseded by Bliss.]

Adaptations and Modernizations

Tolkien, J. R. R., trans. Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, Pearl, and Sir Orfeo. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1975. Pp. 123–37.

Reference Works

NIMEV 3868

MWME 1.1.86.135–36, 293–94

Rice, Joanne A. Middle English Romance: An Annotated Bibliography, 1955–1985. Pp. 481–501.

See also Cartlidge, Doob, Friedman (1970), Grimaldi, Gros Louis, Jeffrey (2003), Lerer (1985), Liuzza, Longsworth, Olsen, Pearsall (1996), Riddy (1976), Rider (1988 and 2000), Spearing, Tajiri, and Warden in the bibliography.

²⁰² Bliss provides a full list of the omitted and added lines (*Sir Orfeo*, p. xvi). The more notable omissions and additions are discussed here in the Explanatory Notes.

Title *Kyng Orfew*. Written in Rate's usual script; the text begins one-quarter down the leaf of fol. 151r. Like the *explicit* in H ("Explicit Orpheo Regis"), Rate's title is entirely appropriate, and perhaps preferable to the usual title *Sir Orfeo* (which is not attested in the other two manuscripts, but is suggested in line 26). Rumble adopted the title for his edition, based on Ashmole 61's text. But most scholarship has consistently titled the poem *Sir Orfeo* since Zielke's 1880 edition.

1–26 The textual status of the opening to *Sir Orfeo* is complex and uncertain. Lines 1–6 appear as lines 259–64 of the Middle English romance *Arthour and Merlin*, a text which also appears in Ak. The borrowing has never been satisfactorily explained, though it may suggest that the two texts circulated together in other (lost) manuscripts besides Ak. As a formulaic description of springtime, the lines are neither particularly appropriate nor strikingly out of place at the head of this text, but they have little apparent connection to the lines that follow. H preserves a different opening that joins the Ashmole 61 text at line 11:

We redyn oft and fynde y-write As clerkes don us to wyte, The layes that ben of harpyng Ben y-founde of frely thing: Sum beth of wer and some of wo . . .

excellent

Lines 7–26 are a substantial revision of the corresponding lines 1–24 in H. The entire prologue is missing in Ak due to loss of a leaf. But H's prologue also appears as the prologue to the *Lay le Freine*, another Middle English Breton lay present in Ak; the relationship between *Sir Orfeo* and *Lay le Freine* is the subject of debate. Bliss suggested that the two were written by the same author, who may have intended the prologue to introduce both texts (*Sir Orfeo*, pp. xlv–xlviii); for an argument against this theory, see John B. Beston, "Case against the Common Authorship of *Lay le Freine* and *Sir Orfeo*." See also Bliss, "*Sir Orfeo*, Lines 1–46."

- Som thei made of herpyngys. This description of the Breton lay is consistent with other prologues; see the Prologue and lines 24–26 of Guigemar in Marie de France's Lais. Scholars have made attempts to define the Breton lay more precisely and to articulate the relationship between the French lais and their Middle English adaptations. See Donovan, Breton Lay; Bullock-Davies, "Form of the Breton Lay"; and Finlayson, "Form of the Middle English Lay."
- fary. The word here suggests both "the land of fairies," the fairies themselves, and the supernatural more generally. The word fary derives from fay (Old French fée) and ultimately from Latin fata, "Fates."
- 31 Hymselve he lernyd for to herpe. Other romance heroes are harpers (see lines 235–44 of King Horn, in Herzmann, Drake, and Salisbury, Four Romances of England, and lines 1882–92 of Sir Tristrem, in Lupack, Lancelot of the Laik and Sir Tristrem. The connection between kings and harpers partly derives from the medieval image of King David as harper.

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39 A blyssedfull note of paradys. On the harp as a heavenly instrument, see F. Pickering, Literature and Art in the Middle Ages, pp. 285–301. See also Friedman, Orpheus in the Middle Ages, pp. 80–84.

- Suche melody therin is. Ak and H follow the description of Orfeo's harping with details of his godly lineage: "A stalworth man and hardi bo; / Large and curteys he was also. / His father was comen of King Pluto, / And his moder of King Juno" (Ak lines 41–44).
- 41 *Tracyens*. The classical setting of the Orpheus story is in Thrace, in northern Greece. In Ak, the narrator claims that "Traciens" is an old name for Winchester, thus providing an English setting for the poem.
- Dame Meroudys. Rate seems to have misread the name of the heroine, spelled "Heurodis" in Ak and H, though there is a faint possibility that he has written "Iueroudys," since the three connected minim strokes of "m" can occasionally be read as "iu." But Rate usually uses a long descending stroke to write an initial "I," and so "Meroudys" seems more likely. For the associations of the name Heurodis / Eurydice, see Laskaya and Salisbury, Middle English Breton Lays, p. 45, n. 52.
- 49 *the begynnyng of May*. Encounters with the fairy world often take place in May; see Baldwin, "Fairy Lore and the Meaning of *Sir Orfeo*."
- 55 underontyde. The word does not designate a precise time of the day, and can mean "midmorning" or "midday." Friedman has made a strong case for understanding the sense here as "midday." Based on a verse of Psalm 91 (90) that mentions a "noon-day demon" or the "destruction at noon," Jewish and Christian exegetes established a theory that Satan customarily attacked men and women on hot days at noon (Friedman, "Eurydice, Heurodis, and the Noon-Day Demon"; see also Friedman, Orpheus in the Middle Ages, pp. 187–90). The Fairy King also appears on a hot "undryntyde" in line 288.
- 58 hympe tre. The precise meaning of this term has provoked debate. The MED suggests either "grafted" or "orchard" tree; for the various attempts to explain the term and its significance in medieval theology and Celtic folklore, see Bullock-Davies, "'Ympe-tre' and 'Nemeton'"; Coolidge, "Grafted Tree in Sir Orfeo"; and Lasater, "Under the Ympe-Tre."
- 88 My leffe wyff, what ayles thee. Riddy compares Orfeo's lament for the body of Heurodys to the traditional meditations on the crucified body of Christ ("Uses of the Past in Sir Orfeo," pp. 9–10).
- 92 Thou arte becom wode and wyld. Orfeo identifies Heurodys's transformation as madness, a suggestion already made in line 70; the line prefigures Orfeo's own "wildness" after her abduction, in lines 239–70.
- Were thou arte I wold be with thee. In their note to lines 129–30 of Sir Orfeo in The Middle English Breton Lays, Laskaya and Salisbury note the echo of Ruth 1:16: "For withersoever thou shalt go, I will go: and where thou shalt dwell, I also will dwell." The verse was commonly associated with matrimony; see Bergner, "Sir Orfeo and the Sacred Bonds of Matrimony," pp. 432–34.

When I gan myselve awake. As Longsworth points out, only in the Ashmole 61 text does Heurodys wake up *before* she sees the Fairy King, an oddity that goes unexplained ("Sir Orfeo, the Minstrel, and the Minstrel's Art," pp. 3–4). Rate has almost certainly engaged in his occasional habit of anticipating the plot (see Scribe in the General Introduction).

- He schewyd me hys castellus and tourys. Lines 158–60 appear to be Rate's additions, and Blanchfield suggests they recall lines 809–10 of *The Stations of Jerusalem* (item 34) and the description of Satan's temptation of Christ ("Idiosyncratic Scribe," p. 75). The allusion, intentional or otherwise, certainly emphasizes the dangerous allure of the Fairy King.
- Than thei gone batell to make. Neither Ak nor H suggest any battle taking place; the Queen simply disappears. The word batell can mean "warfare" or "a battalion or troop"; possibly we are to imagine the knights drawing up their ranks in this line (compare Ak, "Thai made scheltrom"), in case there should be a battle. Perhaps line 192 is meant to suggest an actual battle, in which case it is a rather clumsy attempt to explain Heurodys' mysterious disappearance.
- 207 my hyghe stuerd. Romances include many examples of both good and bad stewards. See p. 582. See also *The Erle of Tolous* (item 19), line 1191 and note, and *Sir Cleges* (item 24), line 536 and note.
- 278 They com aboute hys harpe to here. Lines 278–81 are not present in Ak or H, and may be scribal additions meant to emphasize the charming of the wild beasts, an episode more important to other accounts of the Orpheus legend; see Friedman, Orpheus in the Middle Ages, pp. 53–58.
- 305 Anon he lokyd. In Ak, this clearly marks a separate occasion from the previously described scene: "And on a day he seigh him biside . . . "
- Every faucon hys pray slowgh. This day's hunt departs from the usual outcome, described in line 293, when the hunt ends without capturing any prey.
- 359 *He beheld the werke full wele.* Either a second line of this couplet is missing or (much more likely) this line is a scribal interpolation; it is not present in Ak or H.
- full of presyos stonys. The description of the Fairy King's castle continues for twelve more lines in Ak (lines 367–78 in Bliss, Sir Orfeo):

The werst piler on to bihold burnished Was al of burnist gold Al that lond was ever light For when it schuld be therk and night dark The riche stones light gonne As bright as doth at none the sonne. the sun at noon No man may telle, no thenche in thought nor imagine The riche werk that ther was wrought: Bi al thing him think that it is In every way it seems to him The proude court of Paradis. In this castle the leuedis alight: ladies dismount (enter) He wold in after, yif he might.

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that were nomen wyth them ete. This line is a scribal addition, perhaps an attempt to clarify line 386; the sense is strained. Compare the following lines to those in Ak: "And sum were in water adreynt, / And sum with fire al forschreynt. / Wives ther lay on child-bedde, / Sum ded and sum awedde" (lines 397–400 in Bliss, Sir Orfeo).

- 438 Largely I wyll thee pay. This is an example of the "rash boon," a quickly repented gift common in many folktales and medieval texts; cf. Lybeaus Desconus (item 20), line 98 and note, and Sir Cleges (item 24), line 423. Richard Firth Green considers the legal ramifications of rash oaths, including the Fairy King's promise here, in his illuminating study, A Crisis of Truth: Literature and Law in Ricardian England, pp. 306–35.
- 453 nowghe. "At present, just now." See MED, "nouthe" (adv.).
- thourow Godys grace. Lines 464–65 are not in Ak or H. Though the attribution of the couple's escape to God's grace may suggest a religious interpretation of the story, the phrase is also a convenient rhyming tag and may not be particularly significant.
- Yiff I were Orfeo the kyng. The text of this section is unsatisfactory, but it has not been emended. In Ak, Orfeo begins a long conditional statement, "Yif ich were Orfeo the king, / And hadde y-suffered ful yore / In wildernesse miche sore . . . And ich found thee thus trewe, / Thou no schust it never rewe" (i.e., never regret it). By the end of Orfeo's hypothetical statement, the steward and his knights have recognized Orfeo. H cuts this out entirely and has Orfeo bluntly declare his identity. Rate seems to have considered copying the long conditional statement of his copy-text, and then (perhaps not understanding it), abruptly changed course in lines 552–53 and had Orfeo fully reveal his identity.
- Thus endys here "Orfeo the Kyng." Ashmole 61's final eight lines are the longest version of the poem's ending. Ak closes with only one couplet: "Thus com Sir Orfeo out of his care; / God graunt ous alle wele to fare! Amen" (in Bliss, Sir Orfeo, lines 603–04). H expands this: "Thus cam they out of care; / God yeve us grace wele to fare, / And all that have herde this talkynge / In heven-blys be his wonyng! / Amen, Amen, for charité! / Lord us graunt that it so be!"
- 603a *Explicit Orfew*. The text concludes at the bottom of fol. 156r; Rate has left the bottom margin beneath this *explicit* blank.

40. VANITY

Origins, Genre, and Themes

This meditation on the world's transience, written in eleven rhyme royal stanzas, survives in no other manuscript. The language, dialect, and manner suggest that it was composed in the North or northern Midlands of England during the fifteenth century. The poem's primary source is Ecclesiastes, the Old Testament book quoted in the poem's first line and paraphrased throughout. Ecclesiastes, believed to have been written by Solomon, counterpoises fierce cynicism about the folly of human behavior with some of the Bible's most beautiful (and mem-

orable) lyrical language. When the vogue for *contemptus mundi* (contempt of the world) literature developed in the twelfth century, Ecclesiastes provided much of the inspiration and many of the images used by the writers who took up this theme. Foremost among these was Lothario dei Segni, the future Pope Innocent III, whose *De miseria humane conditionis* survives in over five hundred manuscripts throughout Europe, and was read throughout the later Middle Ages and into the Renaissance. ²⁰³ The work was translated by Chaucer (though his translation does not survive) and supplied the major source for the enormously popular Middle English penitential handbook, *The Prick of Conscience*. ²⁰⁴ This work may also lie behind *Vanity*, though perhaps exerting only indirect influence.

Along with Ecclesiastes, *Vanity* draws on a variety of commonplaces about the inevitability of death, the world's transience, the folly of human vanity, and the unpredictability of Fortune. The Ages of Man, alluded to in lines 64–70, were known to medieval writers through the *Elegies* of Maximianus (a late classical text often used in medieval textbooks). ²⁰⁵ The Wheel of Fortune, the subject of lines 50–56, was very commonly illustrated, and Boccaccio, Chaucer, and Lydgate describe the dangers of Fortune in the learned tradition of writing *de casibus virorum illustrium* (on the fall of mighty men). *Vanity* also resembles several elegies for kings and nobles, whose deaths provided an occasion for reflections on human limitation. ²⁰⁶

With its mixture of bitter satire, grotesque detail, and sober morality, Innocent III's *De miseria humane conditionis* illustrates the delicate balance every work of *contemptus mundi* must manage. On the one hand, the rhetoric must be effective and compelling, without suggesting an entirely inappropriate delight in rhetoric for its own sake. In the hands of Chaucer's Pardoner (whose depiction of the foul depths of sin and its putrefaction of the human body owes much to *De miseria humane conditionis*), *contemptus mundi* simply becomes contempt for everything other than his own artistry. At the same time, the writer who wishes to stay true to the original purpose of *contempus mundi* writing must avoid the kind of elegiac tone that often characterizes writing on the theme *Ubi sunt*. This writing elegizes the lost heroes or brilliant artifacts of yesteryear, and despite its moral purpose often produces longing for the past rather than a fixed gaze on the next life.

