The Southern Version of CURSOR MUNDI Volume V
The Southern Version of
CURSOR MUNDI

*General Editor, Sarah M. Horrall*

**Previously published**

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The Southern Version of CURSOR MUNDI

Volume V
Lines 21845-23898

Edited by Laurence M. Eldredge and Anne L. Klinck

General Editor Sarah M. Horrall

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In memory of Alphonsus P. Campbell (1912–1983)
and
Sarah M. Horrall (1940–1988)
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In undertaking to complete the work left unfinished by our late colleague, Dr. Sarah M. Horrall, we have been conscious of the high scholarly standards she set for herself and her collaborators. In her absence we have tried to set and observe comparable standards for ourselves. As we divided the editorial tasks between us, primary responsibility for work on the manuscripts was undertaken by L.M.E.; the Glossary and Index were prepared by A.L.K.; the revisions to Dr. Horrall’s drafts were undertaken jointly.

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

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

The Explanatory Notes to the Text here edited, lines 21845–23898, as well as those in Appendices C and D, have been thoroughly
checked and brought up to date with current scholarship, but essentially they represent notes on lines that Dr. Horrall thought deserving of annotation. Since earlier volumes in this edition have contained an appendix with corrections of Morris' readings of the manuscripts in his edition and another appendix, where necessary, giving the portions of B that follow the text of the *Pricke of Conscience* rather than that of *Cursor Mundi*, we have maintained consistency with our Appendices A and B.

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

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

Of course, in a work of this magnitude one consults many people along the way for help. In gathering together all that Dr. Horrall left, we are especially grateful to her widower, Stanley Horrall, for allowing us unlimited access to all Dr. Horrall's drafts, and to the subeditors of previous volumes: Roger Fowler, Henry Stauffenberg, and Peter Mouss.
We have also relied upon the advice of colleagues and friends, especially J.P.S. Ferguson, Tony Hunt, George Keiser, C.W. Marx, Douglas Moffat, Jean-Pascal Pouzet, Glyn Redworth, William Schipper, Richard Špaček, Mary Swan, and R.C. Yorke. We have taken their advice where we could, ignored it when we thought we had to, and take full responsibility for the errors that may remain in our work.

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

L.M.E.
Oxford, 1999

A.L.K.
Fredericton, N.B., 1999
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INTRODUCTION TO THIS VOLUME

LIST OF MANUSCRIPT SIGLA

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

STRUCTURE OF THIS SECTION
(TITLES TAKEN FROM MORRIS’ EDITION)

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

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

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

SOURCES

Early investigators of the poem showed that the CM poet had used a number of readily available medieval works as sources for his work. Dr. Haenisch, the pioneer in the field, listed nine works which the CM poet had clearly used:

1. Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica*
2. Wace, *La conception Nostre Dame* (ll. 10123–11232 and 24731–967)
5. The Vulgate Bible
6. The *Evangelium Nicodemi*
7. The *Assumption of Our Lady*
8. Isidore of Seville, *De vita et morte sanctorum*

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

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1. This Introduction was written by Sarah Horrall shortly before her death. She had not yet added citations for references in the text. I have supplied these, with occasional, very minor, modifications. Spaces had been left for stemmata, which I have supplied, including Dr. Horrall’s own, as reconstructed by me. On the rare occasions where Dr. Horrall appeared to have made an error I have silently corrected. A.L.K.
scholastica of Peter Comestor was seen to have been used throughout CM, as a source for both Old Testament and New Testament information. Later commentators have therefore assumed, and still assume, that the Historia is the primary source for CM and that it gives the English poem its essential structure.

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

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

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

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

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

Aside from these four works which are used all through the poem, the CM poet characteristically used a single short source for a specific narrative. He thus translates the Latin *Legende* version for the story of Adam and Eve and the Cross Wood (ll. 1237–1430); Honorius Augustodunensis’ *De imagine mundi* for a comparative chronology relating Judges to Greek history (ll. 6993–7082); Grosseteste’s *Château d’amour* for the allegories of the Four Daughters of God and the Castle of Love (ll. 9517–10122); Wace’s *Conception Nostre Dame* for the conception and early life of the Virgin (ll. 10123–834), the Doubting of Joseph (ll. 11123–76), and the miracle of Abbot Elsis (ll. 24731–967); the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* for the enfances of Jesus (ll. 11929–12576); the *Gospel of Nicodemus* for events after the Resurrection and the Harrowing of Hell (ll. 17289–18582); the *Letter of Lentullus* for the description of Christ’s person (ll. 18817–56); the *De ortu et obitu patrum* in two versions for the Fates of the Apostles (ll. 20849–21262); an allegory on the Four Evangelists by Petrus Riga (ll. 21263–344); the Pseudo-Alcuin version of Adso’s *De ortu et tempore Antichristi* (ll. 21971–22424); *Les quinze signes du Jugement Dernier* (ll. 22427–708); and Oglerius de Tridino’s *Quis dabit* (ll. 23945–24658). These sources usually come to him in Latin, but those of Grosseteste and Wace and the *Quinze signes* were in Old French. The Middle English poem known as the *Southern Assumption* was also included in its entirety (ll. 20065–848), although the CM poet is careful to say that he has translated it from a southern dialect to a northern one (ll. 20061–64).

Although these shorter works are generally translated all in one place in the poem, there are instances in which a few lines of the work are translated apart from the rest. Twelve lines from Grosseteste’s
Château d'amour, on the greater beauty of the universe before the Fall, appear near the beginning of the poem (ll. 701–10), 9000 lines before the main translation of the work begins. In 9133–228, on the line of Solomon down to the Babylonian exile, Honorius' *De imagine mundi* is interpolated with other material over the course of 96 lines. Presumably most of these texts were available to the author for the entire time he was working on the poem.

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

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

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

The *CM* poet seems unusually conscious, for a medieval writer, of having to work with several versions of the same story. Most of the time he tacitly interpolates and reconciles, as when he suppresses most of the distinctively French details in the story of Joseph's exile in Egypt as told in Herman's *Bible* and substitutes the Vulgate equivalents. In addition to this work of combining and reconciling various sources, however, he comments several times on what he is doing. After describing the 30 silver circles that David put around the Cross tree, which later became the 30 pieces of silver paid to Judas, the poet adds cautiously:
And þus sais sum opinion,  
But sua sais noght þe passion. (ll. 8843–44)

After an account of St. Helena’s finding of the true Cross and the nails, the poet adds:

Þis tale, queþer it be il or gode,  
I fand it written o þe rode,  
Mani telles diuersli,  
For þai find diuers stori. (MS C 21805–8; the section on the Finding of the Cross is omitted from the southern version)

Although the story has already been completed, he then proceeds to summarize the story of Judas/Quiriacus’ finding of the cross, as it is told in the Acta Quiriaci and the Leg. aur.

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

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

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

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

GENRE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It is with this group of biblical paraphrases that the monumental CM most clearly belongs.

STRUCTURE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**DATE, PROVENANCE, AND AUTHORSHIP**

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

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

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

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

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

```
Efter haly kyrc state
Þis ilk bok is es translate
In to Inglis tong to rede
For the loue of inglis lede,
Inglis lede of Ingland,
For the commun at understand.
Frankis rimes here I redd,
Communlik in ilk[a] sted,
Mast es it wroght for frankis man:
Quat is for him na frankis can?
Of Ingland the nacion,
Es Inglis man þar in commun;
Þe speche þat man wit mast may spede,
Mast þar-wit to speke war nede;
Selden was for ani chance
Praised Inglis tong in france;
```
Giue we ilkan þare langage,
Me think we do þam non outrage.
To laud and Inglis man i spell
Þat understandes þat i tell. (MS C II. 231–50)

Because of these lines, he suggested Northumberland as the place of composition of the CM (Strandberg, p. xv).

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

However, since Kaiser wrote, careful research into Scottish history has shown that the boundary between England and Scotland was formally fixed in its present position by the Treaty of York in 1237. The treaty agreement merely confirmed a boundary which had come to be generally accepted in the east in the eleventh century and on the western side of Britain in the mid-twelfth century. The feudal relationship with England was also much less strong and far less well established than the English kings liked to claim. Furthermore, a conscious revival of nationalism in the mid-thirteenth century led to an even greater split. By the time Edward I invaded Scotland in 1296, already between the English-speaking Scot and the English-speaking Englishman, subjects of different kingdoms, a mental and emotional line of division was fixed which ran as clear as those ancient boundaries the Tweed and the Redden Burn. The idea of a contemporary Scottish poet insisting over and over that he was writing for the Englishmen of England is clearly impossible.
The poet’s use of sources has important implications for an investigation of the provenance of the poem. The poet apparently had continuous access to books. Line-by-line comparison of the poem with its sources everywhere shows that he translated these texts directly, and did not rely on memory. He has the habit of interpolating a quotation from another work into the one he is currently translating, suggesting that he worked with several volumes open before him. Several texts are thus quoted at various places in the work: Herman de Valenciennes’ Bible, the Trad. anon., Comestor’s Historia scholastica, Honorius’ Elucidarium, and to some extent De imagine mundi, the Latin Legende, Grosseteste’s Château d’amour, and, of course, the Vulgate Bible.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

OWNERSHIP AND HISTORY OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

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

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

This book was maad of þe goodis of robert holond for a comyn profite þat þat persoone þat haþ þis book commitid to him of þe persoone þat haþ power to committe it haue þe vss þerof þe terme of his lijf preiynge for the soule of þe same Robert and þat he þat haþ þe forseid vss of commissioun whanne he occupieþ it not leene he it for a tyme to sum ſpherd persoone also þat persoone to whom it was committid for þe terme of lyf vndir þe forseid condiciouns deliuere it to a noþer persoone þe terme of his lijf and so be it deliuered & committid from persoone to persoone man or womman as longe as þe book enduriþ. (fols. 38r-v)
All other manuscripts of *CM* would seem to have been exclusively in lay hands.

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

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

MS B was produced in Bedfordshire and probably remained in that county since medieval times, as it was owned by the Bedfordshire General Library until it was acquired by the British Library in Sotheby’s sale of June 18, 1904. All that remains to indicate medieval ownership are some barely legible accounts on fol. 1r relating to sheep. These are enough, however, to suggest that this manuscript belonged to a member of the merchant class.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

> And speciali for me 3e pray  
> Dat his bock gart dight  
> Iohn of lindbergh, i 3u sai  
> Dat es mi name ful right. (ll. 17099–102)

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

If Lindbergh is considered as a place name, however, some suggestions are possible. The commissioner of the manuscript was armigerous, as is witnessed by the coat of arms on fol. 1r, and fairly wealthy, as is witnessed by the quality of the manuscript he commissioned. No suitable candidate is recorded from Lindbergh Magna in
Yorkshire, nor from Lindbergh Parva in Lincolnshire. Attention must centre on Lindbergh (now Limber) Magna in southern Lincolnshire, a site close to the source of the dialect layer underlying the first 11,000 lines of MS G.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

DEcoration

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

The programme of rubrication in MS E was never carried out. Although the sections of the manuscript containing part of the Northern Homily Cycle have many headings in red, the portion of the manuscript containing the CM has none. Spaces were left for headings, however, on fols. 37r, 3v, 10r, and 14r, and spaces for decorated initials were left on fols. 14r and 47r. A late hand, possibly seventeenth-century, has jotted headings or running headlines on some of these folios, and these were printed by Morris as if they were original headings in text columns.
Although it has red initials to indicate divisions of the poem, MS C does not contain headings in the text. However, many folios, especially at the beginning of the manuscript, show running headlines, which again Morris has printed as headings in the text. Presumably more of these once existed but were cropped by a binder.

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

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

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

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

Robert Thornton, who copied MS Add, left spaces for more headings than are found in MS F, the nearest textual relative to his own copy.
He also decorated his text with red initials, probably penned by his own hand.

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

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

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

MS E, dated by Neil Ker at the beginning of the fourteenth century (Ker, p. 539), contains three spaces in its text columns which seem to have been intended to hold pictures. On fol. 39v col. 2, a space of 14 lines has been left at the beginning of the story of Paul’s conversion (before l. 19477). On fol. 41r col. 1, a space of 12–13 lines has been left before a section telling of God sending Ananaias to baptize the still blind Paul (before l. 19657). On fol. 46v col. 1, a space of seven lines has been left in the middle of a discussion of the cross (before l. 21717). The first space occurs at a place which the other manuscripts regard as a significant division of the poem, and the second occurs at a minor division, but the third occurs at a place where no other manuscripts note a division.
There seems little reason for picture spaces to appear at just these places. St. Paul was never a popular saint with the laity, and histories of Christian iconography record relatively few representations of him. It is possible that the commissioner of the manuscript had a special devotion to St. Paul. He is the patron saint of rope makers and of basket makers but the scenes which inspired this are not the ones which were chosen for illustration here. His blinding and conversion are clearly an important moment in his story, and in the history of the Church, but his baptism and the regaining of his sight are much more rarely shown. The 6000 lines preserved in MS E would have allowed an artist to illustrate other more commonly shown events: the story of Simon Magus from the life of Peter and Paul, for instance, figures of the apostles to accompany their biographies, the Assumption of Our Lady, Antichrist, the Apocalypse, the Fifteen Signs before Judgement, hell, heaven, etc. Yet these were ignored and the story of Paul apparently given two spaces.

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

Staue and croice bæpe er als an
Bot taue hauis gierd aboun nan.

To the left of the space is a crude tau, presumably a direction to the artist what to draw in the space.

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

The second, at the bottom of fol. 12v, is a drawing of a ship labelled archa noe. The ship has not been abstracted or simplified from a more complete Noah's ark scene, for it shows none of the usual attributes of the ark. It is not enclosed, there are no signs of the window and door mentioned in Genesis, and there are no people, animals, or birds nearby.
The third drawing is at the bottom of fol. 13v. The text tells of the division of the world among the sons of Noah and the sketch is a T-O map dividing the world into Asia, Europe, and Africa. The label reads *diuisio terrarum tribus fratribus Iaphet cham* (Shem is not mentioned).

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

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

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

There are also some further spaces in the text columns of the Cotton manuscript. Originally the copyist left spaces ranging from 16 to five lines at the beginning of the histories of the first six ages of the world. Five of the six spaces are now filled with crude diagrams, in the hand and ink of the scribe, of the genealogy of the prominent men of the preceding era. The first space, on fol. 2v after l. 270, is awkward, as there is no genealogy of a preceding era to fill it. The space is instead filled, for no particular reason, with a list of days of the week and their corresponding planets.

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

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

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Pis ilk tre I dede be-gyn.} \\
\text{is alle sette for mary kyn.} \\
\text{pat ilkan may knaw weterly} \\
\text{of Joseph kin & of mary} \\
\text{for \textit{hai} come bab of a man.} \\
\text{pat had leuy to his nam.} \, (\text{MS F})
\end{align*}
\]

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

Although the genealogies may have been present in the exemplar of C, it is not impossible that drawings, such as those preserved in C, were also present in the exemplar to mark the transition from one age of the world to another. The rivers of paradise would serve to introduce the first age, Noah's ark the second, the tablets of the law the fourth. In this scheme emblems for the third, fifth, and sixth ages are missing in MS C, and the T-O map and Tower of Babel are outside the scheme, but additional sketches might easily have been present in the exemplar or archetype.
The kind of decoration I am suggesting is not unknown elsewhere. Almanacs and calendars often represent saints pictorially by their attributes (the hand of St. Faith, for instance). They may also contain brief world histories or chronological schemes in which each age is accompanied by a suitable, though simple, pictorial representation very like those in MS C. Chronicle histories may also contain this kind of illustration, although their form is somewhat more elaborate.

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

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

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

- the conception of John the Baptist (fol. 4v col. 2)
- the presentation of Jesus at the temple (fol. 7r col. 2)
- the three kings and their offerings (fol. 7v col. 2)
- the angel warning the three kings (fol. 8v col. 2)
The Southern Version of Cursor Mundi

- the flight into Egypt (fol. 9r col. 2)
- Christ at school (fol. 12v col. 2)
- Christ restoring sight to the blind man (fol. 21v col. 2)
- the healing at the Piscina Probatica (fol. 23v col. 1)
- Christ forgiving Mary Magdalene (fol. 25v col. 1).

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

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

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

Salter and Pearsall remark about the illustration of secular romances that "the availability of appropriate compositional models is an important consideration for the professional illustrator" (Salter and Pearsall, p. 104), and Hugo Buchthal has shown how widely available biblical scenes were adapted to illustrate such secular works (Buchthal, pp. 11–13). The most likely explanation of Robert Thornton's picture spaces is that he too planned to illustrate the CM with pictures from an illustrated Bible cycle in an unrelated text.
For unknown reasons, Thornton never filled in the picture spaces, and instead wrote in many of them. The headings are clearly an after-thought, however, as they do not correspond with headings in any of the other manuscripts, and as they occasionally duplicate other headings already in place. The heading on the picture space on fol. 4v col. 2, for instance, “Off the concepcyoun off Iohn þe Baptiste,” duplicates the usual heading on fol. 5r col. 2, “Þe concepcyoun of Saynt Iohn of [sic] Baptiste.”

The most lavish programme of illustration in any CM manuscript is found in MS G. The first 96 folios of the manuscript contain quite elaborate decoration. This was almost certainly executed ca. 1375–1400 in York, where there was a flourishing trade in book production. The decoration of the manuscript stops partway through the volume, although unfortunately not at the same place that other changes occur. Only the first 97 folios of the manuscript are illustrated, in other words all but two leaves of the first eight quires. The colophon too comes in an odd position. Rather than being at the end of the poem (or even at the beginning), the name of the commissioner of the manuscript comes partway through, at l. 17099, following the story of Christ’s Passion and a 98-line passage of devotional prayer translated from Robert Grosseteste.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Fol. 52v shows David and Goliath in one of the largest scenes in the manuscript. This is the only scene to be framed in any way and to have a patterned background of arabesques. Two pictures of buildings represent Solomon's Temple (fol. 60v) and the allegory of the Château d'amour (fol. 68r).
The New Testament is the only part of the *CM* which survives in MS Add, and is therefore the part which Robert Thornton clearly intended to have illustrated, yet the spaces in his manuscript rarely coincide with the pictures in MS G. Again, MS G’s choice of subjects to illustrate is somewhat eccentric. There is no Nativity scene, for instance, but instead a picture of a man (fol. 76v). Some of the miracles of the infancy of Christ are illustrated, which is quite unusual. There is a scene of the palm tree bowing to Christ (fol. 79v) and of Jesus sowing seeds, and taming a lion (fol. 83v). The scene from the infancy gospels which was to appear in MS Add was of Christ at school, so again there is no common subject. The illustrations in MS G end with some scenes from Christ’s ministry. Christ blessing the man born blind (fol. 91v) was also to appear in MS Add (fol. 21v), and there is an initial showing Christ preaching (MS G, fol. 93v), which is also the presumed subject of the double-column picture space in MS Add. Thornton’s picture, though, would presumably have been much larger and surely much more elaborate. The last picture in MS G is of the dying Lazarus in front of his house (fol. 95v).

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

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

INFLUENCE

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

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

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

qua-sim of sorou nane has has here,
herkin to me & 3e mai lere.

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

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

Debe thrid day þat drighten did
Debe watters draw unto a stid,
And bad a dri sted suld be;
Debe watters al he cald þe see,
Debe dri cald erth þat lauerd kyng. (*CM*, MS C 379–83)

Waters, that so wyde ben spred,
be gedered to geder in to one stede,
that dry the erth may seym;
that þat is dry the erth shall be,
the waters also I call the see:
this warke to me is queme.
Out of the erth herbys shal spryng,
Trees to florish and frute furth bryng. (Towneley I 37–44)
The same sort of examination demolishes most suggested links between CM and the Pricke of Conscience. In the notes to his edition of the Pricke, Morris printed extracts from CM on Antichrist, the resurrection of the body, and the pains of hell. The latter is included for linguistic comparison, but the two former seem to invite comparison as if one were the source of the other. Both poets are, in fact, simply translating independently very similar and very commonly known Latin works. The passage on Antichrist comes from Adso’s De ortu et tempore Anti-christi, and the other two passages are largely based on the Elucidarium of Honorius Augustodunensis.

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

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

. . . . . . .
He praises al thing þat es gon
  O present thing he praisses non
  þan es eth to mak him wrath,
To saxtend be es sumdel lath;  (CM, MS C 3562–74,
   3577–80)

Bot als tyte als a man waxes alde,  766
þan waxes his kynde wayke and calde,  767
. . . . . . .
And his heved feble and dysy; 771
Alle his touches er tremblande: 779
His bak waxes croked, stoupand he gas 777

His haire moutes, his eghen rynnes; 781
His sight wax dym þat he has, 776
And his face rouncles, ay mare and mare; 773
His nese ofte droppes, his hand stynkes, 775
His mouthe slavers, his tethe rotes, 784

He prayses ald men and haldes þam wyse, 794
An yhung men list him oft despyse; 795
He loves men þat in ald tyme has bene, 796
He lakes þa men þat now are sene; 797
He is lyghtly wrath, and waxes fraward, 786
Bot to turne hym fra wrethe it es hard; 787 (Pricke)

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

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

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

Sone he sayde.I.sal þe say.
How-gate þou sal take þi way.
“Þat gresse sal teyche þe þi gate.
Riȝt to paradise ȝate;” (CM, MS F 1249–50, 1263–64)
“And sun,” he said, “I sall þe say
Wharby þou sall ken þe way:
Þou sall sone find a grene gate
Euyn vnto paradis ȝate.” (Northern Passion, 149/139*-142*)

Even if influence is admitted here, the question remains why the poet should copy only four lines from so many.

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

Of lareth eild þe yeir fourti-and
Was passed werld þe first thousand

and v. 1464:

Þat was þe fiuet kne fra seth. (CM 1465–66)

In þe forty þere þan of jareth
Be a compte in scripture caste
Þat was þe fyrste gre of sethe
Of þe ward fyrste thousande paste. (Rev. Meth. 129–32)

There is, however, hard evidence that CM did influence some later works. Four manuscripts of the Pricke of Conscience contain Lollard interpolations. In two of these the interpolations include a quotation of 58 lines from the introduction to CM. In Manchester, John Rylands Library MS Eng. 90, fols. 6r and 7r, the lines are copied continuously with the Pricke, as if they were a normal part of the poem and appeared
as such in the exemplar. In Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 60, fols. 4v–5r and 5v, the interpolation appears in a separate quire, copied in the same hand as the text, with its first folio missing. A note in the text on fol. 10 (edited l. 192) directs the reader to turn to the interpolation. Some of the interpolated lines also appear in a third manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS e Mus. 198, fols. 173r-v, where they give the appearance of being a separate poem.

The lines are here reproduced from the Rylands MS, with variants from Ashmole in square brackets. The e Mus. copy is too faded to serve as a reliable witness to the text.

Hem is leuer forto here
Romauns off many a dou3ti fere
Off alisaundre þe conquerour
Off iulius cesaer þemperour
Off grece and troie þe strong striue
Ther many a þousant lassten her liue
Off bruit þat barn bald off hand
The furst conquerour off Engeland
Off king arthour þat wes so riche
To whom in his time wes non lic[h]e
Off ferlees þat to his kny3tes felle
And off auentures as 3e han herd telle
And off gawayn kay and opur stable
Which þat weren off þe round table
How king charles and rouland fau3t
Wip saresins wold þei han no sau3t
Off tristrem and off his leoff Isot
How he for hure bicom [a] sot
Off edan and off amadas
How didan deied for ennias
Off felice and off Vimmamfon
That liutul profit hangeþ apon
Off pirremus and off ti[s]bese
Ther was gret sorwe wij)outen sese
Off paris and off Elina
Achilles and polexina
Stories also off serecen þinges
Off princes prelates and off kinges
Sanges fair off selcouȝ rime
Englisch frensch and latin
To rede and here ilk a mon is prest
These þinges [þat] hem likeþ best

For bi þe fruit men mai see
Off what vertue is ilk a tree
A fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos
Off ilk a fruit þat men mai finde
Hit fetteþ fro þe rote his kiunde
Off good peritree god peres
Worse tre wors fruit beres
This two spices off þis tree
Bitokenþ man boþe þe and me

The spirit bitokenþ alle our dedes
Boþe good and ille who so riȝt redes
Oure dedes fro oure hert taken rote
Wheþer bei ben wrouȝt to bale oþer to bote
For bi þing þat men drawen hem tille
Men schal hem knowe for good oþur for ille
Ensample bi hem hier i say
That halden hem in her riot ay
In welfol riot and in ricolage
And in alle folie spenden her age

Rylands: 10 licke; 18 om; 20 o amadas; 20d tibese; 26 om.

Lines 20a-g of this passage do not appear in any of the extant manuscripts of CM. They are consistent in style and content with the authentic lines they follow. It may be, of course, that the interpolator composed them to expand the passage, as he adapted other lines to fit their new context or added new ones. There is a slight possibility, however, that these manuscripts preserve seven authentic lines of CM which have otherwise been lost.

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

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

**MANUSCRIPT RELATIONS**

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

![Stemma Diagram]

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2. A discussion very similar to that which follows appeared in Dr. Horrall's "The Manuscripts of *Cursor Mundi*." In the present account, she adds an analysis of the stemma proposed by Ross, and refines her view of the relationships among HTLB. A.L.K.
After criticism of this stemma, Hupe produced another one:

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

The only challenge to Kaluza's work in recent years has been a stemma constructed in a 1971 Oxford B.Litt. thesis by Charles C.V. Ross. Using evidence almost exclusively from the 4000 or so lines of the text which are present in MS E, he deduced the following set of relationships:
All of the above stemmata were constructed using word-by-word groupings of shared readings. Little account was taken of the Latin and French sources from which most of the lines had been translated, many of which were not known until work began on the present edition. Comparison of these sources with the ME text often reveals which readings of a given line are closest to the source, and hence to the poet's original, and which readings are variants. On the basis of such a comparison, the following stemma is proposed:

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

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

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3. A pencilled stemma was discovered among Dr. Horrall's notes, but this cannot represent her final intention as indicated by the text of her Introduction. In the pencil sketch, the arrangement of FAdd and of HTLB is slightly different from that indicated here, both C and the ancestor of FAdd descend directly from O, and there is no ? (question mark). A.L.K.
copied so freely that they seem at times to be paraphrasing *CM* rather than copying it. However, source study shows that MS F preserves a considerable number of unique but clearly original lines. Some of these correct readings are biblical:

2697  xiiij sere F; thritti yeir CGHTLB;  
tridecim annos Gen. 17.25.

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

14451  viij & xxx sere F; theritti 3ere CGHTLB;  
triginta et octo annos Ioan. 5.5

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

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

F 521–22 CGHTLB *om*  
His heued ys rouned as a balle  
& squalyys þe firmament alle  
*Elucidarium* I 59  
Caput ejus est rotundum  
in caelestis sphaerae modum

F 4682–83 CGHTLB *om*  
& alle þe baronage so til him bare  
Þatte alle þai louted til his lare  
*Bible*, Herman de Valenciennes 1420–21  
Les barons de la terre faire tous son plaisir,  
Tout le vont enclinant tout le vont servir.

F 8300  
Þi wille is worshepely to wirk  
Þat is to diȝt [C dright]  
*Trad. anon.* fol. 269v col. 2  
Il scert bien que tu li uues faire  
i temple or pense de la traire.

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

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

An example of this appears at II. 7048–49:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C</th>
<th>GHTLB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alexandre, in ðat squar</td>
<td>Alysaundir in ðat time ðare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ðat paris hight, raiuist elayn</td>
<td>Pat paris agh, rauyscht helayn,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Den come alisaundre wipout doute</td>
<td>And asked quo walde stande agayne.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

21320

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>GHTLB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Luce has of ox, marc o leon</td>
<td>Lucas of ox for þis resoun</td>
<td>Luk has of ox, ai lokis dun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7487

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>GHTLB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gerard</td>
<td>leaund</td>
<td>Goly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In summary, then, when FE have a common correct reading, the error was introduced at \( \beta \), and thus affects CGHTLB. When FC(E) share a common correct reading, this disappeared at \( \gamma \). In those lines in which C or CE alone preserve a correct reading, the misinterpretations of F can be shown to be independent errors, unrelated to the misinterpretations of G or of \( \gamma \) (GHTLB).
Related to the problem of MS F is that of the placement of MS Add, which is not considered in any of the other stemmata. E and Add are fragments of different parts of the poem and thus cannot be compared against each other. Among the other manuscripts, however, Add is most closely related to F. They share several passages which are not found in any other copies of the poem: ll. 11907, 11993–94, 12485–86. As these are not to be found in the poem’s sources, they are probably common additions. Add and F also retain some original lines which translate the sources but have been lost in all other copies of the poem. Other evidence supports the relationship. Lines 12575–76 are omitted only in MSS F and Add. The end of the introduction to the sixth age of the world varies in different manuscripts, but F and Add agree in having only ll. 12733–38. Only MSS F and Add begin a new division of the poem at l. 13886. Certain pairs of lines are reversed only in F and Add as against CGHTLB: ll. 13310–11 and 13988–89.

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

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

Kaluza correctly recognized that MS E represents a different manuscript family. It ends at l. 24968 and is thus the only CM manuscript to finish precisely where the poem’s table of contents said it should. MS E is textually very close to C, but neither copies the other. The similarity occurs because both are conservative copies of their
exemplars, which were close to the poet’s original. MS E contains several unique readings which comparison with the poem’s sources shows to be original. These readings were lost in α, and thus do not appear in FCGHTLB. The penitential manual which is common to CFG was also added at α. Original readings shared by F and E, on the other hand, were dropped at β, and so do not appear in CGHTLB.

The four South Midland manuscripts HTLB clearly form a closely related group, transmitting a shortened form of the text. The relations among the manuscripts of this group are not so obvious, because the revision which occurred at δ has obliterated many of the original readings. However, there is evidence for the relationship I propose.

H and T seem to have been close copies of the same exemplar (Ross says same scribe), and were produced near Lichfield, a centre for the translation and dissemination of northern texts for readers in the southern part of the country. Variants in either manuscript are usually minor and clearly understandable scribal slips, but occasional larger errors show that it is unlikely that either was copied from the other.

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

Further information about the format of this exemplar may be deduced from the evidence of L and B. MSS H and T share a similar manuscript format, both being of about the same dimensions and with a very similar layout of text and decoration. In both manuscripts the text is copied in double columns of 40 lines each, on vellum which has been ruled to receive it. The layout of both is very clear and tidy. After l. 11912, MS L copies ll. 12077–78 before cancelling these and copying l. 11913. After l. 18564 the scribe copied ll. 18731–42 before realizing his error, cancelling these lines, and proceeding with l. 18565. In each instance, the scribe must have accidentally turned over two leaves of his exemplar, an exemplar which was copied at a rate of 160 lines per leaf, i.e., like H and T, in regular double columns of 40 lines each.

The southern version of CM, then, seems to have been issued in a fairly uniform “edition,” two copies of which survive and at least one other copy whose existence can be inferred.
Although the manuscript group represented by HTLB has been translated and revised quite extensively, there are a few instances in which only this group preserves a reading which is demonstrably original. Kari Sajavaara pointed out that several lines in MSS HTLB translate lines of Grosseteste’s *Château d’amour* which do not appear in any other *CM* manuscript (*NM* 68: pp. 184–93):

**HTLB 18711–12**  
*Château* 1429–30  
Dat is to vche creature  
For þei shulde in troupe be sure  
A universe creature  
C’est sul a home par dreiture

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

**HTLB 4579**  
Ful of corn were þei set þo  
CFG Sa wel war sette me thought selcuth  
Herman’s *Bible* 1355  
Les vii cargies de ble

**HTLB 6525**  
holes; CF hepes; G helpis  
Herman’s *Bible* 2133  
fosses

**HTLB 9179**  
He regneðe nyne & twenty þere  
CFG He regnd thritte yeer and nine  
IV Reg. 18.2  
viginti novem annis regnavit in Jerusalem  
*Château* 246  
Fors d’aveir li en lur

**HTLB 9558**  
As him to haue in his bailye  
CFG (F missing) Als is man for to be baillie  
*Château* 246  
Fors d’aveir li en lur

**HTLB 11038**  
goostly grace  
CG (F missing) godds grace  
Wace, p. 45  
saint esprit

**HTLB 11321–32**  
Bi þe holy goost him sent  
þat þus seide to him present  
CG *om* (F missing)  
Luc. 2.26  
Et responsum acceperat a Spiritu Sancto  
*Château* 1157–59  
C’est le oir e le veer,  
Li odorær e le parler,  
E le taster

**HTLB 17017–18**  
Heryng speche siȝte smelyng  
& fele are wittes fyve.  
CG (F missing)  
Hering sight smelling and fele  
Cheuing er wittes five.
One correct reading is shared by HTLB and E:

HTLBE 22525  
Into þe erþe shul somme ryn  
CFG Right to þe air al sal þai rin

Quinze signes 14  
Droit a ces granz fosses courront

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adso</td>
<td>Adso Dervensis, <em>De ortu et tempore Antichristi</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Château</td>
<td>Robert Grosseteste, <em>Le château d'amour</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CM</td>
<td><em>Cursor Mundi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De miseria</td>
<td>Lotario dei Segni (= Innocent III), <em>De miseria condicionis humane</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EETS, os/es</td>
<td>Early English Text Society, Original Series / Extra Series</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ET</td>
<td><em>Evernew Tongue</em>, in Heist, pp. 73–88.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Förster</td>
<td>Max Förster, &quot;Der Vercelli Codex CXVII nebst Abdruck einiger altenglischer Homilien der Handschrift.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friedberg</td>
<td>Aemilius Friedberg, ed., <em>Corpus iuris canonici</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heist</td>
<td>William W. Heist, <em>The Fifteen Signs before Doomsday</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historia Scholastica</td>
<td>Peter Comestor, <em>Historia Scholastica</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMEV</td>
<td>Carleton Brown and Rossell Hope Robbins, <em>The Index of Middle English Verse</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMEV 796</td>
<td>E. Stengel, <em>Codicum manu scriptum Digby 86</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMEV 1823</td>
<td>F.J. Furnivall, ed., <em>Hymns to the Virgin and Christ</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMEV 3368</td>
<td>Hermann Varnhagen, &quot;Zu mittelenglischen Gedichten X: zu den Signa ante Judicium.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ME</td>
<td>Middle English</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE SOUTHERN VERSION OF *CURSOR MUNDI*

**MED**  
*Middle English Dictionary*, ed. Hans Kurath, Sherman M. Kuhn, and Robert E. Lewis, complete through to *vaporacioun*.