Vanity negotiates this balance by adopting the stately measure of the rhyme royal stanza, used for public occasions and moral tales after Chaucer and Gower popularized it in the fourteenth century. ²⁰⁷ It manages to be vivid — old age will "croke both hand and kne" — without the prurient fascination with the grotesque shown by some medieval mortality poems. Though the stanzas meander through various subjects without a clear controlling scheme (and may be disordered through corruption of the text), the poem preserves something of the majesty of its biblical model. That the text has never received any significant scholarly attention is likely due to the fact that there are so many works like it, and not due to any faults of its own craftsmanship.

²⁰³ For a useful discussion of *De miseria humane conditionis* and the development of *contemptus mundi* writing, see Howard's introduction to Lothario dei Segni, *On the Misery of the Human Condition*.

²⁰⁴ On *The Prick of Conscience*, see the introduction to the *Stimulus Consciencie Minor* (item 33).

²⁰⁵ See Öberg, Versus Maximiani: Der Elegienzyklus.

²⁰⁶ For examples, see the poems printed by H. MacCracken and Scammell and Rogers, cited below.

²⁰⁷ For a history of the rhyme royal stanza, see Stevens, "Royal Stanza in Early English Literature."

POEM 40: VANITY 589

Manuscript Context

Vanity can be read as a coda to Sir Orfeo (item 39), another work that muses on the fragility of human life. Orfeo displays what might be viewed as a very proper contemptus mundi in his ten-year exile in the wilderness, though this seems prompted by grief and not the expectation of heaven. Sir Orfeo also ends with a strong affirmation of human love, something absent in Vanity, but the juxtaposition of these two poems may hint at a possible fifteenth-century interpretation of the enigmatic romance. Vanity also carries out ideas suggested by some of the other narratives in Ashmole 61; in Sir Isumbras (item 5), the title character is forced to abandon his own misplaced pride in his station, his family, and his wealth.

Vanity shares its closest connections with other contemplations of mortality in the second half of Ashmole 61, namely Maidstone's Seven Penitential Psalms, Stimulus Consciencie Minor, and The Sinner's Lament (items 32, 33, and 35a). Taken as a whole these texts suggest both a considerable interest in this theme and the remarkable range of genres that were created to meet that interest.

Text

In the absence of any other surviving text, the poem has been very sparsely emended, though several readings appear defective. But Rate has preserved the *ababbcc* rhyme scheme in all but one stanza (see note to line 47), a rare consistency that suggests he has not engaged in substantial revision of his copy-text.

Printed Editions

Brown, Carleton, ed. *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century*. Pp. 238–40. [See also the many similar lyrics pp. 222–66.]

Reference Works

NIMEV 2576

MWME 9.22.290.3024, 3390

Greentree, Rosemary. The Middle English Lyric and Short Poem.

See also Barclay, Bowers (1952), C. Brown (1924), Girvan, Lothario dei Segni, Lumby, H. MacCracken (1911), Scammell and Rogers, and Sitwell in the bibliography.

- Title *Vanylé*. The title is written in a slightly larger version of Rate's regular hand. C. Brown titles the poem *Vanitas vanitatum* on the basis of Ecclesiastes 1:2 (see note to line 1 below), but as the scribal title fits the poem well, it has been adopted here.
- 1 O vanyté off vanytés, and all is vanité. See Ecclesiastes 1:2: "vanity of vanities, and all is vanity."
- 11 *arras*. The name for fine tapestries produced in Arras (in modern Belgium) became synonymous with elegant tapestry of any origin.
- 13 Ennewyd. "To color, to make radiant, to adorn." See MED, "ennuen" (v.).
- *plesance*. The usual meaning is "satisfaction, delight, pleasure," but the phrase here likely includes the sense defined in *MED*, "plesaunce" (n. 2): "costly fabric from Piacenza" in Italy, used by ladies as a head covering.

And many low labours doth your observans. Though labours is an attested plural form of the noun "laborer," this term usually designates agricultural workers and seems out of place here. It is very likely a misreading, perhaps for "servitours" ("servants").

- 31 Kyngys and popys so rych were, at the laste. The sense of lines 31–32 is unclear, and the lines are almost certainly defective. It is not clear how the addressee is compared to kings and popes, and at the laste may refer to the kings and popes (i.e., at the end of their lives) or the addressee. Additionally, the MED records no instances of the phrase "do debate" (as opposed to the usual "maken debate"). In the absence of a single obvious error, the lines have not been emended.
- chekemate. Checkmate appears frequently in Middle English verse as a figurative expression for defeat or complete submission; see Lydgate's *Troy Book*, book 4, lines 2494–95: "The Grekis wern at meschef desolat / Troilus so narwe brought hem to chekmaat." See also Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess*, lines 618–64, when the Black Knight describes losing his queen (i.e., his wife) at a game of chess with Fortune.
- 47 passyd many a wynter. As C. Brown suggests, this might be emended to "passyd many a aventour," which would make more sense (since the emphasis in this passage is on experience, not merely age), and offer a better rhyme for lines 46 and 44 (Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century).
- 51 so slyper a pyn. To hang on a sliper or joly pin was a common idiom roughly equivalent to the modern "hang by a thread"; see MED, "pin," 9b.
- Onon be unforton the state that thei wer in. I.e., "soon their noble rank turns out to be a misfortune, because it put them in a position to destroy themselves."
- We geder the corn hom for other mens ryches. See Ecclesiastes 2:21: "For when a man laboureth in wisdom, and knowledge, and carefulness, he leaveth what he has gotten to an idle man: so this also is vanity, and a great evil."
- 77a AMEN QUOD RATE. Approximately two blank lines separate this colophon from the following text, King Edward and the Hermit.

41. KING EDWARD AND THE HERMIT

Origin, Genre, and Themes

This tale breaks off incomplete on the last surviving leaf of Ashmole 61; unfortunately, it survives in no other manuscript. But what survives is long enough to be both recognizable and enjoyable. No more than one or two leaves would have been necessary to complete the text, and the basic outline of the conclusion can be guessed on the basis of several other closely-related comic tales. Two of these surviving analogues, *John the Reeve* and *King Edward and the Shepherd*, were composed in the North or northern Midlands, a likely place of origin for *King Edward and the Hermit*; the third analogue, *Rauf Coilyear*, is Scots. All appear to be fifteenth-

century compositions but derive from older folktale traditions of "the king in disguise." Many ballads (and Shakespeare's $Henry\ V$) continued using the king in disguise motified into the eighteenth century. 209

In all four stories the king (either Edward I, Edward III, "good king Edward," or Charlemagne) encounters a stranger in the countryside, usually as a result of having been separated from his hunting party. The stranger does not recognize the king, and when the king asks for lodging, the stranger either churlishly refuses him or warns that he will only get meager fare. When the king is grudgingly given lodging, his rustic host eventually reveals that he has been poaching and the amused king is treated to a feast of his own game. The king, when asked his name and profession, offers a pseudonym and explains that he "lives in the king's court" (or makes a similar evasion). Some form of rustic entertainment follows the meal. In *John the Reeve*, the king learns a country dance; in both *King Edward and the Hermit* and *King Edward and the Shepherd*, the host teaches the guest a drinking game that involves nonsense words. The following morning the king leaves, pleased with his lodgings, and reminds the host that he has promised to come to court and receive reciprocal hospitality.

This is where *King Edward and the Hermit* breaks off, but the remainder of its plot presumably followed the outline of the analogues. When the rustic arrives at the court, he asks for the king by the pseudonym used before, and usually must endure scorn from some of the courtiers. In *King Edward and the Shepherd*, the rustic and the court resume the drinking game, before the king finally reveals his identity. After some amusement at the rustic's dread, the king then rewards him lavishly.²¹⁰

Of these analogues, *King Edward and the Hermit* most closely resembles *King Edward and the Shepherd*, concentrating on the comic possibilities of the sly exchanges between the king, who suspects his host is a poacher, and the host, who protests his innocence at appropriate length before revealing the enormous profits of his poaching. Both feature the drinking game, though only in *King Edward and the Hermit* is the king initially inept at playing it.

The poem does not take up some of the usual comic motifs inherent in the setting of the other "king in disguise" tales. The element of class humor dominant in the other stories is largely absent; usually the host combines crude, rustic manners with pompous self-satisfaction. In *John the Reeve* the titular hero boldly suggests his daughters as good marriage companions for two of his guests, the king and the earl of Gloucester, and wishes he could bestow the benefice of the parish church on the bishop of Durham. Rauf Coilyear knocks Charlemagne to the floor for a perceived breach of etiquette and reminds his guest, "Thow suld be courtes [courteous] of kynd, and ane cunnand courteir" (line 163). In *King Edward and the Hermit*, King Edward finds himself subject to unfamiliar social rules, but they are only the rules of his host's drinking game, not the crude manners of the peasant class. The lengthy description of the hunt at the outset of the tale and King Edward's choice of pseudonyms — Jake Fletcher (or

²⁰⁸ On the folktale origins, see Walsh, "King in Disguise." The drinking game motif of *King Edward* and the Hermit has its own long ancestry, dating back at least as far as the thirteenth century; see Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera*, pp. 213–15.

²⁰⁹ These include "The King and the Barker," "King Edward the Fourth and a Tanner of Tamworth," and "King Henry II and the Miller of Mansfield"; Child prints all of these in the entry for ballad number 273 in *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, 5:67–87.

²¹⁰ The only surviving copy of *King Edward and the Shepherd* breaks off before the shepherd is rewarded, but it likely concluded much as *John the Reeve* does. *Rauf Coilyear* adds a bizarre episode involving the newly knighted Rauf's battles with an infidel riding on a camel, who is eventually converted to Christianity.

Jake the Arrow-maker) — only emphasize the common bonds between the poacher/host and his royal guest.²¹¹ Hermits, unlike peasants, were essentially outside the bounds of class.

Making the poacher/host character a religious recluse also alters another comic element of the other stories, in which the host complains bitterly about the depredations of the king's agents before treating his guest to a lavish dinner. In *King Edward and the Hermit*, the hermit naturally makes no such complaints — his (false) poverty is entirely voluntary, and the joke drifts closer to the many medieval satires of worldly pleasure-loving monks (none more famous than Chaucer's Monk). Langland's *Piers Plowman* repeats several accusations occasionally made about hermits in this period, claiming that many were simply escaping work rather than retreating from the world. While the picture of the hermit in *King Edward and the Hermit* is incomplete, his boast of having often forced his way into charitable dinners at the royal court recalls such allegations.

Yet the hermit/poacher remains entirely likeable, a sly rogue who fends off all of the king's persistent questions about his livelihood but whose instinct for merriment gets the better of him. In the silent pause between lines 284 and 285, after the host and guest have ended their meager meal and settled down to bed in the dark, the hermit suddenly relents, realizing that the opportunity to have fun with a good "felow" comes only too rarely in a hermitage.

King Edward also behaves somewhat differently from his counterparts in the other tales. Charlemagne suffers Rauf Coilyear's rude cheer with bemused detachment, and in *John the Reeve* the king and his two noble companions whisper in Latin to each other before John upbraids them for their bad manners. But in *King Edward and the Hermit*, the king "was never so servysable," and performs his chores before dinner with the enthusiasm of a visitor to a dude ranch (line 177). Without the conclusion, it is impossible to assess the tale's tone with complete confidence, but it generally seems less interested in contrasting rustic buffoonery with courtly etiquette than the other tales, and more interested in enjoying the interaction between two sly "felows," likeable men with a knack for deception and a taste for fine living.

Manuscript Context

Were King Edward and the Hermit to end as Rauf Coilyear, John the Reeve, and King Edward and the Shepherd do, the hermit's arrival at the king's court would be preceded by various aggressive encounters with the king's courtiers. If so, this would only strengthen the more general connections between this tale and Sir Cleges (item 24), a story that also ends with a poor visitor's trials in a rich court. Both tail-rhyme narratives blend comedy and some of the motifs of romance. Both achieve some of their effect through the use of detail and clever dialogue. Both are also connected to the themes of hospitality, table manners, and courtesy that run throughout the manuscript.

But *King Edward and the Hermit* lacks the religious undertones of *Sir Cleges*, and in many respects lies closer to the burlesque of *Sir Corneus* (item 22). That tale also hinges around a drinking game and is also in the popular tail-rhyme form. Insofar as *King Edward and the Hermit* makes any serious comment on drunkenness, it resembles *The Debate of the Carpenter's*

²¹¹ Poaching itself, Hanawalt argues, is a "manly game" that needs both watchful foresters and cunning poachers to make it "an opportunity to display male virtuosity" ("Men's Games, King's Deer," p. 193). King Edward and the hermit play similar games in their conversation and their drinking, both involving their manhood and their identity as hunters.

²¹² For *Piers Plowman* and medieval concerns about undisciplined hermits, see Hanna, "Will's Work."

²¹³ On the unstable relationship between these comic tales and the larger genre of romance, see Snell, "Undercover King," pp. 135–38.

Tools (item 16) as a satiric portrait of drinking likely to be enjoyed by an audience with drinks close at hand.

Since Ashmole 61 breaks off before the completion of the tale, we cannot know if this text was intended to be the final one. But comparing estimates of how many lines of the poem were lost and the number of missing leaves at the end of the volume suggests that *King Edward and the Hermit* probably was the last text. If this text and *Saint Eustace* (item 1) were indeed bookends, the manuscript exhibits a curious symmetry, beginning and ending with a stories of deer-hunting and strange encounters in the woods.

Text

Since no other manuscript preserves this text, it has been emended very conservatively; nevertheless, a few defects are plainly evident. Several of Furrow's emendations have been adopted. A few of the 12-line stanzas are missing lines, and in at least one case Rate seems not to have recognized all of the northern forms of his exemplar (see textual note to line 366). It is impossible to tell exactly how much Rate has revised his copy, but since he nearly always preserves the rhyme in each stanza, it seems likely that he has refrained from major alterations.

Printed Editions

Child, F. J., ed. *English and Scottish Ballads*. 8 vols. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1857. 1:24–34.

Furrow, Melissa M., ed. *Ten Fifteenth-Century Comic Poems*. Pp. 237–69. [Also prints *John the Reeve*, pp. 185–234.]

Hartshorne, Charles Henry, ed. Ancient Metrical Tales Printed Chiefly From Original Sources. London: William Pickering, 1829. Pp. 293–321.

Hazlitt, William Carew, ed. *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*. 4 vols. London: John Russell Smith, 1864–66. 1:35–49.

Adaptations and Modernizations

Briggs, Katharine. *A Dictionary of British Folk-Tales in the English Language Incorporating the F. J. Norton Collection*. Part A, vol. 2. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970. Pp. 418–23. [Based on Hazlitt's translation.]

Hazlitt, William Carew, trans. *Tales and Legends of National Origin or Widely Current in England From Early Times*. London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1892. Pp. 223–34. [In prose.]

Reference Works

NIMEV 1764

MWME 9.24.15.3168-69, 3495-96

Thompson, Stith. Motif-Index of Folk Literature. [See K1812 and 1812.1.]

See also Birrell, Hanawalt (1988), Herrtage (1882), *King Edward and the Shepherd*, Lupack (1990), Snell, Wailes, and Walsh in the bibliography.

Title No title or *incipit*. The text begins approximately halfway down the page of fol. 157r.

be god Edwerd deys. "Good Edward" may refer to either Edward I or Edward III; both kings were generally well regarded by later generations, whereas Edward II's reign was usually seen as a dark period marked by political killings and military failures that concluded with the king's assassination. In John the Reeve, the king is Edward I; in King Edward and the Shepherd, he is Edward III. Thomas Hoccleve's Regiment of Princes mentions a legendary tradition of King Edward III traveling in disguise amongst his subjects to overhear their opinions of him (see Hoccleve, Hoccleve's Works, p. 92, lines 2556–62).

- Scherwod. Sherwood Forest in Nottinghamshire, legendary hideout of Robin Hood, was one of the largest royal forests. The royal forests were held directly by the crown, governed by special laws, and often used for hunting. Poaching was harshly punished, and local populations often resented the restrictions that kept them from using neighboring forests. See Young, Royal Forests of Medieval England.
- On hys pleyng for to lend. The following tail-rhyme line is missing, an omission that places some strain on the syntax of lines 16–23.
- 67 *ne sprong*. Though the *MED* cites several examples of "springen" meaning "to gallop," it cites only this instance as an example of "to ride to exhaustion."
- 85 *Seynt Julyan*. St. Julian, as the passage suggests, was the patron saint of travelers, pilgrims, innkeepers, and hospitality in general.
- Seynt Julyan a boune untyll. Though this reading makes plausible sense, Furrow very reasonably emends to a bonne hostel, on the basis of rhyme and the fact that this is a customary idiom (*Ten Fifteenth-Century Comic Poems*). See Chaucer's *House of Fame*, line 1022: "Seynt Julyan, loo, bon hostel."
- sir frere. The term "friar" may suggest that the hermit appears as a member of one of the mendicant orders, perhaps the Augustinians or Carmelites, who had a history of dwelling in remote priories. But the phrase "Sir Frere" can also be used as a polite greeting for any kind of monk or member of a fraternal order. See MED, "frer(e)."
- 122 I have non herbour tyll. As Furrow notes, the syntax in lines 121–22 is odd, relying on two prepositions ("for" and "tyll") for the same function (Ten Fifteenth-Century Comic Poems).
- 127 rotys and ryndys. See Sir Orfeo (item 39), lines 255–62.
- 154 I have ete up all the hyre. "I have consumed all the wages you've ever paid me" is a roundabout way of saying either "You haven't yet paid me anything worth my trouble" or "I have never been bound by contract to you."
- 169 Two thake-bendysfull. See MED, "thach(e)," where the compound thake-bendefull is defined as "the amount of straw that could be held by the tie about a bundle of thatch," citing this instance. The "mete" referred to in line 167 is food more nourishing than barley straw; see the note to line 319.

- That I ne hade a mery nyght. I.e., "I never had a bad day without a merry night." Compare line 136 of Rauf Coilyear, where the title character pledges "Eftir ane evill day to have ane mirrie nicht."
- servege. Though this is almost certainly an error for "servese," both terms have a strong connotation of feudal service or homage due to a lord, an ironic suggestion here.
- 250 *Hast thou any other heraud than so.* I.e., "Does your court have any better herald than this?" Heralds entertained and sang the praises of kings; the question is sarcastic.
- 316 Wylkyn Alyn. Wilkin was a common name and surname derived from William.
- 319 *corne and bred.* The horse is fed grain and baked loaves of coarse bread, the kind of hearty sustenance implied by "mete" in line 167.
- 327 A hownyd pote. Presumably this refers to mead or barley wine sweetened with honey.
- 330 *schell.* See *MED*, "shel(le)," 5. Though Furrow suggests that the cup would be a seashell (*Ten Fifteenth-Century Comic Poems*), this is not the case; the term can be used for shallow bowls or vessels of wood or other materials.
- fustybandyas. As Furrow suggests, this nonce word seems be a compound of "fusty" (strong smelling), "bon" (good, from French), "dias" (medicines, see MED, "dia"), i.e., "good strong medicine" (Ten Fifteenth-Century Comic Poems).
- totted. The MED cites this as the only instance of "totted" (adj) and offers the definition "foolish" on the basis of "tot(te)" (n.), "fool." But the word may also be a variant of "toti" (adj.), "dizzy, unsteady," a word used commonly in the context of drunkenness or debauchery (see CT I[A]4253).
- 343 stryke pantner. Furrow suggests stryke means "skim," (perhaps more likely "knock") and "pant" means "to gasp, to breathe," and "ner" means "never," i.e., "knock it down without a breath" (Ten Fifteenth-Century Comic Poems). But Blanchfield ("Idiosyncratic Scribe," p. 245) notes that pantner or (as in line 352, pantener) is an attested variant of "pautener," a word meaning "rogue," or "scoundrel," derived from the Old French "pautonier"; see MED, "pautener(e)," (n.1). This would make the toast "knock it back, rogue!"
- 361 The kyng seyd "fustybandyas." The hermit expects a reply to his cry of "fustybandyas" in line 357, and is outraged when the king repeats his line rather than replying with "stryke pantner." As a result of his ineptitude, the king does not get a drink until lines 373–75.
- Or that he go awey. The sense of lines 414–16 seems to be "One does not get any charity from such men by merely standing nearby"; i.e., it must be taken.
- 428 horpyd. "Stout-hearted, splendid." See MED, "orped" (adj.).
- Jhake Flecher. Fletchers made arrows; the king has chosen a pseudonym appropriate to his disguise.

452	Ther we schall maken full hate. The manuscript reads "Ther we schall be made full hate," which makes little sense unless "to be made hot" is an unattested idiom for "to be drunk." Furrow emends to "we schall be met full hate," i.e., "we shall be greeted (or greet each other) passionately" (Ten Fifteenth-Century Comic Poems). For maken (or fillen) hate in the sense of "make (or fulfill) a vow or promise," see MED, "hot" n. 2.
473	Than seyd Jake, "I schall." Three lines are missing from the end of this stanza; presumably the hermit demonstrates his prowess with the bow.
480	two trowys. Troughs were used for preserving meat.
485	The kyng wytesave on me. The manuscript reading, "The kyng wyte sone on me" has been emended. Furrow preserves the manuscript reading and glosses it as "May the king watch me closely," but sone (adv.) cannot mean "closely."
591	To the towne than van thei fare. The text ends at the bottom of fol. 161v

ABBREVIATIONS: see Explanatory Notes.

1. SAINT EUSTACE

1-31

1 All. MS: ll. Space left for larger initial A.

On fol. 1r, a false start of lines 1–31 breaks off, and is then followed by a partial table of contents. The right margin has been partially torn, with loss of text in the penultimate line before the text is abandoned. The text begins again with a fresh start on the bottom half of fol. 1r. The false start reads as follows, with variants from the complete text (other than minor differences of spelling) given in italics:

All that be in Goddys lore Lytell mekell les and more Lysteneth to me a stounde Of a knyght of hethenes That mykyll had of werldys blysse Off gold and penyes rownde Hys name hyght placydas With tracyan the emperour he was Ryght wyse man of rede With the pore he was well gode And with the riche myld of mode And good in every dede Off fre huntyng he cowde ynough In hals and under the wode bough And in the wyld feld He rode on huntyng on a dey An hert he found ther he ley Well fayre under the lynd [Line missing here] Off felle hertys ther ware mo He was the feyrest of all The grettyst hert fled his way The *knygh* rode after all *the* dey By hym selve alone In tyll another kyngys lond Ther gan the hert for to withstond Uppon a roch of stone The her turned hys hornes hye

598 TEXTUAL NOTES

Ther he stod under the wode *lye* And *seyd placydas*Thou arte a *knygh* of huntyng f
Tho me folow.

49	spake as. MS: as is added above the line.
71	told it to hys. MS: told it hys.
72	nyght. MS: nygh.
99	hevens. MS: heves.
117	On fote must thei go. MS: On fote ne myght thei gon.
122	away. MS: a was.
130	schypman. MS: scypmen.
132	He thought. MS: The thought.
138	Full woo. MS has a false start of line 137 at the beginning of this line.
163	Soune he seyd. MS: Doune he sett.
192-93	MS: lines reversed.
199	schall I lyve so. MS: schall lyve so.
208	Tho. MS: There.
212	woneth. MS: wonetht.
217	Schall haven that. MS: schall that haven.
224	worche. MS: woche.
251	Emperares. MS: eperares.
279-80	MS has a false start of line 280 between these lines.
285	his herd fare. MS: is herd fare
294	Well armed, I you plight. MS: We I armed I you a plight.
310	maden them full. MS: maden full.
329	yong. MS: yon.
359	schypherdys with ther schepe. MS: schypherdys schepe.
389	knyght. MS: knght.
398	well I knaw. MS: we I knaw.
423	sone onne kneys downe thei flewe. MS: sone onne kneys sone thei flewe.
140	some onne nice ys downe ince piewe. 1119. some onne nine ys some inter piewe.

2. RIGHT AS A RAM'S HORN

11	Knyghthod. MS: Knyghod.
19	carpe of our. MS: carpe our.
27	eld. MS: held.
28	mekenes. MS: menes.
36	Sumoners. MS: Symoners.
41	overpresse. MS: overpursse.
45	Questemonggers. MS: Questmerggers.
52	when. MS: whem.
	there at. MS: there as.
54	felyschyp. MS: felyschyd.
57	How Vertues over Vyces. MS: Hod Vyces on Vertues.

3. How the Wise Man Taught His Son

25	worschype. MS: worscype.
46	caule her. MS: caule he.
59	spyte. MS: spye.
61	thi. MS: th.
67	beware the. MS: be the.
72	Not have tyme. MS: Not a tyme.
92	Therfor purchasse paradyce. MS: Ther purchasse for paradyce.
100	chyld that was in. MS: chyld that w in.

4. How the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter

8	schall wyrche. MS: sh wyrche. Space left for omitted part of word.
50	lowd. MS: low.
52	betyde. MS: betytde.
55	blame. MS: blane.
74	schetyng. MS: fyghtyng schetyng (fyghtyng is marked for deletion).
75	strumpet. MS: strmpet.
83	every man. MS: ever man.
94	Men ther honour. MS: Me ther honour.
110	werkys. MS: werky.
113	ydelleschype. MS: ydelle schy.
114	these werkys. MS: thus werkys.
116	when thou may. MS: whe thou may.
132	thou hast. MS: thou thow hast.
138	quite his mede. MS: quite is mede.

5. SIR ISUMBRAS

1	Hende. MS: ende. Space left for initial H unfilled.
49	syghyng. MS: syghyn.
64	When. MS: Whe.
96	Fled oute of. MS: Fled of. Space left for omitted word
103	They. MS: Thy .
110	Therfor. MS: Wherefor.
113	some. MS: soune.
131	syghed. MS: syghted.
136	Sore. MS: For.
167	styll. MS: styld.
188	world is. MS: wordys is.
206	thei saw ther. MS: there saw thei.
210	Thei. MS: The.
214	thought. MS: though.
223	knyght. MS: knght.
248	Sertys. MS: Sertyt.
249	Yone. MS: Yene.

TEXTUAL NOTES

253	long MS, lond
325	long. MS: lond. When the. MS: Whylthe.
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
335 338	it with hys. MS: it hys. Sche. MS: Shle.
348 360	yenge. MS: yene.
373	it be. MS: to me it be (to me is marked for deletion).
373 377	hyll. MS: wyde.
382	gold awey. MS: gold is added above a scratched out chyld.
	unycorne. MS: umycorne.
401	labor. MS: labo.
410	Till. MS: Thill.
415	smythes. MS: smyghes.
430	alkyns. MS: akyns.
450	was. MS: with.
458	When. MS: Whe.
460	on. MS: un.
494	covers. MS: coverd.
508	scrype. MS: sorype.
514	than toke. MS: a now illegible word was begun and then marked for deletion before toke.
521	
536	knyght. MS: kynght.
	nyght. MS: nygh.
556 574	knyght. MS: knygh.
	floryn. MS: flory.
598 603	coshyne. MS: chosyne.
626	wyllfull weye. MS: wyllfull lond weye (lond is marked for deletion).
·	fote. MS: fo.
640–41	MS: lines transposed.
655	gold. MS: god. The l is inserted above the rest of line.
662	yode. MS: yere.
678 684	That. MS: That that.
	longeth. MS: longhet.
694	her. MS: herd.
701 722	seyd. MS: sey.
	them. MS: the.
744	kyngys. MS: knyghtys.
755 797	Sertys, dame, have gode dey. MS: Setys dame have godey.
787	knyght. MS: knght.
810	Batell. MS: Balell.
819	myrthe. MS: mythe.