**MS(S)**  
manuscript(s)

**OED**  

**Oglerius**  
C.W. Marx, “The *Quis dabit* of Oglerius de Tridino, Monk and Abbot of Locedio.”

**PG**  

**PL**  

**Pouzet**  
Jean-Pascal Pouzet, “The ‘Invention of the Cross’ in *Cursor Mundi*.”

**Pricke**  

**Ps-Bede**  
Pseudo-Bede, *De quindecim signis*.

**Quinze signes**  

**Rev. Meth.**  
Charlotte D’Evelyn, “The Middle-English Metrical Version of the *Revelations* of Methodius ...”

**Sackur**  
Ernst Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen*.

**SnR**  
*Saltair na Rann*, in Heist, pp. 2–21.

**Templum Dei**  
Robert Grosseteste, *Templum Dei*.

**TLL**  
*Thesaurus linguae latinae*, complete through princeps.

**Trad. anon.**  

**Vercelli**  
D.G. Scragg, ed., *The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts*.

**von Kraemer**  
see *Quinze signes*.

**Wace**  

**Wright**  
Thomas Wright, ed., *The Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes*. 
Text of
the Southern Version
of Cursor Mundi
(College of Arms MS Arundel LVII)

Lines 21845–23898
This page intentionally left blank
[Now is good for to wende]
To speke of pis worldes ende

//
Six eldes haue we bro3t in place
Be seuenpe is calde pe tyme of grace
Dat bigon at cristis come
And lastep to pe day of dome
Whenne hit shal be woot no man
He shal al ende dat al bigan
For whenne he firste his worlde wrou3t
Euere to stonde he made hit nou3t
Pe terme is set to ende hit in
Shal hit neuer ouer ryn
Per may no mon wite in lede
But his owne lordhede
But bi tokenes witerly
Men woot wel dat hit is ny
Of pese tokenes dat I say
Men may se hem vche day
Do dat god himself of telles
In pe boke of gospelles
Tokenes he seip shul per be
In sonne mone londe & see
Muche in erpe shal be pe wrong
Dat shal be penne men among
For do pe see shal rise & route
Mony mon perof shal doute
Folk shal a3eyn folke rise
And werre togider in mony wise
Hongres & deep vpon to mynne
In erpe shal rise for monnes synne
Muchel wo hem shal bityde
Dat is sett dat tyme to bide
We may pese seen vche day
If we knowe hem ou3t may
He sendep pis in warneyng
To be war of his comyng
Oure soulis alle to make redy
A3eyn his coome so dredefuly
But pe moo tokenes dat we se
Pe worse warned are we
Dat we wol not be warnyst
Dat hit greu3p ihesu crist
For euery creatoure sure
Aftir pe state of his nature
Bette her makere knowe pen mon
Alas what may we saye þon
To him whenne he sitteþ as iustise
Of oure feint & oure fals seruise
Meke to vs we him fynde
And nobing loueþ more þen oure kynde
So muche he ȝyuþ vs euer oure wille
þat we him waite euer wip ille
Bestes doumbe leouns & beres
Alle lyuyng þingis on her maneres
Done her deuer &Wereu nouȝt
þonkyng þe makere þat hem wrouȝt
Heuen & erpe sonne and mone
And al þat in þis erpe is done
þei serue him alle vpon her wise
And man wipdraweþ his seruyse
So filled wip couetise is he
þat he of god hâp no pite
Muche leuer him were to here
How Roulande faȝte & olyuerere
Of worldly þing to rede & synge
þen of þe passiouw of þis kynge
Whiche he suffered wip greet despit
Fro pyne of helle to make vs quyt
Whi are we þenne so proude & bolde
Crist hâp to him oure dayes tolde
þo dayes þat we may not skape
þe þal take vs al in rape
þo þat bifo re wol not be war
þenne shul þei fynde no ȝeyn char
To wroþerhele he ʒaf vs wit
But if oure lif be lad wip hit
With ȝe & ere þe soþe we seen
And neuer þe bettur ȝitt we ben
Warned we be bi ðopes wrake
Vnneþe wol any ensaumple take
If any warunynge be to cast
Litil while hit shal vs last
For if hit be at vndryn tide
Hit shal not til noone abide
þat makeþ þis foule worldes delite
þat euer we sene awaywarde wite
What bote is hit so faste to holde
þat we may neuer of be bolde
If we þeron haue holde vmwhile
Hit is to vs but for a gile
Whenne we best wene to haue al
From al shul we sonnest fal
Hit is fallyng as I haue seide
Alweyes til hit be doun leide
Perfore for crist teche I 3ow
And namely for 3oure owne prow
3e þat in þis lake be lende
Haue euer þouȝte on 3ouere ende
Þat 3e not for 3oure heuen hit chese
And so 3oure riȝt heuen lese
For oon of hem we most forgo
Mony men haue heuenes two
Here to haue al flesshely game
And afterwarde þe soule þe same
Bettur is here wiþstonde oure wille
Þat we may hit þere fulfille
Þis lif not an hour of a day
To þat lif þat lasteþ ay
Al þat I saye is for a resoun
Þat we alwey be redy boun
Redy æȝeyn his comyng
For vche day we se tokenyng
His furste come was smeþe ynowȝe
Þe toþer shal be wonoir rowȝe
Furst he coom vs alle to queme
Þe toþer shal be vs alle to deme
Furst he coom demed to be
Þe toþer coome to deme shal he
Of þis come shul be tokens sere
Bifore comyng þat 3e shul here
Wiþouten þat we se always
Euer risyng more of greet vnpayes
Of alle þingis þere shal oon rise
Moost cristen men to do agrise
Þat al þis world on lengþe & brede
Shal do his wickednes to sprede
Þat anticrist of danes sede
Somping of him is to rede
He þat is so ful of goddes grame
Whi he shal haue suche a name
Anticrist he called is
For æȝeyn crist shal he be Iwis
Æȝein crist hit is to say
Æȝein his werke shal he werray
Crist coom meke in his tide
He shal com brem al in pride
Crist coom to do þe lawe to rise
And synful to make riȝtwise
He shal com þe meke to felle
And synful reise seip þe spelle
Alle godenesses wip his mayn
He shal werre hem aȝayn
Þe gospel & al holy writt
He shal fordo wo worpe his wit
He shal do reise al maumetry
And clepe himself god almysty
Þis anticrist haþ hade ful felle
Þat to his seruyse han ben lele
Al antioche & domiciane eke
And now þer is ful mony seke
What manner mon so euer hit es
Out of þe rule of riȝtwisnes
Oþer lewed or religioun
Clerke monke ouþer chanoun
And werren on þat þei shulden were
Of anticrist þe name þei bere
Now is good to here hit red
How þat anticrist shal be bred

//
Nothing shal I fayne newe
But þat I fond in bokes trewe
Þese clerkes seye þo þat be wise
Þat he of iewes kyn shal rise
Of danes kynde he seip anone
Þe prophete þus makeþ his mone
Dane he seip is neddre in strete
Waityn g hors to stynge in fete
To do þe rider falle bi þe way
Þis is as myche to say
By way as nedder shal he sit
And alle þe men þat he may wit
Ridyng in þe rule of riȝt
He shal hem smyte & do to liȝt
He shal hem ȝyue ful attr eynt
Out of her trouþe make hem stynt
Of fadir & modir he shal be born
As òþere men were him biforn
Betwene a mon & a wommone
But not of a mayden allone
As hit is foly tolde of somme
Not betwene a bishop & a nonne
But of a bismare breme & balde
Geten of a glotoun foule scalde
Pere may be no foulere tweyn
Alle in synne geten certeyn
Geten in synne þat cursed wþt
Of god he shal be malediþt
In his getyng þe fend of helle
Shal crepe in his modir to dwelle
Maister of errour & of pride
Pere In he shal his burþe abide
Þouȝe he be now in prisoun bounden
As hit is in holy writt þenne founden
Þat seynþ grægorþe himseluen wrouȝt
Þerfore he seib he lieþ nouȝt
Þe kynde of strengþe he hap þat he had ere
Þouȝe his myȝte more were
Þat myȝt is not so now knownen
Oure lord hap done for his owen
For if he myȝte al wolde he quelle
Þerfore he bounden hap þat felle
He shal be leshed þenne of bonde
And muche wo worche in londe
Þis is he þat cursede brede
In þe apocalipse þat we of rede
An aungel he seide he say ledonde
Wiþ a muchel cheyne in honde
And bar þe key of þe muchel pit
As seib seint Ion in holy writ
To þat dragoun soone he wan
Þat men callen deuel sathan
And in þat pit him spred fast
Whil a þousonde þeer wolde laste
Whenne þat þousonde þeer were gone
To be loused soone anone
To walke his wey fro þat while
And mony men for to bigile
Þe kyng of pride þis ilke is he
And euer hit shal him folowyng be
And as in oure lady þo liȝt
Þe holy goost bi goddes myȝt
And vmbileide hir wiþ his leme
To brede þat blessed barneteme
Þat al þe burþe she þere shulde brede
Shulde holly be of his godhede
Riȝt so þe deuel shal descendere
And in anticristis modir lende
To fulle þat caitif so vnclene
And vmbilay hir al bidene
Into his wille hir to weyue
And do hir þourȝe a mon conceyue
Þat al þe burȝe þat þere is born
Shal be wicked fals & forlorn
Perfore his name is calde ful riȝt
Son of los þe malediȝt
In al þat he may worche þerto
Al monkynde he shal fordo
Of his getyng I tolde þou ore
Of his burȝe I wol telle more
For riȝt as crist himseluen chese
Be born in bedleem for oure ese
His monhede for to bringe in place
Þat he toke for vs of his grace
Riȝt so shal þe fendi he þis
Chese him a burȝ stude Iwis
Þe beest is ordeyned to his stal
Where is þe rotes of eueles al
Þere leest of god men maken myn
Þe toun of babilone wiþ ln
Þis toun was whilom chef of pers
Of mony opere also dyuers
A toun of wondir muchel pride
Heed of maumetri þat tide
Bethsaida & corozaym
Þese two citees shul susteyne him
Oure lord warioþ þese two townes
And þus seip in his sermownes
Corozaym euer be þe wo
And þe bethsaida eke also
Capharnaum euer wo þe be
þe synful son shal regne in þe
þei þou þe reise vp to heuen
To helle depe shaltou be ȝeuen
Norisshe him shul enchauntours
Nigromaunceres and logelours
Of alle manere craftis ille
Of al falsheþe þei shul him fille
Wickede goostis him vp to bere
Folwynge him monyone to fere
To ierusalem shal þe þenne fare
Alle þat he cristen fyndeþ þare
If þei leue not his techyng
To deolful dep þe shal hem bring
In þe temple salomone
Þenne shal þat traitour set his trone
Pat pat was felde longe gone
He shal hit reise efte of stone
Circuncise him þere he shalle
And goddes son him do to calle
þe grete caiseres & þe kyngis
And alle suche þere lordyngis
Turne to him þei shul raþerest
And siþen þere at þe leest
Outeral þere crist was wont to go
He shal ouergone hem also
Furste he shal destrye new
þat halewed was of god iatesu
Siþen ouer al þis world wide
Shal be sende wiþ muchel pride
His prechouris for to spelle his wille
Al þe cristen lawe to spille
Fro see to see fro norþ to souþ
He shal do make his sarmoun coup
He shal do mony token to sene
þat before hæþ not done bene
Þondir on lofte shal he rere
And trees blossomes brode to bere
He shal do þe see be rowȝe
And also to be smæþe Inowȝe
DyuersÞinges fro her naturis
Shal he turne to dyuersÞiguris
Aȝeȝn kynde bi þe deuiles craft
Þe wattris for to ryse on baft
Þe wynde also reuly to ryse
And stormes do men sore to gryse
To reise þe dede to monnes siȝt
So selcoupely to shewe his myȝt
But hit be goddis chosen þing
He shal him to his errour bryng
But alle þo merueiles done with art
Of sopfastenes shul haue no part
Wiþ iogeleri þei shul be wrouȝt
And fantome ben and ellis nouȝt
As symon magus in his whyle
So shal he þe folke bigyle
Gode men þat shul se þis wrouȝt
Shul be studying al in þouȝt
Wheþer hit be cryst or not sure
þat þei haue herd of in scripture
Þer is no lond þat men con neuen
Vndir þe roof of cristis heuen
But he shal do hem to be sou3t
To brynge þe cristen men to nou3t
He shal himseluen do to ryse
Aþeyn þe trouþe on þre wyse
Pat is to sey wiþ 3ifte wiþ awe
And wiþ tokenes þat he shal shawe
Who in his trouþe wol bi holde
Shal plente haue of siluer & golde
For alle þo herdes þat ben hid
In his tyme shal be kid
Pat he may not wiþ 3iftis drawe
Into his hond he shal wiþ awe
Þere he may not wiþ drede
Wiþ signes shal he fonde to spede
And who þat wol not leue him so
He shal hem worche mychel wo
Mony sorweful pyne to dry
And siþen deolful deþ to dy
Þenne shal rise in þat tyme þere
A sorwynge siche was neuer ere
Siþ man was made bitwene & þan
Ny siþen þe world firste bigan
Þenne shul þei fle þat wolde be hid
And to þe hilles shul þei bid
Hilles falle vpon vs doun
And hide vs fro pis fals feloun
And he þat in hous is stad
In þat tyme shal be so rad
Neuer shal he recche how to twyn
To leue al his worldes wyn
To founded how shal he not rek
On híþe to lepe his nek to brek
Þenne shul alle þo shortly to say
Þat trewe be founden in cristis lay
For iðerus cristis holy sake
Suffere myche wo & wrake
Wiþ yren fuyr or attri beest
How þat euer þei may hardest
So wiþ dyuerse maner pyne
In Crist þei shul haue blisful fyne

// Þis drewery tyme þat 3e of here
Shal lastynghe be half þridde 3ere
For his derlingis þe story sayes
Oure lord shal do to short his dayes
But his dayes shorted were
Vnnepe shulde any flesshe be fere
Pe tyme of antecristis coome
And of oure lordis day of doome
Seynt poul seib in his sermuons fol. 123v col. 1
To the folk of thessalones 22220
But if dissencioun bityde
And he come pe sone of pride
Pat is but if discorde & stryf
Ouer al pe world be romnen ryf
Pour3e sarazines and anticrist 22225
His coome shal bide oure lord crist
We woot bope bi story & wers
Pat pe kindom of grace & pers
Were heed kyngis in forme tyde
Wip pouste florissshed moost of pride
And sipen was rome at pe last
Moost ouer opere hit ouer past
For peere shulde be no lede of londe
But rome shulde haue hem vndir honde
Alle maner folke to rome shulde helde 22235
And as to o heed trewage 3e1e
der antecrist shal come in lande
Pat is þus to vndirstande
But alle kyndomes þat was rome vndir
Fro lordhede of rome shul sondir
Pat first was vndir romes awe
Er antecrist him shal not shawe
Pis beþ not 3it of romaynye
þou3 hit struid bi greet partye
Euer whil frenshe kyngis is
Pat owe þe empire of rome to wis
Of rome empire þe dignite
May no wey al perissshed be
For in þo kyngis shal hit stonde
Euer whil þei are lastonde

// Oure maistris tellen of þis chaunce
Pat þer shal be a kyng of fraunce
Of romayne & þat empire fol. 123v col. 2
Holly shal be lord and syre
He shal be in þe laste dayes
þe moost kyng of alle hit sayes
Bope shal he be þe mast
And of alle he shal be last
Pis kynge shal be bised with cele
And after he haþ regned welte
Whanne his regne is at þe ende
To Ierusalem shal he wende

Pere shal he selde out of his honde
His crowne & his kyngis wonde
To Ihesu Crist dere lord hende
And so shal cristien kyngis ende
Also of þe empire of rome

Penne shal be antecristis coome
Aftir poul þe apostel sayes
He shal him shew in þo dayes
Pat synful men wipouten make
Pat sorweful sone ful of wrake
Þe fendois owne childe to wille
His werkis wronge to fulfille
He shal be cald his owne sone
Al wickednes in him shal wonne
Al falsheþe & felony
And al tresoun shal in him ly
He shal him reise so in height
Men shal him were god of myȝt
Himself shal do him reise
Ouer goddis alle him to preyse
Ouer Iubiter and appolyn

Þat goddis were of sarazyn
Heþer þen þese he shal him bere
For he shal be more myȝtyere
He shal men do of him to boost
Ouer alle ðepere to preyse moost
3e ouer þe holy trunyte
Þat shulde ouer alle worshiped be
In þe temple shal he sit
And do men falsely for to wit
Þat he is þat crist to bete
Þat was hem het bi prophete
Þere shal he do him circumcise
And shewynge make of his maystrise
I am þat crist shal he say

ðat 30w was het mony day
Now am komen for 30ure hele
þus shal he to þo iewis mele
Comen I am to geder 3ou
ðat han ben scatered euer to now
þe iewis shortly euerychone
To his counfel shal turne anone
The Southern Version of Cursor Mundi

Pei shul wene Crist to vndirfonge
And shul receyue pe fend stronge
As Crist hap to pe iewis bolde
In his gospel before hem tolde
I come in my fadir nome
And 3e me seke wip mychel shome
If anoþer come in his awen
Soone shul 3e be to him drawen

// Sibile seib in hir spellyng
In tym of his forseyd kyng
Constans men shul him calle in lede
He shal haue myche lordhede
Of romayne and al pe empire
And also of grece he shal be sire
A mychel mon of stature hy3e
Feir in facioun to si3te of y3e
Loued wel wipouten blame
Wipouten last al his licame
Miche riches þenne shal be
Pe erpe shal 3yue fruyt plente
Pe met of whete as hit is told
For a peny shal þenne be sold
Wyn & oyle þat ilke prise
þenne shal fro norþ a folke ryse
þat alexandre spered in gog
And in a lond þat het magog
Pe foule folk no man may mele
Pe noumbre of hem þei be so fele
þis ilke foule cursed lede
Ouer alle londis shul þei sprede
And do men to drede ful sore
To felles fle to hide hem þore
Monnes flesshe spare shul not þey
Moost þei shul hit 3erne alwey
Horste & asse wommon & childe
Shal noon haue my3t fro hem him shilde
But at þe laste romane kyng
Shal of his oost make greet gederyng
He shal hem brynge al to grounde
And at þe laste so hem confounde
Aþeyn sarazines greet werrour
Boþe to strye hem toun and tour
Of maumetrye her templis alle
And to bapteme he shal hem calle
To turne to Crist þat [s]hedde his blode
In temples he shal reyse his rode  
Whenne þat þis douȝty lordyng  
Haþ ben an hundrde wyntir kyng  
And twelue þenne shal he fare  
To ierusalem wipouten care  
And ȝelde vp þere his diademe  
To oure lord god as wel beseme  
Cristen kyngdomes vp to ȝelde  
To ihesu þat haþ al to welde  
Two prophethis shul come þenne in hy  
þat ben Enok and eke Ely  
Aȝeyn þe saut of anticrist  
Shul do trewe to be warnyst  
þei shul hem teche & also riȝt  
And strengþe hem wip him to fiȝt  
Iewe shal conuerte as hit sayes  
Alle þat be founden in þo dayes  
Whenne þei haue don her seruyse  
Anticrist on hem shal ryse  
Þe boke of priuetees sheweth so  
Þat he shal hem boþe slo  
Whenne þei haue lyen deed two dayes  
To lyf shal oure lord hem rayse  
Þe oþer alle he may ouer reke  
Wip swerd he shal hemseluen wreke  
Or do hem cristendoom renay  
If þei wol bere her lyf away  
Alle þat on him shul leue þere  
In frounþe shal he his merk bere  
But whenne þulke fendis brid  
His wrecchednes haþ two þeer kid  
Two þeer and hal[f] þerto  
Wip al þat euer he may do  
Ouer al þis world in lengþe & brede  
Namely among þo cristen lede  
Al þat þenne wolde him wipstonde  
Shal crownd be to lif beonde  
þenne shal oure lord on him sende  
His doom þat shal him dryue to ende  
For cristis coome shal be so briȝt  
Þat þourȝ þat myche lordis liȝt  
He shal of stonde so myche awe  
Þat al þe filþe of his mawe  
Shal brest out of him bihynde  
For drede of god as we fynde  
And oþere maistryes not forþi
Pat folwe þe word of gregory
Seyn þat mychael shal him quelle
In papilon þat mychel felle
In þat stide in his owne stalle
Þat is soop wel may falle
For if seynt michael come in place
To doom before our lordis grace
Him sle shal not his vertu
But þe biddying of ihesu
Stablye owe we leuc as stoone
Þat also soone as he is slone
Crist shal not come his doom to dele
But as we fynde in danyele
Fourty dayes he shal hem 3yue
Þat are fallen out of bileue
Bi folowyng of þat fals prophete
Þat þei may wiþ penaunce bete
Whenne her penacne to ende is brouȝt
I vndirstonde hit in my pouȝt
Þat is no mon so wyse þat may
Telle whenne shal be þe laste day
But he þat al hab for to ȝeme
Al is in his wille to deme
Þe laste day þat al shal ende
God ȝyue vs grace wiþ him to lende
Of fiftene dayes is to say
Shal come before domes day
Now mot I nede of hem mene
Þe cruel dayes & þe kene
Bfore þat day þer shal be sene
Sorweulf tokens ful fiftene
If ȝou likeþ hem to knawe
I shal ȝou telle of hem soop sawe
Þer is no mon in erþe so felle
Þat hertly here wole þis spelle
Of þis wrecched worldis ende
But he auȝte his lyf to mende
Grete tokens shal oure lord make
For to shewe þe wicked his wrake
As hit is tolde of ieromye
Zorobabel and ysaye
Ierom telleþ & þerof rewis
And seip he fond in a book of iewis
Wheþer þei shul hool on rewe bityde
Or entervale bitui[x] hem bide
Pat vndep he vs nowhore
3it he was greet clerke of lore
De iuggement a litil are
Pat noon shal of po felouns spare
Oure lord shal his mystis showe
Pat mon in erpe shal hit knowe
Hidur is good pat pei drawe
Alle pat of him stondep awe
And here wel pat I shal sey
Pat he wend not vnlered awey

//  Pe firste day pat we of rede
Miche hit is for to drede
Der shal falle doun fro pe lift
A blody reyn a dreury drift
Pe erpe shal be al reed of hew
Siche a dew men neuer knew
Childer in wombe peere pei ly
In moder body shul pei cry
Wip hy3e note & loude steu3en
Mercy now lord kyng of heuen
To be born haue we no space
We done vs lord in pi grace
Wherto shulde we be born today
Whenne alle peinge shal turne away
Wepyng shul pei on ihesu calle
To haue mercy on hem alle

//  Pe topere day to byde Iwis
Shal be myche harder pe bis
Pe sterres wip her lemyng leuen
Shul sadly falle doun fro heuen
Is noon so wel faste of hem alle
Pat hit ne shal pat day doun falle
On erpe shul pei renne here & peere
Wepyng as pei men 3it were
No word shal pei 3it sowne
Til pat pei be fallen doune
Vnto pe abyme wi3bou3t si3t
And peere pei shul haue left her li3t
And wex as blac as any cole
Lord who may bis peenne pole
Pat ben so soild in oure synne
And al biwounden now peynne

//  Peenne comeb day pe bridde
An vncoûpe day hit shal be kidde
De moone þenne þat is so shene
Whenne hit is in waxing sene
Shal bicomme reed as bloode
For drede of him was done on rode
To erpe dow he shal descend
But þere no while shal he lende
Into þe see shal hit ryn
Þere to be hid wib þIn
For to ﬂe þe day of awe
Whenne crist shal come him to shawe

// þe ferbe day þat þenne shal be
Shal be grisly vpon [to] see
Þe sonne þat here is so briȝt
And seruþ æl þis world of liȝt
Hit shal bicomme ful vnfaire
Dym & blak as any hayre
In his fairist tyme onne to loke
At mydday as seȝ þe boke
Blake hit shal so bi his myȝt
No mon þerof shal haue no siȝt
A lord wo shal be þe mon
Þat shal haue no mercy þon
To whom he his wraþþe shal kibe
Shal þei neuer fro þenne be bliþe

// Vgly shal be þe ﬁfte day
More þen any tonge con say
Alle douȝbe beestis hit is tolde
To heuenwarde shal her hedis holde
Vpon oure lord for to crye
If þei myȝte speke to aske mercye
Into þe erþe shal somme ryn
For ferdenes to hyde hem In
Oon shal crye wib strenger steuen
Þen now may do ten or elleuen
Al for drede of his comyng
Þen doom shal deme of al þing

// þe sixte day soþ to seyn
Al þis world shal be made pleyn
Illiche bi þen shal ben al
Valeyes vp ryse & hilles fal
Al þis erþe now vndir heuen
Shal þenne be Illiche euen
For drede of þat hyȝe demere  
þe pees shal turne al into were  
Erpe shal quake neuer er so fast  
Tour & toun þenne doun to cast  
Þer is no werk so strong ny wal  
But hit þenne doun shal fal  
Wode & wal doun shal drawe  
For drede of þat demers awe

/ / Sorweful shal þe seuen þe be
Moore þen þe sixte out of pite
þe trees forcasten shul hem þeyne
For to riȝten hem vp aȝeyne
Doun þe crop vpwarde þe rote
Of mirpes þenne is not to mote
Vnquemefully þenne shul þei quake
Þat al þe erpe shal toshake
Lord where shul we þenne rest
Whenne noon shal wite where is best
þene mot alle folke dyȝe
For sorwefulnes þat þei shul dryȝe

/ / þe eiȝteþ tokene haþ no make
Bifore noon of so myche wrake
Of hir chanel þe se shal ryse
To hyde hit but hit may no wyse
Hit shal brest ouer dale and doun
Alle þingis þenne to droun
But he vs faile þat haþ hit tolde
Þat was good moyses þe olde
Vp to þe sky ryse shal he
Wip strengþe þere to gete entre
þe fisshis þat þerynne are stad
Þat we make vs of so glad
To erpewarde þenne shal þei fle
And wene þat god hem may not se
þe see aȝeyn: him shal wipdrawe
Doun fro þe lifte to a lawe
Vnþo hir chanel shal she turne
And þo to ho[r]es vche a burne

/ / þe nyȝþe day shal be kene
Was noon siche of þese opere sene
Wip speche shal al þing him mene
As hit wip monnes moup myȝte bene
I drawe to warant seynt Austyne
Pat tellep how pis world shal fyne
Bei shul crye on oure lord on hit
Haue mercy on vs for bi myst
Lord god pat lastep ay
Dou shalt vs do to worpe away
To turne aȝeyn as nouȝt ne ware
Lord let vs not forfare

// De tenbe out taken is to neuen
Per is no halwe vndir heuen
And heuen hitself shal be ferd
For him pat made myddelerd
As seynt Ierom vs tellep
And pope gregore þere he spellep
Aungels þenne shul quake vnqueme
For doute of him pat al shal deme
Þenne shal quake cherubyn
And also shal do seraphyn
No creature shal lust play
Seyt petur shal be doumb þat day
Pat he a word shal not dur speke
For doute of his lordis wreke
For heuen he shal se parte in sunder
And he shal here hit crye to wondir
Crye & bray for doute & drede
Haue mercy lord now is nede
Þen shal þei þat in helle are cropen
Whenne liȝt shal shyne & heuenes open
Þe fendis alle shul walken oute
Poul hit seib hit is no doute
Hereþ now what þei shal say
For drede þei shul haue of þat day
Iesus lord þat didest vs dwelle
In heuen & siþen þerfro we felle
We haue hit lost wiþ greet foly
In þis greet nede we to þe cry
Þi wrecche hondiwerke in wo
Þat þou of fire suffrest so
3elde vs aȝeyn oure hostel now
Þat vs is refte & we noot how
We wolde hit vndirfonge ful feyn
If we myȝte haue oure erde aȝeyn

// þe tokene of þe elleuenþe day
Soone I shal hit nowe say
Soore shal hit do men to gryse
Wynde on euery syde shal ryse
So fast vchon aȝeyn oþer shal blowe
Dat is no tunge hit may showe
De erpe shal hit brynge to drifte
And vp out of þe stide to lifte
De deuæles out shal be fordryuen
Out of þat erde þat shal be ryuen
Bere her bodyes in þat ayr
Dat siȝt shal be ful vnfair
Penne shal þe reynbowe descende
In hewe of galle hit shal be kende
Wib þo wyndis shal hit melle
And dryue hem down alle into helle
And bete þo deuæles þidir In
In her bale euer to bryn
þei shul be bede to holde hem þore
Abouen erpe to come no more
Penne shul þo fendis criȝe & calle
Lord god fadir of alle
Pou let vs vndir erbe be hid
Dat we be here no lengir kid

II
þe twelþe tokene is sorwes sere
Þourȝe myȝte of him þat al may stere
No mon þat is in erpe wrouȝt
Owe to let hit out of his þouȝte
But to mende his lyf þare
And þenke on him oure lady bare
Heuen shal þenne be loken
A dredeful day to be certeyn
How may we þenne here lende
Whenne al þing draweþ to ende
Penne aungels þat in heuen shul be
Shul kne[1] bifoire cristis kne
And crye mercy to þat kyng
Dat þei se redy to demyng
For þat reuþe shul þei be rad
þei se ouer al þe world sprad
Whenne aungels þus shul drede þat pas
What shal synful say allas

III
þe prettenþe day shal be snelle
More þen any tonge may telle
Whenne alle þe stones þat are wrouȝt
Vndir heuen in world brouȝt
Aboue þe erpe & byneþen
Right into he abyme fro hepen
Shul smyte togider wip siche myst
As pondir dop wip fire li3t
So harde dyntis shul bei kîpe
Hāp noon euen þenne to be blipe
Wip strengþe shul bei togider þrest
Þat al to peces shul bei þrest
Þis shal be lastyng al a day
Þe seigne of þis sory play
Þe men þat þis day shal abyde
Vndir an hil shal hem hyde

//
Þe fourtenþe day shal be ille
To al þe world hit shal be grille
A stormy day & strait to knowe
Boþe of frost hayl & snowe
Þenne shal come þondir & leuen
And droune al þat is vndir heuen
Þe cloudis to þe see shal ryn
For to hyde hem þen þerIn
For to fle þat day so breme
Þat oure lord shal come to deme

//
What shal be þe fiftenþe day
As I haue herd I shal zou say
Men scyn & sooþ hit may bifalle
Þat hit shal be endynge of alle
Þis myddelerd so weylaway
Al to nouȝt shal brenne þat day
Þe see þat compasseþ alle londe
And alle wattris þat renne in stronde
Þei shul turne aȝeyn to nouȝt
As þei were firste ar þei were wrouȝt
Heuen & erþe to be made new
Þat euer shal be lastynge trew

Now be we þus ferforþ come
Speke now mot we of þe dome
Þenne shal be herd þe blast of beme
Þe domesmon shal come to deme
Þat alle þinge of stondeþ awe
In what fourme I shal ȝow shawe
We leuen & owen to trouwe trewe
But hit be sarazine or iewe
Þat aftir þe resurexioun
Þe hîȝe day of his ascencioun
THE SOUTHERN VERSION OF CURSOR MUNDI

Ihesu coom to his frendis swete 
Pat set were at her mete & ete 22720
And þo þat were in drede or doute
Wip stabul troupe he brouȝte hem oute
And siþen vp to heuen he styȝe
Mony mon hit stood & syȝe
His disciplis for þat caas
Miche ioye maden in plas
A cloude þei sey aȝeyn him liȝt
And bar him vp was wondir briȝt
Verrey god & mon to say
For to deme on domes day
In þat fourme come shal he þare
As he in erpe his crosse bare
So shal he come but wite þe þon
þat sib þe world first bigon
Was neuer seen so sorweful tyde 22725
As þat day shal be to byde
Whenne he coom firste vs to redresse
He coom al wip mekenesse
þat coome was derne & myche hid
And but to fewe men þenne kid
His ober comyng wol he showe
To al þis world hit to knowe
Heuen & erpe for him shal drede
As þe haue bifoire herde rede
Hit is no clerke may write with Ink
Ny no mouþ to mene ny hert þink
þe hundrde þousandis of knyȝtis
Shal folwe þat lord myche of myȝtis
Wip him to come alle to þis day
Alas what shal þe synful say
Vngeyn þenne shal be his gamen
Whenne he shal se al brenne samen
Londe & see & alle þingis
þat in þis world stondep or hyngis
Sorweful beþ þen þe synful chere
Whenne alle shul þo trumpes here
Bifoire þe face of þat caisere
Aungels shulen his banere bere
His rode þat he was onne spred
þat he vs wip to lyf hap led
He ouercome þe fend þerfore
Is no baner he dredeþe more
Was neuer sonne shynynge so clere
þe tenþe part as þat banere
The Southern Version of Cursor Mundi

Pe briȝtenes of þat croise shene
Ouer al þe world shal be sene
Þus shal come god and mon
To deme þe doom vpon men þon
At doom shal he not sitte alone
But wip seyntis monyone
Alle þo as seip þe boke
Þat worldis worshepe here forsoke
Siluer & gold & ese of lyf
And toke here flesshe for him to stryf
And travailed hem on alle wyse
To payne hem in his seruyse
And folwed trewely alle his lawes
Po men shul be as his felawis
For to deme bope good & wik
Wheper þei be deed or quyk
Alle þat shul ben at þat assise
Al hool hemself shal vpryse
In body & soule on newe manere
Pourȝe myȝte of ihesu dere
Þat same flesshe þat we haue now
Þat shul we haue so shul we trow
And oþer noon we writen fynde
Þat oþer leuþe of trouþe are blynde
Þouȝe mon be molten flesshe & bones
Fro tyme þat he be roten ones
To haue lyme & lyf as he had ore
Hit seþeþ nay neuermore
To mystrow þat hit is no nede
Herken whi I shal ȝou rede
Whenne god hit wol þat vp bereþ al
Þat monnes flesshe to molde fal
Mȝt he not þenne wip his mayn
Þat ilke molde make flesshe aȝayn
He þat al made kyng of blis
May al do þat his wille is
He þat dop flesshe be erhe & doust
May make hit flesshe at his lust
Soone con he make a body of ouȝt
Þat al þis world made of nouȝt
Perfore shortly þenne þus may he
Do alle þinge at his wille to be
Here of doute no mon in dede
For trouþe may do vs best to sped
Whoso douteþ þis is childe þe more
Of trewe trouþe þis is þe lore
Al may he do þat al weldes
If þou wolt wite of her eldis
þat þei shul þenne In vp ryse
Seynt poul seîp on þis wise
þat lasse & more olde & þing
At þat forseid vprisyng
Shal be of elde as þei shulde here
Haue dy3ed in her þrity þere
þat elde þat crîst had at his dede
Whenne he vs brouȝt fro þe quede
And if any mon here lyuonde
Wemmed was on foot or honde
On hede or bak brest or syde
As we se chaunces ofte bityde
On mouþ nese or elliswhare
Or bouche vpon body bare
Crepul croked or bynommen
Or lymes aȝeyn kynde becomen
Forsôpe I say wipouten lesyng
At þat ilke vprisyng
Alle þo þat god hâp chosen to his
For to be brouȝte into his blis
What so þei in þis lyf han bene
þer shal no wem on hem be sene
Ny nouȝt but al fairhede
As we in holy scripture rede
Riȝt lymmes shul þe[i] haue vchone
Hit shal wante þere to hem none
Take tent what I seye to þe
Of feire stature shul þe saued be
þe dàmpned shul haue fairhede none
Al goodnes shal be hem wonne
Of hem is not to telle in tale
Wipoute bote þei shul haue bale

Po are þat are abortyues
Po are þat ben not born in lyues
Shal ryse in þrity þeer of elde
But litil bote to hem to welde
For þei were not baptised Iwis
Shal þei haue no part of blis
Peþe maystris grete say þat þey
May saued be by no wey
Po men þat þourȝe her owne gilt
Wip hedynge or honyng were spilt
þourȝe her synne & her foly
Wip houndis eten þe moost party
Mony wenin þat ben not wyse
þat þat fleshe shal not hool vpryse
þat to wene is but falshede
Now wolde I ȝow þe resoun rede
Hit is out of al skil & riȝt
For to mystrowe in goddis myȝt
What mon may wite or ellis lere
What eȝe may se or ere here
What mon here may þenke in þouȝt
How al þis world oure lord wrouȝt
Heuyn & erpe þe vpholdeþ
Mȝyȝt god þat al woldeþ
May we not se how of a sede
An hundrude dop he for to brede
And bi his wille dop þat kyng
Out of þe harde tre to spryng
Firste þe leef & þenne þe flioure
And siþen fruyt wip his sauoure
Vche fruyt for his cecesoun
万千 we herof to fecche resoun
How he dop alle þinge to note
þat were but surfete vche grote
þe more mon swinkeþ þeraboute
Fro spede þe ferper is he oute
A saumple I shal ȝow telle þerby
þat I fond in a book of seynt gregory
þere he was in a stide sumwhore
A crafty clerke & wys of lore
Asked hym a questioun
Of a wolf and a lyoun
And of þe þridde þat was a man
Þus his tale he began

//
A mon welke þourȝe a wod his way
And nyȝe his wey a wolf him lay
Þis wolf was vnmesure mete
Al þis monnes fleshe he ete
Anoon as he so had done
An hungry leoun met he soon
Vp & doun his prey sekonde
Whenne he noon ðer beest fonde
Þis wolf he felde & eet him al
Laft he nouþer greet ny smal
Þe leoun aftir dyȝed in hy
Deed þere con his careyn ly