6. THE TEN COMMANDMENTS

- 1 syrys, that standys. MS: serys wyth that standys.
- 2 MS: Two letters appear to have been scratched out before *tell*.
- 3 knele. MS: kne.
- 5 entere. MS: etere.

Verses 1–8 Verses are copied on fol. 22v as follows, with variants in italics:

Herkyns seres that *stondys* abowte: I *wyll* yow tell with gode entente, How ye to God schuld *knele* and lowte, Iffe ye wyll kepe his commandment. Thow schall lofe God with *hert enter* With all thi *sowle* and all thi myght. Other god in no manere Thow schall not have be dey ne nyght.

7. STANS PUER AD MENSAM

13	he wold thé. MS: he wold thryves thé.
22	A line is missing from the MS here.
39	trobyled. MS: tro blyes (word scratched out).
48	My. MS: Initial M is larger than usual.
	enabulle. MS: unabulle.
52	courage. MS: cuorage.
54	thi eyen. MS: they eyen.
61	theron. MS: therun.
63	noght. MS: wroght.
76	when. MS: whe.
77	thou. MS: thone.
92	clen. MS: cle.
116	bewere. MS: be fore.
133	spylle. MS: splle.
153	MS: If thou wasche written in the margin following this line as a catchphrase.
159	the. MS: thi.
164	if. MS: it.
170	to ryse. MS: ta ryse.
171-72	MS: The order of these lines is switched and marked for emendation.
183	be to. MS: to be.
190	fro. MS: fore.
192	knyfe fro. MS: kynfe fore.
211	feyre. MS: fyre.
217	the. MS: thi.
224	MS: <i>in hye</i> is inserted above the end of the line due to lack of space on the
	page.
232	knyf. MS: k (word scratched out).
233	is behavour. MS: is thi behavour.

8. DAME COURTESY

46	these. MS: the.
61	kynd. MS: $lynd.$
72	muste he be. MS: muste be.
89	furst. MS: furth.

602 Textual Notes

94	felewly. MS: feleyly.
127	noyse. MS: nose.
133	the. MS: tho.
144	thi. MS: thou.

9. LATIN EPIGRAM

1 Tempore. MS: Tempere.

10. THE RULES FOR PURCHASING LAND

12 statute. MS: state.

11a. LATIN EPIGRAM

1 Romanos. MS: Romanes.

12. AN EVENING PRAYER

- 1 MS: Initial J is decorated with pen work and five lines tall.
- 7 this. MS: thus.

13. A MORNING PRAYER

1 MS: Initial J is decorated with pen work and six lines tall.

14. TEN COMMANDMENTS (FALSE START)

1–8 At this point in the manuscript, the first two stanzas of *The Ten Commandments* (item 6) are repeated in a manner similar to that of the false start that begins *Saint Eustace* (item 1). For more on this topic see the notes and introduction to *The Ten Commandments* (item 6).

15. A PRAYER TO MARY

1 MS: Initial M is two lines tall.

16. THE DEBATE OF THE CARPENTER'S TOOLS

1	MS: Initial T is two lines tall.
4	wheresoever. MS: wherasever.
8	nothyng. MS: nothnyng.
12	clothe and fede. MS: clothe fede.
41	dey and nyght. MS: dey nyght.
82	thryve. MS: thryv.
124	hym owght. MS: hy owght.
183	prentys. MS: puntys.

224	mayster. MS: maystys.
237	wyrke not. MS: wyrke no.
245	<i>Groping Iren.</i> MS: <i>iren</i> is added above the rest of the line.
268	off. MS: of.
979	gest MS: net Wilson's emendation

17. A PRAYER AT THE LEVATION

3	MS: this entire line is added in the right margin.
6	MS: this entire line is added in the right margin.
	schame. MS: word at the end of the line lost due to cropping of the page.
32	perle. MS: perls.
33	Hevll God that. MS: Hevll that.

18. THE KNIGHT WHO FORGAVE HIS FATHER'S SLAYER

9	power and myght. MS: power myght.
25	thei. MS: he.
26	there. MS: his.
31	of. MS: on.
45	soferyd. MS: sofeyd.
66	so were all. MS: so were w all.
86	Thei saw. MS: The saw.
105	sygne. MS: syngne.

19. THE ERLE OF TOLOUS

1	MS: Initial J is decorated with pen work and six lines tall.
8	Of. MS: O.
12	I pray yow understond. MS: understond take gode he.
20	falsly he ther. MS: falsly ther he ther.
23	MS: divides this line in two: A were wakenede / As I you sey.
29	hundreth. MS: hudreth.
32	Emperour. MS: Empour.
35	ever. MS: feyrest (marked for deletion).
41	ever. MS: every.
42	most. MS: most most.
51	As. MS: Os.
56	hem. MS: he.
62	arblast. MS: arow blast.
74	Bete. MS: Gothe.
145	erlys. MS: elys.
165	sent. MS: sentt.
192	MS: beginning of word deleted before <i>telle</i> .
205	<i>here</i> . MS: the top of this leaf is damaged; <i>here</i> is a reading based on those of other MSS.
207	plyght. MS: plygh.

TEXTUAL NOTES

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226
                hende. MS: hene.
230
                for to. MS: foto.
283
                knyght. MS: kynght.
297
                were. MS: w.
307
                oryell. MS: oryll.
309
                MS: the erle is written in the margin following this line as a catchphrase.
322
                standen. MS: stand.
355
                steven. MS: steve.
366
                myght. MS: mygh.
431
                myght. MS: mygh.
434
                was. MS: was was (first was marked for deletion).
478
                MS: Initial T is three lines tall.
484
                on. MS: of.
                other seyd, "I. MS: other I.
496
501
                therto I. MS: to inserted above the rest of the line.
504
                MS: This entire line is added in the right margin.
511
                bothe owre. MS: owre bothe.
576
                takyth. MS: takyght.
580
                treuth. MS: treutht.
585
                Lett me be draw. MS: Lett draw me.
612
                knyght hym bethought. MS: nyght hym bethough.
618
                lyffe. MS: hyffe.
621
                brought. MS: browoht.
644
                hym that sytys. MS: Hym sytys.
677
                Sertys. MS: Systys.
705
                To fowle. MS: T fowle.
712
                as. MS: a.
739
                chamberys. MS: chambys.
740
                Child. MS: Thild.
743
                treson. MS: treso.
                Arme you. MS: And arme you.
762
779
                When sche. MS: When se.
781
                seyd. MS: sey.
783
                sche cryed. MS: sche gon cryed.
802
                MS: initial L is two lines tall.
827
                Tyll to that cyté. MS: To the cyté that.
830
                wo in herte. MS: wo in here in herte.
847
                wroth. MS: wrotht.
851
                That deth. MS: The deth.
866
                joy. MS: sorow.
873
                the. MS: the the.
879
                knyght. MS: knygh.
880
                myght. MS: mygh.
903
                Loke ye cry. MS: Loke cry.
908
                He schall. MS: Schall.
922
                hymselfe. MS: sefe.
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935

whens. MS: when.

956	That. MS: Tha.
958	wynd. MS: $wyne.$
988	foragyn. MS: forgyn.
1008	seyd, and syghed. MS: seyd syghted.
1047	When I have. MS: When have.
1056	Whan. MS: That.
1071	He. MS: The.
1073	Lordyngys. MS: Lordyng.
1079	thou not cees. MS: thou sers. Reading supplied from Laskaya and Salisbury
	(Middle English Breton Lays) and F.
1190	tellyth. MS: tellygh.
1206	geste. MS: reste.

20. Lybeaus Desconus

1	MS: initial J is decorated with pen work and seven lines tall.
26	named. MS: naned.
38	he gane. MS: he gane he gan.
68	thing. MS: -ng cut off in margin, as this line is interpolated.
77	never his dame. MS: never dame.
101	fyrst. MS: fyst.
175	Quod. MS: Qud.
202	Perelus. MS: Perleus.
230	Here. MS: He.
233	Get. MS: Ge.
261	saun. MS: some.
276	lyon. MS: lygn.
277	knyght. MS: knyghtys.
281	MS: this whole line is written in the margin.
282	gone. MS: fone.
287	To. MS: T.
288	To. MS: T.
310	ought that may. MS: ought may.
313	Thei. MS: The.
318	Perelus. MS: Perleus.
325	When. MS: Whe.
327	Ho. MS: Thou.
375	Thei. MS: The.
395	two. MS: tw.
396	it syghe. MS: it.
421	MS: initial T is decorated with pen work and is five lines tall.
439	Dysconeus. MS: Dyconeus.
444	Thei. MS: The.
490	
	that meyd bryght. MS: that bryght.
523 577	poynt. MS: poyne.
577 599	Certys I schall. MS: Certys schall. MS: initial L is described with non-work and is two lines tall.
582	MS: initial L is decorated with pen work and is two lines tall.

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624	yerne. MS: yene.
651	meydyn. MS: $medyn.$
672	The. MS: T.
682	he. MS: h he.
686	hys spyte brake. MS: hys brake.
693	caught. MS: caugh.
767	MS: for the love written in the margin following this line as a catchphrase.
779	To se in lenth. MS: In lenth.
792	By Jhesus. MS: a Jhesus.
801	This line begins more in the left margin than the rest of the text.
815	palace. MS: parlace.
829-30	MS: run together as one line.
839	I schall. MS: For to.
849	brown. MS: bowrn.
903	gan. MS: can.
914	border. MS: broder.
937	The here. MS: Ther.
947	soth. MS: sotht.
988	steke. MS: streke.
1011	as. MS: a.
1032	forth he. MS: for forthe.
1038	MS: Nota appears in the left margin here.
1044	honeste. MS: heneste.
1051	lefe to. MS: lefto.
1053	$\stackrel{\circ}{MS}$: Initial $\stackrel{\circ}{S}$ is larger than usual.
1082	hym to meyd. MS: hym meyd.
1110	MS: a word has been scratched out before de la byle.
1129	thou lyste. MS: thou thinke beste lyste (thinke beste is marked for deletion).
1206	slew knyghts thre. MS: slew and the knyghts thre.
1229	basnet. MS: basnes.
1242	lenger. MS: leger.
1257	The. MS: Te.
1318	fyghtyng. MS: fyghyng.
1363	not. MS: no
1380-82	MS: Rate's exemplar has transposed these three lines before the preceding
	three.
1383	iplyght. MS: ai plyght.
1400	dey. MS: de.
1409	That Syr Lybeus was not smyte. MS: Ne that Syr Lybeus was smyte.
1414	tho. MS: the.
1455	Now. MS: No.
1487	That he sleyn schuld be. MS: That sleyn schuld be.
1526	when he saw. MS: when saw.
1544	that he herd. MS: that herd.
1545	wold. MS: wold wold.
1556	MS: Initial <i>S</i> is two lines tall.
1563	palsyd. MS: palyd.

POEM 21: SIR CORNEUS 607

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1590
               duerfe. MS: duefe.
1595
               do. MS: de.
1624
               lionus. MS: loxus.
1649
               borderes. MS: brotheres.
1658
               Tho. MS: Thoff.
1695
               Syr Lybeus smote. MS: Syr smote.
1697
               vynteyl. MS: wynteyn.
1703
               grym. MS: gym.
1711
               Syr Lybeus seyd, "Be not agravyd. MS: Syr seyd be not gramyd.
               Ther nis nether. MS: Ther nether.
1773
1774
               That. MS: Tha.
1800
               When. MS: Whe.
1808
               All the long. MS: All long.
               mynstrell. MS: mynstell.
1854
1856
               byrnand. MS: byrnand brynand.
1919
               had. MS: herd.
1930
               fell. MS: sell.
1931
               saunfeylle. MS: samfeylle.
1946
               grym. MS: gym.
               he. MS: they.
1956
               lyre. MS: byre.
1969
1990
               slo. MS: slon.
1999
               knyght. MS: knyht.
2002
               MS: This line and line 2005 have been transposed.
2012
               quod. MS: g.
2019
               togeder. MS: go geder.
2030
               when he come. MS: when come.
               MS: repeats this line at top of fol. 58r. So feyr also appears in the margin
2075
                  after this line as a catchphrase.
2120
               Fro. MS: Fore.
2124
               to. MS: two.
2133
               aplyght. MS: pyght.
2142
               Lamberd. MS: Lambed.
2180
               myrthe. MS: mythe.
2202
               hyre. MS: hym.
2208
               under. MS: und.
2226
               Gyngelayn. MS: Gyngelyan.
```

21. SIR CORNEUS

14	honouryd. MS: houryd.
55	bord. MS: berd.
140	came. MS: same.
142	every one. MS: ever one.
206	causyd the. MS: causyd the the.
239	wente. MS: wentent.
248	namyd. MS: mamyd.

608 TEXTUAL NOTES

22. THE JEALOUS WIFE

1	1 1 MC 1
1	hende. MS: hene.
3	That I wyll. MS: T I wyll.
6	if ye it leyn. MS: iff ye leyn.
75	atwyn. MS: atywyn.
87	lady in that. MS: lady that.
114	best do were. MS: best de were.
116	schrewe that was. MS: schrowys that were. Here and in line 118 Horstmann's emendation that would make this devilish emissary singular rather than plural has been adopted, a reading that makes better sense of the entire passage.
118	he wente. MS: thei wente.
175	next. MS: nex.
178	that thou schew. MS: at thou sew.
191	sche. MS: sch.
202	that soth it is. MS: that it is.
203	That the. MS: The.
212	how sche myght. MS: how myght.
286	no man. MS: no no man.
347	thei schall. MS: thou schall.
365	repentans. MS: repentas.

23. THE INCESTUOUS DAUGHTER

190	d: MC d
130	thi. MS: the.
163	throught. MS: thought.
171	in. MS: into (to is marked for deletion).
171–72	MS: Rate repeats lines 166–68 here, but they have been dotted underneath
	to indicate deletion.
219	God. MS: $go.$
267	here. MS: he.
293	joy. MS: joy joy.

24. SIR CLEGES

1	<i>Lystyns</i> . MS: <i>ystyns</i> (with space for large initial L left blank).
55	slake. MS: schake.
58	MS: Initial T is larger than usual.
59	to. MS: te.
89	he had. MS: he he had.
99	sytall. MS: sycall.
139	tho. MS: the.
142	fell. MS: sell.
157	Thei. MS: The.
169	MS: Initial T is larger than usual.
173	Thei. MS: The.

179	hys. MS: $hy.$
224-25	MS: line 226 is added in the right margin between these two lines.
225	That we. MS: That a we.
230	MS: Initial T is larger than usual.
241	a man. MS: maner.
282	offycer. MS: offycers.
321	thi. MS: the.
326	MS: Initial T is larger than usual.
359	MS: Initial V is larger than usual.
373	Without. MS: With.
398	MS: Initial I is larger than usual.
422	MS: Initial T is larger than usual.
455	Syr Cleges seyd. MS: Syr seyd.
473	An harper. MS: And harp.
485	thinke. MS: thnke.
501	thyrd. MS: thryd parte.
504	them. MS: theyn.
515	lokyd. MS: lukyd.
521	<i>My</i> . MS: <i>Me</i> .
543	for to. MS: forte.
555	old. MS: hold.

25. THE FEASTS OF ALL SAINTS AND ALL SOULS

1	MS: Initial J is four lines tall.
17	Ne be wryten. MS: Ne wryten.
44	Bonyfase. MS: Bonyfe.
45	forth. MS: fort.
77	vergynes. MS: vergnynes.
80	The fyrst. MS: T fyst.
82	All Hallow Dey. MS: Hall Hallow Dey.
95	Fro any. MS: Fore any.
115	MS: Initial C is two lines tall.
141	blyssfull. MS: blistfull
145	hyr. MS: hys.
148	saluted. MS: salute.
206	doyth. MS: $doyt.$
222	fynde. MS: fyne.
253	Turmentyd. MS: Turment.
266	Setys. MS: Sytes.
319	seys the letter. MS: never the late.
327	had not fullfylled. MS: had fullfylled.
340	be for saules. MS: be sales.
344	jugement of Owre Lord. MS: jugement Owre Lord.
356	Joy and blys. MS: Joy and joy and blys.
360	wey. MS: dey.
365	saw men in fyre. MS: saw in fyre.
	**

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381	Thei be. MS: The be.
384	Therfor. MS: Thefor.
387	to gyff nether. MS: to to gyff never.
417	they that no frendys have. MS: they no frendys have.
426	When fro the body. MS: When the body.
428	hem. MS: hym.
450	sette. MS: feste.
453	solempne. MS: solenpne.
490	spak. MS: spap.
500	now. MS: no.
504	MS: he schewyd appears in margin as a catchphrase.
509	And after. MS: An anter.
539	be. MS: he.
542	toke to my. MS: toke my.
546	hys. MS: hyll.
561	Thei. MS: The.

26. THE KING AND HIS FOUR DAUGHTERS

15	Therfor. MS: The for.
22a	creationis. MS: craciones.
34	was. MS: we.
45	now. MS: no.
62	may that se wyll. MS: may that wyll. [Horstmann]
86	Clepyd he Adam. MS: Clepyd Adam.
116	That was. MS: Was.
169	and tre. MS: and te tre (te is marked for deletion).
176	Bot for. MS: Bo for.
198	isperd. MS: in sperd.
215	In him who was oure. MS: In whom was se oure.
219	Hereon. MS: He on.
231	kyngdom. MS: $kyndom.$
271	sey. MS: ley.
292	thi doughter. MS: the doughter.
306	them stond. MS: the stond.
326	yse. MS: unyse.
329	prison. MS: priso.
380	com not. MS: com no.
381	awt. MS: aw.
400	awt. MS: aw.

27. YPOTIS

31	That is selcouthe. MS: I am selcouthe. Emendation on the basis of Oxford,
	Bodleian Library Eng.poet.a.1 (Vernon).
59	nere. MS: were.
79	party thridde of. MS: party of.

86	every. MS: ever.
91	In hevyn. MS: Hevyn.
114	Bestys by downes. MS: Bestys and downes.
132	Bot. MS: Boot.
133	kepe. MS: ke.
153	stones. MS: sones.
159	wyttis. MS: wytte is.
161	stone. MS: sone.
233	awn. MS: $aw.$
247	covet. MS: coute.
251	When. MS: Whe.
255–56	MS: lines transposed.
257	haste. MS: wyste.
265	seyd. MS: sey.
271	Oure Lord seyd. MS: Oure Seyd.
282	temptyd. MS: tempyd.
290	and thre. MS: and thre and thre.
291	When. MS: Whe.
293	were. MS: with.
302	nam. MS: man.
325	lecher. MS: lechoo.
359	schryve thee thi pride. MS: schryve thee pride.
361	thou. MS: thei.
362	thi saule. MS: ther saules.
386	thi. MS: that.
387	synfull. MS: syfull.
408	And he wyll. MS: And wyll.
411	Wanhope. MS: When hope.
419	seyd. MS: sey.
431	reson. MS: reso.
456	Seynt. MS: Sey.
471	wykyd. MS: wydyd.
473	he. MS: th.

28. THE NORTHERN PASSION

1	MS: Initial L is two lines tall.
13	sprong. MS: spong.
29	MS: Initial C is two lines tall.
57	The sexte. MS: Te sexte. MS: Initial T is two lines tall.
71	MS: Initial T is two lines tall.
74	asse. MS: as.
118	gryth. MS: grytht.
131	for to. MS: on to.
161	thought. MS: thouht.
184	gryth. MS: gryght.
185	wyth. MS: wyht.

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101	l III MC I II
191	dyssypullus. MS: dyssyullus.
198	were. MS: welle.
280	His wytte. MS: Is wytte.
290	Als Jhesu. MS: Also Jhesu. MS: Initial A is two lines tall.
292	stryfe. MS: styfe.
293	contek. MS: consell.
327	on hys kne. MS: on kne hys.
331	Thow schall not. MS: not added above rest of line.
431	loude. MS: lounde.
466	no dede. MS: after no dede.
474	Ye have. MS: They had.
488	MS: Initial A is two lines tall.
505	What. MS: wh what. thought. MS: thouht.
510	hevy as lede. MS: hevy lede.
513-14	Jhesu to them seyd his wyll / "What seke ye fast als ye have gon?" MS: To Jhesu thei
	seyd there wyll / What seke ye fast ye have gone? Rate's line makes the passage
	incomprehensible, and derives from an inherited defective reading. The
	emendation has been supplied from F. Foster.
567	fare. MS: illegible.
569	were. MS: with.
602	MS: Initial J is two lines tall.
608	man. MS: men.
613	Reys it up new wele he may. MS: Reys it up now welell I may.
615	mouth. MS: mought.
626	MS: Initial J is two lines tall.
637	wytnes. MS: wynes.
646	He sey a fyre that was made on heye. MS: He seyd fore the was made a crye. Rate's
	line makes the passage incomprehensible; cf. F. Foster.
678	Peter. MS: Jhesu.
684	Thy. MS: They.
704	MS: Initial B is larger than usual.
711	awght. MS: aw.
721	contek. MS: consell.
743	syde. MS: gyde.
747	fleme. MS: flene.
796	MS: Initial J is larger than usual.
797	spyll. MS: syll.
810	in two full skete. MS: with a bow skete.
819	contek thei dryve. MS: cotell thei drew blythe.
827	They toke. MS: The toke.
828	by lond. MS: bylong.
848	Of Jhesu. MS: Afor Jhesu. Initial A is two lines tall.
860	MS: Initial P is two lines tall.
880-89	The MS is garbled here, having transposed lines and omitted the reply to
	Pilate's question about Jesus' Galilean origin:

1332

went. MS: weent.

Pylat seyd to the Jues all
The wysest of them he gan calle
Weyteh sone and wern me
Iff he were born in Galyle
Than ansuerd one sone anone
Off hym he was avysed long gone
Al this thre yere as I wene
Also wyde as I have bene
That is now fro this syté
In to the lond off Galylé.

893	The reme. MS: That reme.
904	MS: Initial H is two lines tall.
914	seyd. MS: sey.
921	thy. MS: they.
926	Crokyd men. MS: Crokyd me.
930	MS: Initial J is two lines tall.
938	They clothyd. MS: The clothyd.
950	do thi wylle. MS: do ther wylle.
971	MS: Initial P is two lines tall.
997	MS: Initial L is larger than usual.
1018	They schall. MS: The schall.
1045	MS: Initial P is larger than usual.
1047	They seyd. MS: They that.
1059	The bysschop. MS: Bisschop.
1062	that thee schall. MS: that schall.
1103	Pylat seyd, "I. MS: Pylat I. Initial P is larger than usual.
1113	I rede that we late hym go. MS: I reade that wee late off thy god father is written in
	a different, probably sixteenth-century, hand at the top of this folio.
1117	Sezars frend wyll. MS: Sezars wyll.
1122	an. MS: on.
1131	They. MS: The.
1132	toke scorgys strong. MS: toke stronge.
1139	Thei. MS: The.
1146	mercy with hem leved. MS: more with hem bot dede.
1157	Whens. MS: When.
1161	MS: Initial J is larger than usual and decorated with pen work.
1199	strange. MS: strang.
1217	Thei. MS: The.
1220	Bot. MS: Bo.
1227	Whens. MS: When.
1231	MS: Initial D is two lines tall.
1247	That. MS: The
1248	time. MS: men.
1254	That. MS: The.
1305	Than. MS: Tha.
1314	flyte. MS: slyte.
1000	, MC

614 TEXTUAL NOTES

1041	
1341	When. MS: Whe.
1361	withoutene. MS: with with.
1363	Thei thought God was mekyll. MS: The thought mekyll.
1385–86	MS: lines transposed.
1418	that. MS: at.
1440	contek. MS: cutell.
1457	MS: Initial J is two lines tall.
1469	we. MS: be.
1479	MS: Initial thorn is four lines tall.
1488	mette arte thou. MS: mette thou.
1509	They. MS: The.
1513	Thei dyspulyd hym all. MS: The dyspulyd all.
1515	Lottys. MS: Bot.
1517	seme. MS: synne.
1529	As. MS: Also.
1537	Thei. MS: The.
1543	Thei. MS: The.
1545	Thei. MS: The.
1547	Thei. MS: The.
1568	Thei. MS: The.
1576	grete myght. MS: grete.
1587	Grew. MS: Grwe.
1594	betokynys. MS: betokyngge.
1602	Thei. MS: The.
1603	MS: Initial B is two lines tall.
1619	myght he helpe. MS: myght helpe.
1623	seyd. MS: sey.
1627	grete. MS: gre.
1632	MS: Initial J is two lines tall.
1666	When. MS: Whe.
1678	be lykyd may. MS: be may.
1708	haste. MS: aste.
1713	Thei seyd. MS: The seyd.
1741	MS: Initial B larger than usual.
1744	woundys. MS: wordys.
1766	now. MS: inow.
1767–80	MS: In the left margin next to these lines there is a considerable amount of doodling that includes both letters and shapes.
1775	Thei. MS: The.
1797	seyd. MS: sey.
1800	MS: <i>Nychodemus</i> is written in the margin below this line as a catchword.
1802	To Jhesu he come with. MS: To Jhesu with.
1811	the body. MS: the the body.
1813	spysys. MS: sperysys.
1849	and lyfe. MS: and lyth lyfe (lyth is marked for deletion).
1853	knyghtys. MS: knyght.
1863	MS: Initial J is decorated with pen work and is larger than usual.

1877 Go to Mary my moder. MS: To Mary hys moder.

1900 names. MS: joys.

29. THE SHORT CHARTER OF CHRIST

6 lyve. MS: lye.

22 sone that withdrew. MS: sone withdrew.

26 men that rosse. MS: men rosse.

30. THE LAMENT OF MARY

43 hyr, and grete. MS: hyr grete.

50 Thou. MS: Tho.

63 now. MS: w added above the line.

31. THE DIETARY

5 women agyd. MS: agyd added in the right margin.

6 thi. MS: the.

28 rouners. MS: boners.

31 prosperyté. MS: prospery.

34 promys. MS: penys.

42 aire. MS: ure.

47 God. MS: gode.

50 sopers. MS: soperseus.

55 this. MS: thes.

57 make not long. MS: not added in the right margin.

60 mayntayn. MS: mayntym.

69 doth. MS: dothh.

75 helthe. MS: helle.

32. MAIDSTONE'S SEVEN PENITENTIAL PSALMS

16 Lese not. MS: Lese no.

21 I lede a lyve. MS: I lede a le a lyve (a le crossed out and marked for deletion).

46 syght. MS: fyght.

56 To thi. MS: Tho thi.

65 prayere. MS: praere.

70 MS: *blody* is added above the line.

74 my enmyse be. MS: my synnes be enmyse (synnes be is marked for deletion).

MS: Initial B is two lines tall.

83 *God.* MS: *d* is added above the line.

89 blyssed. MS: d added above the line. knyteth. MS: knyteh.

91 settythe. MS: settyhe.

92 meneth. MS: menehegh.

96b tota. MS: tata. 98 Elded. MS: Elde. 616 TEXTUAL NOTES

104a	nocte gravata est super. MS: note gravata super.
116	All my. MS: The w all my (The w, an eyeskip to line 118, is marked).
120a	meam Domino. MS: meam.
128a	Pro hac. MS: Ad hoc.
134	as. MS: os.
136a	non. MS: no.
	non approximabunt. MS: approximabunt written in margin above the rest of the line.
141	we. MS: thei.
144b	exultacio. MS: exutacio.
	a circumdantibus me. MS: tibus me written in margin below the rest of the line.
146	hatyth. MS: hath, with ty added above the line.
159	dedly. MS: dely.
160a	equus. MS: equs.
162	understondyng. MS: unstondyng.
164	lif in lust. MS: in added above the line.
168	ever among. MS: every mong.
172	every. MS: ever.
192a	MS: Initial D is decorated with pen work and is two lines tall.
197	wonton word. MS: wonton w word (the middle w is scratched out).
201	arwys. MS: lawys.
204	I wexe wayke, so. MS: And also wayke as.
207	thy. MS: they.
208	thy. MS: they.
215	Therefor. MS: The fore.
216b	grave gravate. MS: grave grave gravate.
	super me. MS: p super me (initial p is scratched out).
221–24	MS: Both couplets have been transposed, affecting both the sense and the
	rhyme scheme.
221	nowher me. MS: me nowher me.
226	the. MS: they.
244	flesshly. MS: flessly.
247	fyrie. MS: fyre.
254	thou. MS: thoue.
256b	gemitus meus. MS: meus.
264a	dereliquit. MS: dereliquid.
267–68	MS: my vertu hath for sakyn me, a repetition of line 266, appears between
207-00	these two lines but has been marked for deletion.
272a	proximi mei adversum me appropinquaverunt. MS: proximi mei appropinquaverunt.
212a	et steterunt. MS: steterunt is written above the rest of the line.
290	Spoke. MS: And spoke.
296	
314	sleyne. MS: seyne. thou schall. MS: thi schall.
328b	conspectu. MS: conspetu.
339	*
344b	perylows. MS: perlyows.
3 44 0	me inique. MS: m inique, with e added above the line.

346	me myghtly. MS: me lyghtly (lyghtly is marked for deletion and myghtly is written above it).
348	wrongfully. MS: wronfully.
350	unryghtfully. MS: unryghfully.
352a	retribuunt mala. MS: retribuunt michi mala.
353	
	Thei for gode evyll me quite. MS: He that for godnes couthe me quite.
360a	derelinquas. MS: derlinquas.
364	Depert. MS: Deper.
374	kepe. MS: kep.
376a	MS: Initial M is decorated with pen work.
381	gostly. MS: gosly.
390	of thi. MS: an illegible letter is scratched out before thi.
392	thy. MS: they.
411	Thi. MS: They.
424a	incerta et occulta. MS: in occulta.
427	by thi myght. MS: by thi wytte (wytte is marked for deletion and myght written above it).
432a	MS: Initial A is larger than usual.
433	sprynk. MS: spryngke.
437	tho. MS: thei.
448a	MS: Initial A is larger than usual.
454	Make that. MS: That make that.
456a	MS: Initial C is larger than usual.
462	knyght reskew. MS: knyght resame reskew (resame is marked for deletion).
479	wrechydnes. MS: wrechydne.
521	benygnly. MS: benygly.
528	manys. MS: man.
528b	altarem. MS: altare.
	tuum vitulos. MS: vitulos is added in the margin under the rest of the line.
536a	MS: Initial D is two lines tall.
540	mekely. MS: mekly.
552a	exaudi me. MS: me is added in the margin under the rest of the line.
555	ryghtfull. MS: ryghfull.
560a	desecertunt. MS: desecerunt.
560b-61	A partial repetition of lines 553–54 appears but is marked for deletion
3000-01	between these lines. They read as follows:
	That dey that I to thee calle Redyly Lord lysten thou me
	Really Lord lysten thou me
578	schrinke. MS: sprinke.
590	holt and heythe. MS: hold a heyghe.
598	of Mary. MS: as maryghe.
616	Tyll I had. MS: I is added above the line.
616a	ire et indignacionis. MS: ire indingnacionis.
617	the et maignacionis. MS. the maingnacionis. the. MS: thi.
620	God in God. MS: gude in God.
040	Goa in Goa. MS. guae in Goa.

618 TEXTUAL NOTES

623	chese a chance. MS: thei a chance.
624b	ego. MS: ogo.
625	as chadew. MS: the chadew.
632b	generacionem et generacionem. MS: generaciorum tuum et generacionem (tuum is marked for deletion).
636	men. MS: me.
646	And. MS: Ad , with the n added above the line.
662	longer. MS: lenger.
664a	gloria sua. MS: sua is written in the margin under the rest of the line.
672a	Respexit. MS: Resexit.
	preces eorum. MS: eorum is written in the margin under the rest of the line.
679	that estat. MS: that that.
689	holy hyght. MS: holyght.
691	seys. MS: sente.
696a	<i>filios interemptorum</i> . MS: <i>interemptorum</i> is written in the margin under the rest of the line.
717	He him. MS: I ame.
724a	revoces. MS: revoce.
724b	in generacionem. MS: In generacione.
729	suerté. MS: suered.
732a	sunt celi. MS: celi is written in the margin under the rest of the line.
733	the. MS: to.
764a	De profundis. MS: Large initial D missing.
769	intendyng. MS: ntendyng.
796a	MS: Initial D is decorated with pen work and is two lines tall.
796b	veritate. MS: veriate.me in tua justicia. MS: in tua justicia is written in the margin under the rest of the line.
798	prayer. MS: praer.
790	thou persayve. MS: Thou resa persayve (resa is marked for deletion).
800	resave. MS: restayn.
804b	tuo onmis vivens. MS: vivens is written in the margin under the rest of the line.
805	Come. MS: And.
815	exshewed. MS: exthewed.
820b	spiritus meus. MS: spiritus me.
	turbatur est cor meum. MS: est cor meum is written in the margin under the rest of the line.
821	placys of derknes. MS: plcys derkness, with of written above the line.
828b	tuarum meditabar. MS: ditabar is written in the margin under the rest of the line.
836a	Expandi. MS: Expand.
847	lerne. MS: serve.
849	Lord, opynyst. MS: Lord that opynyst. The following lines are corrupted, but this emendation manages to eliminate the syntactical problem of the MS reading.
860a	te speram. MS: speram is written in the margin under the rest of the line.
861	at morow. MS: morow is written in the margin under the rest of the line.

876b	Deus meus es tu. MS: es tu is written in the margin under the rest of the line.
882	thi. MS: thou.
884	endlesly. MS: enlesly.
886	lond of ryght. MS: lond of lyght ryght (lyght is crossed out).
889	duell oute. MS: dueloute.
904	me. MS: thee.
907	kyngdom. MS: kyndome.

33. STIMULUS CONSCIENCIE MINOR

his. MS: is.

446