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And so was roten al to nouȝt
Where shal now þis mon be souȝt
For I may leue on no wyse
þat þis mon to lyf may ryse
Sib noon is I wene þat kan
twynne þe erpe þat coom of man
Fro þe erpe þat coom of beest
Seynt gregore 3af vnswere honest
To þat mon þat was in were
þe sooþ shewed he him al clere
And proued hit wiþ questioun
þat at þe grete resurrexioun
Wiþ alle his lymmes hool & fere
He shulde come þe doom to here
For þouȝe his body were al brynt
And blowen & þe poudir tynt
3it may god geder hit wiþ mayn
And newe hit at his wille aȝayn
Al þe flesshe þat was of mon
Sophely shal be reised þon
þat was of man shal com to craft
þat was on beest shal be laft
He þat made boþe wiþ his art
Ful wel he con hem depart
So holly shul þei ryse þere
Hem shal not want of heed on here
Ny not a nayl of foot ny honde
And ȝit shal we vndirstonde
þat nail & heer þat haf ben shorne
Beþ not þere hit was biforne
But as þe potter dob ful wel
Whenne he fordob his newe vessel
He casteb sone al in a bal
A better for to make wiþal
Not he lokeþ whiche was whilke
But makeþ anoþer of þat ilke
Feirer þen þe firste was wrouȝt
So shal crist doute we nouȝt
He þat is lord of erpe & heuen
May of þat ilke selue euen
þat firste was molten into lame
Make a wel feirer licame
And if hit were more or les
To mesure hit as his wille es

On paske day sey seintis somme
The Southern Version of Cursor Mundi

That the day of doom shall come
That day he would himselfe arise
He shall vs rise that like wyse
He shall at mynd ye st
That same day he sent his myst
Unto Egypt he folk to quelle
Tell Iohel the prophet
And in hym seip our lord vnyne
Whenne I shall have mercy of myne
And breke he bondes of her trespass
I shall hem counturte & solace
In vale of Iosephat I shalle
Do to be gedered ledes alle

Pere shal I 3yue my doom of drede
But mony sit con his not rede
Woot not mony bi his tale
What tokené Iosephathes vale
Among an hundrیدe men allone
Undirstondé hit not one
He wene that our lord of myst
Shal com into that vale to liȝt
That Iosephat is named ear
Men wene þe doom shal be þeer
Undir þe mount of oliyute
As hit is tolde of prophete
He tente only but to þe lettre
Litil percefore he þe bettur
Iosephat who takeþ tent
Bitokené goddes iuggement
Jerom seip of þat prophecie
That Iosephat may signifie
Oure lordis dome who truly spelles
That is þe word and nouȝt elles
But whoso wol wite þe soþe riȝt
As at seint poules word he myȝt
He seip oure lord liȝte shal
Doun to þe cloudes abouen vs al
In þe eir aboue he shal him showe
To done his miȝte to vs be knowe
Pere shul we mete wip him to lende
Euermore wipouten ende
Þe winkede þat dreden not his awe
Here doun shul be demed lawe
Pie shul no miiete haue vp to wynne
For heuy karked of her synne
Vp in pe sky pe doom shal be
So trowe pe holy chirche & we
But is no mon so wis con telle
How longe at doom ihesu shal dwelle
But pe vprisyng of everychone
Shal be done soone anone
Bope shul rise jenne sikerly
Alle pat are dede & shulen dy
Seint austyn seip of pat day
Is noon con goddes counsel say
Pe day of doom hit callen men
Whepeuer per be mo pen on pen
Vndir pe name of day men shalle
Vndirstonde pe tyme pat alle
Shal be demed at doom so strong
Whepeuer hit laste short while or long
Pie pat bremely shul dese pat tide
To bete shul haue no space to bide
And pie pat haue but synnes list
Shul clensed be for pat sist
Of fendas pat shul to doom be led
Pie shul of hem be so adred
Pie shul at doom so lodly be
Pat seintis pat shul on hem se
Quake shul pie for fere & drede
To mistrowe pis · is no nede
Po pat in list synnes be take
And dud no penaunce for pat sake
Pie shul haue noon opere pyne
But sistie of pat lithur hyne
Pat ferdenes shal be so vnmete
Pat hit may alle suche synnes bete
Pat founden are in dedly synne
Wenden to peyne wipouten blynne

//
At pis day as we may seen
Alle ledes in foure dalt shul ben
Pie gode in two on his rist honde
Pie wicked in two on lifte to stonde
Pie formast rowe shul stonde him nere
Po pat ben his dereworpe dere
Pat al pis worldis welpe forsoken
And only to god hem token
And lasten of þe fulþe of synne
An bisieden hem to pleisen hym
And wenten into religiou[n]
And duden her bodies into prisoun
And swonken boþe day & nyȝt
To serue god ful of nyȝt
Penne shul þei be made so fre
Pat þei shul not denied be
Alle þese holly shul come
Wiþ oure lorde vnto þe dom[e]
Not to be demed we shul wite
But in her setes for to sit
Feloushipe oure lord to bere
Boþe as lustise and demere
Longe is sîþen ihesu crist Iwis
Het þis couenaunt vnto his

Pe toþer rowe þat biside shal be
Shal be louely onne to se
Hit shal be of good crist[e]n lede
Pat duden in lif mony good dede
Pat houȝe þei riches had Inouȝe
Perfore þei to no tresour drouȝe
But greet parti of her catele
Þei dud to pore men hit dele
And her hertis for loue of mede
Þe nedy for to cloþe & fede
And willeful were & þerto glad
To do as holy chirche hem bad
And here wolde her mis amende
And trewe bileuen at her ende
Þese men þat þus hem bare in fere
Þei shul but of good doom here
Liȝt shal be her part þat day
To hem swetely shal he say
3e blessed folk men & wyues
Pat to me serued in ȝoure lyues
In my dise[se] 3e dud me gode
Whenne I hongride 3e ȝaue me fode
Me pirsted sore drinke 3e me brouȝt
Prisoned I was & 3e me souȝt
When I in sekenes stad was sore
3e coom to countfor[e] me þerfore
Bi nakudnes whenne I toke harm
Wiþ cloþing 3e made me warm
Whenne I was wagering out of rest
Godely toke 3e me to gest
For 3e to me were so hende
3e shul haue heuen wipouten ende
Euer 3e shul haue hit wip wynne
Neuermore þer fro to twynnne
Penne shul þese companyes two
To heuen wipouten ende go
Ihesu crist vs bider brynge
For here is febul abidynge

// Penne shul stonde on his opere side
Wrecched stad in wo ful wide
De lord of my3t þat al walt
Shal do hem in two be dalt
Lodly & stynkynge shul þei be
Sory & sorweful on to se
De furste moost stynkonde
þat shul be of þe wrecches mistrowonde
þat renayed are traitours fals
Murþeres & forsworen als
þat þourʒe cursyng or opere pliʒt
Haue lost holy chirches liʒt
Fro comynynge of cristen men
þo careful shul be eb to ken
þat in her lif were won to ly
In horedome and in lecchery
Folwynge al her flesshes wille
And moost hem liked dedes ille
Wipouten pite or wille to mende
And vnshryuen were at her ende
But deʒed in dedly synne of dede
Hem to deme shal be no nede
þei were damned er þei coom þere
Her doom vpon hemself þei bere

// De opur rowe is euel Inowe
Of fals cristen ful of wowe
þat callen hem cristen men in name
And euer deseruen goddis grame
Falsely is he for cristen tolde
þat wole not cristis lawes holde
Fals is þat loue to knawe
þat nouþer wole for loue ny awe
Do þat shulde god queme
And þerwip myʒte himself ʒeme
But in pride & tricchery
In nythe & onde & lecchery
And in vntolde synnes fele
De hundride part may I not mele
Dat mon now in his lyf ledis
So douke þei into wickedhedis
On euerie side þenne gedered þei
But litil bare þe pepul awaye
Foro may þei not þerfore
Nouþer to 3yue lasse ny more
Couetise forsoþe to telle
Haþ mony a soule brouȝte to helle
Bisuyli þat þe world on brede
Vnneþe is þer any in lede
Dat wele wol shryue hem of þis sake
Ni for no counsel amendis make
Wite hit wel þo þat siche are
Shul þe demed al in care
To myche sorwe & wo to þaym
Al þis world myȝte hem not raym
Wip muche wraþþe & woful chere
Oure lord shal seþ þat þei shul here
Do fleþþ hennes ȝe maledisþt
To my blisse haue þe no riȝt
Oft I was wip maleese met
But for þou ferde I neuer þe bet
In hongur & þirste ofte say þe me
But þerof hadde ȝe no pite
Goþ þe deuel þere shul ȝe go
For to welle euere in wo
Euer in his woo to welle
Wip him & his þat are in helle
A lord he were wyse þat mouȝþt
Stidfastely holde þis day in þouȝþt
And to forȝete hit neuermore
Whilis þat he lyyng wore
 þenne myȝte he make here his way
Fro wrecche to were him on þat day
Fro þat day be komen In
Shal neuer soule fro body twyn
For good & euel þat þei dud ere
Whil þei togider alyue were
Togider shul þei take also
Her worþi mede in wele or wo
Oþer in heuen or ellis in helle
Wip sathanas euer to dwelle
Fro þat iugement þenne be done
THE SOUTHERN VERSION OF CURSOR MUNDI

Penne shul þei be casten soone
In a stinkynge pit of fire
Þere shal be ȝoulden hem her hyre
As seip þe book of priuete
Þat seynt Ion was set to se
A pit men calleþ oft by stounde
Þat þat haþ nay in him no grounde
So þe pit of helle pyne
Hit is so deep wiþouten fyne
Þat ende beþ þere neuer vpon
A stang forþi hit calleþ Ion
He þat doukeþ ones þer doun
Comeþ neuer out of þat prisoun
Þe fire þat þere is for to bryn
Neuermore may hit blyn

Nyne peynes principal ben þere
Crist let vs neuer be in þat fere

// Þe firste hit is fyre of hete
Þat al þe mychel se so wete
Þouȝe hit were casten þerIn
Hit shulde neuer þe lasse bryn
So þat oure fire is no more
Aȝeyn þe fyre þat brenneþ þore
Penne peynted fire aȝeyn oure myȝt
Þat on a wal bi mon were diȝt
Foreuer hit brenneþ nyȝt & day
But ȝuyfe liȝte neuer he may

// Þe toþer pyne is colde so kene
Þat monnes mouþ may hit not mene
Þat þouȝe a fire were made in haast
And þourȝe þulke watir past
In turnynge of þyn honde aboute
Hit wolde be colde out of doute

// Þe bridde pyne is hard to dryȝe
Of wormes þat shul neuer diȝe
Felle dragouns and todes boþe
Þat ben vpon to loke ful loþe
Ful lōþsum on to here & se
Ful wo is hem þat þere shal be
As we se fisshes in watir swynme
So lyue þei in þat lowe so dymme
Pe se sixte is wipouten hope
Suche derknes þat men may grope
So wondir þicke shal hit be
Þat noon may on ðopere se

Pe seuenþe shame for her synne
Lastyng þeuer wipouten blynne
For þerto shal vchone haue si3t
To se shenshepe on ðoperes pli3t

Pe eiþelp pyne is ful gryse
To se þo fendiþ in her wyse
Strong pyne is on hem to loke
To [þo] þat ben in her croke
Þat deolful dyn & bittur bere
Þat þeþ wipouten ende shul here
Of þo wepyng in her wo
Þat shal hem laste euer and o

Firen bondis is þe nynde
As we in holy writt fynde
Her lymmes shul be bounden þerwilp
Wipouten ese of any liþ
But o poynt is hem peynes more
Þen alle ðoper her bifore
Þeþ wip her peyne hap noon ende
For þeþ haue no tyme to mende

Now haue þe herde þo peyneþ nyne
Here now þe skile of euery pyne
Nyne ordris of aungellis þeþ forsoke
Whenne þeþ to þe fend hem toke
Perfore shul þeþ pyned þe
Wip þo peyneþ sixe & þre

And for þeþ were wont to bryn
In couetise catele to wyn
Whil þei in þis world were
Perfore þei shul euer brene þere

// And þo men þat so euol dide here
And lay þerynne fro þeer to þeer
Þei brent þeryn so were þei bold
Þei shul haue euer þat watir cold

// Po þat euer had wrapþe & nybe
And wip bacbytyng wolde kibþe
Po wormes euer shul on hem wrote
In bale wipouten hope of bote

// And for þei were here wont to lye
In styynkynge lust of leccherye
And wolde not haue but her delices
Þat drouze hem into ðopre vices
Þei shul haue þat stynde wþe wþe
þat þei shul neuer more of mys

// And for þei wolde no scourgyng
Þole for loue of heuen kyng
Þei shul be beten euer on oon
Mercy shul þei euer forgoon

// And for þei wolde not be liȝt
Of sopfastenes to haue þe siȝt
Þat is of god lord of lond
Þei haue derkenes euer lastond

// And for þei wolde not shrifte take
And at her ende amends make
Vchone shal se wip siȝt of shame
What blenche is on opre for blame

// And þei þat wolde no preching here
Of god nor of his lawes lere
Perfore shul þei here þe sounes
Boþe of neddes & dragounes
Of fendis also þat foule cry
Wo shal hem ben to be þerby
And for þei euer tyed were
In þis lyf wip synnes sere
Þei shul euer suffere sorwes þere
Vpon her membris euerywhere
Euer wende þei here to lyuen in synne
Here is the plain text representation of the document:

\[\text{THE SOUTHERN VERSION OF CURSOR MUNDI}\]

\[\text{\S}\]ere shul \(\text{\textit{he}}\) de\(3\)e wipouten blynne
Euer de\(3\)ynge and neuer deed
De\(p\) shal hem fle for qued
\(\text{\textit{Po}}\) \(\text{\textit{hat}}\) ben set in \(\text{\textit{hat}}\) prisoun
Vpwarde \(\text{\textit{be}}\) feet & hedis doun
Her backis toward opere bet
Wip pyne on everi syde biset
\(\text{\textit{Pe}}\) r\(3\)twis men shul se \(\text{\textit{po}}\) pynes
Vpon oure lordis li\(p\)er hynes
\(\text{\textit{Dat}}\) her blisse may be \(\text{\textit{pe}}\) more
For \(\text{\textit{pe}}\) are scaped fro \(\text{\textit{hat}}\) sore
\(\text{\textit{Pe}}\) wicked also \(\text{\textit{pe}}\) gode shul se
I\(\text{\textit{w}}\)rapped alle in gomen & gle
For \(\text{\textit{pe}}\) shul haue \(\text{\textit{pe}}\) more vnpees
\(\text{\textit{Dat}}\) \(\text{\textit{pe}}\) haue lost hit endeles
Til domesday \(\text{\textit{bis}}\) shal be \(\text{\textit{bo}}\)re
But aftir \(\text{\textit{pe}}\) doom \(\text{\textit{pe}}\)me no more
\(\text{\textit{Pe}}\)u\(3\)e \(\text{\textit{pe}}\) hem se wite hit wel
Of hem shul \(\text{\textit{pe}}\) rewe no deel
If \(\text{\textit{fadir}}\) say his \(\text{\textit{sone}}\) \(\text{\textit{pare}}\)
Or sone \(\text{\textit{pe}}\) \(\text{\textit{fadir}}\) al in care
\(\text{\textit{Pe}}\) wif \(\text{\textit{pe}}\) husbonde or mon \(\text{\textit{pe}}\) wyf
Or frend he loued as his lyf
For her mysfare shul \(\text{\textit{pe}}\) not morne
Ny ones to for\(p\)inkyne turne
But \(\text{\textit{pe}}\) shul haue greet delyt
To se hem \(\text{\textit{pe}}\)me in \(\text{\textit{hat}}\) despit
As we haue here on somer day
To se fisishes in watir play
For \(\text{\textit{pe}}\) r\(3\)twis glad shal be
\(\text{\textit{Whene}}\) he shal wrecche on synful se
If \(\text{\textit{pe}}\) shulde for hem pray
\(\text{\textit{A3eyn}}\) god were hit greet deray
\(\text{\textit{Pe}}\) to \(\text{\textit{him}}\) shul be so queme
Al shal hem lyke \(\text{\textit{hat}}\) he shal deme
Deme vs mot \(\text{\textit{hat}}\) lorde so
\(\text{\textit{Dat}}\) we neuer come in \(\text{\textit{hat}}\) woo

\[\text{Aftir bis domesmon h\(a\)p done}\]
\(\text{\textit{Dat}}\) maker is of \(\text{\textit{sonne}}\) & moone
He shal wende into his \(\text{\textit{fadir}}\) cite
Wip hisfelowshipe so fre
\(\text{\textit{Pe}}\) name of \(\text{\textit{hat}}\) cite to neuen
Is \(\text{\textit{pe}}\) hy\(3\)e kyngdome of heuen
Into \(\text{\textit{hat}}\) blisse to dwelle him wip
\(\text{\textit{Dat}}\) euer is ful of grace & grip\]
Of al gladnes þere is glewe
& þat is euer Illiche newe
þat blis þat þei to shul go
Shal be perfite wipouten wo
No yȝe may se ne ere here
Ny herte þinke þo ioyes sere
þat ihesu crist hap diȝte to his
þat ordeyned are to his blis
þo cely þat shul dwelle in heuen
In body shul haue ȝiftis seuen
And seuen in soule to her medes
And shul be fourtene blissedhedis
In body swiftenes & feirhede
Fredome strengþe euer lyf to lede
Likynge als wip lastynge hele
Þe soule shal haue also fele
Wisdom & frenshepe haue hit shal
Acorde pouste & worshepe wipal
Sikernesse and ioyeful ro
How þis may be I shal vndo

// In swiftenes shal þou be so swift
þat also soone as þou may lift
þyn eȝe þp wip siȝte to se
Also soone þere shal þou be
And also soone as sonne may fest
Fro eest hir leme into þe west
Also soone may þou come þidir
Al at þi will e or ellis whidir
Now at þe erbé now at þe lifte
Or howeuer þou wolt þe shifte
þe same may þe auungels do
þat þou shalt euen be like to

// Of þi feirhede wite þou man
þou shalt be briȝte as sonne þan
þou shalt be briȝtere wite þou
Seuen siȝe þen þe sonne now
þenne may we wite hit wol by riȝt
So hap oure lord bifoare vs hizt
He shal so newe oure bodies slyke
Þei shul be to himseluen like
Drede no man but þat he
Shal briȝtere þen þe sonne be
As he þat made alle þinge in lede
And shoop hem in her feirhede
And goddis temple mon is seide  
_Pat he to wone in hap purueide_  
_Penne mot hit nede be fair Iwis_  
_Pat In shal wone _he_ kyng of blis_

// _Pe_ fredome shal be to vndirstonde  
_Pi_ body bynde may no bonde  
Al _Pat_ _he_ wiȝpondynge is  
_Poure_ shal _pou_ _hirle_ wip _pi_ swiftenes  
_Per_ is no creature _Pat_ may  
Lette _pe_ for to fare _pi_ way  
Als _pe_ graue myȝte not holde
Oure lordis body whenne he wolde
Rise _Pat_ he ne roos in plas  
And coom _phere_ as his disciplis was  
And dud hem soone out of her doute  
And al her holde was loken aboute
_Penne_ shal _pi_ body be like to his  
A ful greet fredome is _pis_

// _Pou_ shalt haue strenghpe at _pi_ wille  
Wip _pi_ fyngur to ouercaste an hille  
Or al erpe if _pe_ good _pouȝt_  
As _liȝtly_ ouerturne _pou_ _mouȝt_  
As _pou_ may now loke wip _siȝt_  
As myche _pennen_ shal be _pi_ myȝt

// _Likynge_ shal _pou_ have to _pe_  
May no _ping_ likynger be  
Of welþes noon may more telle  
_Penne_ haue at wille of welþ _pe_ welle  
_Pat_ is oure lord himself to say  
_Pat_ _pou_ shalt se on _euer_ and ay  
_Pouȝe_ _pou_ _euer_ vpon him se  
Of him shal _pou_ _neuer_ wery be  
_Pis_ welþe _pat_ _neuer_ more shal blyn  
Shal be wipoute _pe_ & _wipin_  
In _pis_ lyf haue men greet likyng  
To se on many maner _þing_  
On wymmen somme to biholde  
In clopping as of riche golde  
To se biggyngis & faire townes  
Of dyuere gleez to here sownes  
To here gode talkyngis telle  
Swete spices to taste & smelle  
To hondle _pat_ is smpe & softe
Good mete also men ðerneð ofte
Alle ðeðe blisses ðat may be
Alle þese in þe shul be plente
Þou shalt hit euermore sene
Wip lokynge eðen open to bene
Þi wittis fyue lad al in welþe
And ðerwip euerlastynge helþe
Helþ wipouten seke or sore
Shal þere be lastynge euermore
Þo ðat of cares þere are quyte
Iren may noon on hem byte
No more may a dynt hem dere
Þen men þe sonnebeem to shere
Of lastynge lyf þere is þe land
Deep is euer þennes fleand
Of þat hele may be certeyn none
Her lyf shal euer laste in one
Þese are þe seuen blissedhedis
Þat 3yuen are to þe body medis

// Þe soule haþ also ðeðe seuen
Of hem is good now to newen
Þo seyntis stad in þat cele
Of wele shal hem wante no dele

// Of þe welle of wit þei drawe
Wisdome þat doþ man to knawe
Þat was & is & euer shal be
Þei seen hit in þe trinite
Of alle men þei shul con telle
Boþe quike & dede in heuen & helle
And alle þo dedis þat þei did
Þere shul be to þo seyntis kid
Þei shul al knowe in ded & þouȝt
But þerfore vnþirþonde þou nouȝt
Hit shal hem turne to no shame
Ny no manner blenche of blame
Haue neuer þi synne so foule bene
Þat þou were here off shryuen clene
And didest penaunce here þerfor
For hem shal þe shame no more
Þen a mon þe tolde today
What þou didest þo in cradel þou lay
No more shame shal þe þinke þere
Þen if þou comen of batel were
Wip woundis þat þou þere had take
And þou were heled of þat wrake
Oþerwis is not synne forþyuen
But to bete hit whil we may lyuen
Forþyuen are þei & neuerþelee
God þat al woot þat es
Is or was or shal be euer
Out of his witynge be þei neuer
Shal þou haue no shame þeþfore
But haue greet ioye þat þou were bore

// Frenshipe þer is hem to glade
God hap hem his childre made
þei wone wip him wip hem he wones
He loueþ hem as his owne sones
More þen h[ei]mself þei loue his siþt
þe angels hem as hemself riþt
Miche is þere her coumforde
For alle ben euer at oon acorde
þei are in onhede so in dole
Pat euer her wille on his hole
Whiderward so oon wol loke
Alle so done seip þe boke
Pat oon hit wille alle hit wolen also
Boþe god & angel hit wolde be do
þou seist whenne þou biþenkest þe
Pat þou woldes like to petur be
If þou þat wolde þou maist wele
Wþouten taryinge any dele
Like to petur to be I say
But to be petur say I nay
If þou to petur woldes be brouþt
Penne 3ernest þou þiself be nouþt
If þou þi beyinge wolde not be
Penne woldes þou were nouþt of þe
But þere is not to 3ernen more
Penne þei bi seruyse worþi wore
But in þat greet stabulnes
Noon shal 3erne be but þat he es
For if þei 3erned so 1wis
Penne were þei not in ful blis
Vche mon shal haue þe folle
Of al þat he aftir wilne wolle

// Miche also shal be her myþt
Pat in þat welþe shul be so wiþt
So myþtily her myþte to fille
To make anoþer erþe & heuen
Pei myȝte hit do as þei wolde neuen
Fol. 130v col. 1

Gode þei are & goddis heires
To do her wille myȝte is þeires
Whi make þei not sîþ þei mow
Anoþer heuen þenne say þow
Bleþely sir I shal þe telle
Fol. 130v col. 2

For god hæþ wurȝte al hool to dwelle
Of his werkis vnhol is noon
But in weiȝte mesure & tale vchon
If þei anoþer heuen wurȝt
Hit were surfete & for nouȝt
Mony þingis may we do
Fol. 130v col. 3

Pat better were vnþone þen so
As for to skoupe & to ryn
Whenne bettur tyme were to blyn
Whorto shulde we furþer stryue
Fol. 130v col. 4

Of her worshepe what may we mene
Pat crist him kyþþ to hem clene
Aungels shal hem menske dere
And seyntis as þei goddis were
Fol. 130v col. 5

To worsheþ þat god þat hem diȝt
And made hem boþe in mood & myȝt
Heuen & erþe & creatour
Shal bere hem worsheþe & honour
Sonne mone watir & sterne
Fol. 130v col. 6

Pat now renneþ in cours ȝern
Into better state shal stonde
Fro þenne no lengur to be rennonde
Perþore þei shul hem worsheþe bere
Pat als myche as in hem were
Wþþ al her worsheþe as þei myȝt best
For to brynge hem into rest

Certis þer is noon oþer way
For fro þe welþe þat þei are In
Is no þing may hem twyn
Ny no mystyme may hem bityde
For þei are triste on euery syde
þat god haþ 3yuen hem to mede
To lose þei woot is no drede
Her ioye & gladshipe who con tel
No mon forsøþe in flesshe ny fel
For to biholde þe trinite
How he is oon god in þre
Him to se face to face
þat euer shal be & euer wase
þei shul haue ioye wipynne & oute
And on vche syde aboute
Ouer & vndir & euerywhere
Oure lord 3yue vs wonynge þere
þese are þe ioyes & mony elles
God 3yueþ to hem þat wip him dwelles
But als þese goddis frendes shalle
Worshepe haue among hem alle
So shal þo wrecchis for her sake
Laste in pyne wipouten slake
þese shul be feire & my3ty boþe
Pe òber shul be grisly & loþe
þei shul be li3te as foul to flye
Pe òbere heuy wo to dryþe
þei shul be wondir strong & wiþt
Pe òbere febel wipouten my3t
þei shul lyue in fredome fre
Pe òbere euer in bondage to be
þei shul euere lyue in delite
Pe toþer euermore in despite
In helle shul þei lyue euermore
Euer to be seke & sore
þei shul be euer in lastyng lyf
Pe[s]e òber & deþ shul euer stryf
þei shul haue wit hem to wyse
þese òbere filled of alle foltyse
For if þei ouȝte witen þare
Hit is but of sorwe & care
þei shul of swete freþshepe be treste
þei shul of vche fredome freist
þei shul acorde wip alle þinge
þes òbere euer debatynges
þei shul haue weldenes at wille
Pe òbere vnwelde in likyng ille
To þese shal worshepe alle creaturis
þese opere of alle haue dishonures
þese are for trist blype & glad
þese opere quake euer for drad
þese law3en for ioye þei ben in lende
þese opere wepen in woo wipouten ende
Fro þat sorwe & al þat wyte
Ihesu crist make vs quyte
And 3yue vs grace so to do
þat we may come to his blisse so
Off blisse & ioye haue 3e herd
Now shal I telle 3ou of þe werd
þat fordone is & al fordryuen
Aftir þat doom is 3yuen
Hit shal be brent so deep & dry
As noe flood roos vp on hy
þenne shal hit haue a shap al newe
Euermore to stonde trewe
Alle þe elementis þat we se
Þei shulen alle clensed be
Þat now be stirynge alle shul stonde
Shal þenne be no peyne in londe
Suche as we now vche day are In
Þat god sent us for ooure synne
Of hoot ny colde reyn nor wynde
Shal þenne be no storme to fynde
No myste no merke in no manere
Of wedir þis world for to dere
And as ooure bodyes þat we here bere
Ben feirer þen þei euer were
So þis world shal haue new shroud
Had hit neuer noon so proud
An hundride sibe of feirer hewe
Heuen & erþe shal be made newe
Sunne & mone sterre & lift
Þat bi strenghe be now shift
Alle wattris now rennynge wete
Shul be in better astate to mete
Fro þat tymo shul þei stille stonde
Wip mychel blis to be lastonde
þe sonne shal haue scripture sayes
þe brîȝtenes þenne of seuen dayes
þe watir þat wette cristis flesshe
And bi bapteme his seyntis wesshe
Fro þat tymo ouerpasse hit shal
THE SOUTHERN VERSION OF CURSOR MUNDI

Pe shene shynyng cristal
Pe erpe þat cristis cors in bred
Of paradis shal ben a sted
And for sum tyme made reed hit was
Wiþ seyntis blood shed in plas
Hit shal be filled wiþ mony flouris
Swete smellyng of dyuerse colouris
Þat neuermore shal falle ne dwayne
But as paradise shal shyne
Pe erpe þat firste was malediȝt
To þornes for oure eldre pliȝt
Þenne shal hit blessed be & quyte
Of labour sorwe & of wite
Neuermore from þat day
Knowe of harmes noon hit may
Þus shal he make hit stande
Pe lord þat is al weldande

3e cristen men aboute 3e loke
Alle þat euer hâp herde þis boke
Of 3oure lif þat 3e here lede
3e turne hit not into wanspede
Whoso wol him wel bîlpink
Þe world is fals & ful of swynke
Fa[l]s hit is we may se how
And we wol algate þeron trow
Þis littil lyf we haue in hond
We wene hit be euërlastond
Deþ we wene alwey to stille
Pat dôp vs myche spedynge spille
Hit blendeþ vs a littil 3ele
Pat we con not oureseluen fele
Dam fortune turneþ hir wheel anone
Pat casteþ doun monyone
Of þat douncaste we may bi chaunce
Anent þis world get couerance
And come to worldis welpe aȝeyn
A while to holde wiþ myche peyn
But þerwiþ fynde we anoþer stryf
Þat waiteþ noþing but oure lyf
Deþ vs hâp biset oure strete
Wol we or nyl we we · shul him mete
Alle shul we renne into his lace
Oþer wey shal noon apace
Euer he waiteþ vs þat quede
Is noþing certeynour þen dede
Ny vncerteynour þen his tyde
Perfore we owe him euer to abyde
To passe a pace þat is so hard
And we woot neuer whodirward
We shul alle heþen wende
Here is good to make vs frende
Perfore þis lyf he haþ vs lent
To serue him euer wiþ oure entent
Þat his commaundementis be done
If we do mys to mende hit sone
To travaile ordeyned he þis lyf
Aþeyn oure foos þre to stryf
Oure flesshe þis world & þe werlawe
We are bounden in her awe
Oure flesshe is euer to synne crous
Þe world hateful & couetous
Þe fend serueþ of wræþe & pride
Þis werre wiþ vs on euer syde
Þese þre may we wel fordryue
If we wole treuly lede oure lyue
For boþe may falle hem mon & wif
Aþeyn hem stalworþely to stryf
If we wol strongly vs stere
Cristis help shal be vs nere
His helpe & oure wittis eke
If we wole him trewly biseke
Forsþe if we wol do oure peyn
Þei haue no myþte to stonde aþeyn
3if we wole note on hem oure myþt
Certis þei ben felde in fiþt
Þat londe is esy for to wynne
Þat no mon is to kepe hit Inne
And he is also a foul coward
Þat noþing may þole of hard
Þat 3elþep him ar he be souþt
And leþep so himself for nouþt
Fiþte he shulde if he dud riþt
And fle whenne he no lenger myþt

Fele þer ben of vs in drede
Þat 3elden hem er þei haue nede
Vnto þe fend ful of pliþt
Wipouten any assaut of fiþt
But euer to falle ben redy
Who myþte do more cowardly
Þen to falle bifoþe þe torn
And wole not bide to 3yue a sporn
Alle þat oure flesshe vs ledeþ tille
Of al oure wele hit is oure wille
And þouȝe we knowe hit myswrouȝt
Hit to fulfille we fyne nouȝt
Alas for a litil lust
A dreury þat is but a dust
We þralle vs to oure fulle fo
In prisoun forlye I in wo
Of siche are þere mony now
Alas how dar þei þat avow
Whi selle we vs to þat sorwe
þat no þing may vs aftir borwe
We wrecchis willefully forsake
þe selynes þat neuer shal slake
Boþe of sorwe & of þat sele
3e haue herd bifore sum dele
We haue bifoire vs weȝes two
þat on to wele þat oþer to wo
F[þ]ely to whidir we wole to gon
To oure frendis or to oure foon
If we þenne forsake oure frende
To chese vs to oure foos to wende
þenne dar I seye & lye nouȝt
In sorweful tyme were we wrouȝt
A sorweful tyme to oure bihoue
But god forbede þat we hit proue
Whenne we hit proue hit is to late
þen is no mendying of oure astate
þer is no wey bifoire vs rud
But to go r1ȝt as we dud
For who þat doþ not whenne he may
Whenne he wolde hit wol be nay
Here is tyme for to grete
Here is tyme synne to bete
Oþer here or nowhere ellis
þat witnesseþ alle holy spellis

//
Vche day we haue somoun
For to make vs redy houn
þat euery day we se & here
We owe hit not to holde in were
þe prechours fynen not to spelle
þe soþe þei sparce vs not to telle
To do vs of helle to be ware
But neuer þe bettur mony are
Selden come we sermoun here
Lop vs þinkep hit to here
Oure ere selden þerto we lay
But fer is oure hert away
Wherfore of hem lete we so ille
But for þei speke aȝeyn oure wille
He þat me seip moost þat me likes
God hit woot moost he me swikes
For if we wel vs vndirstooode
Oure wille dop vs litil gode
But ofte oure skil makeþ vs blynde
Her aftir shal we hit fynde
Fynde we shal hit leest whenne we wene
Alle shul we to þe deep bidene
From hit may we no way skape
For no wile þat we con make
Miche wolde I herof mote
Wiste I hit were any bote
Euer to speke & not to spede
Wastyng hit is of goddis sede
Hit is not worþi to tile þat felde
Þat not þe seed aȝeyn wole ȝelde
What bote is hit of riȝt to rede
Þat neuer founden is in dede
Miche to here & litil to holde
But were a ribaudy vs tolde
Of a fantum or a fabul
Þat wolde we holde in herte stabul
In herte þat is a sory hord
To kepe hit raþer þen cristis word
How may he to himself be holde
Þat cheþep leed & leueþ golde
Al þe wrytyng in holy writ
Is writen to teche vs wit
How we owe to lede oure lyf
Cristen folk mon & wyf
In eldre men may we se
What to folwe & what to fle
Þingis þat we noot ne con
For to aske at oþer mon
And he þat more con þen oþer
Debonerly þenne to teche his boþer
Alle are we breþer ȝonge & olde
Crist for vs was bouȝt & solde
He hap vs in his noumbre tolde
As for sheep of his folde
Þourȝe herdís þat oure lord haþ set
For he wole his sheep beget
He haþ vs chosen for oure mede
His holy folk for to fede
Vche mon riȝtly to deme
His owne soule haþ to ȝeme
And vche of vs witturly
Haþ receyued goddis tresory
Riche besauntis of gold þei ben
Somme lasse & somme mo to sen
Þo besauntis so þat we bi set
Þat we may wel paye oure det
to acounte wel shul we gon
Aftir þat we toke vchon
Somme for more & somme for les
Aftir þat oure ȝiftis wes
He ȝyue vs grace so to acounte
Þat we may to heuen mounte
Þat sprad was on an harde tre
Nailed naked þeronne to be
Oure fadir maker of alle þing
Þat neuer shal haue endyng