```
8
               when we. MS: whe we.
26
                dare. MS: ther.
35
                of. MS: gof (g is scratched out).
46
                Throught thought, and. MS: Throught and.
                not it abate. MS: not whate.
96
98
                Than is. MS: Thas is.
                MS: Never is written in the left margin before the line, but does not scan.
100
                MS: ther is hunger appear as a catchphrase in the margin after this line.
106
137 - 39
                MS: General is written vertically in the margin by the sixteenth-century hand.
141
                were we duelle. MS: were duelle.
150
                not. MS: no.
152a
                MS: this whole line is written in the left margin.
154
                where thou. MS: with thou.
163
                scherpe. MS: scheper.
167
               peyne. MS: peynes.
190
               that may thei. MS: thei may thei.
200a
                MS: this whole line is written in the top margin.
222
                lyking. MS: kyking.
278
                ryght knew. MS: right joy knew.
286
                corrupcyon. MS: corrupcon.
288a
                MS: this whole line is written in the left margin.
292
                merkyd. MS: mekyd.
295
                of the plenty. MS: of plenty.
               All. MS: Off.
297
                withouten. MS: withoten.
304
329
                When thou hast sen. MS: When hast sen.
                as I thee telle. MS: as I te thee telle (te is marked for deletion).
335
344a
                MS: this whole line is written in the top margin.
346
                What thou was fyrst. MS: What thou fyrst.
353
                Whethyn. MS: Hethyn.
360a
                MS: this whole line is written in the left margin.
                MS: this whole line is written in the left margin.
376a
399a
                MS: this whole line is written in the left margin.
                MS: this whole line is written in the left margin.
408a
432a
                MS: this whole line is written in the left margin.
438
                ordeynyd. MS: ordeyd.
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620 TEXTUAL NOTES

480a	MS: this whole line is written in the left margin.
493	unbuxome. MS: buxsome.
494	to thee. MS: fro thee.
496a	MS: this whole line is written in the right margin.
512a	MS: this whole line is written in the left margin.
519	makys it to thi. MS: makys thi.
520a	MS: this whole line is written in the left margin.
525	Or in. MS: Other in.
528a	facit. MS: fecit.
	The whole line is written in the right margin.
536	Thys were to thee a syker rede. MS: Thys with to thee a syker wede.
552a	MS: this whole line is written in the left margin.
556	welth. MS: wehthe.
566	Thy soule schall. MS: Thy schall.
584a	MS: this whole line is written in the right margin.
600	To. MS: Do.
624a	MS: this whole line is written in the right margin.
626	werke doyth were. MS: werke were.
636	sovereyn. MS: suffereyn.
637	Another the encresyng. MS: Another encresyng.
645	thi synne bonde. MS: thi bonde.
653	that. MS: thi.
656a	MS: this whole line is written in the left margin.
670	all that to God are. MS: all that God are.
671	delyvers men. MS: delyvers o men (the o is scratched out).
679	kepys us. MS: kepys ws.
684	hys. MS: hym.
702	wanten myght. MS: wantys myght.
712	wytneses. MS: wytnes.
723	MS: <i>mersy wher</i> is scratched out at the end of this line.
735	ryghtwysnes. MS: rwyghtwysnes.
782	The Jues nalyd. MS: That Jues nakyd.
784a	MINOR. MS: MINORIS. This whole line is surrounded by a chain of flowers.

34. THE STATIONS OF JERUSALEM

1	MS: Initial G is larger than usual.
4	pylgrymage. MS: pylgrymeage.
5	toke. MS: take.
28	That stedfast. MS: A that steadfast.
34	toth closyd. MS: toth s closyd (initial s is scratched out).
42	abowte. MS: abowte to sey.
53	Gode. MS: Godo.
90	Ther. MS: Theere.
122	MS: line missing.
128	And he seyd. MS: And seyd.
130	was bond. MS: was s bond (s is scratched out).

-	
132	Ther Oure Lady stode and wepe. S: "Which I shal never foryete."
134	Lines 133–34 are omitted in S.
135	Ther is wrote. MS: Ther he wrote.
173–76	Omitted in S.
173–70	Omitted in S. Omitted in S.
220	tribul. MS: tribute.
243	saules that ther. MS: saules ther.
260	replyte. MS: replyed.
266	that schall I. MS: that I schall I.
291	Ther turnyd. MS: a letter has been scrached out between these words.
	ther. MS: hys.
295	lenger delaye. MS: laughyng ley.
311	askyd. MS: d is added above the rest of the line.
324	lete it falle. MS: lete falle.
332	syttes. MS: sytte.
333	prykes. MS: pryked.
345	spere thyrled. MS: spere that thyrled.
349	mekyll. MS: meky.
361–64	Lines omitted in S.
365	contré. MS: conte.
366	endles. MS: enles.
370	of square. MS: of square square (square is marked for deletion).
382	bobbyd. MS: babbyd.
403-06	Lines omitted in S.
404	Ther. MS: That.
411	toke the wey. MS: to the wey.
413	Than. MS: That.
414	Ther Jhesu met hys. MS: The Jhesu and hys.
448	duelled. MS: duelle in.
	rych man. MS: rych toune man (toune marked for deletion).
449	Whych bette. MS: Thych bette.
459	sepulkyr. MS: seplkyr.
460	creatore. MS: cratore.
465	entent. MS: etent.
466	Our Lady was beryed. MS: Our Lady beryed.
488	nobylle cité of Galilé. MS: Mounte of Calveryghe.
497	MS: And ther lyves the ston repeated as the next line but marked for deletion.
504-05	Lines omitted in S.
514	gode chere. MS: god chere.
518–19	Lines omitted in S.
520	Cedron. MS: Sedron.
526	Was Isay. MS: Was I saake I say (I saake is marked for deletion).
532	roste. MS: roste ost of.
537	Lord. MS: Lady.
548	He. MS: And.
566	rie. ms. лии. culpa. MS: cupa.
574	
374	compeney. MS: copeney.

622 TEXTUAL NOTES

578	brought. MS: brough.
579	MS mistakenly interpolates lines 593–626 here.
610	wyrschype. MS: wyschype.
613	ther he lyes. MS: ther lyes.
614	profetys. MS: prelatys.
617	he hade. MS: he he hade.
627	Fast be is a. MS: Fast be a.
629	Ther is a. MS: The is a.
638	telle. MS: tellel (the last l is scratched out).
641	on. MS: onys.
642	ston. MS: stonys.
645	next. MS: nex.
654	Ther is a. MS: There a.
670	Oure Lady beheld. MS: Oure beheld.
671	when. MS: whe.
675	seyd. MS: sey.
688-89	MS: repeats lines 673–74.
692	Ther. MS: The.
705	mette. MS: me.
723	knelyd. MS: knely.
732	Ther. MS: The.
738	kyssed his. MS: kyssed kyssed his.
739	them. MS: the.
743	descryve. MS: desyre.
745	In. MS: I.
752	MS has mistakenly interpolated lines 825–26 here.
758	Ther. MS: The.
764	Ther. MS: The.
775	wyfe of Loth. MS: wyfe Lothe.
789	It is. MS: It it.
795	resavyd. MS: resavy.
796–97	Lines omitted in S.
807	pynnacle. MS: pynncle.
808	hym. MS: hy.
811	schewyd. MS: schwyd.
814	And thou falle. MS: And falle.
820	than. MS: tha.
825-26	Lines omitted in S.

35a. THE SINNER'S LAMENT

15	In. MS: I.
35	late. MS: lato.
40	MS: this entire line is written in the right margin.
51	gode bot. MS: a letter is scratched out between these two words.
87	Remembyr. MS: Remenbyr.
95	pletyng. MS: pletyn.

35b. THE ADULTEROUS FALMOUTH SQUIRE

1	MS: Initial M is larger than usual.
8	MS: <i>the first</i> appear as catchwords in the margin following this line.
19	Saber. MS: Faber.
27	he. MS: ha.
28	avowtry. MS: vowtry.
47	umbrace. MS: unbrace.
55	dede. MS: deth.
63	hys. MS: hyr.
79	To. MS: Tho.
86	Of hys. MS: Off his (last f is scratched out).
89	fader grave. MS: fader gravys grave (gravys is marked for deletion).
122	One oure. MS: One oute oure (oute marked for deletion).
133	Therfor. MS: The for.
156	tre. MS: hylle.
161	syght. MS: syght.
169	Grew. MS: Grow.
171	it wote. MS: it knowote (kno is marked for deletion).
184	fader. MS: fayre.

36. THE LEGEND OF THE RESURRECTION

14	He wold. MS: And a.
78	Cosdram seyd, "So. MS: Cosdram so.
87	this many and. MS: this and (many is added above the rest of the line).
114	I. MS: he.
157	MS: this whole line is written in the right margin.
161	Therfor. MS: The for.
163-64	MS: Lines transposed. Line 163 is written in the right margin.
178	me. MS: hym.
208	sorow and strong. MS: sorow strong.
211	MS: Repeats lines 182–210 here, with variants presented in italics:

To Jhesu ayen *on* hyght Jhesu blyssed mote thou be Fader and God in Trinyté Now is *all comeplyght*

They seyd thou that arte so gode That wold honge upon the Rode

To save all mankynd Blyssed mote the tyme be That we *myght* thee here se Jhesu that arte so hende. Lord Jhesu Hevyn Kynge

This dey grante us thi blyssing

fol.141r

Iff it thi wyll be

All this werld aught to be blythe

624 Textual Notes

That thou arte rysen fro deth to lyve

Suete is the love of thee My blyssing seyd Jhesu have ye And all thei that leve onne me Todey and ever more Manys soule that was fro blysse caught With my blode I have hyte bought Oute of peynes sore Here I kepe to dwell note (marked for deletion) nought Into other stedys is my thought To fete oute one of myne That had me in grave brought My love he hath dere bought With sorow and strong pyne Come with me he seyd Gabryell And leve thou here Raphaelle 212 *The one*. MS: *Th o one* (initial *o* is scratched out). 242 how sche. MS: on he. 244 The Mary Maudeleyn. MS: The Maudeleyn and Mary. Sche. MS: He. 245 261 Ne. MS: Not. 270 We. MS: The. 274 thos. MS: that. 276 slepe. MS: sle. 279 MS: and tell me how it follows this line. With oyntmentys. MS: an illegible letter is marked for deletion between these 281 two words. 285 MS: this whole line is written in the right margin. 286 sey. MS: seyd. MS (in margin): Angelus. MS: lines 420–473 have been interpolated here. See introduction to this text. 359 407 With Ihesu. MS: With added in margin before the line. Anon. MS: Alon. 427 som. MS: son. 445 446 hem he gan. MS: hem gan. 455 Tho schyte beth. MS: They schyte both. 459 apostyllys. MS: apostyll and. 488 John. MS: Jhesu. thei. MS: ye. 510 517 it. MS:yt it. 565 we. MS: we we. not fle. MS: not f fle (initial f is scratched out). 572 hym grete. MS: hym telle grete (telle is marked for deletion). 574 awntres lere. MS: awtres here lere (here is marked for deletion). Hym. MS: Here. 576

37. SAINT MARGARET

26 all this. MS: all ths. 28 anon. MS: none. 34 That. MS: Hat with T added in margin before the line. 41 And sche hyr. MS: And schere. 73 MS: Initial T is two lines tall. 91 that lovely. MS: that brooky lovely (lowly is also marked for deletion). 117 MS: Initial T is larger than usual. 128 change. MS: chang. 131 We schall. MS: Or we schall. 157 For that. MS: For. 174 that. MS: For. 174 that. MS: For. 175 And I now. 181 And I. MS: I. 196 scourgys. MS: scowgys. 214 swynke. MS: synke. 253 made thee. MS: made to se thee (to se is marked for deletion). 255 Now. MS: No. 259 Thei. MS: The. 261 never go out. MS: never out. 262 thi. MS: the. 296 melody. MS: molody. 299 hyr. MS: a. 338 wymple. MS: wyple. 367 The. MS: Thy. 381 When. MS: Whe. 396 them vex. MS: hem we vex (we is marked for deletion). 410 Forever. MS: emer. 429 bespake. MS: bespape. 436 Thei. MS: The. 446 And be. MS: A be. 457 Thei turmentyd. MS: The turmente. 468 baptysm. MS: baptym. 497 MS: Initial A is larger than usual. 500 thei. MS: sche. 508 sche. MS: sche sche. 508 sche. MS: sche sche. 509 That. MS: The. 603 meyden. MS: merdyne. 615 thi joy. MS: the joy.	1	MS. Leisiel O is decreased with a second and is learner than a small
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436 Thei. MS: The. 446 And be. MS: A be. 457 Thei turmentyd. MS: The turmente. 476 baptysm. MS: baptym. 497 MS: Initial A is larger than usual. 500 thei. MS: sche. 508 sche. MS: sche sche. 532 mankynd hast. MS: mankynd thou hast. 568 MS: Initial A is larger than usual. 579 That. MS: Tha. 589 Thei. MS: The. 603 meyden. MS: merdyne. 615 thi joy. MS: the joy.		
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476 baptysm. MS: baptym. 497 MS: Initial A is larger than usual. 500 thei. MS: sche. 508 sche. MS: sche sche. 532 mankynd hast. MS: mankynd thou hast. 568 MS: Initial A is larger than usual. 579 That. MS: Tha. 589 Thei. MS: The. 603 meyden. MS: merdyne. 615 thi joy. MS: the joy.	446	$And\ be.\ MS:A\ be.$
476 baptysm. MS: baptym. 497 MS: Initial A is larger than usual. 500 thei. MS: sche. 508 sche. MS: sche sche. 532 mankynd hast. MS: mankynd thou hast. 568 MS: Initial A is larger than usual. 579 That. MS: Tha. 589 Thei. MS: The. 603 meyden. MS: merdyne. 615 thi joy. MS: the joy.	457	Thei turmentyd. MS: The turmente.
497 MS: Initial A is larger than usual. 500 thei. MS: sche. 508 sche. MS: sche sche. 532 mankynd hast. MS: mankynd thou hast. 568 MS: Initial A is larger than usual. 579 That. MS: Tha. 589 Thei. MS: The. 603 meyden. MS: merdyne. 615 thi joy. MS: the joy.	476	
508sche. MS: sche sche.532mankynd hast. MS: mankynd thou hast.568MS: Initial A is larger than usual.579That. MS: Tha.589Thei. MS: The.603meyden. MS: merdyne.615thi joy. MS: the joy.	497	
 mankynd hast. MS: mankynd thou hast. MS: Initial A is larger than usual. That. MS: Tha. Thei. MS: The. meyden. MS: merdyne. thi joy. MS: the joy. 	500	thei. MS: sche.
 MS: Initial A is larger than usual. That. MS: Tha. Thei. MS: The. meyden. MS: merdyne. thi joy. MS: the joy. 	508	sche. MS: sche sche.
 579 That. MS: Tha. 589 Thei. MS: The. 603 meyden. MS: merdyne. 615 thi joy. MS: the joy. 	532	mankynd hast. MS: mankynd thou hast.
 589 Thei. MS: The. 603 meyden. MS: merdyne. 615 thi joy. MS: the joy. 	568	MS: Initial A is larger than usual.
603 meyden. MS: merdyne. 615 thi joy. MS: the joy.	579	That. MS: Tha.
615 thi joy. MS: the joy.	589	Thei. MS: The.
	603	meyden. MS: merdyne.
616 thi face. MS: the face.	615	thi joy. MS: the joy.
3	616	thi face. MS: the face.

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38. THE WOUNDS AND THE SINS

Before 1 The incipit, Sequitur septem peccata mortalia, and the title of the first stanza,
Ayens pride, have been transposed.

2 hede. MS: dede.

2-3 MS: agens envy, the title of the following stanza, appears between these lines but is marked for deletion.

8 thou. MS: thi. 20a covetys. MS: cevetys.

39. SIR ORFEO

521 544

told. MS: told told.

3	flowrys. MS: flowys.
6	proudyth. MS: prevyth.
22	Bretonys. MS: Brotonys.
51	blossomys spryng. MS: blossom spryng.
67	hyr. MS: ther.
93	beforn. MS: befon.
98	Thei. MS: The.
111	seth we weddyd. MS: seth wededyd.
113	parte. MS: pare.
114	thi. MS: the.
131	When. MS: Whe.
160	Forestys. MS: Hys hyghe ha forestys (Hys hyghe ha is marked for deletion).
196	Thei. MS: The.
200	grete. MS: gre.
205-06	MS: These two lines are transposed, but marked for correction.
206	Lordingys. MS: Lodingys.
217	wyldernes. MS: wylderne.
268	That he. MS: The.
284	lenger. MS: leng.
303	another. MS: every.
315	faucon. MS: facon.
342	Folow. MS: Forow.
385	armyd. MS: armys.
391	He them saw. MS: He saw he them saw.
402	knyghtys. MS: knyghthtys.
409	now. MS: nod.
421	behovyth. MS: behovyh.
455	kyngys. MS: kyng.
468	long. MS: lo.
490	when he com. MS: when come.
492	maydines. MS: maydinse.
512	herpers. MS: hepers.
513	mynstrellus of. MS: mynstellus and.
521	stewerd. MS: stewe.

POEM 40: VANITY 627

568	$had.\ MS:\ have.$
583	Thei. MS: The.
584	Therfore. MS: For ther.

40. VANITY

23	you. MS: yo.
49	schall all pass and end. MS: schall and end. C. Brown's emendation.
50	The well. MS: well is added above the line.
60	How. MS: Ho .

41. KING EDWARD AND THE HERMIT

1	MS: Initial J is decorated with pen work.
14	MS: For soth as the romans seys is written in the right margin but marked for
	deletion.
15	Herkyns. MS: Herkyng.
17–18	MS: line missing.
31	plenté. MS: plete.
54	They. MS: The.
58	into the. MS: as thei. Furrow's emendation.
62	And. MS: Are.
68	was past. MS: was s past (the first s is marked for deletion).
71	Awey he was at last. MS: Awey was at the last.
87	when. MS: whe.
	trayst. MS: travyst.
123	if it were never so. MS: if it s. Furrow's emendation.
132	MS: Initial T is larger than usual.
134	passyth. MS: passyghh.
161	so to be. MS: so be.
174	Gramersy. MS: Garamersy.
194	both. MS: beth.
214	huntyng. MS: hutynge.
227	We schall not hyll it with. MS: We schall we not hyll with.
239	schulde. MS: schuldys.
242	wyld. MS: wylld.
274–75	MS: And on to prison bryng is written in between these two lines but is marked
-1	for deletion.
275	sych. MS: schych.
276	Bot thei. MS: Bo.
277	mete. MS: me.
327	pote stondys. MS: pote that stondys.
359	well nygh. MS: a letter is scratched out before nygh.
	of it yede. MS: of iyede.
366	layke. MS: lyke. Furrow's emendation.
367	stayke. MS: styke. Furrow's emendation.
378	I thee geve. MS: I schall thee yeve.

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388	Thei. MS: The.	
399	we. MS: wo.	
422	The sydys. MS: Besydys.	
436	not. MS: no.	
452	maken. MS: be made.	
463	with. MS: in.	
465	long. MS: lond.	
466	bow. MS: low.	
485	wytesave. MS: wyte sone.	
486	wyll of. MS: wyll ha of (ha is marked for deletion).	