A M E N
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TEXTUAL NOTES

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

21345–844 \textit{om THBL.}
21845–22136 \textit{missing from H, supplied from T.}
21846 \textit{bis} \textit{be B.}
21847–48 \textit{om B.}
21849 at[ of L; \textit{bat bigon at cristis} Now \textit{bis tyme \textit{bat is to} B.}
21850 And\textit{ om B.}
21853 \textit{bis} \textit{be B.}
21857 wite\textit{ with B.}
21858 lordhede] godhede B.
21863 himself] hym B; of] \textit{om B.}
21865 shul [per] \textit{per schall} B.
21866 sonne mone] som many B.
21867 wrong] \textit{prong} B.
21869 \textit{pol om B.}
21870 \textit{perof shal doute} schall gris aboute B.
21873 \textit{vpon} on B.
21875 hem shal] schall hem B.
21876 \textit{second \textit{pat} \textit{bis} B.}
21877 We may \textit{bese seen} Wele may \textit{bis we se} B.
21882 coome] comyng B.
21887 sure] sere B.
21893 sitte]\textit{ syt} L; sitt B.
21894 feint & oure fals] falsnes & of our B.
21896 loue\textit{ more} loue\textit{ he more} B; oure kynde] mankynd B.
21899 Bestes] \textit{be} bestis B; doumbe leouns] dome be lions B.
21900 lyuyng \textit{binges} lying \textit{bing} B.
21901 Done] Do B; deuer] kynde B; were] were B.
21904 er\textit{pe} woride B.
21907 wip]\textit{ of} B.
21909 leuer] were B.
21910 \textit{&} \textit{with} L.
21911 \textit{ping to rede} \textit{&} \textit{ping} \textit{& to rede} B.
21912 \textit{bis} heuen B.
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21913 Whiche] What B; whil] for B.
21922 no] om L; þenne] om B.
21923 To] So B.
21924 whil] after B.
21926 þe] om B.
21929 to cast] to vs cast B.
21930 vs] om B.
21937 þeron haue] haue þan B; vmwhile] sumwhile B.
21939 best wene] wene best LB.
21940 we] om L; From al shul we sonnest] þe sonner schall we þerffro B.
21941 I haue] offte is B
21945 lede] kynde B.
21946 on] of B.
21948 And so] So þat B.
21949 we] vs B.
21950 men] a man L; mony] may B.
21951 al] a B.
21952 þe] in B; þe same] schame B.
21953 is here] it is B.
21955 lif not] lyffe is not B.
21956 second þat] at L.
21958 we alwey] we schull allway B.
21961 His] þe B.
21964 vs] om B.
21966 coome] comyng B; to] om B.
21967 come] comyng B.
21968 Bifore] Off þis B.
21970 more] om B; vnpays] pais B.
21972 agrise] gris B.
21973 on] in L; on] of B.
21977 is] om L; ful] om B.
21978 he shal] schall he B.
21981 hit is] is it B.
21984 brem] brennyng L.
21985 to rise] arise B.
21987 And] þe B; seib þe spelle] as I 30w tell B.
21989 godenesses] gode men B.
21991 al] þe B.
21999 maner mon] maner a man B; so] þat B.
22001 lewed] lewere B.
22002 ouþer] ffrere or B.
22003 om] om B; shulden] schull not B.
22005–23898 B replaces the normal text with ll. 4085–6407 of the Pricke of Conscience. See Appendix B.
22011 danes] dauidis L.
22013 dane] dave L.
22015 fyrst] þe L; second þe] om L.
22024 were] was L.
22027 foly] folyly L.
22028 Not] om L.
THE SOUTHERN VERSION OF *CURSOR MUNDI*

22030 scalde] & vnwold L.
22045 now] om L.
22052 [pe] om L.
22053 say] hath L.
22059 him] om L.
22064 men] a man L.
22091 he] euyn L.
22097 pers] pes L.
22099 wondir muchel] wonder & muche L.
22101 Bethsaida] Bethaida L; corozaym] corozathyn L.
22106 bethsaida] betheida L.
22107 Capharnaum] Capharmayn L; [pe] pou L.
22116 monyone] man [pou L.
22141 token] tokyns L.
22142 hap not] not hath L.
22150 on] and L.
22159 iogeleri] iogelyng L.
22160 fantome] fantasies L.
22174 on] in L.
22176 And] That L.
22179 [po] the L; herdes] hordes TL.
22185 so] slo L.
22187 Mony] Many a L.
22192 [pe] in L; world] world syn L.
22194 And to] Vnto L.
22196 hide vs] hie the L.
22197 is] in L.
22198 rad] drad L.
22205 crist] blis L.
22211 drewery] dredefull L.
22212 pridde] thre L.
22223 is] om L.
22224 [pe] bis T; this L; ronnen] comyn L.
22226 coome] comyng L.
22227 wers] vers T.
22229 forme] forne L.
22236 o] om TL.
22246 hit struid] hit be struyed T; struid] stryve L; partye] patie L.
22248 empire] emperoure L.
22282 of] alle L.
22300 mony day] so mony a day T.
22301 am comen] am I comen L.
22302 [po] be T.
22304 to] til T.
22333 [pe] To T.
22351 hedde] shed TL.
22354 hap] had L.
22358 wel] wille L.
22361 shul come [penne] [penne shul com T; then shulle come L.
22364 warnyst] wariest L.
22375  
Be] Po T; Tho L.  
22383  
and hal] & an half T; hal] half L.  
22386  
[po] [be T.  
22392  
[li3t] my3t T.  
22402  
papilon] babilon L; felle] selle L.  
22409  
stabely] savully L.  
22416  
bete] om L.  
22419  
Pat] There L.  
22425–26  
rubrics] HL.  
22427  
three-line initial N] H.  
22428  
Pe] Po T, tho L; [pe] bo TL.  
22432  
sooP] suche L.  
22443  
hol] om L; rewei] rowe T.  
22444  
entervale bituiX] enten vale bituir T; euyr vale bittir L.  
22450  
in] on L.  
22453  
well] wolde L.  
22462  
a] and L.  
22477  
leuen] leme L.  
22488  
left] lost TL.  
22506  
[pe] to TL.  
22510  
hayre] aire L.  
22513  
shal so] shal be so L.  
22521  
is tolde] is to told L.  
22527  
strenger] strength L.  
22540  
to] be T.  
22546  
out] ought L.  
22569  
[pe] om L.  
22575  
:] om TL.  
22578  
holes] hores T; heris L.  
22585  
h[3t] light L.  
22616  
[perflo] thereto L.  
22663  
[pat] then L.  
22664  
kne] knele TL.  
22669  
bus shul] shul bus T.  
22693  
leuen] leme L.  
22694  
droune] drow L.  
22695  
[pe] [be be T.  
22708  
ar] as L.  
22710a & b  
rubrics H.  
22710a  
be we] we be T.  
22711  
four-line initial P] H.  
22714  
fourme] fortune L.  
22724  
mon] a man L.  
22728  
vp was] vpwad L.  
22742  
hit to] be it L.  
22746  
no] om TL; ny] vp L.  
22769  
At] Alle L.  
22777  
lawes] sawes T; sawis L.  
22781  
at] of L.  
22806  
world] worle T.
he] be L.
brou3t] bou3t T.
Ny] Ay L.
[he] bei T; they L.
stature] statute L.
fairehede] om L.
goodnes] godenesses T.
Po] That L.
he] hym L.
were al] al were T; alle were L.
at] as L.
on] none L.
brynge] brynggyng L.
missing from H, supplied from T.
lohel] josell L.
con [his not] [hus can not L.
to] of L.
Pei] The L.
karked] harkenyth L.
while] om L.
punctus elevatus om L.
lasten] leftyn L.
onne to] vnto L.
And her] And yaf her L.
whileful] willyng L.
wagering] wandryng L.
stad] bestad L.
do hem in two] hem in ijo do hem L.
renayed are] euyr were L.
Fro] For L.
ep] eche L.
won] wont L.
mende] amend L.
nythe & onde &] lykyng and in L.
On] in L.
sey [hat] sey to them and L.
hennes] yon L.
ofte] of T.
wreche] wrethe T; him] om L.
euer to] euer there to L.
nay] om T; [hat] om L.
forbi] that L; calle] callyd L.
two-line initial N] H.
he] hit T.
out of] withoutyn L.
spitouse] dispitous T.
we] were T; were L.
Po] The L.
Pat noon] To oon L.
[po] the L.
To [pat] To [po] [pat] T; To them that L.
deolful] dynfull L.
[po] the L.
is] in L.
of] or L.
[po] the L.
euol] ille L.
were here] here were T.
on oon] oon and oon L.
Mercy] Myrthe L.
not] no T.
&) and of L.
for] fro L.
he] he T.
pei to] Therto L.
two-line initial A] H.
to shul] shul to T.
pei] om TL.
&) in L.
But] Bothe L.
himself] hemself T.
Pat woldes] Pat [ou] woldes T; That [ou] woldyst L.
be] om L.
beyinge] bethyng L.
Vche mon] Echon L.
if] is T.
als] alle L.
heuy wo] dery for L.
wi3] li3 T.
Pese] Pere H; Pe T; The L.
swete] swe T.
freist] fest L.
euer] om L.
Fro] For L.
two-line initial O] H.
3ou] om T.
roos] was T.
sent us] setteb T; sent] set L.
hoo] het T.
Fro] For L.
dwyne] twynne L.
four-line initial 3] H.
Fas] Fals TL.
coueraunce] gouernaunce L.
third we] om L.
[pat] to L.
hepen] hennes T; whethyn L.
[ps] [Pese T; thise L.
drede] dede L.
vs] om L.
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23787 fulle] foule L.
23788 forlye I] for to lye T; I] *om* L.
23803 Flely] Frely TL; we wol] wille we L.
23812 astate] state T.
23825 fynen] faynen L.
23838 swikes] beswikep T.
23843 shal hit] hit shul T.
23856 were] where L; a] as L; vs] is L.
23857 or a] or of a L.
23862 golde] be gold L.
23870 mon] none L.
23872 [penne] *om* L; his] as L.
23875 vs] *om* L.
23882 hab] he hathe L.
23886 sen] seme L.
23889 wel] wen T; when we shalle L; we] *om* T.

*after amen* explicit cursor mundi L; *John Digbye T.*
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EXPLANATORY NOTES

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

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

21848–86 These lines appear to be original with the CM poet.

21887–915 Taken from Quinze signes ll. 3–29.

21916–60 These lines appear to be original with the CM poet.

21961–66 These contrasts between Christ’s first and second coming may have been suggested by Grosseteste’s comparison of the old and the new Adam, in his Château ll. 1457–66:

Li premer home vint de terre
E par li avium la guere.
Li autre del ciel est venuz,
Ki la pes nus a renduz.
Li premer home fu charnal
Ki a tut le mund fist tant mal.
De parais fu engete
E li e trestut sun ligne,
Mes Jhesu Crist li nostre Pere
Nos heritez nus sent arete.

21971–22424 An account of Antichrist, taken from the Pseudo-Alcuin version of Adso, pp. 105–28 in Verhelst’s edition. This account differs from the standard text of Adso, ibid. pp. 20–30, in that it lacks the epilogue, it substitutes for Adso’s dedication to Queen Gerberge a dedication to Charlemagne, and there are several additions, noted below, to the text itself. Unless otherwise indicated, citations are by line number to the Pseudo-Alcuin text.

21985 “lawe” = low, Latin humiles, l. 6.

21993 “maumetry” translates demonum culturam in mundum, ll. 9–10.

21997 “AI.” Cf. CG “Als,” Latin qualis fuit Nero etc. l. 13. The southern redactor’s “AI” inadvertently transforms Antioch and Domitian into place names.

21998–22004 The Latin is clearer in stating that all who behave like Antichrist are in fact Antichrists: Nunc quoque, nostro tempore, multos Antichristos nouimus. Quicumque enim laicus, siue canonice, siue etiam monachus, contra iustitiam uiuit et...
ordinis sui regulam impugnat et quod bonum est inblasphemat, Antichristus est, minister satane est, ll. 15–18.

22028–31 Pseudo-Alcuin’s addition to Adso, ll. 31–33.
22041 Gregory the Great, *Moralia*, xxxii, 15 in *PL* LXXVI 649B. Pseudo-Alcuin adds this passage to Adso at l. 38, with attribution to Gregory. The quotation extends from 22037–48.

22082 “son of los” translates filius perditionis, l. 58; cf. CFG’s “tinsel” (= damnation, perdition: *OED*).

22093 This line seems to correspond with Pseudo-Alcuin’s diabolus ... locum nouit aptum (unchanged from Adso), l. 64, but it offers a translation unwarranted by anything in the surviving MSS.

22095 This line corresponds with nothing in either Adso or the Pseudo-Alcuin.

22100 “Heed of maumetri” appears to translate caput regni Persarum, l. 66, as does “cheef of pers” in 22097.

22103–6 Mt 11:21.
22110–10 Mt 11:23, mentioned by neither Adso nor Pseudo-Alcuin.
22111–12 These terms translate magos et ariolos, maleficos, et incantatores et diuinus, ll. 70–71.

22115–16 Somewhat distorted translation of maligni spiritus erunt duces eius et socii semper et comites indiuisi, ll. 72–73.

22119 “leue” translates ad se conuertere, ll. 74–75.
22139 Ps. 71:8, quoted at l. 80.
22143 “Pondir” translates ignem de celo, l. 87.

22155 The *CM* poet exempts “goddis chosen ping” from Antichrist’s influence where Adso and Pseudo-Alcuin include them: ita ut in errorem inducantur, si fieri potest, etiam electi, ll. 92–93, citing Mt 24:24.

22157–62 A sentence from Haymo of Halberstadt’s commentary on *Epistula II ad Thessalonicenses*, *PL* CXVII 782A, inserted by Pseudo-Alcuin into Adso’s text at ll. 93–96.

22175–76 “3ifte,” “awe,” and “tokens” translate, in rearranged order, terrore, muneribus et miraculis, ll. 100–1.

22179 “herdes.” Cf. CFT “hordes.” This and 22180 translate ll. 103–4, added by Pseudo-Alcuin.
22195–96 These lines translate l. 112, added by Pseudo-Alcuin.
22197–202 A distortion of ll. 113–15: qui est supra tectum, non descendet in domum suam, ut tollat aliquid ab ea, sed seipsum dabat precipitem. The est and the sed ... precipitem are Pseudo-Alcuin’s additions to Adso. The phrase is taken from Mc 13:15.

22212 “half bridde sere” translates tribus annis et dimidio, l. 119.

22227 “wers.” Cf. FGT: “vers.”
22228 “grece.” Cf. CFG: “grece.”

22237–39 i.e., a repetition of II Thes 2:3, quoted at 22219–22, again following Pseudo-Alcuin, ll. 133–34.

22253 “Oure maistris” = doctores nostri, l. 141, Pseudo-Alcuin’s alteration of Adso’s quidam uero doctores.

22261 “cele.” Cf. CFGT: “sele” = happiness, blessedness.

22271 Again a reference to II Thes 2:3.
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22273 "men." Cf. CFG: "man," which translates homo peccati, l. 149.
22277 "his owne sone" translates filius diaboli, l. 151.
22286 "sarazyn" translates pagani, l. 161.
22315-60 The sibylline passage is Pseudo-Alcuin's addition to Adso, l. 176-98, taken from the version known as the Tiburtine Sibyle. Cf. Sackur, pp. 185-86.
22317 Reims, Bibl. Munic. MS. 1392, fols. 234-36, the base MS of Verhelst's edition, gives this name as clodoueus. Verhelst prints simply "C." l. 177, perhaps reflecting the textual uncertainty of the name. Sackur, p. 185, prints Constans, following his base MS and three others.
22320 Pseudo-Alcuin does not mention Greece, but the Sibylline text does; Sackur, p. 185.
22327 "met" translates modius, l. 181.
22335-42 The CM poet's addition? Or possibly based upon Pseudo-Methodius' account of the end of the world; cf. Sackur, p. 90.
22347 "sarazines" translates paganorum, l. 190.
22349 "maumetrye" translates paganos, l. 191.
22361-62 Cf. Apoc 11:3-8, where neither Enoch nor Elias is named, though Adso and Pseudo-Alcuin presume that illos refers to them. Biblical warrant for identifying one of the two witnesses as Elias is Malachi 4:5 and Mc 9:11-13. The tradition that the two are Enoch and Elias is well established by the middle of the second century. See, e.g., Irenaeus, Contra haeresis 5,5 in PG VII 1134B-C; Hippolytus, De Christo et Antichristo 43 in PG X 762A; Pseudo-Hippolytus, De consummatione mundi 21 in PG X 922C; Tertullian, Liber de anima 50, PL II 735B. Other early commentators are listed in W. Bousset, Der Antichrist, pp. 136-37, and in J. Haussleiter, "Die Kommentare des Victorinus, Tichonius, und Hieronymus zur Apokalypse."
22371 Apoc. 11:7, quoted at l. 206-8.
22373 Pseudo-Alcuin, l. 209, specifies three days.
22381 "fendis brid" translates diaboli filius, l. 209.
22399-402 e.g., Bede, Epistola 15, in PL XCVI 707B: divina virtute permixtur quod beatus papa Gregorius per Michaelem archangellum patrandum fore ...
22403-4 "Papilon" is a variant spelling of Babylon, but cf. l. 227: Antichristus occidetur in papilion et in solio suo, that is in his own tent and on his own throne.
22411-14 "Forty dayes." So Adso and Pseudo-Alcuin, quadraginta dies, l. 234. Cf. also Eluc 1164A. But cf. Daniel 6:7 and 12; dies triginta, the period fixed by Darius during which his subjects were forbidden to worship any god or king other than himself.
22427-708 These lines are a close translation of the Anglo-Norman poem Quinze signes, written between 1180 and 1225, and edited by von Kraemer from 22 manuscripts. For a full discussion of the legend see Heist, Fifteen Signs. Heist and von Kraemer refer to earlier scholarship on the subject. The four other ME versions of the AN poem will be designated in these notes by the number given them in IMEV: 3367, 3368, 796, and 1823. The last two are really slightly different texts of the same version, though 796 lacks the invocation which opens 1823 and, because of a missing leaf in the MS, lacks days 5-10.

In the following discussion references will be made by author's name and sign number to other influential versions of the fifteen signs legend. These are found in Peter Damian, De novissimis et Antichristo iv, PL CLXV 840; Pseudo-Bede, De quindecim signis. PL XCVI 555; Peter Comestor, Historia scholastica cxli, PL XCVIII 1611; Jacobus de Voragine, Legenda aurea, ed. Th. Graesse. I refer also to various
Celtic versions of the legend because they may represent the material in an earlier form, accessible to the CM poet but now vanished. They are printed in Heist: *Saltair na Rann*, an addition to the tenth century Irish poem, pp. 2–21; *Evernew Tongue*, a tenth-century Irish prose work, pp. 73–88; *Airdena*, Irish prose, pp. 73–88.

22427–38 A loose translation of *Quinze signes* 41–54.

22439–40 These names occur in *Quinze signes* 55–56. They are not to be taken as sources, but rather as referring to prophets who spoke generally about the Day of Judgement. See Jer 4:23, Is 13:10, 26:18–19, 34:4. The AN poem goes on to list Daniel, Ezechiel, Aaron, and Moses, while variant readings in other MSS mention also David, Amon, Maon, Naaman, Jonas, and Amos. Von Kraemer, p. 95, tries to link the list up with various Ordines prophetarum, but the CM poet follows the traditional attribution to Jerome in 22441.

22441–46 Peter Comestor: Hieronymus autem in annalibus Hebraeorum invenit signa ... sed utrum continui futuri sint dies illi, an interpolatim, non expressit. The attribution to Jerome is also found in descriptions of the 15 signs in Ps-Bede, Peter Damian, *Leg. aur.* p. 6, and in most of the works dependent on them. The *Annales Hebraeorum* have never been identified, nor can any work of Jerome’s be construed as the source. See Heist p. 24 and passim.

22447–50 *Quinze signes* 61–63.

22451–58 *Quinze signes* 65–70 contain an invocation here, but it is not the same as CM’s.

22459–74 *Quinze signes* 71–86. The bloody rain appears in *Apoc. Thom.*, p. 272, and in sermons based on it, as well as in several Celtic works. See *SnR* II. 8029–36; *Airdena* 7; *Vercelli* XV, p. 256; *Blickling* VII, p. 91; *Hatton* Hom. in Förster, p. 131, and in a twelfth-century OFr work, *Li ver del Juïse* (von Kraemer, p. 16). Cf. Apoc 8:7. Many other versions of the legend have a bloody dew instead, possibly influenced by IV *Esr* 5:5. See *Yrymes Detbrawt* in Heist p. 71; Peter Damian 10; Ps-Bede 6; Peter Comestor 5; *Leg. aur.* 5. A Greek acrostic poem, translated by Augustine in *DCD* XVIII xxiii PL XL 579, mentions that all earth will sweat before the Day of Judgement, but not with blood. *IMEV* 3367 omits the bloody rain altogether.

22465–74 This crying of the unborn children is found only in the *Quinze signes* and its ME derivatives. It may have been suggested by IV *Esr* 6:21, although the resemblance is slight. The scene caught people’s imagination, however, for it appears in several later works; see von Kraemer, pp. 17–18.

22467 *Quinze signes* reads “A clere vouiz” (l. 79), reflected in F’s “voice.” CGHTLB have “note.”


22481–82 CFG preserve the translation of *Quinze signes* 93–94: the stars run about on the ground. This detail is omitted also in the ME versions *IMEV* 1823, 796, and 3367.

22481–92 The subsequent fate of the stars is unique to the AN poem and its ME derivatives.

22488–89 CM omits entirely *Quinze signes* 100, which is corrupt in many MSS.

22492 E’s “And þar of wil we neuir blin” is clearly in error.
Quinze signes 123–32. The CM poet reverses the AN signs 3 and 4. Based on Apoc 6:12, but cf. Joel 2:31 (quoted in Acts 2:20). Cf. also Airdena 12, ET 126, and von Kraemer p. 19 for citation from Assumption Moses 10. However, this is not one of the signs in the other Latin versions.

There is some confusion over Quinze signes 126, where most MSS repeat the idea that the moon was red as blood (“sanc”) or mud (“fanc”). CM on the other hand somewhat resembles the variant in MS Q: “A Deu qe frunt dunc li mescreant.”

Quinze signes 107–20. This is another common sign from Joel 2:31, Mt 24:29, and Apoc 6:12. It also occurs in Apoc. Thom. 5, p. 272, and is found in its Celtic derivatives; see Airdena 12, ET 126. The other Latin versions, however, ignore it.

“Haire” translates directly AN “haire” (111), which in turn translates Apoc 6:12, “saccus cilicinus,” a hair shirt. The other English versions of Quinze signes have trouble with the word. IMEV 3367 says the sun becomes green and wan, then “blak as þe cole” (l. 66). IMEV 1823 reads “swarte as any pych” (l. 99), and IMEV 3368 omits the concept altogether.

CG’s “stime” translates AN “goute” (l. 115).

Quinze signes 135–46. This sign is also characteristic of the AN version of the legend and its ME derivatives. In the Latin and some Celtic versions, it is the sea creatures who bellow unintelligibly. See SnR 8059–60, 8109–12; Peter Damian and Ps-Bede 4, Peter Comestor and Leg. aur. 3, probably based on IV Esr 5:7. The following verse of IV Esr adds, “et bestias agrestes transmigrabunt,” and the restless and/or noisy animals are found in Airdena 14, ET 129, and Peter Damian 12. The closest analogue to the AN, however, is the Debate between the Body and the Soul in BL MS. Harley 2253, in Wright, pp. 346–49. Although it speaks of only seven signs before Judgement, these lines are clearly connected somehow with the AN version:

The fyfte day him cometh y-wis
Everuch best that lyves ys,
Toward hevene ys hed halt,
Ant thuncheth wonder wed this byhalt
Ant wolde clepe to oure Dryhte,
Ah hy to speke ne habbeth muhte. (p. 348)

E and the southern versions (HTLB) preserve a correct reading, “erpe,” which CFG corrupt to “air.” Quinze signes 141 has “Droit a ces granz fosses courront.”

This sign is made up of three separate motifs: (1) the levelling of mountains and valleys (cf. Ps-Bede 10, Peter Comestor 9, SnR 8213–16, Airdena 11); (2) the earthquake at 22539 (cf. Peter Damian, Peter Comestor, Leg. aur. 8, Ps-Bede 9, Yrymes Detbrawt in Heist p. 71, SnR 8202); and (3) the collapse of buildings at 22540–44 (cf. Ps-Bede 7, Peter Comestor and Leg. aur. 6). Analogues are found in other signs. Quinze signes 149–60. Peter Damian 11 has mountains crumble to dust and the ruin of buildings. SnR 8213–16, ET 122, 128, speak simply of the mountains falling, but the Welsh Yrymes Detbrawt (Heist p. 71) and Airdena 11 mention that mountains and valleys will then be level. The only other version to include both the levelling of mountains and valleys and the collapse of buildings on the same day is the Debate of the Body and the Soul, day 4, from BL MS. Harley 2253, ed. Wright, pp. 347–48.

E’s “Pe wallis, touris, þe felles to falle” is in error.

Heist p. 92 would see the conversion of peace to war as a separate motif here, but the Irish parallels cited are inexact and unconvincing. See SnR 8065–71, 8168,
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Airdena 8. Cf. however Apoc 6:4 where power is given to the rider of the red horse "ut sumeret pacem de terra et ut invicem se interficiant [sc. homines]."

22543 Heist p. 179 says that the CM poet postpones the fall of the trees until sign 7, but in fact he follows the AN closely. “Wode” here translates AN “abre” (l. 159). Trees are overturned in Airdena 9.

22545–60 Quinze signes 161–76. This sign is only found in works deriving from the AN version of the legend. Heist pp. 93–94 wants to derive it from Irish versions of the Antichrist legend, but cf. von Krämer p. 23, who cites a parallel in an OFr translation of the Antichrist legend. Innocent III uses the motif in his De miseria (ca. 1195) 8, p. 107, to characterize the vileness of mankind, and from there it gets into Pricke 672–87.

22561–78 Quinze signes 177–94. This sign is often divided into parts: (1) the sea rises (SnR 8047–48, 8105–8, Airdena 1, Peter Damian, Ps-Bede, Peter Comestor, Leg. aur. 1); (2) the sea sinks almost to nothing (SnR 8113–16, Airdena 2, Peter Damian, Ps-Bede, Peter Comestor, Leg. aur. 2); (3) the sea returns to its usual place (SnR 8117–20, Airdena 3, Peter Damian, Ps-Bede 3).

22568 The attribution to Moses, taken from Quinze signes 184, makes no sense.

22569–70 The Latin versions tend to echo Gen 7:20, saying that the water rose 15 cubits (Peter Damian 1, Airdena 1) or 40 cubits (Ps-Bede, Peter Comestor, Leg. aur. 1) over the tops of the mountains. Only SnR 8105–8 mentions reaching to heaven, although the passage is apparently a difficult one and may indicate only that the sound reaches to heaven:

The great-maned sea will rise from the many-sided [?] earth;
it will raise its voice-performing uproar to the clouds of heaven.

22571–74 The flight of the fish has analogues in SnR 8059–64, 8109–12, Airdena 1, 4. Cf. also Peter Damian, Ps-Bede 4, Peter Comestor, Leg. aur. 3.

22579–90 Quinze signes 195–206. Analogues for this are lacking in other versions of the signs, although Heist p. 92 cites the passage quoted above, SnR 8105–8, as a possible parallel. A more convincing analogue is from a sermon of Gregory, preserved in the works of Haymo of Halberstadt: "Tradunt enim nonnulli, quod circa finem saeculi mare, flumina et rivuli, juxta qualitatem et quantitatem suam, voces et mugitus emittent, interitum suum quibusdam luctuosis vocibus deplorantes, et per hoc non parvum timorem hominibus audientibus incutient" PL CXVIII 19D, cited in von Krämer p. 25.

22581 The AN has "tuit li fleuve parleront," which the CM poet translates as "al þing." Heist p. 179 points out that MS. Trinity College Cambridge B.11.24, one of the MSS of IMEV 1823, reads:

That all þyngge schall speke þan,
And cry in erthe aftyr þe steuyn off man.

See IMEV 1823, ll. 102–3. There is a slight confusion in the AN MSS here, M and E reading: “toutes aigues.” Perhaps another variant existed at one time: “toutes choses.” Cf. von Krämer p. 76 and the textual note to l. 197.

22583 The citation of Augustine seems to refer to no work of his, except his translation of the Greek acrostic poem on the Signs before Doom in DCD XVIII xxiii in PL XLI 579, esp. l. 15. But the connection is in any case slight.

22591–626 Quinze signes 207–38. This sign demonstrates the reaction in heaven and hell to the coming Judgement. Analogues are few. Fear of the coming Judgement is found in ET 122, but it is difficult to say whose fear it is. Von Krämer also cites
Haymo of Halberstadt, *PL CXVIII* 21, and cf. also l. 159–66 of the *Debate of the Body and Soul* from BL MS. Harley 2253, in Wright, pp. 347–48. Devils come out of hell and fill the world in *SnR* 8284–88. In Vercelli sermon 15 devils fill the earth on Saturday; see *Vercelli* p. 258. Demons are on earth on the fourth day in the *Hatton* homily; see Förster pp. 131–34.

22597–98 The angels in *Quinze signes* tremble at 213–14 (crolera, se tremblera), but no cause is assigned as in 22598.

22605–8 Cf. *Quinze signes* 219–22:

Car il [sc. sainz Pierres] verra le ciel partir
Et si pourra la terre oir
Braire mont angouisseusemant
Et criera: "Rois Diex, je fent".

Von Kraemer makes "la terre" the subject of "criera." The CM poet takes "le ciel" as the subject, apparently interpreting l. 220 as an interpolated clause which he could safely omit.

22612 *Quinze signes* 226 also attributes this observation to Paul, but Paul says nothing to this effect.

22615 Von Kraemer l. 229 rejects a variant reading "qui nos feis," found in ten MSS, in favour of "qui nos meis." The CM poet, however, was clearly using a MS that read "feis."

22620 Von Kraemer l. 234 prints "Qui l’angouisse d’enfer andure," but eight MSS, including, obviously, the CM poet’s exemplar, replace "enfer" with "feu."

22621–22 HTLB omit two lines here:

Caiteues pat nu sorus mare
Pan euer in hell we won war ar (quoted from C)

These lines make it clear that the devils want to go back to hell, not to heaven, for even the pains of hell are preferable to the troubled state of earth before the Judgement. The devils know that they have lost heaven through their own folly, so 22624 can only refer to their being unceremoniously rousted out of hell. The omission of the two lines in the southern version makes it seem that they want to get back to heaven, as Heist p. 92 wrongly assumes the AN version does as well.

22625–26 These lines are found in only three MSS of the AN.


22633–34 *Apoc. Thom.* sign 2, p. 272: the earth moves from its proper place but because of a great voice in the firmament, not a wind.

22635–58 *Quinze signes* 245–46 says that bodies of the newly dead are blown about by the wind. The CM poet probably thought that the reference was to the devils who were pleading to be returned to hell in the previous sign and are about to get their wish.

22639 The descent of the rainbow here puzzles commentators. Heist pp. 176–77 assumes that “arc-en-ciel” is a corruption of “archangel,” which does appear in one MS of a prose recension of the AN poem. The angels’ victory over the devils is of course a common motif in apocalypse literature. However, von Kraemer pp. 27–29 shows clearly that “arc-en-ciel” is the only possible reading in the line. He further demonstrates that the rainbow was associated with the Day of Judgement, sometimes through connection with archangels, sometimes alone. The scribe who copied *IMEV* 796 in BodL MS. Digby 86, however, omits the passage altogether.
The CM omits Quinze signes 255–56 here, describing the heat, the cold, the pains, the grinding of teeth, the weeping. However, these same lines are also omitted from six AN MSS.

The CM poet deviates here from Quinze signes which continues at 259–66: Li termes vient que vos avroiz
Plantei de janz en vos destroiiz.”
Lors commanceront tuit a rire.
He, Diex peres, tu qui es sire(s),
De cele joie nos defent
Quar trestuit cil seront dolant
Qui seront parconnier dou ris
Don deables ert poteis.
The sense of 22648 is not very clear. In the AN the devils laugh at the thought of the people who will come into their power, and the poet prays to be saved from their clutches. These people pray, 22650–52, as the devils had done, to be allowed to hide under the earth, presumably from the Judgement. While the subject of the original 22649 could have been either the devils or the souls who would arrive in hell, the context and the content of the cry make it seem that the devils are speaking, and the southern redactor has altered his text to make it clear.

Quinze signes 267–86. This sign consists of two parts: the closing of heaven and the angels begging for mercy. Heist p. 92 suggests an analogy with SnR 8261–62, but the resemblance is slight and unconvincing. This sign is closely related to sign 10, where the heavens open and the angels become frightened. While the opening of the heavens is a common occurrence in apocalypse writings (cf. Apoc. Thom. 2, Vercelli homily 15, Friday), the locking of the firmament is unique to this version. But cf. the rolling up of heaven like a scroll in Apoc 6:14 and the derivative image of the book folded and closed in Vercelli homily 15 Wednesday, Hatton homily 7.

This is intended to be direct discourse, as the Quinze signes 276–78 makes clear:
Chascuns dira: “Ge me mervoil’
Que nos poons ici ester
Quant toute riens veons finer.”
The southern redactor, by changing 22660, transforms the lines into a rhetorical question asked by the poet. Von Kraemer p. 29 points out an analogy with Apoc. Thom. 3: “et dicent homines, putamus finis adpropinquabit ut pereamus.”
Quinze signes 283–84 have many variant readings. The ME lines do not correspond with any of those printed by von Kraemer.

Von Kraemer p. 29 and n. 4 cites several instances in Latin and French of this fear of angels and men before the coming of the judge.

Quinze signes 287–312. The Apoc. Thom. 6 mentions the splitting of rocks during the earthquake, and it is found in most other versions of the signs. Cf. SnR 8083–84, Airdena 9, Peter Damian 9, Ps-Bede 8, Leg. aur. 7. Peter Comestor 7 has the stones smashing together but does not mention their splitting.

The CM poet omits two lines of Quinze signes (289–90) which mention Japheth and Abraham. MSS C and X of the AN also omit these lines.

These lines translate Quinze signes 305–6 and then 303–4, the latter of which are found only in MSS EDQ of the AN. But von Kraemer p. 104 argues that they are probably authentic, corresponding to details found in Peter Damian and
Ps-Bede. Line 303 reads: "Des cox qu’eles s’antredonrront." CM MS E has "throwing,” C “thran[g]ling” or, as Morris’ gloss suggests, read “thrauing.”

22686 CM omits Quinze signes 309–10. AN MSS NRQP also omit these lines.

22688 The base MS of Quinze signes says: “Se desouz terre” (l. 312), but seven other MSS refer to a mountain. Von Kraemer p. 30 points out that in several other accounts of the Last Judgement fearful men hide themselves under mountains (see e.g. Apoc. Thom. 6, Vercelli homily 15 Friday, Hatton homily 6, Blickling homily vii 5). The detail derives ultimately from Apoc 6:16. Cf. Os 10:8, Lc 23:30.

22689–98 Quinze signes 313–24. Many accounts of the Last Judgement refer in general terms to storms and agitations of the air. Cf. Apoc. Thom. 1 (thunder and lightning), 5 (thunder), Airdena 7, 9, 14, SnR 8130, 8151, 8205, Vercelli homily 15 Monday, Hatton homily 1, 5, Blickling homily vii 1, 4. The clouds do not hide under the sea elsewhere, but this is probably an extension of the AN poet’s penchant for having everything fall into the abyss.

22692 Quinze signes 316. "De nois, de grelles et d’ores,” but MSS LUV have "De nois de glaces et de grelles.”

22698 The CM poet omits Quinze signes 325–8, which describe the mingling of earth and sea and the uncovering of heaven. This is a neat recollection of the primal state of the world when there was only heaven and earth, and the various elements of matter had not yet been separated from one another. Cf. note to 22699–708 following. Among the AN MSS CR omit ll. 325–26, and AOX omit ll. 327–28.

22699–708 Quinze signes 329–40. The final consummation of the world by fire is often found where Doomsday is discussed; see Peter Damian 6, Ps-Bede 5, 15, Peter Comestor 14, Leg. aur. 14, Apoc. Thom. 2, 6, Hatton homily 3. In this sign the AN poet (and the CM poet following him) continues the reversal of the creation process begun in sign 14 (see note to 22698 above). After the fire earth and sea are not simply reduced to ashes, but become nothing again.

22702 CM omits Quinze signes 333–34, where the poet names the process he is describing: “consumations.”

22710 The CM poet omits the remainder of Quinze signes, 341–434, describing God’s division of souls into saved and damned.

22711 be blast of beme is mentioned in Eluc 9 1164A. Cf. the seven trumpets of Apoc 8:2–9:13.

22716–22 Accounts of Jesus and his disciples after the resurrection are in Mt 28, Mc 16, Lc 24, and Jhn 20–21. The CM poet here depends chiefly on Mc 16:14.


22731–32 Cf. Eluc 51 p. 457: lta Christus in ea forma qua ascendit cum omnibus ordinibus angelorum ad judicium veniens; angeli crucem ferentes praeceunt ... The CM poet seems to have compressed this passage in Eluc. Cf. Eluc 54 p. 458:
D. Quali forma apparebit ibi Dominus? M. Electis in ea forma qua in monte apparuit; reprobis vero in ea forma qua in cruce pendit.

22737–44 This contrast of Christ’s first and second coming may have been suggested by a comparison of the old and the new Adam in Grosseteste’s Château 1457–66. Cf. the note to 21961–66, above.

22745–68 These lines, presenting the dread of those who are to be judged (22745–57), Christ in glory as judge, surrounded by saints (as seib þe boke) (22758–68), appear to be original with the CM poet.


22755–61 The imagery in altered form and without the cross as banner is in Eluc 51 p. 457: D. Qualiter veniet Dominus ad judicium? M. Sicut imperator ingressurus civitatem. Corona et alia insignia praeferruntur, per quae adventus ejus cognoscitur; ... angeli crucem ejus praeibunt; mortuos et tuba et voce in occurrsum ejus excitant, omnia elementa turbabuntur, tempestate ignis et frigoris mixtim undique furente; ... The image of the cross as banner was familiar from Venantius Fortunatus’ seventh century hymn, Vexilla regis prodeunt, / fulgit crucis mysterium, / quo carne carnis conditor / suspensus est patibulo, 1.6.1–4; Venance Fortunat: Poèmes, ed. M. Reydellet, I, 57.


22818–20 Eluc 44 p. 456 mentions that the souls will be resurrected as they were at age 30: D. Qua etate vel qua mensura? M. Qua erant, cum essent triginta annorum; vel futuri erant, si ante moriebantur. The CM poet’s treatment of this motif is, however, more elaborate than Honorius’.


22887–930 This story is told briefly in Eluc 45 p. 456. The question posed in the CM is both more elaborate, in that it describes the circumstances of the eating and the lion’s death and rotting, details not found in Honorius, and less detailed in that Honorius’ wolf is first eaten by a bear, the bear in its turn by a lion. Honorius attributes the story to Gregory; see Gregory the Great, Homiliarum in Ezechielem libri II, II viii 8 in PL LXXVI 1032–33, who also eliminates the bear and perhaps served as the CM poet’s direct source.


23003 “Vp in þe sky.” Cf. Eluc 52 p. 457: In valle ergo fit iudicium, id est in isto mundo, scilicet in aere ...

23039–206 The division of souls into four groups, two good and two bad, is adumbrated in Eluc 59–74 pp. 459–61. Cf. Richard of St. Victor, In Apocalypsim libri vii in PL CXCVI 857, who also divides the souls into four groups. The CM poet, however, provides far more detail. Cf. Mt 25:32–33, where there are only two groups.
Probably the CM poet took these lines directly from Mt 25:34–36. Cf. also Quinze signes II. 371–84, where the deeds of the blessed are in a different order: shelter, food, nakedness, visitation, illness, burial; thirst and prison are omitted. Cf. also the list in Grosseteste's Château 1563–76, where only visitation is omitted.


Apoc 21:8: in stagno ardenti igni. Perhaps the CM poet is thinking of ME stang, a pond or pool (cf. CM 8936), or perhaps of the past tense of ME stink (cf. MED s.v. stinken), or perhaps of ME stang, a sting or pain (cf. CM 20960).

The nine pains of hell, their correspondence with the nine orders of angels, their suitability to the souls of the damned, the inverse posture of the damned, and the increased joy and pain respectively of the blessed to see the suffering of the damned and of the damned to see the joys of the blessed, are all taken from Eluc 4–5 1159–61.

Eluc 4 1159D has Si igneus mons inmitteretur, in glaciem verteretur. The CM poet appears to have had a variant text.

The image of seeing fish swim in the water is from Eluc 4 1160A: qui ut pisces in aqua ita vivunt in flamma. “lowe” translates Honorius’ “flamma;” cf. MED loue n. (2).


Original with CM poet?

These explanations of sin and punishment are taken from Eluc 4 1160B and correspond with the nine pains just described. The wavering of the correspondence at the eighth and ninth sins is original with Honorius.

Eluc 5 1161B: sicut nobis cum videmus pisces in gurgite ludere. The summer day seems to be the CM poet’s addition.

Original with the CM poet?

Eluc 17 & 19 1169–72. 18, the first elaboration of the fourteen gifts, is omitted by the CM poet.

Swiftnes = velocitatem, feirhede = pulchritudinem, frendome = libertatem, strengbe = fortitudinem, euer lyf to lede = immortalitatem, likynge = voluptatem, lastyng hele = sanitatem: all terms translated from Eluc.

Wisdome = sapientiam, frenshepe = amicitiam, acorde = concordiam, pouste = potestatem, worshepe = honorem, sikernesse = securitatem, ioyeful ro = gaudium: all terms translated from Eluc.

Swiftness. Eluc 19 1171B.

Beauty. Eluc 19 1171A.

Freedom. Eluc 19 1171C.

Strength. Eluc 19 1171B-C. Wib pi fyngur to overcaste an hille = et omnem molem terrae pede vertere vellent.

Pleasure. Eluc 19 1171D–72A. The southern redactor has omitted lines 23437–48, which make an awkward comparison in both Eluc and the northern version, namely that the pleasure of heaven is internally and externally as intense as the pain would be in this world of a red-hot iron bar passing through the head and body.

Health. Eluc 19 1172C.

Immortality. Eluc 19 1172C.
23481–512 Wisdom. Eluc 20 1172D–3B. The southern redactor omits lines 23489–90, which in the northern version simply lend emphasis to the two preceding lines. Eluc is the origin of the digression into the knowledge of the saved of one another’s sins.

23513–18 Friendship. Eluc 20 1173D.

23519–48 Concord. Eluc 20 1173D, including a longish discourse on the concord of wills in heaven.

23524 pe boke = Honorius’ Elucidarium.

23527–28 Omitted by the southern redactor, perhaps because it translates a question from the Discipulus, and normally the poet omits these.

23549–70 Power. Eluc 20 1174A.

23559–60 A question from the Discipulus, translated exceptionally by the CM poet: Et si possunt, quare non aliud coelum faciunt?

23564 tale = numero in Eluc 20 1174B: omnia in mensura numero et pondere perfecte absoluit. Cf. Sap 11:21, where the verb is disposuisti [sc. Deus].

23571–78 Joy. Eluc 20 1174B–D.

23579–94 Honour. Eluc 10 1174D. The CM poet seems to revert to Eluc 15 1168C for the image of the sun, moon, water, and stars that no longer run in their courses but are changed into stability: coelum, sol, luna, stellae, aquae, quae nunc festinant currus irretardibili, quasi cupientes in meliorem statum immutari, tunc fixa stabiliter manebunt. Cf. 23677–82 below.


23603–14 A summary of the state of the blessed taken from Eluc 20 1175A-B.

23615–48 A comparison point by point of the blessed with the damned, based loosely on the fourteen gifts just discussed in greater detail, taken from Eluc 21 1175B–6A.

23649–52 Eluc 21 1176D ends here with a prayer, though not the same as the CM poet’s prayer. Where the poet includes all in his wish for Christ’s grace, Honorius’ Discipulus wishes well to his teacher alone.

23653–704 Eluc 15 1168C.

23657–58 Cf. also Honorius Speculum Ecclesiae Dominica xxiii in PL CLXXII 1077A.

23668–70 Perhaps elaborated from Eluc 15 1168C: frigus, aestus, grandines, turbines, fulgura, tonitra, et aliae incommoditates.


23689 translates Eluc 15 1168D: Terra, quae in gremio suo Domini corpus confovit ...

23696 The comparison to paradise is based on Eluc 15 1168D, which says that the earth immarcessibiliter erit perpetuo decorata with flowers.

23705–897 Having finished his narration of the Last Judgement and, a fortiori, of the entire Bible, the CM poet now draws on his experience as a preacher to identify the moral of his extended exemplum. Evidently he had not anticipated doing this, for there is no mention of it in the opening lines of the poem, which go from Judgement Day to verses on Mary, II. 216–17.
APPENDIX A
Errors in Morris’ Texts

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

21347  [O]f] G of
21348  criste] F criste
21355  iesu] G ihesu
21357  cristen] F cristen
21359  cristen] F cristen
21364  cristen] F cristen
21367  crist] F crist
21368  valde] F walde
21372  [hat] C hât
21379  [A]ls] G als
21405  cristes] F cristes
21418  cristen] F cristen
21433  cristen] F cristen
21437  F fol. 89r col. 2
21443  [han] G ãn. benciras] C bonciras
21465  [han] G ãn
21486  cristen] F cristen
21487  quene] F quene
21504  maistris] F maistris
21517  priuely] F priuely
21521  went him] G went wid him
21523  quen] G quen
21526  criste] F criste
21533  F fol. 89v col. 2
21547  to] F on
21558  cristen] F cristen
21561  [plis] G pis
21564  cristened] F cristened
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21585 \[V\]r \[G\] v\[r\]
21601 E fol. 46r col. 1
21602 processiune] E processiune
21603 kirke] E kirk
21605 nevir] E neuir
21606 schinande] E schinande
21608 tre] E tre
21609 paim] E paim
21610 emperur] E emperur
21613 eftir] E eftir
21614 perdun] E perdun. parte] E parte
21615 Seterdai] E seterdai
21616 Cristin] E cristin. cristen] F cristen
21619 man] E man
21622 thaim] E paim
21624 undir] E undir
21629 lauerd] E lauerd. wro3t\[e\] E wro3t
21631 unselie] E unselie. F fol. 90r col. 2
21633 unnepis] E unnepis
21634 grant] E grant
21635 thinc] E thinc. the] E the. soth] E soth
21638 and] E and. in (2nd)\[e\] E in
21639 undir] E undir
21642 finde] E finde
21643 E fol. 46r col. 2
21649 hande] E hande
21653 wro3t\[e\]] E wro3[t\[e\]]. [A]nd] G and
21654 Vndir] E Vndir
21655 Thare] E Thare. dri3tin] E dri3tin
21656 perdune] E perdune
21658 Quen] E Quen. bro\[p\]ir] E bro\[p\]ir
21659 tre] E tre. ping] E ping
21660 hid] G kid
21662 him] E him
21663 quarnere] E quarnere. made] E ma[de]
21666 iesus] G, C ihesus
21667 Qua] E Qua. him] E him
21668 rode] E rod[e]
21669 lauerd] E lauerd. [V\]r] G v\[r\]
21670 Maisteris] E maistris. in\[e\] E in. hande] E hande. maistri] F maistri
21672 herde] E herde
21675 in (2nd)\[e\] E in
21676 Quen] E Quen. Israel] E israel. 3ede] C yede
21678 croice] E croice
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21679 croice] E croice. drawin] E drawin
21681 oþir] E oþir
21682 unto] E unto. dinte] E dinte
21687 neddir] E neddir. was] E was was. tre] E tre
21688 men] E men
21689 neddir] E neddir
21692 hende] E hende
21693 hende] E hende. croice] E croice
21696 þai] E þa
21699 wande] E wande. ber] E ber
21700 pristis] E pristis. dome] E dome
21701 herde] E herde
21703 Eliseus] E Eliseus. oþir] E oþir
21705 apon] E apon
21706 Croice] E croice
21708 histan] E his tan. forgetin] E forgetin
21710 mare] E mare
21711 in] E in
21714 fra] E fra
21715 Croice] E croice
21716 aboun] E aboun. nan] E nan
21717 testamente] E testamente
21719 [C]roice] G croice
21720 Banir] E Banir
21721 herde] E herde. E fol. 46v col. 2
21722 thaim] E þaim. them] G þaim
21724 ouircome] E ouircome
21725 croice] E croice
21727 Croice] E croice. F. fol. 90v col. 2
21728 croice] E croice. wroȝte] E wroȝte
21729 croice] E croice
21730 croice] E croice. liuis] E liuis
21731 rancun] E rancun
21732 Gun-fanun] E gunfanun
21735 croice] E croice
21736 grete] E grete. honor] E honoure
21738 writte] E writte
21739 Fundemente] E Fundemente
21742 tre] E tre
21743 tres] E tres. þrine] E þrine
21746 undirstande] E undirstande
21747 tellis] E tellis. eiun] E eiun
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21748 numbir] E numbir. seuin] E seuin
21749 togideris] E togideris
21752 neu] E new
21754 And] E And. drawin] E drawin
21755 in] E in. and] E and
21756 elemens] E elemens
21757 strenbis] E strenbis. prin] E prin
21758 Croice] E croice. bar] E bar
21759 Quen] E Quen. bat] E bat
21761 proucid] E proueid
21763 mende] E mende. E fol. 47r col. 1
21765 croice] E crois. wro3t] E wro3t. crafte] E crafte
21768 wande] E wande
21770 quar] E quar
21772 bro3te] E bro3te
21777 [E]line] G eline
21778 nailis] E nailis. and] E and
21779 driuin] E driuin
21781 [paim] E [paim. wro3t] E wro3t
21782 bridil] E bridil
21783 cristal] E cristal
21785 Quider] E Quidir. sum] E sum
21787 bridel] E bridel. bri3te] E bri3te
21788 trouhe] E troupe. dri3te] E dri3te
21790 Quen] E Quen. ending] E ending. nere] E nere
21792 cro3] E cro3. [paim] E [paim
21794 crist] F crist
21795 and] E and. France] E france
21796 mustranse] E mustranse
21799 and] E and
21800 getin] E getin
21801 bro3te] E bro3te
21802 defende] E defende
21803 Qua] E Qua. betti] E betti. attende] E attende
21805 quebir] E quebir
21806 writin] E writin. E fol. 47r col. 2
21807 tellis] E tellis
21808 diueris] E diuers
21809 [p]at] G bat
21811 turnid] E turnid
21813 Quen] E Quen
21815quat] Equat
21817 wro3t] E wro3te
21818 fande] E fande
21819 Sawlis] E sawlis
21824 quite] E quite
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21826 grise] E grise
21828 iesus] G ihesu. iesus] C ihesu
21831 herde] E herde
21832 Neuir] E Neuir. ferde] E ferde
21833 wiibir] E wiibir
21836 Euir] E Euir
21837 [p]at] G [pat]
21839 spere] E sperc
21841 in] E in. herte] E herte
21842 in] E in
21844 iesus] G ihesu. iesus] C ihesu
21845 frende] E frende
21846a *title not in E*
21847 bro3te] E bro3te. [S]Ex] G sEx
21849 crist] F crist
21856 it] G itt
21863 iesus] C, G ihesu
21882 cruse] E cruse
21886 iesus] C, G ihesu. crist] F crist
21895 sa] E sua
21911 rotoygne] C rotoigne
21923 *F fol. 91v col. 2*
21936 Pat] E Patc
21943 criste] F criste
21952 Pat] E Patc
21955 is] E es
21962 and] E ande
21980 iesus] C, G ihesu
21981 pat] C pat
21985 the] C be. crist] F crist
21989 and] G ad
22001 of] C or
22004 antecrist] F antecrist
22005 you] C yow. [N]v] G nv
22006 antecrist] F antecrist
22009 pat] C pat
22010 Pat] E Pat
22021 *F fol. 92r col. 2*
22023 [O]f] G of
22026 maydene] G maken
22029 brim] G brine
22034 Ouer] C Ouer
22038 per] F per
22041 Pat] E Patc. C Pat. seint] C sent
22042 hene] E he ne. [per] F per
22046 Ur] E Vr
22054 cheuy] F cheny
22067 [A]nd] G And
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22085 [O]f G of
22089 plac E place
22098 other] C ober
22110 pei] F pe
22117 F fol. 92v col. 2
22120 spare] E sperare
22122 trature] E traiture
22127 [p]e] G pe
22133 alle] C all
22134 iesu] C, G ihesu
22145 do] G do
22181 hene] E he ne
22188 do] E to
22205 iesu] C, G ihesu
22212 If 49, bk. col. 2] E 22213. F fol. 93r col. 2
22234 Pat] E Pate
22235 Pat] E Pate
22246 gret] E gret
22253 [V]r G <v>r
22266 his F his
22267 dere] E dere. iesu] C, G ihesu
22270 son] C son
22279 felunni] C felunni
22295 lete] G bete
22300 Pat] E Pate
22306 hail] C Haal
22309 crist] F crist. F fol. 93v col. 2
22312 gram] C gram
22315 [A]l G als
22341 and] E ande and. wimmen] E wimmen
22355 tuelv] C tuelue
22358 als] C als
22359 kyngrik] C kingrik
22360 iesu] C, G ihesu
22361 [T]ua] G tua
22366 streng] C streng
22374 ou] E ur
22381 bot] G bot
22390 drie] E drie
22394 filthes] C filthes
22399 [A]nd] G and
22405 F fol. 94r col. 2
22408 iesu] E, C, G ihesu
22427 [N]u] G nu
22439 il] C it
22443 Queber] C Queber
22447 little] C littel
22448 of] C o
22450 nan] C man
22454 hene] E he ne
THE SOUTHERN VERSION OF CURSOR MUNDI

22456 [f 1, col. 2] E 22459
22459 [p]e] G ðe
22472 com] E torn
22473 iesu] E, C, G ihesu
22482 quen] G quen
22485 que[per] E que[per]
22493 [e]fter] G efter
22505 [p]e] G ðe
22507 F fol. 94v col. 2
22510 Dune] C Dime
22519 [V]gli] G Vgli
22531 [p]e] G ðe
22539 leaf 1, col. 4] E fol. 1v col. 2
22545 [S]orful] G sorful
22550 murthes] C mirthes
22554 of] C o
22561 [p]e] G ðe
22563 we] F ðe
22566 Allkin] C Allkin
22568 Moses] C moyses
22574 wen þat] E þat wen
22579 [p]e] G ðe
22591 [p]e] G ðe
22605 F fol. 95r col. 2
22613 now] E nov
22615 iesus] C, G Ihesus
22626 again] E again
22627 [p]e] G ðe
22644 alle] C alle
22658 iesu] C, G ihesu
22660 quain] C quaín
22671 [pe]e] G ðe
22694 droue] E drone
22698 com] E com
22701 F fol. 95v col. 2
22706 that] C þat
22711 [p]an] G þan
22719 iesu] E ihesu. iesus] C, G ihesus
22737 [Q]uen] G quen
22756 al þan] E þan al
22769 [A]tt] G att
22774 þat] E that
22781 [A]ll] G all
22784 þat] G þat
22797 F fol. 96r col. 2
22813 [A]ll] G all
22840 ah haf] E haf ah
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22849 [b]e | G | be
22861 feluni | C | felunni
22879 leal | G | leif
22883 alkin | C | ilkin
22893 *F* fol. 96v col. 2
22894 Quer | C | Quer
22895 [A] | G | a
22929 tober | G | tober
22953 [O]n | G | on
22963 [b]e | G | be
22982 *fol. 129r* col. 1 | C | 22983
22989 *F* fol. 97r col. 2
23006 isesu | G | ihesu
23019 [b]ai | G | hai
23028 bar | E | thar
23036 plhtes | E | plhtes
23039 [A]T | G | aT
23061 isesu | E, C | ihesu. iesus | G | ihesus
23063 [b]e | G | be
23081 Y | E | Ye
23085 *F* fol. 97v col. 2
23099 isesu | E | ihesu. bring | E | bring. vs | E | vs. iesus | G | ihesus
23103 [b]ar | G | bar
23127 [b]e | G | be
23134 nauthir | bat will | E | nauthir will
23138 enst | C | cust (?) | E | erst (?)
23139 in | E | in. vntelland | E | vntelland
23148 browht til | E | til browht
23151 bat | G | bat
23175 [H]a | G | ha
23181 *F* fol. 98r col. 2
23187 heuin | E | heuin
23200 wit-outen | E | wit-outen
23219 [b]e | G | be
23225 [b]e | G | be
23229 wlacsum | E | wlatsum
23233 [b]e | G | be
23238 pari | G | pari
23241 [b]e | G | be
23244 oper | G | oper
23245 [b]e | G | be
23246 neuer | C | neuer
23249 [b]e | G | be
23250 bat | C | bat
23256 and | E | ad
23265 [A]nd | G | and
23268 paim | C | pam
23271 [A]nd | G | and
23272 whip | E | wit
23281 *F* fol. 98v col. 2
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23650 iesu] E, C, G ihesu
23653 [O][f] G of
23669 F fol. 100v col. 2
23674 are] not erased in F, pace Morris
23683 [b][e] G þe
23685 [b][e] G þe
23686 baptism] C baptism
23689 [b][e] G þe
23745 [T][o] G to
23750 couaitus] E covaitus
23753 [p][ir] G pir
23758 certis] F cristis
23763 F fol. 101r col. 2
23773 [A][lsua] G alsua
23792 nankin] E nankin
23818 ur] E vij
23863 [A][ll] G all. F fol. 101v col. 2
23878 þot (2nd)] G þat
23899–894 E printed twice pp. 1367–69 and 1636–37
23909 [L][Euedi] G lEuedi
23913 the] E þe (1367)
23934 euir] E euir (1369)
23935 [p][is] G þis
23941–42 C no gap
23945 [S][pell] G spell
23946 C not indented
23957 [H][ir] G hir. F fol. 102r col. 2
23963 [I][n] G in
23969 [H][e] G þe
23981 [W][ede] G vuede
23984 him] E him
23985 sli] G ssi
23987 [S][ai] G sai
23993 [I] G <l>
23999 [O][f] G of
24000 tung] E tung. and (2nd and 3rd)] E and
24005 [A][ll] G all
24011 [W][idvten] G vuidvten
24012 murnand] E murnand. man] E man
24017 cri] E cri
24021 þat] C þat
24023 [V][neufulli] G vnreufulli
24029 [p][ai] G þai
24035 [V][nto] G vnto
24039 blublid] G bublid
24041 [T][o] G to
24047 [p][ar-for] G þarfor
24051 mad] E mad
24053 F fol. 102v col. 2
THE SOUTHERN VERSION OF CURSOR MUNDI

24060  iesu] C ihesu
24079  F.fol. 10r col. 2
24081  now] E nou
24092  Quen] E Quen
24095  and] E and
24097  him] E him
24099  nan] E nan
24101  sterun] E sterun
24102  seluin] E seluin
24103  Quen] E Quen
24106  brastin] E brast in
24107  wroht] E wroht
24118  sum] E sum
24119  F.fol. 11v col. 1
24121  apon] E apon. him] E him
24122  sun] E sun
24125  lif] E lef. sun] E sun. qui] E qui
24126  moder] E moder
24128  ping] E ping
24129  moder] E moder
24131  outen] E outen. witven] C witven
24133  frend] E frend
24138  sun] E sun. moder] E moder
24139  samin] E samin
24141  strif] E strif
24142  gamin] E gamin
24143  graiper] E graiper. gamin] E gamin
24144  moder] E moder
24146  apon] E apon
24147  and] E and
24148  samin] E samin
24149  F.fol. 103r col. 2
24155  opir] E opir
24156  moder] E moder
24159  F.fol. 11v col. 2
24162  quam] E quam. cri] E cri. and] E and
24164  outin] E outin
24165  and] E and. strife] E strife
24166  Quat] E Quat
24171  an] E an
24172  nan] E nan
24173  qui] E qui
24174  fra] E fra
24175  Quen] E Quen
24176  baim] E baim
24178  uneuin] E uneuin
24179  cri] E cri
24180  moder] E moder. merci] E merci
24183  murning] E murning. moder] E moder
neuir] E neuir
moder] E moder
togider] E togider
in] E in
in] E in
sum] E sum
fadir] E fadir
murning] E murning
faderles] E faderles. E fol. 12r col. 1
quarfor] E quarfor. qui] E qui
[T]int] G tint
in] E in
neuer] E neuer. moder] E moder
[M]i] G mi
me] E mi. len] E lend
[S]iben] G siben
euin] E euin
Quen] E Quen. murning] E murning
Sum] E Sum
him] E him. steuin] E steuin
[p]ou] G þou
in] E in
outin] E outin
[He]] G he
murne] E murne
quat] E quat
moder] E moder. mend] E mend
fader] E fader
[p]u] G þu
fader] E fader
s...] G o
and] E and
seruin] E seruin
lengin] E lengin
him] E him. seruis] E servis
moder] E moder. tender] E tender. F fol. 103v col. 2
quert] E quert
apon] E apon
manis] E manis
in] E yn. propheciiis] E propheciiis
[B]ot] G bot
mornin] E mornin
schauen] E schauen
fader] E fader
fundin] E fundin
THE SOUTHERN VERSION OF CURSOR MUNDI

in E in
ander E ander
[F]or-þi G forþi
quiiken E quiiken. again E again
man E man. quen E quen
fader E fader. [þ]ek G þe
Moder E Moder. þink E þink
fader E fader. E fol. 12v col. 1
Ouer E Ouer
moder E moder. [N]e G ne
fra E fra
outen E outen
euirmar E euirmar
mostin E mostin. vndirlie E vndirlie. [N]u G nu
faderis E faderis
quel E quel
Queþin E Queþin. plain E plain
Quen E Quen
[II] G I
cum E cum
quil E quil
Ioon E Ion. [I]ohn G Iohn
moder E moder
serue E serue
moder E moder
grace E grace. Wit C [wi]t
Quils C [Qu]ils. iesus C, G ihesus. [Q]uilis G quilis
soruing E soruing. dumb E dumb
stand E stand. apon E apon
men E men. [þ]ir G þir
and E and. maiden E maiden
Quen E Quen. Cristis E cristis
neuir E neuir. Come F [Come]
for him þai sagh on] F [for him þai sagh on]. him E him. croice E croice
[W]id G vuid
him E him
E fol. 12v col. 2
outen E outen
neuir E neuir
fra E fra. [V]r] G vr
quat E quat
þoh E þoh
com E com. [A]suth G alsuth
critis E cristis
and E and
apon E apon
smitim E smitin
þan E þan
and E and
moder E moder
THE SOUTHERN VERSION OF CURSOR MUNDI

24340 wroht] E wroht. him] E him
24341 [V]r] G vr. F fol. 104r col. 2
24342 and] E and
24344 tim] E tim
24345 Quen] E Quen. him] E him
24347 [H]ad] G had
24348 dun] E dun
24350 souring] E souring
24354 croicid] E croicid
24355 Quen] E Quen. him] E him
24356 him] E him. wrang] E wrang
24357 stang] E stang
24360-519 E no evident gap in MS, but the 159 missing lines probably occupied a single leaf, now missing
24365 [Q]uen] G quen
24366 [F]and] G fand
24371 [B]ot] G bot
24377 [L]ueedi] G leuedi
24389 [T]o] G to
24393 al] G ai
24394 &] F a
24395 [Q]uen] G quen
24401 [Q]uen] G quen
24413 [p]e] G pe
24419 [p]e] G pe
24425 [Q]uen] G quen
24437 [I]) G l. F fol. 104v col. 2
24443 [I]) G I
24459 wende] F we[nde]
24467 [H]a] G ha
24473 [N]u] G nu
24479 [H]ere-wid] G herewid
24491 [Q]uen] G quen
24495 wald] G wad
24497 [B]ot] G bot
24503 [O]n] G on
24508 dide] not crossed through in F, pace Morris
24509 [N]ay] G nay
24510 suffers like] G suffer slike
24515 [H]ere] G here
24521 [M]e] G me
24525 send] E send
THE SOUTHERN VERSION OF CURSOR MUNDI

24528  gret] E gret
24531  min] E min
24534  and (2nd)] E and. ein] E einn. and (3rd)] E and
24536  quen] E quen
24537  apon] E apon
24539  murnand] E murnand. moder] E moder. [I]] G I
24540  staking] E staking
24543  strife] E strife
24546  Bunden] E Bündin
24548  and] E and
24551  [b]an] G ūban
24554  [p]aim] E ūaim
24557  [I]] G I
24558  neuir] E neuir. moder] E moder
24559  euir] E euir
24561  him] E him. main] E main
24564  drihtin] E drihtin
24565  praier] E praier
24566  quil] E quil. him] E him
24567  siðin] E siðin. quat] E quat
24568  derling] E derling
24570  quen] E quen. him] E him
24572  him] E him. in] E in
24576  eftir] E eftir. liuin] E liuin
24578  wind] E wind
24584  strif] E strif
24587  [b]i] G bi
24588  don] E don
24589  [l]ite] G lete
24590  P ho] E Poh
24593  [S]uilk] G suilk
24597  and] E and
24600  E fol. 13v col. 1
24601  him] E him
24603  languris] E languris
24606  trai] E trai. and] E and
24609  Apon] E Apon
euir] E euir
Iohan] E Iohan
fra] E fra. sunder] E sunder
hand] E hand. [T[o] G to
moht] E moht. stand] E stand
led] E bed
pider] E pider
gret] E gret
twin] E twin
vprising] E vprising
moder] E moder. him] E him
him] E him.
Quen] E Quen. mornin] E mornin
[brang] E brang
piderward] E piderward
E fol. 13v col. 2
[F]ul] G ful
[ban] E [ban
[O]f] G of
briht] E briht
confort] E confort
Quen] E Quen. samin] E samin
fulfil] E fulfil
strang] E strang
him] E him. in] E in
piderward] E piderward
[I]ohan] G Iohan
moder] E moder
keping] E keping
maidin] E maidin. [pat] G [pat
witoutin] E witoutin
nan] E nan
cristis] E cristis
pris] E pris
Nan] E Nan. certis] E certis
[T]o] G to
tresorer] E tresorer
traister] E traister
graþeli] E graþeli. grace] E grace. grant] E grant
moder] E moder
[p]ar-till] G par till
maidinhad] E maidinhad
tair] E tair
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24681 in] E in. virginite] E virginite
24683 in] E i. [H]e] G he
24685 virignis] E virginis
24688 euir] E euir. and] E and
24689 [W]ele] G vuele
24690 couering] E couering
24692 oper] E oper. virtu] E virtu
24693 paim] E paim. couir] E couir
24695 buxumnes] E buxumnes
24696 turn] E turn. and] E and
24698 and] E and
24699 and] E and
24701 [I] G If
24702 him] E him
24706 couer] E couer. euir] E euir
24707 wete] F wele. [b]is] G pis
24712 priuest] E priuest
24714 moderis] E moderis
24716 seruid] E seruid. main] E main. and] E and
24717 neuer] E neuer
24719 [T]o] G to
24720 moder] E moder. and] E and. E fol. 14r col. 2
24722 erand] E erand
24725 cristis] E cristis. [I] G In
24726 euir] E euir. apon] E apon
24727 murne] E murne
24728 liuedi] C leuedi
24731 F. fol. 106r col. 2
24734 gref] E gref
24736 [pink] E pink
24737 louing] E louing
24743 man] E man
24746 bring] E bring. into] E into
24747 neuir] E neuir
24748 Quen] E Quen. mining] E mining
24749 Quat] E Quat
24754 getin] E getin
24755 lauerdinges] E lauerdinges
24757 getin] E getin
24758 outin] E outin. wid-vten] C witvten
24760 resun] E resun. E fol. 14v col. 1
24761 and] E and
24762 seruis] E seruis
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24765 William] E William. [A]] G a
24766 ingeland] E ingeland
24767 man] E man. hand] E hand
24768 wan] E wan. land] E land
24770 hiht] E hihr
24771 danis] E danis
24772 qui] E qui. him] E him
24775 Danemarche] E danemarche. onan] E onan
24776 king] E king
24777 wend] E wend
24778 him] E him. was] E was
24779 him] E him
24780 ingeland] E ingeland
24782 witoutin] E witoutin. riht] E rihr
24783 king] E king. heuin] E heuin
24783 heuin] E heuin
24786 him] E him
24787 him] E him
24788 gaderit] E gadrit. and] E and
24790 and] E and
24793 consail] E consail
24800 E fol. 14v col. 2
24801 resun] E resun
24802 in] E in
24810 mister] E mister
24815 [Elis] G Elsis
24827 F fol. 106v col. 2
24830 and] E and
24832 presantes] G presantes
24839 opir] E oper.
24849 Strangli] E Sstrangli
24854 dreleli] C dreleli
24858 drunn] E drunn
24861 Pa] E Pa
24863 iuesu] G ihesu
24875 [Bot] G bot
24879 Dun] E Dun
24882 F fol. 15r col. 2
24884 come] F comme
24890 wou] C wou
24904 neuir] E neuir
24921 proper] E proper
24925 F fol. 107r col. 2
24928 pis word] C pis word
24935 [Of] G of
24937 and] E and
THE SOUTHERN VERSION OF CURSOR MUNDI

24949 comandment] E comandment
24953 conception] E conception
24954 pardon] E pardon
24966 E fol. 15v col. 2
24975 iesu] G ihesu
24987 [G]od] G god
24995 behouis him] C behouis o him
25013 iesus] C, G ihesus
25019 F fol. 107v col. 2
25026 mind] C mind
25113 [C]rist] G crist
25117 F fol. 108r col. 2
25123 leaf 141] C leaf 140
25125 [F]Adir] G FAdir
25167 leaf 810 back] F fol. 108v col. 1
25176 (last occurrence) [and]] C <and>
25177 [pi]] C <pi>. An[suer]] C an<suer>
25186 grace] G grace
25220 wirck] G winck
25221 F fol. 108v col. 2
25237 oper] C vper
25257 [p]is] G pis
25273 [b]e] G pe
25289 fless] G fles
25299 [F]orgiue] G forgiue
25318 met] the F scribe has expunged the final e in mete, pace Morris
25327 F fol. 109r col. 2
25342 forgiffes] C forgiftes
25357 [b]e] G be
25377 [S]iben] G siben
25394 pe] C be
25415 [H]ali] G hali
25418 iesu] G ihesu
25427 [b]u] G bu
25429 F fol. 109v col. 2
25439 [R]ape] G rape
25451 [F]ul] G ful
25463 [N]u] G nu
25464 me] C ne
25465 nee] C ne
25475 [O]f] G of
25487 Iesus] C, G Ihesus
25496 lauerd] C lauerd
25505 [S]uete] G suete
25508 hai] G paa
25520 Iesus] C Ihesus. [I]esus G Ihesus
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26471  iesus] C ihesus
26540  F  *fol. 115r* col. 2
26548  iesu] C ihesu
26636  F  *fol. 115v* col. 2
26676  for bakbiter] C bakbiter for
26707  *lf. 148, bk, col. 1*] C 26706 *lf. 148, bk, col. 1*
26732  F  *fol. 116r* col. 2
26800  [pat]] C <pat>
26804  [in scrift]] C <in scift>
26828  F  *fol. 116v* col. 2
26856  wil] C will
26924  F  *fol. 117r* col. 2
26989  traisting] C traisting
27020  F  *fol. 117v* col. 2
27024  cu[m]] C in
27035  lijs] C lijf
27037  iesu] C ihesu
27042  ha lin] C halm
27055  kepe] F were.  *pat* ] C *pat*
27067  bis] F his. birthing] C birching
27075  alle] C all
27115  War] C Par
27118  F  *fol. 118r* col. 2
27168  wiit] C wit
27169  falle] C fall
27186  quy] F quy
27211  F  legible only with ultra violet lamp
27212  F  *fol. 118v* col. 2
27263  & stulh] F legible only with ultra violet lamp
27309  smert] F s<smert>
27310  birthin] C birchin.  *F fol. 119r* col. 2
27322  [w]ife] F wife
27374  [?pat do]s] F <pat do>s
27397  d[iuer]sis] F d<iuer>sis
27404  F  *fol. 119v* col. 2
27409  bett] C bete
27502  F  *fol. 120r* col. 2
27508  iesu] C ihesu
27543  *Pat*] C *Pat*
27553  *Pat*] C *Pat*
27559  *Pat*] C *Pat*
27606  F  *fol. 120v* col. 2
27612  *Pat*] C *Pat*
27629  *no gap*
27631  *no gap*
27724  F  *fol. 121r* col. 2
27666  gain] C gan
27700  brin] C brinn
27741  *Pat*] C *Pat*
27743  wiit] C wijt
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27786  sin] C sinn
27805  pat] C pat
27818  Col. 2
27830  lauerding] C lauerdinges
27838  F fol. 121v col. 2
27850  wiit] C wijd
27855  pe] F pat
27859  [in]e] F pinne
27881  insightt] C insight
27884  wate] C wat
27898  wiit] C wijd
27900  [& hit is]] C <& hit is>
27984  sa] C so
28034  bii] C bij
28035  bii] C bij
28042  o] C of
28255  spelle] C spell
28300  falle] C falle
28302  isu] C ihesu
28401  pair] C haire
28442  isu] C ihesu
28472  isu] C ihesu
28508  delt crist] C delt to crist
28528  lechur] C lethur
28576  sinnes scriuen] C sinnes es scriuen
28613–14  C no gap
28663  wille] C will
28711  isu] C ihesu
28867  alle] C all
29259  isu] C ihesu
29299  slan] C slan
29308  purchad] C prechad
29373  asoille] C asoill
29406  in renaijng] C in rauyng renaijng

N.B.: C was rebound 26 June 1967 so tightly that the initial letters of the following lines are no longer visible: 21869–916, 22057–102, 29124–69, 29322–370, and 29524–547.
APPENDIX B

MS B, ll. 22005–23898: Pricke of Conscience, ll. 4085–6417

Expansions of manuscript abbreviations are indicated by italics, emendations and editorial insertions by square brackets.