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GLOSSARY

abaten to knock down; to end befallen to happen, occur; to be fitting, abiden, abode to wait for, expect; to appropriate to accompany; to delay; to experience, beforne before behovyn to need; to be obligated undergo abien to buy, pay for; to endure **beleve** (n.) belief, faith abull able belyve, blyve (adv.) joyously; quickly, without delay, busily **adred** afraid, frightened ben(e), am(e), art(e), is, es, beth, was, age(y)n, aye(y)n (adv.) again; back; wer(e) to be; to exist, happen against ageyn(e), ayen(e) (prep.) against, **beryn** to hold, possess; to wear, carry; to strike, thrust contrary to; in opposition to; toward **almus** alms, charity besetten to trap **als** as: also: so that bestys beasts amate exhausted **beswiken** to seduce; to betray **among, imong** (adv. and prep.) in the bethinken to consider, reflect upon; to midst of, along with, everywhere; remember continually, all the time betwyx between amysse wrong bewrayen, bewry to betray **anger** distress, anguish; hostility **biden** remain, wait for, delay; engage in **anon(e)** *immediately, soon* combataplight truly **biggen** to dwell; to build (a house) are (adv. and prep.) formerly; before blake black **asterten** to leap up, run away, escape, **ble** appearance, countenance, guise avoid **blinnen** to stop; to put a stop to awaken to stir up, rise up **blive** (adj. and adv.) *quickly; willingly* awen, aught to owe, be obliged; to blys bliss possess bobbans ostentatious behavior, vain awne own display; pride **ay(e)** forever, always bord table **borowen** to borrow, receive, take; to **bake** back rescue **baly** jurisdiction, authority, control **bost** boast; arrogance; loud noise or **be** (prep.) by, at, by means of outcry **bedene** immediately; together bowne, boune, bone ready, prepared brayd moment bedes, bedys prayers **brede** bread; breadth, width

brist misfortune, injury demen to judge broune, brown shining, bright; brown **dere** (adj.) dear, cherished; expensive buske thicket, wood, bush **dere** (adv.) dearly, tenderly; at a high **busken** to prepare, to hurry to; to clothe price **buxom** humble, gentle, obedient **dere** (n.) *injury*, *harm* bydden (bydys) to request, beg deren (v.) to injure, harm bysschop bishop dettys debts **deye** daydeyster horse, warhorse cace, case event; account careful full of care; sorrowful dighten to prepare, make; to command, **casten** to cast (a look); to throw rule; to condemn catel(1) property, goods dingen to strike certys certainly **disese** discomfort, misfortune, suffering chanys chains **dole** sorrow, fear, suffering, torment **chere**, **cher** facial expression doloure, dolowre suffering, sorrow, chesen to choose, decide hardship don, doyst, dyd(e), dud(e) to do; to **chorle**, **cherle** person lacking morals, make: to cause refinement, or learning; base fellow, villain done, doun(e) down **chrystnen** (v.) to baptize doughtier braver; more honorable chrystyn, chrystend, chrysten (n. draught blow, attack and adj.) Christian dredyn to dread **chyden** to scold, rebuke dreien to endure chylder children dud(e) did **clepyn** to say; to call; to request **durren, durst** to dare, have the courage **combrance** difficulty, anxiety; the devil's to; to be able; to be obliged to dyde did influence dyen, dyghen to die conjuren, congouren to charge, urge; to charm **dyntys** blows of a weapon; wounds made **connen, can, could** to know, be able, by a weapon have mastery of dyspite insult, humiliation counsel(l) counsel; a secret matter dyssypullus disciples **countenans** countenance; good conduct; composure ee eye **couthe** known, familiar; courteous eggen, egynge to urge coveren, keveren to recover (in health, eke also, moreover fortune, etc.) **eken** (v.) to increase crombys crumbs endentyd inlaid cuntré country, land enter(e) (adj.) entire, complete; curtas, curtayse courtly; well-bred; (n.) ornamentation gracious envy(e) malice, hostility, envy cyté city ere ear **errour** *error*; *fury* **ded(e)** (n. and adj.) death; dead es(e) ease, comfort, peace **dede** (n.) deed, action everichon(e) each one, each of them, **dele** (n.) piece, bit, small thing everyone delen, dele (v.) to give; divide; share eyen, eyghen, een eyes

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fast (adv.) firmly, tightly, closely, vigorously fauchon(c) curved sword fe(e) money; land; wage fele (indefinite number) many, too many fell(I) (adj.) fierce, keen fell(I) (adj.) excellent, worthy fell(I) (adj.) excellent, worthy felonye wickedness, sin, villainy fend, fiend enemy, foe, the devil fere companion, friend; in fere together ferly (adj. and adv.) marvellous, wonderful ferre distant, far away ferre wente gone or traveled far feet feet feylyng failing feylyng failing feylyng failing feylyng failing feyn(e) eager, happty, desirous fey(e) foir fo foe fole fool; sinner fone foes forgeten; forgate to give up, surrender; to shun, avoid forseken, forsoke to abandon, abandoned forthi, forthy because forwhy why; because forwhy why; because forwhy why; because formed no set out, depart; to strike; to strive for folunding (ger.) trial, templation foys foes fre noble, excellent; generous; free frely (adj.) noble, excellent free(s) che eager freyen to inquire, request from), froo from gan(e) (prep.) against gan(e), gon(e) (v.) began (see ginnen) gare spear gate gate; path, way geten, gete to get, earn, capture; to begt, conceive ginne, gyme, gin talent, ability; trick, scheme, device ginnen to begin, altempt god(e) (1) God god(e), godys (1) property, goods gode (adj.) good gon(e), go, to go, walk, move gost spirit, soul grasyos gracions gre step. rank, superiority, victory in battle gre(t)ten to weep, lament, cry out, implore grevans grievance, an injury or offense greven, grevyn, grevyd to injure, haras, enrage, make sorrowful grillen to offend, grieve, suffer grith peace, order grylle (adj.) fiere grylne (adj.) foere grysh conditions head(e) (adj.) foere head (adj.) foere h	fader(e) father	galle bile; bitterness
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gaderen lay up, accumulate hond hand	fro(m), froo from	hilen, hille to cover, conceal
gale noise, outcry		hond hand
	gale noise, outcry	

hose leggings or stockings resembling lythere, luthere evil, wicked **lyve** (n.) life tights **hy** high manifold, manyfold many, iche same, each innumerable masen to astonish, bewilder, frighten ichon(e) each one, each ilke, ylke each; same maystrye power, authority, pride ille, ylle (n. and adj.) ill, wrong, evil mekyll, mykyll much; a large amount, ille, ylle (adv.) evilly, wickedly, degree, intensity, scope, or size wrongfully; grievously, sorrowfully mete food; a meal; meat inow, inough(e), inowghe enough, meven, meve, move, mevyd to move, plenty; entirely disturb, go; to suggest; to consider iplight truly meyden, meyd maiden irene iron mo, more more and les all irke, yrke tired, disgusted kinds, every rank iwys in fact, indeed; certainly mode mood, frame of mind, manners moder, modour mother **kene** cruel, savage; shrewd mokken, moke to ridicule, mock; make **kepe** (n.) heed, concern a fool of knawen, knowen to know, experience, **mone** (n. 1) moan, lamentation, prayer, recognize; to make known, complaint, plea **mone** (n. 2) *moon* acknowledgemontaynus mountains late (v.) let, allow (see leten) most(e) most, greatest, noblest moton mutton, the flesh of sheep latyn(e) Latin **lede** law, custom, manner; people, nation mouthe, moth, mowth mouth leien, leyne to place, to attend to mych many, great myddey, mydey midday leman sweetheart les, lesse (adj. and adv.) less, smaller, myddys middle lower class les and more all kinds, myld gentle; tame, domesticated mynstrellus minstrels, instrumental every rank les, lesynge (n.) a lie, deception musicians **leten** to allow, grant; to hinder, obstruct; myschef(fe), myscheves affliction, to mistreat hardship, misfortune; wickedness, sin mysforton misfortune **lond** land, country **los(e)** (n.) reputation, renown myster skill, duty; all that myster lothe, loth reluctant; disinclined was what was necessary **louly** *lowly*, *humbly* **lowen**, **lawen** to bow down, humble, **ne** no, not, nor (emphatic negative) disgrace neghe, neye nearby, close lufe love neghen, neyen to draw near, approach lyde lid nowght nothing **lymes** *limbs*; *body parts* lynnen, linne, line to cease, stop **o, on, one** (number) *one*

lyre, lare cheek, complexion, face, flesh

lystyns listen, pay attention

off, offe, of (prep.) of

on, one, onne (prep.) on

offe, of (adv.) off

GLOSSARY 653

rekles reckless **onde** malice, envy **or** before; or rente fees, tributes **ore** (n.) grace, mercy, kindness, honor **repreve** shame, dishonor; censure orison, orysoun prayer resen, resyd to elevate, restore **othys** oaths reson, resoun reason, justice; speech, **ought** (pron.) anything, any trace, any discourse reuth pity, sorrow portion rewen to regret rewfull, reufull pitiful paren to trim; to compare **pas** (n.) pace, step; period of time rive, rife (adj.) abundant, widespread; penys pennies well known; strong pepyll people rode (n.) cross **pere** peer, equal **perfyte** perfect **saryzen** a Muslim, pagan, or heathen; pertly boldly an Arab or a Turk saule, sall the soul pes, pese peace peyn(e) punishment, fine, torture; pain **saw** (n.) speech, discourse, opinion, **pine** punishment, sorrow, suffering proverb plas place scathe see skath(e) plesans joy, happiness, God's favor schalt shall, will plesen, ples to please **schawe** grove, woods posté, posty power, control, vigor schen(e) bright, beautiful; radiant powlen to pull **s(c)henen**, **schent** *to destroy*, *kill; to* praere prayer disgrace schewen, schowen to show, explain, **prest** (adj.) ready **pretely** *skillfully*, *charmingly* discuss, examine preven, prevyd to attempt, test, prove, schone shoes sclyghe wise, clever, cunning; gracious praise, or approve procuren, procuryd to cause, conspire; scryptour scripture, the Bible; text to obtain seien, seyn, sey, seyd, seyst to say, tell, define **profitable** worthy seken seek, look for **prowe** benefit, well-being **pryse** (n. and adj.) excellent, excellence **selcouth(e)** wonderful, marvelous, **purposen** to intend, declare mysterious **sely** blessed, innocent pyté pity sembly pleasant, qualified, suitable, handsome **quart** safety, health; good fortune sen, se, sey, saw to see, look at raggys tattered or ragged clothing **sen(ne)** since, then, afterwards sere many, diverse; great **rathe** (adv.) *immediately*, *quickly* serteyn certain; true rechen to stretch out, take, achieve, give, **sertys** certainly, surely touch, strike sethyn, sithen afterwards, since **reddour(e)** rigor, severity, violence reden, rede, red to advise, urge; to seynt saint **skath(e)** *injury, wrong* teach, explain; to read, learn rehers an account; retort **skill** reason, knowledge; explanation

reheten to encourage, restore, cheer up

slaken to diminish; to cease; to release; to syre, syrys lord; person of social extinguish *importance* slen, slein, sle, slo to slay; to strike sythe, seth (adv. and conj.) since, smyten to smite, beat because; then, afterwards **smyth** blacksmith socoure (n.) aid, support, defense techen to instruct, teach soffyren, soffer, sofure to undergo tene harm, injury, anger distress, suffer tenen to anger solas happiness, joy, entertainment tente shelter sonde, sounde mission, message, terys tears command then(e), thé to prosper, thrive **son(e)** (n. 1) *sun*; (n. 2) *son* thether, thither, theder to there, that sone (adv.) soon, immediately way tho then, at that time; those soper supper, evening meal **soth(e)** truth; certainty thoff, thof, thow, though though, speden to succeed, be successful, although complete; to assist **thraw** short period of time, an instant spesyally, especyall especially thrught, thurght, throght, thorow **spryngen** to leap, rush; to spread (as through, by means of thryfen, thryffe to thrive, prosper news, gossip, etc.) tighten to take on, instruct, guide; to go spryte spirit tinen, tyne to be deprived of; to perish; **spyllen** to destroy, ruin; to waste, spill **staunchen** to overcome, withstand to suffer a loss sted(e) place; time to to; too; until tokenyng a miracle; a confirming detail steren to steer, restrain **stern(e)** (adj. and adv.) harsh, cruel; **trencher** stale bread used a platter bold, fierce, powerful; dreadful trew true sterrys stars tyde time, occasion; season, holiday stond(e), stound(e) place; time, moment tyl(le) to, towards; until **stonden, stud(e)** (v.) to stand **tyte** (adv.) quickly, immediately, readily **stout(e)** bold, strong, furious; proud, noble undernimen, ondernimen, stowre, stoure moment, time **ondername** to perceive, take heed; to accept; to surprise **strechen** to extend, go, wander streytly narrowly undren, undern, ondren midstyf(fe) unwavering, stalwart, strong morning, noon, midday unmete huge **styll(e)** (adv.) *silently*, *peaceably*; unright injustice, evil, wrong secretly; constantly, firmly **stynten** to cease, stop unsaught hostile stythe strong unthrifty dishonorable, unseemly, not respectable **suerd** sword untyll(e) unto, to; until swere (n.) neck unwelde powerless, decrepit sweren, suore to swear swyth(e) very; strongly; quickly upbraien, upbraid to bring up, rise; to mock, disparage syche such up-hafen to lift, raise sygheng sighing **use** (n.) custom, habit; benefit, enjoyment synne, sin, sine sin

GLOSSARY 655

verament truly, really vergyns virgins vylonye villainy vyset visit

witty intelligent

warison reward wenen, wene, wende to believe, suppose, expect wer(e) (n.) war, battle were (adj.) aware werke structure, building werken, wrought to do, make, perform, cause wermen to warm wernen to refuse; to block werren to wage war, attack wes(s)chen to wash whider, whyder wither, to where whyles while wide (adv.) widely wight (n.) man, person; small amount, distance or time wight (adj.) brave, valiant, strong; swift winnen, win (v.) to earn, win, gain witen, wys, wyst, woste, wote to know, be certain, learn withall completely; indeed; moreover

wode insane, crazy, mad with rage wombe stomach wone, wonne, woune dwelling, home; custom, habit; abundance, fortune wonte (adj.) accustomed wo(o) woe, misery, hardship wote see witen wrethen to provoke, anger wringen, wrong to wring wrothe angry wrought see werken wyle guile wylle, wille desire, will wynne, win, wine (n.) joy, pleasure wyrchen to perform; to work towards wyse (n.) way, manner

yare, yeare prepared, ready, eager
yate gate; way, path
yede, yode walked, traveled, wandered
yelden to repay
yerne (adj. and adv.) eager; swift;
vigorous
yeven, yif(e), yafe, gaffe to give
yiff if
yite yet, even now
yode see yede