Some clerkis say þat one schal come
þat schall holde þe empyre of Rome
All holy and his croune bere
Well & in pece without wer
He schall be þe last emperour þat þere schal be
And most ouer all kynggis of povste
þe which schall welc maynten his stat
And þe empire withoute bate
And it guerne þurgh law of witt
As long as he schall holde itt
Bote affterwarde at þe last ende
Vnto Ierusalem schall he wende
He schall þe septur of Rome sett
On þe mount off olyuete
And his croune lay doune also
And leue ffor euer & fro hem go
Þus schall ende þe dignite of Rome
And sone affter antecrist schall come
As clerkis say þat haue vnirdstoning
Off danyell & saint poule saying
Pan schall antecrist tyme bygyn
þat sait poule calleþ þe man of sin
For alle þat he be man nerþeles
He schall be well of all wickidnes
þe deuill son he schall be callid
Bote þurgh kynde men schull hym þus hald
Bote þurgh his tourmenting fro gode to ill
For he schall þe deuils sfullfill
All þe power of þe deuill of hell
And all his witt of in hym schall duell
In whom all treson & malice
Schall be hid with all maner vice
He schall to crist contrarius be
And to all his lymmes þat he schall se
And high hym þurgh pryde þat he schall hold
Aboue all þat er paynis tolde
þat is to say iubiter & mercury
And apolyn & erculy
And not onely aboue þes godis all
þat þe paynis her godis call
He schall hye hymselfff to be
Aboue þe holy trenite
þat all creatoures more & les
Schuld honour ouer all þing þat is
Full synffull schall be his begyni/ing
And wondirffull all his lyvyng
And his endyng schall be sodayn
þurgh might of god he schall be slayn
In his tyme schall be so moch tribulacion
And so moch persecusioun
þat unneþ any schall þer graunt
þat he is cristen & crist seruaunt
For more persecution schall be þan
þan euer was sen þe world began
Antecrist is þus moche to say
As he þat is ægenst crist ay
þan may iche man be clepid be skill
Antecrist þat dothe ægens godis will
þan may all þes antecrist be cald
þat ægens þe right will halde
Bote many swich mow we know
þat moche dop ægens þe lawe
Bote antecrist saiþ holy writt
Schall come bote he comeþ not 3itt
As most teraunt withoute pete
þat euer was or euer schall be
Þerefure I holde þes grete mysdoers
Antecristis fforgoers
Whoso will a while duell
Aparate here I will tell
Off þe maner of antecrist begyning
And of his lyffle & of his ending
He schall be geten as clerkes shew can
Of two synffull man & woman
And afftir þat he consayed be
þe fende schall entre þurgh his povste
Within his modir womb sone
þus saiþ þes clerkes it schall be done
þurgh whos myght he schal be forþ broȝt
And wondris þurgh hym schal be wroȝt
He schal be cald þe child of lorn
And in corazaym he schal be born
Off a woman of þe kynde of dan
Bote cristendom schall he haue nan
He schal be malicious & ful of envy

Þus of hym spekith þe prophecy
Þe dan he saiþ schall þe neddir be
Smyting in way as men may se
And schall byte þe hors be þe bones hard
And make þe sterop fall bakward

Þat is þus moche ffor to say
Þat antecrist as a neddir schall sit in þe way
And bite hem all boþ more & les
Þat walkeþ in þe way of rightwisnes
And sle hym of þe venym
And of þe venym þat comþ of hym
3itt schall he be circumcised
Þurgh þat his malice schall habide
And also to hym assignid schal be
A gode angell þat he schall not se

Aftir his birþe in his beginnyng
Þat of hym schall haue keping
Bote for he asen þe trewb is
Schall be hardnes in wickidnes

His gode angell schall fro hym wende
And leue hym in keping of þe fend
In þe cite of bethsayda
And in capheenam schall regne swa

þe which cap hernam & bethsayda

And corazaym god waried all way
For god spak to þes þe citees þus
As þe gospell here schewith vs
Wo to þe corazaym mote com

And to bethsayda & cap hernam
In þe ffirst he schall be born & bred
In þe second be norischid & regne in þe iiið
He schall gader fast to hym þan
Alle þat of þe þe fendis crafft can
As nigromonsers & tregitours
Wichis & ffals enchauntours

Þat þe fendis crafft schall hym ken
Pereþurgh he schall dissayue many men
Aftirward þurgh leding of þe fend
He schall to lerusalem wende
And þere to duell in þat cite
And amyd þe temple make his se
And say to all þat þere schall won
Þat he is crist godis son
And make þe ffolk hym to honour
And say he is her sauyour
He schall say þat no rightwis cristen man
Neuer sith þe world began
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Bote fals antecristes he schal hem call
And say þay lyuid in fals truþ all
Þat haue be ffro þe world begynynge
Vnto þe tyme of his comyng
He schal be lusty and lecherous
Dissayv col. 1 ble & tricherous
He schall hym make first holy
And shew þan apert ipocrosy
To dissayue cristen men and lele
As saiþ þe prophet daniel
First he saiþ he schall apertly
Feyne fals ipocrosy
Þat he may þe lightlyer begile
Bote þat tyme schall last bote a while
He schall kyngges & prncis to hym draw
And torne hem all to his lawe
And þurgh hem þe peple tornid schal be
In eche a lond & eche a contre
In all þe stedis he schall walk & pas
Þat crist walked when he here was
In swich a presumpcioun he schall falle
Þat he schall hym þink lorde ouer all
3urgh pride he schall a3ens god rise
And hym disclaunnder & his lawe dispice
And afforce hym & be besy
His lawe to chaunge & do holily
He schall torne all his peple to his lawe
On foure maners & hem to hym draw
One maner schal be þurgh preching
Anoþer þurgh myracles fals worchmg
Þe thrid þurgh 3iffes large to 3if of pris
And þe fourþ þurgh tormentis gris
Þurgh fals preching in iche a contre
Many to hym tornid schall be
For he schall sende þurgh all þe world wide
His prechours to prech on ich a side
Þe which schull preche undir fals colour
And say þat cristes lawe is bote errour
And antecristes lawe þay schull comend
And a3ens sopffastnes it dffend
And forbede ech man þat þay it not holde
þis lawe þat is cristis lawe tolde
And his mynnistris schall so lett it
Þat no man schall expound holi writt
Þat is to say right vnристonding
For þay schall say it is bote a lesing
And make þe peple leue holy
Þat þay schull not be sauid þerby
Þus schull þay bring þes folk in errour
Þurgh her preching with fals colour
pus his lawe schall passe þurgh his pouer
Fro þe est into þe west in þe world here
And fro þe south to þe north also
His lawe & his pouer schullen go
Þurgh fals myracles & wonders sere
He schall turne men to oper manere
For he schall þan shew wonders many
Þurgh enhansment & nigromaunsey
So greтелy þat þe peple schall se
And þat myght þurgh þe fiend schal be
Of which wondris I will tell sum
He schall do fire doun fro heuenc com
And þat schall be on euill spirit
þat oute of þe ayre schall com tyte
And among his disciples þere doun list
And with sere tungis do hem speke right
As did to þe apostles þe holi gost
And þat sight in mens sight most
For þo þat his disciples schal be cald
Schall hem auauence & hemselff hold
Better of lyffic & to god more dere
Þan euer were cristes apostels here
So þurgh þe deuils craffte & myght
He schall feyn hym to dy in mans syzt
And on þe brid day þurgh deuils rede
He schall feyn hym to rise fro dede
& þe fendis aftir schall bere hym eu[n]
Into þe aire as he schuld styce to heuenc
And he beffore schall be sen
As he fro dep rose men schul wen
And vp vnto heuenc þan ravist
And trow þat he is veray crist
Þus schall antecrist countirffett
Þe wondris of god in erþ so gret
Mo wondris 3it work schall he
Þat þe pepill schall openly se
He schall do trees grow & florisch fair
And chas þe wynde aboute & þe ayrc
Fro heuenc he schall doun fall rayn shouris
& make watirs ryn aȝens cours
He schall trouble þe see when he will
And pes it make & do it be still
He schall do chaung on wonder maner
Diuers kyndes in figures sere
He schal do dede ymages & dome
Speke of pinges þat er to come
He schall also ded men upraise
Þat schall go about as þe boke sais
& þat schal be þurgh þe fiendis queyntrys
Þat he schall entre into dede bodys
And here þo rede bodies aboute
So þat perffite men schal be in doute
Wheþer þat he is veray crיסט of noght
And þus schall men in errour be broȝt
On þe prid maner he schall begile
Many with ȝifftis schort while
And torne hem alle to a fals beleue
Þurgh large ȝifftes þat he schal ȝeue
For he schall ffynde all þe tresour
Þat is & was in erpe hid beffore
Vndir þe erpe or owhere ellis
Þat may not be gessid as sum men telles
Þat vndir þe erpe is more tresour hid
Þan abouen is knowe or kid
Off þe which he schall all rich make
Þat þe lawe of crist here will forsake
So schall he shew men welp worldly
To dissayue hem þan þerby
In þe fourþe maner afftir þan
He schall torne to hym many man
And do hem holy to fowle his trace
Þurgh grete turmentries & manas
And þurgh drede of dep þat most may greue
For ellis he will not soffre hem liffe
Full grete tribulacions he schal hem shew
As seip þe gosspell of saiþt mathew
He saiþ so moche tribulacion
Schall be þan to euery nacion
Þurghoute þe world fer & nere
Þat þo þat god hap chosen here
ȝifft god wold soffre þat it were don
Þay schuld be broght in errour sone
Bote in þe pocalipcis aperyly
It saith þus mystely
He saiþ his ffete be lich laton bright
As in a chymny brennyng light
And þis was þat john se in vision
Of hym þat semyd þe virgin son
Be his fete þat as laton were semand
Cristis last lymmes men vndirstand
Þe which schall be men of perffite charþte
Þat aȝens þe worldis ende schall be
Þat is in þe tyme of antecrist
Þurgh whom many soulis schul be perist
Þe chymny brennyng with þe hete
Betokenith tribulacions grete
Þat antecrist when he schall come
Þurgh whom many schall haue materdos[m]
Antecrist schall be þe most teraunt
Þat euer was for he schall haunt
All maner of tormentis ken
In which any martirs beffore haue ben
For in sere maners he schall hem hent
\(\hat{p}at\) will not to his lawe assent
And putt hem to \(\hat{p}e\) de\p at last
\(\hat{p}at\) duellith in \(\hat{p}e\) troup ffast
Bote all cristen men in \(\hat{p}at\) contre
Where crist walkid torment schal be
And Hamo saib \(\hat{p}at\) a grete clerk was
\(\hat{p}e\) tormentry purgh \(\hat{p}e\) world schall pas
\(\hat{p}e\) ffendis \(\hat{p}at\) now be bounden so
\(\hat{p}at\) pay may no\(\hat{p}er\) file nor go
Ne noye so moche as \(\hat{p}ay\) wolde
Schall \(\hat{p}an\) be losted & not in holde
\(\hat{p}at\) tyme schall preche no cristen man
For \(\hat{p}ay\) schal be holde as cursid \(\hat{p}an\)
Ne none schall bye \(\hat{w}ith\) hem ne sell
Ne felischip holde \(\hat{w}ith\) hem ne duell
Bote \(\hat{w}ith\) hem \(\hat{p}at\) hape crist fforsaken
And \(\hat{p}e\) merk of antecrist had taken
\(\hat{p}at\) men may knowe & vndirstond
\(\hat{p}at\) pay to antecrist were assentand
For all \(\hat{p}ay\) schall bere his merk
\(\hat{p}at\) fforsaken to wirch cristis werk
And schall folow antecristis lawe
Be his merk men schul hem know
\(\hat{p}at\) pay schall bere as I vndirstond
Oy\(\hat{p}er\) in \(\hat{p}e\) ffronnte or in \(\hat{p}e\) hond
Bote \(\hat{p}er\) \(\hat{p}at\) will not done his rede
Schall be done to vilans dede
On \(\hat{p}es\) foure maners as I haue shewed
He schall drawe to hym lered & lewde
And cristis lawe schall be doun laide
As in \(\hat{p}e\) pocalipcis it is saide
\(\hat{p}at\) \(\hat{w}ith\) his taile he drawe\p doun euen
\(\hat{p}e\) brid parte of \(\hat{p}e\) sterris of heuen
And into \(\hat{p}e\) er\p sende hem right
\(\hat{p}ere\) \(\hat{p}at\) \(\hat{w}ay\) my\p t not \(\hat{z}iff\) no light
\(\hat{p}is\) was \(\hat{p}e\) tayle of \(\hat{p}e\) dragon
\(\hat{p}at\) saint john se in vicion
\(\hat{p}at\) dragon we vndirstond \(\hat{p}e\) ffend
And his tayle antecrist \(\hat{p}at\) foloweb at ende
\(\hat{p}e\) brid parte of \(\hat{p}e\) sterris bright
Be cristen men to vndirstond right
\(\hat{p}e\) which he schall fro \(\hat{p}e\) troupb draw
And do hem in er\p to kepe his law
\(\hat{p}e\) men of \(\hat{p}e\) world \(\hat{p}at\) be couitous
He schall torne purgh \(\hat{z}iff\)is precious
For he schall \(\hat{z}iff\) hem \(\hat{p}at\) turnid will be
Off golde & siluir grete plente
And also men of symple coning
He schall torne þurgh fals preaching
Gode men þat holde cristis commandmentis
He schall torne þurgh manas & tormentis
Many schull seme gode & rightwis
Schall leue in hym & cristis law dispice
First schall antecrist come in meknes
And preche aþen þe trouþ þat is
And myracles schall þurgh hym be done
Þat schall þe Iewis resayue sone
And be tornid to hym all holy
And þat tyme schall com ennok & ely
And aþens antecrist preche full harde
As ye may here afþirward
Þan schall anticrist begyn felly
To pursu men þurgh tormentry
Grete persecution þan schal he wirch
Aþen cristen men & holy chirch
Þan schall he distroy cristen law
And gog & magog to hym-draw
Þe which be holden as men tell
Þe werst ffolk þat in erþ duell
Sum ffolke say þat þay be closid holy
Beþond þe mountaynis of caspy
Bote þay be not so closid aboute
Þat þay may lightely come oute
3iff a king nere þat holdeþ hem in
Þurgh strength þat þat may not oute win
Þat is clepid þe son of Amazans
Vndir whos power þat folk wonis
Bote atte last þay schal breke oute
And distroy many londis aboute
For þe Iewes haue such a prophecy
And sayn magog hem comounly
Þat his ffolke aþens þe worldis ende
Schall come oute & to Jerusalem wende
With her cristis þat þay schall wirch
And þan schall þay stroy holi chirch
Sum clerkis say as þe glos tellis
Þat gog & magog is not ellis
Bote þe heste of antecrist þat schall com
Sodaynly aþens þe day of dome
And aþens holi chirch werray
For to distroy it 3iff þay may
Þe glos of þe boke saþ also
Þat be gog be vndirstond all þo
Þurgh which þe ffirende oure most enmy
Schall cristen men pursu preuely
By magog vndirstond may be
Þurgh whom openly pursue schall he
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Or bis may be vndirstond þerby

Þat antecrist tyme ffirst preuely
And aftirward oponly schall wyrk
Wickidnes ægens holy kyrk
Gog is as moche to say as couert
Bote magog is note bote apert
Þes two prophetis as sayn sum
Ennok & ely befoors schall come
Befor þe tyme of comynge priue
Off antecrist when he born schal be
And þe tyme of his comynge

Þat schall be þurgh his preching
And to open persecution
Þat he schall do to diuere nacion
Bytwix þe tyme of þe prophetis two
On sere partis schall preche [\(...\)]

Þat þurgh her preching þay schull drau
And convert lewis to cristen lawe
For spekith þe prophet malache
In a boke of þe prophecce

He saib þay schull turne þurgh godis [myght]
Þe þadirs hertis to þe son right
Þat is to say þay schull turne in þe lury
Vnto þe right cristendom holy
Pan schall þe lewis þe same law holde
Þat þay haue þe cristen men be tolde
And as cristen men done so schall þay do
Als þe glos saib þat acordeth þerto
Þe lewis schall take þan with hert glad
Þe troupe þat cristen men befoors had
As þe two prophetis schall hem ken
Þe lewis & þe cristen men
Schall þan þurgh even entencioun
Assent in crist as on religion
Þay schall preche as þe pocalipcis sais
A thousand & two hundred daies
And sexty as men schall se & here
As þe glos saib þat is þre ȝere
As crist hymselffe vouchedsaue
To preche þe same law þat we haue
Þay schull be as þe pocalipcis sais
In harde ayre be clad & sekis
Þat is þay schull þan penauns preche
And þurgh ensample of penauns teche
Bote also sone as antecrist knaw
Þat he torn lewis to cristen law
Âpurgh ensample & sarmon
Pan schall he shew grete persecution
And greuously hem torment
Þat to his lawe will not assent
And so hem to þe deþ atte last
3iff þay in þe trouþ stond stedfast
Antecrist schall þan be ffull wroþe
He schall do take þes prophetis boþe
And in Ierusalam by þe ffendis rede
Hastely do hem to dede
þan schall her bodies as þe boke says
Lye in þe stre þre daies
And an halffe aboue þe erþ namly
For no man schall do hem bery
For drede of þat þay schall haue þan
Off antecrist þat wickid man
Her enmyes when þay be slayne
Off her deþ þay schull be ffayne
When þay haue liyen in þis wise
Þre daies & an halffe þey schull rise
And þan her enmyes a voice schall here
Unto hem speke on þis maner
Hely & ennok arise vp boþe
For þe be past all maner wroþe
As soon when þay haue herd þat steuen
In a cloude þay schull stye to heuen
Þat all þe peple þan schall se
A grete wondir to hem þat schal be
Affþir her deþ as þe boke saþ
Antecrist schall regne ffiften dais
Þat schal be tornid to hym holy
Þat were tornid to ennok & hely
And all þat nil on hym trow þan
Schall be done to deþ ech man
Antecrist in his grete terantry
Schall regne þre þere & an halff fully
þan schall god abrig his daies
As mathew in þe gospell sais
Bote his daies ben abriged saþ he þan
þus saþ saÞt gregore þe holy man
He saþ ffor god þat seþ þe right
Þat we be ffreill & ffebill of myght
Þe daies þat ben cuill & heuy
Þat be put to men synglerly
3itt atte last abringe schall he
Pargh his godenes & his pete
Antecrist schall be withouten pere
And lyffe here two & thretty þere
And an halffe as sum clerkis can se
Off so many þeres his age schal be
Fro þe tyme of his first begynnynge
Vnto þe tyme of his last ending
Sum men say he schall liue as many þere
As crist leuid in þe worlde here
And when he hab so long liued
\(\text{Pan schall no man with hym be greuid}\)
He schall \(\text{pan felle godis vengance}\)
And \(\text{without any repentauns}\)
He schall be slayne sodaynly
\(\text{Purgh be might of god almyghty}\)
\(\text{Vpon be mounte of oliuete}\)
\(\text{In be stede here crist sett his fete}\)
When \(\text{pat he steigh to heuen bright}\)
\(\text{Pere schull we end purgh godis my3t}\)
\(\text{Som clerkis sayn 3itt also}\)
\(\text{Pat saint myhell schall hym slo}\)
\(\text{Purgh cristis bidding in be same stede}\)
\(\text{In be which he schall be found dede}\)
\(\text{And be boke saip be}\)
\(\text{Purgh godis moup slayne schall be}\)
\(\text{Bote how so it be pis is certayn}\)
\(\text{Purgh godis myght he schall be slayn}\)
\(\text{Antecrist mynistris when he is dede}\)
\(\text{Schall make ioy in iche a stede}\)
\(\text{And haue her delites night & day}\)
\(\text{And wed wyffes & bus say}\)
\(\text{All ziff her prince be dede bus}\)
\(\text{We haue pees & welp plenteuous}\)
\(\text{And right as pay schall say bus all}\)
\(\text{Sodaynly dede schall pay ffall}\)
\(\text{Purgh be might of god allmyghty}\)
\(\text{Bus schall pay ende sodaynly}\)
\(\text{Bote when pay all be bus fordon}\)
\(\text{Be grete dom schall not be done sone}\)
\(\text{For be glos of daniell bus says}\)
\(\text{God schall graunt ffyue & ffourty dais}\)
\(\text{To all hem pat dissayuid schall be}\)
\(\text{Purgh antecrist & his meyne}\)
\(\text{Pat pay may amend hem of her syn}\)
\(\text{And do penaunce or be dome begyn}\)
\(\text{Be lewis schall pan all tornid be}\)
\(\text{To be beleue be now haue we}\)
\(\text{Pan schall god ffullffill in be last days}\)
\(\text{Pes wordis pat his prophet says}\)
\(\text{He saip be folke to be fold schall ffall}\)
\(\text{And one herde schall be to kepe all}\)
\(\text{Pat ffolk lewis & cristen schall be cald}\)
\(\text{In be troup of holy chirch ffald}\)
\(\text{Fro pat tyme forth schall holi chirch be}\)
\(\text{In pece & rest withoute aduercite}\)
\(\text{For pan failep all be pouer of be fend}\)
\(\text{Fro pat tyme to be worldis ende}\)
\(\text{So pat he schall not tempte ne greu[c]}\)
\(\text{Holi chirch ne no man pat pan schall ly[ue]}\)
Bote how moche space schal be fro þa[n] 
To þe day of dome wote no man
For alle þe prophetes þat men may neuen
Nor all þe halowis þat be in heuen
Might neuer none wite þat priuice
What tyme þe day of dome schuld be
For god will þat no man beffore wite
Bote hymselffe þat has ordaynid it
Perffore god to his disciples saib þus
As þe pocalypcis tellith vs
It falleth not to 3ow to know þe tyme of priuice
Pat þe ðedir hap in his povste
Perffor no man schuld aske ne say
How moche we haue to domys day
Ne we schuld not 3ern it to lere
To wite wheþer it were sfer or nere
Bote we schuld make vs redy all
As þe day of dome tomorn schuld fall
And þenk ay on þat dредfull day of dome
As þe holy man saib saint lerom
He saib wheþer I ete or drink
Or oght ellis do euer me pink
þat þe beme þat schall blow at day of dom
Sovne in my nere & þus saib sone
Rise þe þat be dede & come
Vnto þe grete dредfull dome
Now haue 3e herd þe begynning
Of antecristis lykke & ending
þat men a wers tokyn may call
þat azens þe dome schall fall
Here begynnep þe xv tokenis affore þe dome withoute les
Many mo tokenis 3it men schall se
Before þat dредfull day schall be
Boþe in erþe & in heuen
As we here crist in þe gospell neuen
Where he spekith of tokenis sere
þat schall ffall on þis maner
He saib as ordaynid is to be done
Tokenis schall be in þe svn & þe mon
& in þe sterris of heuen þat men schal ken
And in erþ schall be grete þrong of men
For þe mening of þe noys of þe see
And of þe fflodis þat þan schal be
And men schall wex dry in þat wyn
For drede & for long bydyng þerin
þat to all þe world com saib he
For þe mightis of heuen þan troublid schal be
And þay schall se þe son of man
Coming doun in cloudis þan
With his grete myght and mageste
And þat tyme schall þe gret dome be
þes tokenis be told afftir þe lettre here 4715
Bote þe exposition may be in oþer maner
As god þat knoweþ all þinges well 4718
Saþ þus þurgh þe prophete ioyell
He saþ I schall ziffe wondris sere 4724
Vp in heuen as men schall here 4725
And tokins dowþ in erþ do ffall þick
Þat is blode & fire & breþe of smekte 4730
Þan þe svn schal be tornid to derknes
And þe mon into blode & be lightles
Before þe day of ooure lord schall fall
Þat schall be gret & openly shewid all
Þat grete day is þe day of dome
Aþens which all þes tokenis schal come
Þan may men þurgh swich tokenis wite
Þat it is most day þat euer was 3it 4736
And þe streytest and þe most harde
As men may se & here afftirwarde
Sitt spekith þe holy man lerome
Off þiftten tokenis þat schall come
Before cristis comynþ as he says
Þat schall fall in þiftten days
Bote wheþer any oþer daies schal fall
Betwix þes days or þay schull all
Be contend day affþer oþer day
Saint lerom saþ he can not say
And 3it ffor sertayn proveþ not he
Þat þe þiftten days of tokenis schal be
Bote he rehersith tokenis þiftten
As he ffonde & writen haþe & sene
In som bokis of Ebrues
Þat þe þiftten days tokenis
Bote saþ þerom scheweþ not ellis
Þat he found hem writen owþer ellys
Bote in þe brewes bokis he hem fond
And reherse hem as he se hem stond
Eche day affþir oþere euyn
As þe may here me now neuyn
Þe ffirst of þe þiftten days
þe se schall rise as þe boke says
Aboue þe highest of þat mountaigne
Full þourty cubitis certayne
And in his stede euyn vpstonde
As an hye hill dop on þe londe
þe second day þe se schal be so lowe
Þat vneþes any man schal it knowe
þe þrid day þe see schal sem playn
And ston euyn in his cours aþen
As it stode first at þe beynyn}

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Wipouten rising or ffalling
Pe sferp day schall swich a wonder be
Pe most wondirfull ffisches of pe see
Schall come togedir & make crying
Pat schall be hidous to manis hering
Bote what pat crying may signify
May no man knowe bote god almyghty
Pe ffifft day pe se schall bren
And all pe watirs as pay schull ken
And pat schall last fro pe son rising
Vnto pe tymef of his down going
Pe sexte day schall spring a blody dew
On gress on tre as it schall schew
Pe sevith day biggingis schal doun fal
And grete castellis & touris doun fall
Pe eight day grete rochell stonis
Schall smyte todedir all at onis
And eche of hem schall oper doun cast
And eche a3ens oper hortill ffast
So pat eche a stone in diuers wis
Schall sonder oper in pre parties
Pe nynthe day a grete erpquake schal be
Generally in eche contre
Swich grete erpquake schal be han
Was neuer herde sith pe world began
Pe tenp day herafffir to neuyn
Schall come a wynde fro heuyn
And hillis & valays turnid schal be
Into playne & made euen to be
Pe ellesuenth day men schall com oute
Off cavis & holis & wende aboute
As wode men pat no witt can
And none schall spek to oper han
Pe twelff day pe sterris all
And two signes fro heuen schal fall
Pe pritten day schall dede men bon[es]
Be sett togedir & rise at onis
And upon her grauis stonde
Pat schall ffall in eche a londe
Pe ffourten day all pat liuen han
Schall dye childe man & woman
For pay schull with hem rise a3en
Pat beffore were dede to ioy or payne
Pe ffifften day pus schall betyde
Pe worlde schall bren on ich a syde
Pe erp heere we now duell
Vnto pe bitter ende of hell
Pus tellith lerom pes tokenis ffifften
As he heem in pe boke of Ebrewes hap sen
Bote for all pe tokenis pat men may se
THE SOUTHERN VERSION OF CURSOR MUNDI

3itt schall þe dome noght be
What tyme bat crist schall come to þe dom[e]
So sodaynly he schall come
For as it beffill in noye & loth daies
So schall he come as þe gospell sais
As was done in þe day of noye
Right so man son schall com saþ he
Men etc & drank þan & were glad
And weddid wiffes & bridall made
Vnto þe day namly þat noye
Went into þe schip þat made he
So sodaynly cam þe ffloode þat day
And ssfordid all þe world soþe to say
Also in þe day of loth it beffell
Men etc & drank schortly to tell
Ich one with ðopre & solde & boght
And pletid & biggid & hous wroght
And þat day þat loth 3ede fro sodom
Sodaynly crist vengauns com
And raynid ffire and brymston
And les all þat þere was & spared none
Right þus schall sffall as men may se
When man son shewid schal be
In þe ende of þe worlde before þe dome
An hidous ffire schall sodaynly come
Þat alle þe worlde schall holy bren
And noþing spare þat is þerin
For alle þe erþe schall bren withoute
And þe elementis & þe aire aboute
And all þat gode in þe world hape wroþt
Schall þan be brenþ & wast to noght
Þe ffire þat þurgh þe worlde schal rise
Schall come þan fþro sere partis
And all þe ffire þat is in þe spere
And vndir þe erþ & abouen here
Schall mete toþedir at ons þan
And bren all þat liueþ beste & þan
And all þat groweth vndir erþ & ayre
To all be clensid & made fayre
For all þe corupcion þat men may se
Þat in þe ayre or in þe erþ may be
Dis ffire as þe boke vs saþ & leris
Schall bren & wirch on fþour maners
It schall bren as þe ffire of hell
To ponysch þe synffull þat þere sþal duell
It schall bren as þe ffire of purgatory
To clens men of venyall synnis holy
It schall wirch at þe ffire of erþ here
Þat ouerall schal bren fþer and nere
To wast all þat on erþ springþep
As gress and trees & crply þingis
And also þe bodies of ech man
To bren holy into aschis þan
It schall wirch as þe fire of hell
And make þe elementis clere iche dell
And all þe ayre bright of hew
And heuenis to seme all new
Purgh þe ffire þat þus schall ryn aboute
þe fface of þe erþ schall bren withoute
And þe schap of þe world fordon schal be
As it was ffirſt purgh þe flode of noy
And as þe flode passid cubitis fiſten
Ouer þe highest mount þat euere was sene
Right so þe ffire as hegh schal pas
Toſfore þe worlde as it was
And as god before his first comyng
He schall of þe world make ending
Purgh þat ffire þat schall so brenning be
A¿ens þe dedis of charite
þe worchong of þis fire so brennande
Schall conteñew þre termis passand
þat is begynnynge mydward & ende
As in þis boke is here contend
First þe ffire at þe begyning
Schall come before cristis comyng
þat þe gode men schal clens & ffyne
And þe wickid harde ponisch & pyne
þat louid syn & þoght it swete
And þerfore saith þus þe propheete
þe ffire befor þym in sere partis
Schall go aboute & bren his enmyes
þat ffire mens bodies to asches schall bren
And þe world & all þat is þerin
þus schall þe fire first before come
Or crist cvm doun to þe dome
And when þe fire hap wastid as I tolde
þan schal all men rise 3ong & olde
Oute of her grauis with soule & body
And come to þe dome þan all holy
And oure lorde schall come doun þan
And sitt in þe dome as domys man
And deme þan boþe gode & ill
As þe may here afftir as þe will
And 3itt þe ffire all þat tyde
Schall bren aboute on iche a syde
As þe prophet dauid .... witnes
In þe sature þat writen is
þe fire schall bren in his saip he
And aboute hym grete tempest schal be
And as long as þe dome schal last
The fire shall bren on ich syde fast
When the dome is broght to ende
That the damnd schall wende
With all the fire that so schall bren
To hell with all the corupcioun
That schall all the fire be swepid down
To hell with all the world nesch & hard
As in this boke is writen affterward
Thus purg the world the fire schall bren
And clens it of all manner synn
And of all corupcions hye & lowe
That men may now see here & know
And when the fire has wasted al erply bing
That schall be elements sese of meuing
Our lorde than or he come down
To sit in dome in propir persone
Schall send Before as the boke tellis
In four parts his angellis
With her bemys for to blowe
That all the world schall here & know
All men that schall pan vpcall
And bid hem come to the dome all
All men schall rise that euere had lyff
Man & woman child & wyff
Gode & ill with fflesch & ffell
In body & soule as clerkis tell
And than in schort while as poght may ypynk
Or mans ye opyn or wink
All schall rise in one tyme amounting
As the space of an ye winking
When pay here that dredfull blast
Off the beme that pan schall blow ffast
All men schall pan sone vpris
In the same stature & bodies
That pay had here in her lyffe days
And in non ober as the boke says
All schall rise in the same age pan
That god had here fully as man
Namely when he rose purgh myght
Fro desp as saip saint austen right
Pan was he of pretty yere olde & two
And pre monepes berwith also
In that elde schall rise at last
When pay here that bemys blast
With her bodies all halle
And with her lymes grete & small
For all siff the bodye of iche man
Schall be brent to aschis than
And sitt siff all the aschis of her bodys
Were strewid & scatrid on sere wys
Þurgh ich a lond & iche contre
Þay schall all togedir be
And iche a body schall rise Þan holy
*With* all Þe lymes Þat fallep to Þe body
*With* all Þe heere body and hede
And none heere want in non stede
And if any body be vnsemly
Þurgh outrage of kynde namely
God schal abate Þat outrage Þurgh myght
And make it all semly to sight
And 3iff any lyme lackid Þat schuld befal
To Þe body oþer grete or small
Þurgh deffaute of kynde god Þan will
All deffautis of lymmes to ffulfill
And þus schall he do to all þo
Þat schall be sauíd & to blis go
For her bodies schal be faire & bright
*With* semly lymmes to mans sight
Bote he schall amend in no wise
Þe dedis of þe synfull bodies
For her bodies schall all vnsemly be
And fþoule and hougely for to se
All Þat be Þan gode & rightwis
Þat schal be sauíd schall Þan vprys
And into þe aire be ravischt
Aþens þe comyng of ilesu crist
To kepe hym when he schal doun com
As domysman ffor to sit on dome
Þe most perffite men schall crist first kepe
And all com *with* hym in his felisschip
And *with* hym be ay body & soule
As þe apostill saþ saint paule
He saþ our lorde schall com doun fro heuen
In godis bidding & arkaungelis sevyn
And þe son of cristis owne beme
Alle þe worlde þan fþor to deme
And þo þat ben dede in crist þan
Schall first vprise ech man
And sitt on þe same maner
As we þat liffe & be lefft here
Schull þan *with* hym in cloowdis be ravist
Into þe ayre to mete *with* criste
And so *with* our lorde euer to be
Fro þat tyme forwarde þus saþþþ he
Bote þe synfull þat schal rise þat tide
Beneþe on erþ schall crist abyde
And wepe & sorow chargid *with* syn
For þay may nowhere away win
Hem were leuer be in hell þan
Pan come before that domesman
Pay wolde ffayne fle 3iff pay myzt
To hyde hem fro þe domesman sight
Vndir þe erðe or owhere ellis
As saint john in þe pocalipcis tellis
He saiþ kings of þe londe & princis sere
And cheuetayns þat be vndir hem here
And riche men of diuers contre
And strong men bonde & ffre
In cauis wolde hem hyde echone
Im cauis & rochis of stone
And schall say to mountains & rochis þus
Fall þe adoun and hyde þe vs
Fro þe face of hym þat sytþe in trone
And fro þe wrecþ of þe lomb þus saiþ saint john
Many men schal be adred þan
To come beffore þat domesman
Namly synfull men withoute hope
For þus saiþ 3it þe holy man iope
Lorde he saiþ when shal tow come
To deme þe erþ & sitt in dome
Where schall I ffero by wrecþ hyde me
Forwhy I haue synnid to þe
Full grevously in my lyfte here
And 3itt saiþ iope on þis maner
Lorde who may 3iff to me saiþ he
Þat þan in hell mote hide me
And couer men at þat dredfull day
Vnto þy wrap þe past away
Þan is it no wonder as was saide are
3iff synfull men haue drede & care
Þat schall dampnid be & perischt
For to come beffore þe sight of crist
Þat to hym so wrecþfull schal com þan
When iobe þus saiþ þe holy man
Our lorde crist þurgh his grete myzt
Schal þan com doun fro heuen bright
As domesman & sit in dome
And with hym grete multitude schal come
Off aungels & of arkaungelis
And of oþere halowes as þe boke tellis
Lo our lorde schall come to dome
And all his halowes with hym schal come
And sodaynly he schall hym schew
As saiþ þe gospell of saint mathew
As þe lightening goþ oute in schort tyde
Fro þe est to þe west syde
Right so þe comyng of man son schal be
Sodayn bright & hidous to se
He schall come doun withoute lett
A3ens þe mount of olyuet
Where he in his manhode steigh to heuen
For his disciples to his fadir euen
In swich forme as he stegh vp þan
He schal come doun to deme ech man
Gode & euill song & olde
As þe aungel to his disciples tolde
Pay saide Þhesu þat is here vptan
Fro 3ow to heuen fleþe & þan
He schall so com at þe worldis ende
As þe se hym to heuen wende
In þe forme of man he schall com þan
And sitt in dome as domesman
Pan crist is come doun to deme
In fforme of man he schal seime
In a place he schall his dome holde
In a place þat Isosaphat is tolde
When all men schull togedir mete
As crist saþ þurgh Ioel þe prophet
He saþ all men I schall togedir call
And into þe vale of Isosaphat lede al
And sitt more to þat he saib þus
As he þurgh þe prophet schew vs
He saide all men schal rise to þe dom
And into þe vale of Isosaphat com
For þere he saib I schall sitt namly
To deme all men as þay be worby
þat vale þe vale of erp is callid
For amiddis þe erþ withoute it falleth
Isosaphat is as moche ffor to say
As stede of dome att þe last day
Crist schall noght fully doun com
To þe erþ to sitt in dome
Bote vp in þe aire he schall sitt
In a white cloþ saþ holy wrytt
Lo oure lorde schall schew hym þan
On þe white cloude as domysman
Euen aboue þe vale namly
Þere all men schall se his body
Many may fynde it þat will wite
Þe vale of Isosaphat is isett
Betwix þe mount of olyuett
And Ierusaleþ on þat oþer syde
þat stondeþ amiddis þe world wide
And þer is þe mount of calvery
And þe sepulcre of crist þerby
And in þat contre stondis bedlem
Noght fer fro Ierusaleþ
Þere crist schall sitt þer at þat day
Amiddis þe erþ sop to say
To here as 3e may now se
\(\text{pe vale of Losaphat vndir be}\)
Where beried was our lady mary
Fro whom for 3ow flesch & blode to \(\text{pe}\)
He may say here may 3e se now
He may say here may 3e se now
Bedlem where I was bore for 3ow
And in clowtes lapped & layde was
In a cribe betwix an ox & an as
He may say here may 3e se stonde
\(\text{Ierusalem pat is nere hande}\)
Where I had for 3ow many boffett
And with scorges sore ibete
And sith for 3ow \(\text{pe cros I bare}\)
\(\text{pat on my schuldir was laide here}\)
He may say lo here \(\text{perby}\)
Lo here \(\text{pe mount of caluery}\)
Where I was hongid on \(\text{pe rode}\)
Betwix two \(\text{peffis for 3our gode}\)
Where my payne for 3ow was most
And where I swet & saffe \(\text{pe gost}\)
He may say \(\text{bus also}\)
Lo here \(\text{pe sepulcre a litell perfro}\)
Where I was layde as 3ow for dede
When I was beried in \(\text{pat stede}\)
Lo here \(\text{pe mount of olyuet}\)
He may say now here I sitt
Where angelis aperid in mans liknes
When I stegh to heuen \(\text{per ay blis is}\)
And tolde 3ow how my comyng schul be
To \(\text{pe dome as 3e may now se}\)
Now haue 3e herde \(\text{pe skill why}\)
He schall sitt aboue \(\text{pe vale namly}\)
\(\text{pat men pe vale of Losaphat callis}\)
\(\text{pe which amid pe world fallis}\)
Also ano\(\text{per}\) skill may be
Why he schall dou\(\text{n come in pat contre}\)
For \(\text{per was his first comyng doun}\)
Onely for mans saluacioun
When he first fflesch & blode toke
Off \(\text{pe mayden mary as saib pe boke}\)
\(\text{bus schall he come & sitt fary}\)
To dileme all \(\text{pe worlde as I saide are}\)
Crist ful stern \(\text{pan schall ben}\)
\(\text{Azens synffull men pat him schal se}\)
Dredffull & hidous saib \(\text{pe boke}\)
He schall be to \(\text{heyn when pay on hym loke}\)
And as delitable to \(\text{pe sight}\)
To rightffull men \(\text{pat lyuid in right}\)
Bote all \(\text{pe persons of pe trente}\)
And þe godhede schall not shewd be
To euill & gode þat schal apere þan
Bote crist allon in form of man
Goddis son þat þan schal deme vs
Wherfore saint Iohn saipe þus
God hape þeuynt to his son saiþe he
Alle þe dome þat þeuynt schal be
 þe men honour þe son right
As þay honour þe fadir full of myght
þe gode schall se hym in manhod þan
With þe godhede as god & man
þe which he schal not fro hem hyde
For þay schal se hym glorified
And þat schal be a blisfull sight
So ffaire he schall seme to hem & bríst
þe euill hym in his manhode schal se
Onely as he hong on þe tre
Blody on body as he þan was
When he died for manis trespas
þat sight to hem schall be payn & dred
For þay schall not se of his godhed
And for þe godhede is full of blis
Þerffore þat sight schull þay mys
Bote in his manhode onely as I say
He schall shew hym to hem þat day
For in forme of man he schal þan seme
And in his manhode he schal hem deme
He schall þan at his doun comyng
þe tokyn of þe cros with hym bring
On which he boght vs fro hell pyne
For he wolde not mans soule tyne
þe tokyn off þe cros all men schal se
Full delitable it schall be
To rightwis men & sem ful bright
And dreedfull to synffull mans sight
Þis tokyn of þe cros schal be shewid þan
As þe boke saiþ & be be [sic] hid fro man
When oure lorde schal come to dome
To deme gode and euill sone
þat is to say all men in þe ar
þat to gode men schall seme bright & faire
Þis tokyn as I trow schall not be
þe same cros ne þe same tre
On þe which god was nailed fote & bond
Bote a token of þe cros semand
Sitt som leu'en & so may wele be
þat þe tokyn of þe sper men schal þan se
þat stynged crist to þe hert rote
And of þe naylis of hond & frote
To þe rode tre ffast ffestid
THE SOUTHERN VERSION OF CURSOR MUNDI

And of be crowne bat was prestid
On his hede fast bat blode oute ran
When be bornis hym prikkid to be pan
And of be scorgis bat brast his hide
Bat be blode ran down on ich a syde
All jes tokens schall pan be schewde
Before all men lerd & lewde
Bote be synfull bat dampnid schall be
To her schenschip schall hem se
In hede in fote in bonde & syde
Pet schall pay se bat ilk tyde
Pet flesch schall seme all bledand
To be synffull bat beffore hym schal stonde
He schall schew to her confucioun
All pet signis of his paschioun
And pet encheson & pet manere
Off his paynis bat he soffred here
And all pis schall be done oponly
To repreue be synffull man perby
And bat schall be her schenschip pan
As saint austen saiip be holy man
He saiip our lord son god allmyghty
Perauenture hap kepид in his body
Be erres of his woundis sere
Pet he soffrid for mans syn here
For to schew to his enmyes
When he schall sitt in dom as iustys
To repreue hem at be last day
And to ataynt hem & pus say
Lo here pet man in flesch & blode
Be which 3e hongid on be rode
Lo here god & man bat man wroght
In whom leue wolde 3e noght
Beholde be woundis bat 3e stiked
Se be sydis bat 3e prickyd
Be which for 3ow is open ay
And 3e wolde entre be no way
A grete schenschip schall pis be
To be synffull bat it schal se
Bat to hym here dop no gode a3en
Bat for hem soffrid so grete payn
And 3itt not pet bat do no gode only
Bote ober bat be ffull of velony
Bat ay do euill a3ens gode
And ceff do god son on rode
Dou bat in hem is purgh syn
Off be which pay will here neuer blyn
What may pay ansuere pan & say
How may pay hem excuse bat day
In nobing may pay be excusid pan
For that day as be boke berith witnes

That pay ne schal tremble for drede than

Schall noght be schewidbote riȝtwisnes

With grete reddure to synfull namly

That schall be dampnid as pay be worpy

Pay may defend hem be no wys

For John with pe gelden mouȝ þus says

He saib non stede of defens þer schal be

Where þay schal crist openly se

3ifing witnes and tokenis certayn

Off his pasion & of his payn

All schall haue grete drede þat day

Boþe gode & euill sop to say

Þere schal be noþer angeli ne man

Þat þay schall tremble for drede þan

All if þay wite to be saue

3it schall þay þat day drede haue

Not for hemsellfe for þay be gittles

Bote for þe reddure of rightwisnes

And for þe grete hausterite

Þat crist schal shew þat day to se

Aȝens þe synfull namly

Þat schall be dampnid without mercy

When rightwis man þat schal be saue

And angels so noch drede schal haue

What drede & dool schal þe synfull haue þan

Wherfor þus saib þe holy man

He saib siff þe pilers of heuen bright

Þat holy man be þat haue liued right

Schal drede cristis comyn in his manhed

And þe angeli also schall drede

And very wel bitterly þerto

What schall þe synfull men þan do

Þat schal be dampnid as I saib orë

3itt saib þe holy man þus more

3itt þe rightwis man saib þe

Schal vnneþ sauid be

Þe synfull & þe wickid man

Wheþer will þay wend þan

Rightwis men as þe boke tellis

Schal be saue & not ellis

Our lorde schal þan in his manhod sitt

Aboue þe sinfull as saib holy writt

And stern & wrap with a fell chere

Hem to deme þat haue mislyuid here

Hell bench þat is wyde & depe

Schall þan be openid hem to kepe

Þe erþ þat þay stond on schal schake

For her syn & tremble & quake

So þat vnneþ it schall hem bere
So moche her syn þe world schall dere
þe worlde aboute hem schall be brenand
And fendis on iche syde on hem stond
Grete sorow schal be among hem þore
þe aire aboue hem schall styng sore
With þondir dyntis & lightening togedir
þey wolde þan ﬂe þay wote neuer wheder
þan schall þay be besett on iche a syde
þat þay may not ﬂe hem to hyde
Many scvsers schall be þan
to scvse hem befoare þe domysman
For I fynde writen as ȝe schull here
Fifften maners of acoysers sere
þat schall in þat dredfull daye
þe synfull men þat is to say
Conciens is clepid inwite
And her owne synnis & holy write
Goddis criatours þat we ken
Devils aungels & heþin men
Martires þat haue felid tormentis sere
And oþer þat wrong haþ holeð þere
Mannis son & doghitr unchastid
Pore men þat her nede may not hyde
Sogetis þat beniﬁcis receyue here
To tormentis of cristis passion sere
And god hymselffe & all þe trenite
Agayn þe synfull þan schall be
First schall ȝe here how her conciens
Acus þem þer in cristis presens
Openly and not in pruìte
For noþing þan schall hid be
All þing schal be þere scopenh openly
For daniel saiþ þus in prophecy
þe dome sat & þe bokis be openid wide
And þus schal be sene þat tyde
þe bokis be conciens & not ellis
As þe glos þerof þus tellis
Conciens it saiþ on eche a þing
Schal be shewid to mans knowi[ng]
Her synnis also boþe more & les
Schall akuse as þe boke berith witnes
For her synnis schal euer with hem last
As þey were bounde about her neck
þay schall hem akuse þat day
Aȝens whom þay schall con not withsa[y]
For a stoole þing wreccheþ a þeþfe fon[den]
When it is about his nek bounden
Right so her synnis schal wrecche hem þere
As þay aboute her nek bounde were
And þan schall her synnis say þus
Pou synfull man pou wroghtest vs
As be we þyne withouten doute
And pou hast long borne vs aboute
Also akuse schall holy writt
Namly to men þat knowep it
Or þe poynitis haue herd þat longeth þerto
And wolde not aftir holy writt do
5itt gods criatours sere
Akuse hem in diuers maner
As þe svn þe mon & þe sterris
And þe ffirmament þat vs gouernis
And all þe werk schall þan be redy
To akuse þe synfull openly
For all criatours hate hem schall
When he is wrope þat made hem all
Also deuyls schall akuse hem þore
Off all her synnis las & more
And of þes synnis þat þay schal out say
þat þay egged hem to night & day
And of þis þay schall hem akuse
As þe þeffe his ðfelaw dose
Þat he akuseth of þe same þing
Þat he did þurgh his egging
Þe deuelis at þe dome schall þere be redy
Þat to tempt men were ay besy
With written synnis las & more
With which þay may akuse hem þore
And all synnis þay schall rethers þan
And þerffore saip lobe þe holy man
Lorde þou suffrest here saip he
Be write bitter synnis ægens me
Aungels also as we here clerkis say
Schall akuse synffull men þat day
For god þat to hem her soulis toke
For to kepe here as saip þe boke
Schall ask of hem att his comyng
Acount to ȝeld of her keping
Þan schall þe aungelis ansuere þerto
And say at our counsaile þey wold not do
And ægens our will ffolw wold use
Þus schall þe aungels þe synffull akuse
Also helpin men as saith þe boke
Þat neuer baptem ne right trouþ toke
As Iewis sarszins & payenis
Þat wote not what cristis law menis
Schall þan akuse as men schall se
Þe ffolz cristen þat dampnid be
For þe helpin men at þat grete assise
Schall þan be holden as men rightwis
Þat wolde not kepe þe comaundementis ten
To þe regard of ffals cristen men
Bote spendith her ffyue wittis in vayne
Perffore þey schall haue þe more payne
In þe pitt of hell schall more greue
Dan þe heþin men of misbeleue
Pe halows of heuin schall akuse also
Pat schall be dampned & to hell go
And namly martirs cristis owne knightis
Pay schall akuse sinfull wightis
And tirauntis þat hem pynid & slowe
Off whom vengeauns to god þey cry
As þe pocalipcis scheweb þerby
Pat is holy lorde stedfast & gode
How long schal it be or þou venge our blod
Off oure enemies þat in erþ duell
On þis maner þe pocalipcis tell
Sith þay to god ay vengeauns cry
On hem þat of her blode be gilty
How schuld þay þan in þe tyme of wrak
Be still and not aȝens hem spak
Also þo þat haue þolid here
Falsnes & wrongis in sere manere
Schall þat day akuse hem sone
Þat haue hem here grete wrongis doun
Sitt sonis & doghtirs þat vnchast were
Schall akuse fadiris & modiris þere
For þat þay rechelesly & sloow
To chast hem & hold hem low
And to teche hem gode þewis
As þe holy man in his boke schewis
Þe son schall playn hym þan saip he
Off þe euill fadir & aȝen hym be
For deffaute of hem þe þay
In grete repreue þat is to say
In deffaute of his disciplyn
Perchance be demed to hell pyne
And þe ffadir also with hem spilt
For he is caus of her gihte
Sitt þe pore men schall hem playn þurȝ miȝt
On þe riche man in godis sight
And akuse hym þan ffull greviously
For þay on hem had no mercy
For to help hem here in her nede
Noper to cloþ nor to ffede
Bote lete gold & siluer on hem rist
Pat þay had in horde vpþrist
And þerof to pore men wolde not ȝiffe
When þay hym se in mischefe
Perffore þe rust of þat mowled mone
A3ens hym þan schall writen be
And wormys & mobis on þe same maner
Þat on her cletes haue bred here
Þat þay had here ouer mesure
Þat of hem wold not part with þe pore
Schall þat day be in witnes broght
For þe pore þat þay holpe noght
Also þo þat were sogetis to man
Schall akuse his maister þan
Þat hem haue greuid þurgh maisteri & myȝt
And of oþer wolde do hem no right
Þe benefïtes þat god did to hem here
Schall hem akuse in sere manere
For a3ens hem schall crist alege soun
And schew hem þat he haþe hem doun
Þe riche benefïtis more & les
To repreue hem of her vnkyndnes
3itt þe detrimentalis of cristis pasion
Þat he polid for manis saluacioun
Schall hem akuse at þat grete dome
For why þus saip saint lerome
He saip þe cros on which he died for [man]
Schall stiffly stond a3ens hem þan
And crist with his woundis wyde
Schall alege a3ens þo þat tyde
Þe holis of his woundis schall speke
A3ens þo þast & aske wreke
Þe naïles þat in his ffete & handis stake
On þe schall playn & gret plaint mak
Atte laste crist hymselffe most of myȝt
And þe trenite schall akuse hem right
For þay wreped god in his povste
And alle þe personis of þe trenite
Boþe ffadir & son and holi gost
Perffore þat akusing schal be most
Bote þe second person þat all schall deme
Þat is crist godis son þat man become
All þat schall come before crist þat day
Schall a straite counte 3iffle or þey pas away
Of all her lyffe how þat þay here lyued
Þan schal be sene who god greuid
Þat bef ore all þe world schewed schal be
Openly & noght in priuïte
Bef ore all halous & angels bright
And bef ore ffendis & mans sight
And bef ore al wyckid men also
Þat schal be dampnid to endeles wo
For all schal be þere þan boþe gode & ill
To deme al be dome of right & skill
For crist þat is rightwis domesman
Schall clepe all men beffore hym þan
And þe prophet dauid berith witnes
In a vers þat saiþ þus
He saiþ he schall beffore hem call
Þe heuen fro aboue & þe erpe alle
For to deme right his ffolke þat day
As þis vers is þus moche to say
He schall clepe heuen beffore hym tyte
Þat is to say holy men & perfite
Þat with hym in dome þan schall sitt
And with hym deme as saiþ holy writt
Bote þe erp is not ellis to tell
Bote wickid men & ß fendis of hell
Þat he schall call at his will
To schede ouте þe gode fro þe ill
Þan schall ech man of his lyuing
Be sett to an harde rekening
For men schall þan acountis 3eld
Off all her tyme 3ougth & elde
Noght onely of one ne two ne þre 3ere
Bote of all þe tyme þat þay haue liued here
And specially of iche a moment
Off all þe tyme þat crist haþe hem lent
No moment schal be vnrekenid þan
As saint bernard saiþ þe holy man
He saiþ þat none heere of hyne hede
Schal be perischt þat tyme no stede
Right so schal be non moment
Off all þe tyme þat crist haþe sent
Of þe which schal be made no playing
In þe tyme of þat last rekening
Also þay schall 3eld acount certayn
Off all idill wordis spoken in vayn
Þat is to say þat be ßroyteles
As holy writt berith witnes
Þe boke saiþ on þis manere
Off eche idill and vayne word here
Reson schal be 3olden right
At þe day of dome in godis sight
And not only of idill wordis said
Bote of idell þoghtis þat god mispayde
For excuse hem may þay noght
Nor idill worde ne idill þoght
Þat þay spak or þoght aftir þay haue witt
Off þe which þay were neuer quitt
Isay saiþ I com togedir with men
Þe þoghtys of men þat I ken
For to deme hem boþ more & les
Many aghþ to be dreding þerffore
And ßitt saiþ vs saint Gregore
He saib god bat all wisdom can
So beholde bat weyse man
Pat bat lest beught bat purgh vs had be
At be dome schall not vnwryed be
And not only of idill word ne beught
Bote of all idill weriks bat men wroght
Pay schall also acoountes 3eld
Not only of grete dedis of elde
Bote of smale dedis of her beught
Fro be tyne pat pay any witt had oght
Pat pay haue wroght nightis & dais
Perffore salamon pis says
He saib pou song man be glad & blibe
In by 3ough pat passep swipe
And pat pyne hert in god sitt ffast
While be daies of by 3oup may last
And in be ways off by hert pou go
And in be sight of byn yen two
And wite pou for all by 3onghed
Our lorde schall be to dome lede
Where sshal be 3olden resons sere
And perffore saib lobe on pis maner
Lorde to waste wiltow me noght
Pay synnis pat I haue wroght
Also men schall acoounte sone
Not only pat pay wrong haue done
Wetyng well purgh her knowing
Bote ffor pat pay dide purgh 3erning
Off which pay schall not be excusid pan
And pis saith be wyse man
He saib for eche a ping pat 3ernid is
Gode or euill more or les
Man atte last day schal be dred
To be dome pat is most dred
Lorde saib dauid me mene pou noght
Off my ffrely vnknowen in beught
Sitt schall pay 3eld acoountis with drede
Not only of eche party of euill dede
Bot of eche dede preue
Pat semyd by sight gode to be
For sum euill dede semyth gode here
For saint gregore saibe in pis manere
He saibe sum tyne is f foule in domesmen si3t
Pat in ye of erroure schyneb bright
Bote att be dome schall pat discried be
As in be palme men may writen se
God saide pis worde be be prophet dauid
And meneb ope pat acordeb perwith
He saib when I haue tyne receyued ri3t
I schall deme rightwisnes purgh my3t
Also men behoev nede þan
3eld acountis befoore þat domesman
Noghth only of wordis þat þey haue wrogt
Bote of dedes þat þay did noght
As of werkis of mercy and almes
þat þey not did as þe boke says 5765 fol. 170r col. 2
þat is as 3e schull aftir here 5768
How god schall say on þis maner 5770
I hongred & 3e me noght ffedd
I þrestid & 3e me no drink bede
For þis þey schull be resond straytely
And for òper werkis of mercy 5775
And not only ffor werkis noght done
Bote for þe gode þat þeroff myght haue com
Men schall also acountys 3eld
Off þe soulys þat þay byhoue welde
And haue in keping while þay may liffe
Off þe which þay schall her ansuere 3iff
Now if a king or a lorde riche
Had a doughtir þat were hym liche
Off beaute of fface & off body
Þat he louyd specially
And þoght to make her quene of worschip
And toke her his reme to kepe 5785
3iff sche þaraffir kept hir mis
Me þink it were no doute of þis
Þat þe king ne wolde haue rekening
And count and ansuere of þat þing
For þe king it semyþ hab grete encheson
To putt her fro þat keping to person
And þe more reklesly þat he her 3emid
Pe more grevously sche schuld be demid
What schuld þe king of heuen do þan
Off man or ellis of woman
Whom he haþe taught to kepe here
His doughtir þat is hym leffe & dere
Þat is mans soule his owne liknes
While it ffor dedely syn kepid is
Pe which he þoghþ to crowne quene 5800
In heuen þere ioy schall euer be sene fol. 170v col. 1
Whoso is rekles & kepith it ill
He schal be aresonde & þat is skill
Off þe keping of it þat he toke
As saib þe wis man in his boke
And on Inglisch on þis maner 5805
He saib kepe þy soule besily here
Bote he saib wele þat sekirly say
In þe tyme of deþ at his last day
I 3eld my soule in þis deþes stour
To þe my lord þat art my sauyour
Men schall sitt seld acontis straytly
Nogth of þe soul within only
Bote of þe bodies withoute
Þe which þat þay bere aboute
Of which þay schall sitt rekening
Sith þey had þerof keping
Ich mans body may be callid
As a castell here to hald
Þat to a man is 3effyn of god to kepe
For his propfett & goddis worship
Þat enmyes ooft asaylid hard
And þerfore saip saint bernard
A gode castell he kepith saip he
Þat his body kepith in honeste
Men schall seld acontis also
Att þe dome or þay þens go
Þat straytely of hem schal be tane
Nogth only of þe soule allone
Ne only of her bodies þerby
Bote of boþ togedir & loyntly
Þat is to say ichon schall þan
seld acontis of an hole man
For properly may it not man be cald
Bote þe body & þe soule togedir hald
And þe soule be itselff man is it none
Ne þe body withoute þe soule be it on
For man may be clepid on two maner
Whils þay be boþ knitt togedir here
For þes clerkis þat grete clergy can
cleþ þan boþ inner man & vitter man
Inner man as æzens þe soule only
And vitter man æzens þe body
Bote body & soule betwix hem to
Makeþ one man & no mo
þerffore men schal seld count ioynly
Boþe of soule & of body
And forþy þat god afffir his stature
Made man most worschipfull criature
þerffore sitt men be to god froward
Vnkynde to hym & take no reward
Þat iche dingnite of man namly
Schall at þat dome seld hem gilty
sitt sall men seld acont not only
Of hemselffe boþe of œper namly
Þat is to say afffir his myght
And þat is reson & right
And þo þat may help & will not
Schall þan to acont be broght
Also ffadirs & modirs at þat day
Schall seld acont þat is to say
Off sonis & doghtirs þat þay forþ broght
Þe which þat þay chastid noght
And lordis also for her meyne
Þat þay lete vnchastid be
And maystirs of her disciplis also
þat þay lete mysgouernid & vntaght go
And chastid hem noght for to lere
Forpy saip salamon on þis maner
Þe 3erd he saip of disciplyn smert
Schall chace ffoly oute of þyne hert
þerffore maystirs usid sumtyme þe wande
þat haue childir to lere undir her hande
Prelatis þe ordir of dingnite
Schall acount 3eld in sere degre
Off her sogetis undir her power
How þat þay hem rewled in þis lyffe here
And ansuere of hem þat lyuid not well
For þus saip þe prophet esechiel
God saip þus þurgh þe prophet
Lo I schall aske my flok of schepe
Off þe heerd þat had hem undir hand
Off þes wordis oght prelatis be dredand
en schall also 3eld rekening sere
Off all þe godes þat god häpe 3iff hem here
Off godes of kynde & godes of grace
And of godes of hap þat men purchas
þe godes of kynde be bodily strength
Witþ semly schap of brede & length
And delyuernes & beaute of body
Swich godes of kynde be Imen
Godis of grace may þis be
Mynde witt & sotilte
To know þe gode fro þe ill
þe euill to leue þe gode to ffullfill
Vertuous with grete deuocioun
And loue þe lyffe of contemplacioun
Godes of hap þes ben to geff
As honoures power & riches
Of alle þes gode men behoues
3eld acount as þe boke proues
And ansuere strately of hem all
I drede þat many in þis schall ffall
And to perpetuall preson gone
For þay spende her godes wrong
For why god häpe 3iffe here noþing
Bote þat he will haue of rekening
Sum schall 3itt as I saide are
3eld acount full strately þare
Off þe godes þat þay wold not bede
To oþer þat of hem had nede
For all be we as one body here
For he apostil saiþ on pis manere
He saiþ we be all one body
Pat haþe dyuers lymes namely
And as a lyme of one body here
Is redy affir pat it haþe power
To serue þe oþer more & lesse
Off þat office þat it gouen is
Right so iche man þat here leuith
Off all þat god þurgh grace hym 3evith
Schuld oþer serue þat þerof haue nede
As he wolde ansuere at þe day of drede
Ful many men lyueþ here of þo
Þat be bounden to do so
As he þat grete & mighty is
Is holden to deffende hem þat ar les
And þe riche þat moche riches haue
To þeffe hem þat in pouert craue
And men of lawe also to trauaile
And to counsaile hem þat ilk counsaile
And lechis also 3iff þay wise were
To hele hem þat be seke and sere
And maystirs of her sciens to ken
And namly hem þat be vnlerid men
And prechours þat godis wordis preche
And þe way of lyffe oþer teche
Þus ech man is holden with gode entent
To help oþer of þat god haþe hem sent
Frelly for godis loue and not ellis
As saint peter þe apostell tellis
He saiþ ech man þat grace haþe here
As he receyueþ grace in þe same maner
He schuld it mynister & ffrely bede
To ech man þat þeroff haue nede
And þus ech man is holden þerto
As þe gospell spekeþ þerto
He saiþ þat he hæþ of grace fre
And ffrely receyue & ffrely þe 3e
Þus schall men þeld resons sere
Off all her lyffe as writen is here
Þat is of all tymes spend in vayne
And eche moment & tyme certayn
And iche idill worde & þoght
And of eche idill dede þat þay wroght
Eyþer in her elde or in her 3ouþe
Afftir þe tyme þat þay witt couþe
Or se with ye or speke with mouþe
Est or west north & souþe
Bëþ openly & priuely kide
Off dedis þat þay þurgh hering did
And not only of werkis vnwro3t bote wrost
As of werkis of mercy þat done were not
Of her owne soulis þay schal rekyn þere
And of þe bodies þat þay aboute þere
And not only of ayþer be hemselfe þan
Bote of boþe togedir as one man
And not only be hemselfe of all
Bote of her neighbouris ansuere þey schall
Fadirs & modirs schal rekyn þat tyde
Off sonis & doghtirs vnchastid
And lordis of her men namly
Þe which þey wold not iustyffy
And maystirs of her disciples also
Þat þay lete vntaght in foly go
And prelatis & prestis of iche a sogett
Þat þay wold not in right rule sett
And all óper þat wrong & right entent
Þe godes mispendeb þat crist hem sent
And of all withholding of godis sere
Þat þay partid noght with óper here
Þat of hem had nede as þey myȝt se
Of all þes thingis men schal resond be
At þe day of dome as god haȝ ordaynd
Þere þat noþing schal be laynd
Of all þis men schal ȝelde accountis straite
Schal þer noþing be to laite
For wele is þat man or woman
Þat gode rekening may ȝeffe þan
So þat he may pas quite & fre
Off all þing þat schall rekenid be
And so well maye be all þo
Þat fro hens in charite go
For he þat haȝe here gode ending
Schall pas þere with light rekening
At þe day of dome as I before tolde
All men schal be boþe ȝong & olde
And gode ill schal come þan þeder
So moche folke cam neuer togedir
Ne neuer was sen þe world began
As schal be sene before crist þan
Þat schal be demid aftir þay þoght
Bote some schal dem & sum schal not
Som schal deme with þe domysman
Þat þurgh dome schal not be demid þan
Som schal be demid þan rightwisly
Þat schall deme on non party
Bote many óþir schall seme
Þat schall noþir be demid ne deme
Þo þat schall deme & not demid be
Schal be parffit men & with god priue
Of hem \( \hat{p} \)at demid schal be & deme schal no\( \hat{m} \)t
Schal sone be demid & broght
And sum schal be demid to hell to wende
\( \hat{p} \)ere payne schal be withouten ende
Bote all \( \hat{p} \)at leue not as do we
Schall deme none no\( \hat{b} \)ir demid be
Bote for \( \hat{p} \)ay wold not to our treu\( \hat{p} \) com
\( \hat{p} \)ay wend to hell withouten dome
First \( \hat{p} \)o \( \hat{p} \)at \( \hat{w} \)ith crist schall deme \( \hat{p} \)at day
And not be demid bote only \( \hat{p} \)ay
\( \hat{p} \)at here forsoke \( \hat{p} \)e worldis solas
And folow rightwisly goddis \( \hat{t} \)race
As \( \hat{p} \)e apostels & \( \hat{q} \)ipir mo
\( \hat{p} \)at for his loue soffred moche wo
\( \hat{p} \)ay schall deme \( \hat{w} \)ith crist & not ellis
For in \( \hat{p} \)e gospell \( \hat{b} \)us he tellis
He sai\( \hat{p} \) 3e \( \hat{p} \)at ffolow me here lyuand
Schall sitt on twelff setis demand
\( \hat{p} \)e twelff kynredis of israel
\( \hat{p} \)at be \( \hat{p} \)o \( \hat{p} \)at here in right duell
Sum schall not deme ne demid be
To blis as men of charite
\( \hat{p} \)at gladly wirk \( \hat{p} \)e dedis of mercy
And kepe hem wele fro syn dedely
Som schall not deme bote be demid
To hell and fro crist \( \hat{p} \)ay schal be flemid
As \( \hat{p} \)o \( \hat{p} \)at be ffals cristen men
\( \hat{p} \)at kepe not \( \hat{p} \)e comaundmentis ten
And wolde not here forsa\( \hat{c} \)ke her syn
Bote whils \( \hat{p} \)ay lyuid ay duellid \( \hat{p} \)erin
Sum schall not be demid \( \hat{p} \)at day
\( \hat{p} \)at schall wende to hell \( \hat{f} \)for ay
As payinis & sarsyns \( \hat{p} \)at haue no lawe
And iewis \( \hat{p} \)at ne\( \hat{w} \)ir wold crist knawe
\( \hat{p} \)erffore \( \hat{p} \)ay schall wend to payne endles
\( \hat{w} \)ithoute dome as writen is
\( \hat{p} \)o \( \hat{p} \)at withouten lawe vsyd syn
\( \hat{w} \)ithoute lawe schall perisch \( \hat{p} \)erin
And \( \hat{p} \)erffore at \( \hat{p} \)at dome namly
\( \hat{e} \)ch man schall haue as he is worpy
\( \hat{a} \) ffull harde day men schall \( \hat{p} \)at day se
When all \( \hat{b} \)ing schall \( \hat{b} \)us discurid be
\( \hat{p} \)at day schall no man be excusid
Off no\( \hat{p} \)ing \( \hat{p} \)at he here wrong vsid
\( \hat{p} \)at soune\( \hat{p} \) in euill on any \( \hat{m} \)anere
Off \( \hat{p} \)e which he was neuer de\( \hat{y} \)uerid here
\( \hat{p} \)e syn\( \hat{f} \)ull schall \( \hat{p} \)ere no mercy haue
For no\( \hat{p} \)ing may \( \hat{p} \)an hem saue
Why \( \hat{p} \)ey schall \( \hat{p} \)an no help gete
Off seriaunt ne attorney ne vokett
Ne of none obir for hem to plede
Ne hem to counsaile ne hem to rede
Ne none halow schall for hem pray
Þis may be clepid a full hidous day
For as þe boke berith witnes
Þere schal be schewed bote rightwisnes
And gret reddure withoute mercy
Vnto all synffull men namly
Þo þat of her syn will not here stynt
Þay schall day for euer be tynt
Fro god withoute any recouerer
And delyuerid to þe fendis power
Ful wo schall synfull men þan be
For gret reddure þay schall þan se
And to hell pyne be putt for ay
And þerfore many may clepe þat day
Þe gret day of delyueraus
Þe day of wrap & of vengeauns
Þe day of bale & of bitternes
Þe day of wreche & of wrechidnes
Þe day of plening & of akusing
Þe day of ansuere & of strait rekening
Þe day of iugement & of iuyse
Þe day of angre & of angwisch
Þe day of dere & of tremblyng
Þe day of weping & greting
Þe day of crying & dolffull dyn
Þe day of sorow þat neuer schall blyn
Þe day of dere & of affray
Þe day of departing fro crist away
Þe day of mourning of sorow & derknes
Þe day of þat is last & most is
Þe day when crist schall make an end of all
Pus men may discreue þis day & call
Ooure lorde þat all can se & wite
Att þe dredfull day schall sitt
As king & rightwis domesman
In dome to deme all þe world þan
Vpon þe sete of his mageste
Þat day schal all men beffore hym be
Þan schall be do noght bote rightwisnes
Bope gode & euill more & les
He schall deme men of eche degre
To ioy or payne þat demid schal be
As rightwis domesman & stedffast
And þe þe þan schal make an end all
And þow þe schal deme I þink to shewe
As tellith þe gospell of mathew
His aungels þan afftir his wille
Schull first depart þe gode fro þe ill
As þe heerd doþe schepe fro þe gete
Pat schall be putt to pasture straite
Be þe schepe vndirstond we may
Pe gode men þat schull be sauid þat day
And be þe gete vndirstond may we
Pe euill men þat damnid schal be
Pe gode schal be sett on his right hand
And þe euill on his lefft schall stand
Pan schal our lord say þus þat tyde
To hem þat stond on his right syde
He schall say þan come now to me
My ffadirs blissid childer ar þe
d And weldeþ þe kingdom þat to 3ow is di3t
Fro þe first þat þe world was ordaynd ri3t
For I hongred & þe me fFed
And þrestid & þe me drink bede
Of herburgh grete nede I had
3e herberd me with hert glad
Nakid I was as þe my3t se
3e 3aue me cloþis & hillid me
Sik I was & in ffebill state
3e visitt me erly & late
In prison when I was holden still
To me 3e com with full gode will
Pan schall þe rightwis men þat day
To our lorde ansuere & say
Lorde when we se þe hongry
To ziþfe þe mete we were redy
And when we might þe þristy se
We 3affe þe drink with hert ffre
When we se þe nedy of herber hauæ
To herber þe we vouchedsaffe
When þou were nakid we þe clad
And se þe sike & in prison stad
We visit þe with gode will
And comfort þe as it was skill
Our lord schall þan ansuere þus
And say as þe gospell tellith vs
Sobly I se þat 3e wroght
Iche a tyme þat 3e did oght
Vnþo any of þe leste þat 3e might se
Off my brepærn 3e did to me
Pan schall our lorde to all hem say
Þat on his lefft syde schall stond þat day
And speke to hem with stern chere
Þes wordis þat ben hidous to here
3e weried wightis wende fro my si3t
Vnto þe ffire þat is 3ow dight
To þe deuill & to his anugels
Pan schall say as þe boke tellis
I hongred & had deffaute of mete
And 3e wolde noght 3cffe me to ete
I þristed & of drink had nede
And 3e nolde me no drink bede
I wantid herbere & I 3ow besoght
And all þat tyme 3e herberd me noght
Nakid withoute cloþis I was
And withoute cloþis 3e lete me pas
Sike I was & bedred I lay
And 3e ne visit me noþir night ne day
In prison I was as well wist 3e
And 3e wolde not come to me
Þan schall þay answere as men schal here
To our lord on þis manere
Lorde when we se þe haue honger or þrest
Or of herber had any brest
Or nakid or sike or in prison be
And we noþing did ne mynistrid be
Þan schall our lorde answere aþen
And say to hem þes wordis certayn
Soþely I say 3ow as falleþ þerto
All þe tyme þat 3e wold not do
To one of þe lest þat min er kid
As long to me 3e it ne did
Þus schall our lorde reherse openly
To rightwis men þe dedis of mercy
For to make hem openly kid
To grete worschip of hem it did
And schew þe synfull þat falleþ þerto
Her vnkyndenes þat wold not do
Þe werkis of mercy for his loue
To grete schenschip & reproue
When he hæþ þus saide & made an end
Þe synfull with þe ffende schall wende
To hell ffyre þat neuyr schal slake
A foule hidous cry þan schall þay make
And say alas þat euer wer we wroght
In mans body why were we noght
Why ne had god made vs so
Noþir to ffelle wele ne wo
Now schall we bren in þe ffyre of hell
And wipoute ende þere duelle
Hell schall hem swolow also tyte
Withoute any lengger respyte
And all þe ffyre schall þan be sene
And all þe corupcion þat euer hæþ bene
And all þe ffilþ & all þe stynde
Off all þe worlde þat þan schall synk
Doun with hem to þe pitt of hell
To eche her payn þat þere schal duell
Bote rightwis men as þe boke berith witnes
Schall wende to blis þat is endles
With our lorde & his aungels ichon
Shyning brighter þan euer svn schone
Now haue 3e herd as is conteind
In þis party how þe world schal ende
And how crist at his last comyng
Schall in dome sitt & discourse al þing
Here may a man rede þat haþe tome
A long proces of þe day of dome
Þat a long tyme afttir þat I haue red
Schuld be conteind be skill or al were sped
Bote 3e schal vndirstand & wite
As men may se in holy writt
Þat þurgh wisdom and vertu
And þe might of our lorde ihesu
Alle þe proces þat schall be þat day
Þat any clerk can can speke or say
Schall þan so schortly be sped & sone
Þat all schall be in a moment done
A moment is as of a tyme bygyning
As schort as of an ye twynkelyng
A grete wondir may þis be kid
Among all wondirs þat euir crist did
Þat in so schort while in his comyng
To deme & discourse all þing
Bote of þis none schuld meve lered ne lewed
For as grete wondir crist haþe shewid
As grete wondir was when he wro3t
With one worde all þing of noght
God saide and all was done
He bade and all was made sone
Þus in schort tyme all þing made he
More wondir þan þis myght none be
Þan may he as schortly make an end
Of all þing þat he made bygyning
For so witty & mighty is he
Þat noþing impossible to hym may be
Þe proces of þat day þat I haue tolde
Al þe men lyuing song & olde
Schall se & vndirstand it all
In so schort tyme it schall faile
Now haue 3e herd me speke & rede
Of þe wondirs þat þan schal be dred
Bote of þat 3e herd me rede & say
Of þe reddure þat schal be do þat day
Vnto all synffull men namly
Þat schal be dampnid withoute mercy
As men may here wriþe se
No man schall þerfore in dispaire be
For all ṭat haue mercy here schal be saffe
And ask mercy ṭat pay schall it haue
3effe ṭat pay it ask whils ṭat pay lyue in body
And truly tret to goddis mercy
And amend hem here & syn forsake
Before ṭe tyme ṭat dep hem take
And of mercy here & charite
Ṭan gete ṭat mercy & saued schal be
Bote 3effe ṭe dep before haue hem tan
Or ṭat ask mercy ṭan gete ṭat pay non
Bote redture of rightwisnes only
For ṭan schal be schewid no mercy
Here may ech man 3eff ṭat ṭat will
Haue mercy ṭat dope ṭat fallep 3ertill
3iff he had do neuir so moche syn
3effe he amend hym he myȝt it win
For ṭe mercy of god is so moche here
And recheth ouir all ffer & nere
Ṭat all ṭe synnis ṭat man haпе do
It might quenche & more 3erto
And þerfore saip saint austen þus
A gode word ṭat may comfort vs
As a litell spark of ffire saip he
Were casten a mydward þe see
Right so all mans wickidnes
Vnto þe mercy of god is les
Here may men se ṭat his mercy
Fordop all syn & ffoły
Forwhy a man 3iff he had done here
As moche & as many synnis here
As all þe men in þe world haue doun
All myght his mercy ffordo sone
And 3eff possible were as it is not
Ṭat ech man as moche syn had wroȝt
As all þe men ṭat in þe worlde euer was
3itt myght his mercy all her syn pas
 Prophet saip is ful of mercy
Φat men may fynde here plentevously
And he haue mercy or he hens wend
Atte grete dome schal fynd crist his frend
Where rightwisnes only schal be hauntid
And no mercy þere be grauntid
Affter þe dome all þe world brode
Schall seme as it were new made
Þe erþ schal be þan euen & all
And schyne as doþe now þe cristall
And þe ayre aboute schall schyne brîȝt
Þan schal euir be day & neuir night
For þe elementis schall all clensid be
Off all corupcion þat we here se
Þan schall þe world be all partis
Seme as it were paradys
Þe planetis & þe sterrys echone
Schall schyne brighter þan euer þay sch[one]
Þe son schal be as sum clerkis demeþ
Sevyn sîþes brighter þan it semyth
For it schall be as bright as it was
Beþfore þat adam did þe trespas
Þe mon schal be as bright & clere
As þe sonne is now þat shyneth here
Þe sonne schall euen in þe est stond
And withoute renewing euer schynand
And þe mon aþenst it in þe west
And no more schall trauaile bote ay rist
As þay were sett in þe bigynyng
When god made hem & all þing
Þay were þan as men may trow
Moþe brighter þan þay be now
Þe mon & heuens now aboute goþ
Þe sonne & þe mon her cours doþe
And þe oþir planetis euerichone
Manan as þay her cours haue tan
And all þe elementis kyndly dose
Þat is nedefull to mam's vse
Pus ordayned god hem to serue man
And of all swich seruis sese þan
For all men afftir domys may
Schall be þere where þay schal duell ay
Þe gode in blis in rist & þes
Þe euill in payne þat neuir schall sese
What nede were þat þes criatours þan
Schewid swich seruis to man
No quik criature schall be þan lyuand
In all þe world in no lande
Noþir schall grow þan gras ne tre
Ne crachis ne rotis schall þan be
Ne dale ne douþ ne montayne
For all erþ schall þan be playne
And be made as clere faire & clene
As eny cristall euer was sene
For it schal be purgíd & ffyned withoute
And all oþer elementis aboute
And no more travayled on no syde
Ne with no charge be ocupyed
Now haue ye herd me beffore rede
Off pe day of dome pat many may drede
And of pe wondefull tokenis many
Pat schall ffall beffore pe dome namly
And how pe worlde as we now se
Afffur pe dome now made schall be
Now allmyghty god in trenite
One god and persons byre
And his modir pat swete floure
Quene of mercy & mans socour
So saue vs lorde as thou well may
Purgh by mercy att our endyng day
And euer lady haue in by mynde
De ffebilnes of manis kynde
And sende vs grace pat day to rise
To blis with pat trew iustis amen

[rubrics] Explicit pe begynnyng off pe worlde off pe trenite pe ffadir & son & holi gost
pe makyng off pe worlde & of adam & eue & afftir of noye & so ffro noye to abraham
& so donne pe genealogy of our lady & pe birth off crist & his pascion & resurrexion &
so many oper dyuers maters & so to pe day of dome & pe comyng of antecrist & so to
pe laste day of iugement

TEXTUAL NOTES TO APPENDIX B ONLY


All omissions from the text are quotations in Latin which B does not give, except the

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

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

The Finding of the True Cross (ll. 21347–21846)

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


The CM poet has combined two versions of the story. Lines 21383–402, an abridged version of the battle at the Milvian Bridge and Constantine's conversion, come from Jacobus de Voragine, Legenda aurea (Graesse, pp. 303–11). Lines 21407–800, with some variations and omissions, are taken from Trad. anon. An edition of this work appeared in 1985, and references to it are made by line number to Julia C. Szirmai, La bible anonyme du ms. Paris BN f. fr. 763. Comparisons are made in her notes with the source of most medieval versions, the Acta apocrypha [De S. Juda Quiriaco] in the Acta Sanctorum maii tomos primus, pp. 439ff.

21347–600 These lines are found only in CFG. They would presumably have occurred also on the missing leaves of E.

21356–78 This is expanded from Trad. anon. 8321–30.

21371 The CM dates this event 200 years after Christ's death. The Acta Quiriaci, p. 445 D, places it in the year 233, and Leg. aur. p. 303, says more than 200 years after Christ's death. Trad. anon. says simply longuement (8327). Gradon, pp. 15–22, has some apposite comments on the date, and cf. Leopold Kretzenbacher,
Kreuzholzlegenden zwischen Byzanz und dem Abendland, p. 5, who dates the finding to 3 May 320 (!).

21379–406 Trad. anon. omits the story of Constantine’s conversion. The CM poet probably takes it from Leg. aur., pp. 305–6, although a few details of the scene seem to come from the Acta Quiriaci.

21382–84 The CM poet is vague about the details of the battle. Leg. aur. places it on the Danube, as does the Acta Quiriaci.

21385 Both Leg. aur. and Acta Quiriaci specify that the increasing size of the barbarian army made Constantine afraid: ... barbarorum crescente multitudine et jam fluvium transeunte Constantinus nimio terrore concutitur (Leg. aur., p. 305); Videns autem, quia multitudo esset innumerabilis, contristatus est et timuit usque ad mortem (Acta Quiriaci, p. 445 E).

21387–402 Leg. aur., p. 305. Cf. Pouzet p. 37, who has an extensive note on whether Constantine saw the cross by dream vision or direct vision.

21397 “euen.” Possibly “euen” translates similitudinem: Qui coelesti visione confor tatus similitudinem crucis fecit (Leg. aur., p. 305). Acta Quiriaci, p. 445 f., also has similitudinem crucis. Cf. MED s.v. even (adj.) sense 12 and s.v. evenen (v.) sense 5.

21407–13 Trad. anon. 8331–36. CM omits Constantine’s baptism, about which Leg. aur., pp. 305–6, gives several conflicting reports.

21413 The messengers Benciras and Ansiers are called Bensillas and Amphire in Trad. anon. 8335. At 8422, however, the second name appears as Anfire. In Trad. anon.’s probable source, Li romans de Dolopathos, the name is Anfire, and in the analogous Roman des sept sages it is Aussire. The various versions appear to derive from scribal confusion of f and s, and of the minims for m, n, and u. For discussion of the source and analogue, see Szirmai, n. to 8335, and p. 69.

21416–64 Trad. anon. 8360–457. The origins of this story of the pound of flesh have been well explored because of its appearance in Shakespeare’s The Merchant of Venice. L. Toulmin Smith, “On the Bond Story in the Merchant of Venice,” pp. 181–89, first pointed out the connection of this section of CM with Shakespeare. Szirmai, pp. 68–69, discusses the similarities between the Trad. anon.’s version of the story and the only other extant European version which predates it, that in the Dolopathos, written in the twelfth century by Johannis de Alta Silva and translated about 1210 into French by one Herbert as Li Romans de Dolopathos.

Trad. anon. and CM are the only works which connect this story with the finding of the cross. The author of Trad. anon. penalizes the Jew for his anger, and the penalty forces him to discover the cross. The CM poet repeats all this, but also gives at the end the more common version of the finding of the cross by Judas/Quiriacus.

21423 The sum is 100 sous in Trad. anon. 8370, centum argenti marcas in Dolopathos.

21425 F’s word “couenand” may preserve the original form of the line. Cf. Trad. anon. 8375: Qu’il en fauroit de covenant.

21432 “beleue” translates abandoner, Trad. anon. 8381.

21436–38 These lines have no equivalent in Trad. anon., where the text is somewhat defective at this point (8386–89).

21443 In Trad. anon. 8389 only Bensillas speaks.

21447 F’s “vs” translates Trad. anon.’s nos, 8394. CG’s “me” is an error.

21452 CG’s readings translate Trad. anon.’s dou il doit ouvrer, 8400. Pouzet p. 43 elaborates this observation with further analysis of Trad. anon. 8398–402.

21453 CG’s “pe lue” is not mentioned in Trad. anon., but the definite article in et lounes devant, 8401, may have caused confusion. Pouzet p. 43 thinks such confusion unlikely.
21467–68 F’s lines are not in Trad. anon.

21471 CG’s “maugre” and F’s “maugrefe” attempt to translate Trad. anon.’s maldite, 8418.

21475 C’s “anfrer” may reflect an original confused rendering by the poet of Trad. anon.’s frere Anfire, 8422. Pouzet p. 44 reads ansier in C; his extensive note, p. 45, further elaborates the various explanations for the confusion.

21489 Trad. anon.’s 8437 is defective in the only remaining manuscript. The editor conjecturally emends the line, but there is no mention of the Jew losing his tongue. Perhaps the original rhyme word was laingue.

21508 Trad. anon. 8455 gives the time as Trois jors antiers et une nuit, logically impossible. Pouzet p. 47 suggests that OF jors may be taken to mean a 24-hour day.

21510 Trad. anon. 8457 says that he will be hanged on the third day: Vous seres au tier jor pendus. Pouzet p. 47 explores Trad. anon.’s probable sources and analogues for further clarification.

21515–18 CG’s readings follow Trad. anon, more or less, but F has changed the lines completely.

21519–36 Trad. anon. does not go into detail about the finding of the cross. The CM seems here to revert to Leg. aur., p. 308, but the sign to Judas in Leg. aur. and Acta Quiriaci, p. 447 B, is a sweet smell, not an earthquake as here, 21524. Cf., however, the OE homily in Bodden, ll. 204–6, where the earth trembles: biofode eal seo stow, as well as exuding a sweet odour: se swetesta staenc ealra deowurbesta wyrtgemanga. See also Honorius Augustodunensis, Speculum ecclesiae, “De inventione sancte crucis,” PL CLXXII 948: locus contremuit, fumus thymiamatis de terra ascendit.

21532 The figure of 20 feet is xx passus in Leg. aur., p. 308, and passus viginti in Acta Quiriaci, p. 447 C. G’s tuenti fadim may perhaps represent an attempt to cope with the Roman measure, the passus.

21537–626 Trad. anon. 8486–591.

21559–60 The lines are authentic, translating Trad. anon. 8518–19, although they are omitted from F.

21568–70 Not in Trad. anon.

21580 The CM poet omits Trad. anon. 8538–47, the Jew’s speech.

21591 The correct reading is CG’s constantinopil, not F’s costentine. Cf. Trad. anon. 8560.

21593 F’s line appears to be authentic, translating Trad. anon. 8562, La croix prant .ii-ij. pars en fit.

21595–96 These lines appear only in F, where they seem to be scribal rather than authentic. Trad. anon. does not mention again what happened to two of the pieces of the cross.

21597, 21599 F continues to renumber the pieces of the cross to make the distribution clear, but Trad. anon., like CG, mentions only L’une ... Et l’autre ... (8564, 8566).

21601 E’s text begins here.

21610–26 See Szirmai, n. to 8582–91, for analogues.

21611 C’s mande = maundy = Trad. anon.’s jor de la Cene (8577).

21626 Trad. anon. 8591 reads cite instead of CM’s contre.

21627–776 Trad. anon. 8592–8884, a long interpolation on the symbolic attributes of the cross, which CM abbreviates.

21631 ECG’s mani translates Trad. anon.’s plusor, 8596. F’s man is an error.

21639–42 Not in Trad. anon.

21647–48 An allusion to the cross wood being grown from seeds taken from the Tree of Life. Cf. Trad. anon. 7756–59.
G's tre is an error for ECF's crie. Cf. Trad. anon.'s clamor, 8620.

The CM poet omits Trad. anon. 8630–59, dealing with the nudity of Noah and the stories of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph as they prefigure the cross. 21672 suggests that the CM poet does not want to repeat these stories which he has already told in recounting the events of Genesis.

The CM poet omits Trad. anon. 8672–75, dealing with further feats of Moses.

Voice is taken directly from Trad. anon. 8683, vois, which Szirmai glosses as autorité, pouvoir.

The CM poet omits Trad. anon. 8684–91, with further details about Moses and Amalek.

The CM poet omits Trad. anon. 8700–3, the story of Helias and the woman gathering wood to bake bread, 3 Reg. 17: 9–16.

Trad. anon. 8706–23 are omitted here. They tell the story of Heliseus and the son of the Sunamite woman, 4 Reg. 4: 18–37.

Loosely based on Trad. anon. 8728–38.

E's staue is an error.

Not in Trad. anon.

Trad. anon. 8749–8840 goes on to explain why mankind had to be ransomed. gun-fanun is taken from Trad. anon. 8740, where it is spelled confenonx.

Trad. anon. 8847–52, dealing with the two parts of the cross and the two laws, are omitted here.

Trad. anon. 8853 says that the cross has En .iij. fuz et en .iiij. bras.

E's vi is an error for vii, the total of the four elements of the body and the three strengths of the soul.

This theme is more extensively elaborated in Trad. anon. 8847–64.

ECF's smele translates odour, Trad. anon. 8883. G's mell is an error.

ECF's of drist is correct, translating Trad. anon. 8884, Vers Deu.

All manuscripts of CM read three years, while Trad. anon. 8895 says four.

Trad. anon. says that only one nail is at St. Denis. The CM poet omits Trad. anon. 8905, which gives almost the only clue to the identity of the French author: Je l'i ai veu et baisie. He must, therefore, have belonged to or visited St. Denis. For a discussion of the authorship of Trad. anon., see Szirmai, pp. 16–17.

Leg. aur. p. 73 disagrees here and offers a more elaborate interpretation.

Leg. aur. p. 309.

Leg. aur. p. 309.

E's reading is closest to the original, provided me is taken as a possessive adjective and Judas (i.e., Judas Iscariot) as the object of the preposition, gain. Cf. Judae meo contraria operatus es, Leg. aur. p. 309. F reworks this and the following lines completely.

The lines, although omitted from F, translate Leg. aur. p. 309: per illum regnabam in populo, per te jam expellar a regno.

Leg. aur. names the tyrant as Julian the Apostle who later tortures and kills Quiriacus. However, a marginal note in C identifies the tyrant as Antichrist.

C's me is an error for pe, translating Leg. aur. p. 309: Christus te damnet in abyssum ignis aeterni.

The CM poet's prayer, not in the sources.
APPENDIX D

Mary’s Lament and the Establishment of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception
(ll. 23909-24968)

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

23909–44 Evidently original with the CM poet, these lines are in harmony with his devotion to Mary, as expressed for example in ll. 69–114 above.

23945–4730 These lines, recounting a dialogue between the narrator and Mary concerning the crucifixion, derive from a text, variously attributed to St. Bernard, St. Anselm, and St. Augustine, but actually written by Oglerius de Tridino, a late twelfth-century Cistercian from the monastery of Locedio, near Turin. The work in full bears the title De laudibus sanctae Dei genetricis and has been edited from MS Turin E.V.4, fols. 1–68, by J.B. Adriani, Beati Oglerii de Tridino ... opera quae supersunt ... , and the portion of it, known from its incipit as the Quis dabit, used by the CM poet for these lines, has been re-edited by C.W. Marx, “The Quis dabit of Oglerius de Tridino, Monk and Abbot of Locedio.” All references to the text are by line number to Marx’s edition.

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

There are many extant reworkings of Oglerius’s text, in both Latin and various vernaculars, and H. Barré, “Le ‘Planctus Mariae’ attribué à Saint Bernard,” believes that it lies behind all later complaints of Mary at the foot of the cross. There is a full bibliography of later versions in C.W. Marx, “The Middle English Verse ‘Lamentation of Mary to St. Bernard’ and the ‘Quis dabit.’”

23945–87 These lines, though here and there providing a distant echo of Oglerius (e.g., 23975 with 27–28, 23969 with 31–32, 23976 with 36–37), actually offer a new beginning to the dialogue. The narrator seeks to establish a spiritual link with
Mary by empathizing with her pain as she witnesses her son’s crucifixion. Oglerius, echoing the Canticum canticorum and the parable of the wise and foolish virgins (Mt 25: 1–13), first focuses on the lament for Mary of the daughters of Jerusalem (4–10), then on Mary’s part in Jesus’ birth and upbringing (10–15), then on her presence among the women who followed Jesus (15–23), and finally on her pain at the crucifixion (24–39). Only then does Oglerius speak in the narrator’s own voice, seeking empathy with Mary. The CM poet omits one interesting detail from Oglerius 53–54: Sed quia iam glorificata Mere non possum, tu cum lacrimis scribe que cum magnis doloribus ipsa persensi.

23999–4005 The CM poet’s elaboration of Oglerius 63–64: et non erat mihi fere uox neque sensus.

24006 Ps 76:4, quoted by Oglerius 63.

24008 Oglerius 64 mentions Mary’s sisters as well as other women: Erant mecum mee sorores, et alie femine multe ...

24010 Apparently the CM poet’s addition.

24014–16 The CM poet embroiders Oglerius 65–66: Maria Magdalena que super omnes, illa excepta, que loquitur tecum, dolebat. The “illa” is Mary, the “te” the narrator.

24017 CfGE’s bedel translates Oglerius 66: precone.


24023–29 Apparently the CM poet’s addition. Oglerius does not emphasize the hostility of the crowd but rather Mary’s pain, and the hostile multitude in the gospels restrict their actions to shouting.

24030 Cf. Oglerius 70 where Mary is cum mulieribus.

24032–35 Here the CM poet trims away the more extravagant imagery of suffering in Oglerius 69–72.

24036–46 Apparently the CM poet’s own contribution.

24047–60 A transition passage added by the CM poet to lend pathos to Mary’s suffering.


24077–79 Here the CM poet translates freely, postponing the description of Christ on the cross, which follows immediately in Oglerius, in order to present the contrasting figure of Christ as he was, qui erat pre filiis hominum speciosus (Ps 44:3), a phrase interpolated into Oglerius at line 79.

24080–85 These lines compress the fuller description in Oglerius 77–79. The spittle of 24085 is the CM poet’s addition.

24086–91 Again the CM poet’s addition.


24095–100 A looser translation of Oglerius 84: ideo non poterat capi in me dolor meus.

24101–9 A compressed translation of Oglerius 84–87. The breaking in three at 24106 is the CM poet’s addition and is not further developed.

24110 Translates Oglerius 88–89: Verba dabat amor, que raucum sonabant.
Much of Oglerius 89–91 is either compressed or omitted here: nam lingua, uocis magistra, perdiderat usum loquendi. Videbam morientem, quem diligebat anima mea, et tota liquifiebam pre doloris angustia.

The interjection may have been inspired by Oglerius 93: Fili mi, fili mi, but he puts the comment that follows in the CM before the exclamation at 91–92.

Cf. Oglerius 93–95: Fili mi, fili mi, quis mihi dabit ut ego moriar pro te? Moritur filius; cur secum non moritur mater eius misera? The CM poet omits Mary’s first request, to die instead of Jesus, and stresses her empathy with her son instead of her sense of maternal sacrifice.

Cf. Oglerius 99–101, which the CM poet has translated freely.

Oglerius 101–3 is here compressed, with some of the extremes of sentiment eliminated.

A fairly close rendering of Oglerius 103–4.

Again the CM poet cuts down the sentiment of Oglerius 105–7: aut alia quacumque sua morte perimite, dummodo cum filio simul finiar meo. Male solus moritur. Orbis orbem radio, me uiduam filio, gaudio, dulcore.


These lines seem to be the CM poet’s own elaboration.

Condensed from Oglerius 108–9.

Clearly based on Oglerius 109–13 but considerably condensed.

Although these lines express a good deal of emotion, they still eliminate considerable emotion from Oglerius 109–13.

A fairly close rendition of Oglerius 117–18, though the CM poet has no way of translating the Latin verbs: Nunc orbor patre, uiduque sponso, deseror prole.

These lines seem original with the CM poet.

Oglerius 118–22.

This longish passage seems entirely the work of the CM poet. The only warrant in Oglerius is this brief phrase at 123–24: Cui Dominus oculis et uultu annuens, de Iohanne ait, “Mulier, ecce filius tuus” (Jhn 19:26). Cf. the brief account in Jhn 19:25–27, which offers little warrant for the CM poet’s expansion.

Oglerius 124–26. The CM poet has again eliminated some of the more exaggerated rhetoric: O mollis ad flendum, mollis ad dolendum, etc.


Oglerius 128–31. The CM poet adds the wolf to Oglerius’ image of the ovem erronean which is found.

A close translation of Oglerius 131–32: Moritur vnus ut inde totus reuuiiscat mundus.

Oglerius 132–33: Vnus ob meritum, ceteri periere minores; saluantur cuncti nunc unius ob meritum. The CM poet is unable to reproduce the neat rhetorical contrast of vnus ob meritum (i.e., Adam’s) and unius ob meritum (i.e., Christ’s). The “al ... all” faintly echoes “ceteri ... cuncti.”

The CM poet translates Oglerius 133–34: Quod placet Deo Patri, quomodo displicet tibi? in 24275–76. But the remainder of the stanza replaces Oglerius’ image of the cup, 134–35, with Christ’s literal pain: Calicem quem dedit mihi Pater non uis ut bibam illum?

A fairly close translation of Oglerius 135–36.

These lines seem to be the CM poet’s own contribution, though the doctrine of the harrowing of hell is well established by this time.
The *CM* poet paraphrases Jhn 18:11, quoted in Oglerius 139–41, and demotes John from nephew to friend, though he makes him and Mary cousins in 24312.

These lines compress the more fullsome Oglerius 142–45: Inde Iohannem intuitus, ait, "Ecce mater tua. Serui curam illius habe; eam tibi commendo. Suscipe matrem meam; suscipe matrem tuam. Suscipe tuam; immo magis suscipe meam."

These lines seem original with the *CM* poet.

These lines, which repeat more or less the same thought three times (namely, that the two were struck dumb by Christ's words), echo Oglerius 146–50, who also repeats himself several times.

The *CM* poet here transforms to direct quotation of Mary what Oglerius puts into the third person plural, thus making the utterance more immediate. The *CM* poet also eliminates the unabashed sentimentality and punning in Oglerius 151–53: Defecerunt enim spiritus eorum; amiserant uirtutem loquendi. Solus illis dolor luctusque remansit amicus. Amabant flere et flebant amare. Amare flebant, quia amare dolebant.

An expansion of Oglerius 153–62. The Virgin's loss of consciousness at 24348–49 is either the *CM* poet's invention or a misreading of Oglerius 174–75: Cogitare libet quantus dolor tunc infuit matri cum sic dolebant que insensibilis erat.

The only spear Oglerius mentions is 158–59: mente martyr Maria erat percussa cupside teli quo membra Christi serui foderunt iniqui.

E breaks off at this point and does not resume until 24520.

Oglerius does not mention the image of the sword of Lc 2:35, where Symeon says to Mary, et tuam ipsius animam pertransiet gladius. This was interpreted by Peter Damien *PL* CXLIV 748A Ac si aperte diceret: Dum filius tuus senserit passionem crucis in corpore, te etiam transfiget gladius compassionis in mente. Barrè, pp. 243–46, sees the entire tradition of the planctus Mariae deriving from such attributions of sympathy to the Virgin, where earlier church fathers denied her such feelings; cf. Ambrose, "Expositio euangelii secundurn Lucam," *PL* XV 1574B.

Cf. Jhn 19:28 and Mt 27:34, both passages quoted by Oglerius 164–66.


Oglerius 169–73. 24410–12 are the *CM* poet's summary of events, and the details are provided by Oglerius.

Cf. Oglerius 174–77. The *CM* poet rearranges Oglerius' order, taking 176–77 at 24428–30 and 175–76 at 24431–33. He also changes Oglerius' third-person narrative description to a first-person account.

Here the *CM* poet replaces a passage of puns and sentimentality from Oglerius 177–81: Vox non erat illi [sc. Mariae]; dolor abstulerat uires; limo strata iacens pallebat quasi mortua uiuens. Viuebat moriens, uiuensque moriebatur; nec poterat mori que uiuens mortua erat. In anima dolor seue seuiebat illius; optabat mori magis quam uiuere Christi post mortem que male uiuens mortua tamen erat.

Cf. Oglerius 188–92. The *CM* poet omits Oglerius 182–87, where the Virgin is described as begging for Christ's body to be lowered from the cross, and is selective of details in the lines on which he depends. E.g., he omits 188–89: considerans [sc. Maria] uulto benigno Christum pendentem in crucis stipite seuo; but is more graphic in 24446–48 than Oglerius 189–90: pedibusque nitens in altum manus leuabat amplexcens crucem. 24450–51 seem to depend upon Oglerius 190–91: ruens in oscula eius Christi qua parte sanguinis unda rigabat. The *CM* poet
seems to have taken ruens absolutely, as a description of Mary's collapse, where Marx's punctuation suggests a translation like rushing to kiss Christ from whom a wave of blood flowed.

24455–75 The CM poet here condenses and removes much of the sentimentality from Oglerius 191–203, where the emphasis lies on Mary's thwarted desire to embrace Christ, whom she cannot reach because he is still hanging on the cross. The CM poet also varies between direct quotation of Mary and narration of her actions, where Oglerius gives entirely third-person narrative. Oglerius' final sentence recalls his 190–91, cited in the previous note: Cadentes guttas sanguinis ore tangebat, terram deosculans quam cruroris unda rigabat.

24476–78 The CM poet's own interjection.

24479–90 The CM poet here continues to report direct discourse from Mary, where Oglerius 204–12 remains in the third person. Oglerius also provides more pseudo-historical detail, e.g., that both Joseph and Nicodemus were secretly disciples of Jesus and that they asked Pilate for his body. Oglerius' Joseph and Nicodemus bring more than just the god chere of 24485: secum instrumenta ferentes quibus clavis euulisis de cruce possent deponere eum. Moreover, Oglerius is more detailed in describing the restoration of Mary's health (cf. 24488–90): quasi de morte consurgens, paululum reuiuiscit spiritus eius et illis quod poterat adiutorium ministra-bat.

24491–502 Cf. Oglerius 213–23. The CM poet omits some of the more graphic detail, e.g., super ipsum ruens pre incontinentia doloris et immensitate amoris quasi mortua stetit ... lacrimis faciem eius rigans ... Frontem et genas oculosque simul et nasum oraque frequentius osculabatur ipsius. C's animan (24495) should read ani man, like F.

24503–50 These lines, again rephrased to a direct quotation of the Virgin, seem to be the CM poet's own interpolation, though they bear some distant resemblance to Oglerius 224–50. 24503–14 lament the lack of justice in the crucifixion and may have been suggested by Oglerius 230–31: Non desperabat, sed pie iusteque dolebat quem genuit uirgo. 24515–50 rest, however, on the contrast between Mary's sorrow at the crucifixion and her joy at Christ's birth and infancy, a contrast which also forms the basis of Oglerius 224–50. The CM poet restricts the grief to Mary alone, where Oglerius involves quedam ... femine sancte parvus erat numerus paucusque uirorum (232–33) and et angeli simul cum illa dolentes (234); and he likes the notion enough to elaborate it further on: O quis angeli contra naturam illic non flesset ...? (238–39). 24549 echoes more directly Oglerius 231: sperans tamen ipsum tercio resurgere die, but 24526, expressing a desire for the Holy Ghost, finds no counterpart in Oglerius.


24557–80 The struggle between Joseph and Nicodemus on the one hand, who want to bury Jesus, and Mary on the other, who wants to continue to hold him, is the CM poet's elaboration of Oglerius 263–67, where Oglerius unusually writes direct discourse for the Virgin. Morris' inverted comma in C should be moved from 24577 to 24580, where Mary's speech ends.

24581–96 The CM poet here interpolates his own response to the Virgin and his further question.

24597–607 Based on Oglerius 268–75, with some of the more extravagant images modified. Oglerius continues to emphasize the struggle between Mary and the disciples over whether to bury Christ's body or not. The CM poet, however, empha-
sizes the sorrow of the mourners for Mary, echoing two clauses in Oglerius 272–74:
et super illam dabant potius planctum quam super extinctum Dominum suum.
Maior illis inerat dolor de matris dolore quam fuerat de sui Domini morte.

24608–13 Again the CM poet removes some of the extravagance from Oglerius 276–79; e.g., where the CM poet has Mary lying on the tomb, Oglerius has sepulchrum mater amplectitur omni corde. The English poet also omits amaro Dominum nimirum deplorans singultu.

24614–22 Cf. Oglerius 279–82, again omitting the more sentimental passages; e.g., Nam cruciata gemitis, fatigata doloribus, afficta ploratibus, pedibus stare fere nequabit is reduced to On fote vnethes moght i stand. 24620 C’s i should read he; cf. FGE.

24623–29 Cf. Oglerius 283–93, again omitting most of the detail on the effect on others of Mary’s continuing sorrow; e.g., Vix poterant lacrimas continere quicumque videbant cam plorantem. Tam pie plorabat et tam amare dolebat quod ex suo pio ploratu multos, etiam inuitos, trahebat ad luctum ... etc.

24632–34 Cf. Oglerius 293–94.

24635–40 Oglerius does not mention the resurrection and thus provides no basis for these lines nor for 24630.

24641–58 The CM poet’s addition, which turns the reader’s attention to Mary’s blessed state in heaven.

24659–730 This address to St. John, at least at its beginning, takes its warrant from Oglerius 293–99: O felix et beatus lohannes cui taltem Dominim commendauit thesaurum, even to the extent that the CM poet takes thesaurum literally and makes John the treasurer (24672). But where Oglerius concentrates first on John, who was blessed by both Christ and Mary, and then on all those who are blessed through their love of the Virgin, the CM poet interpolates a passage in praise of virginity at 24677–706, perhaps taking his cue from lines 1588–96 of Wace’s poem on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception from which he takes the following story at 24731.

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

Wace took the story, based on an actual incident, from a legend of a miracle of the Virgin, often attributed to St. Anselm but most probably written around the year 1070 by his biographer, Eadmer. See Herbert J. Thurston, S.J., “The Legend of Abbot Elsi,” and the exceptionally detailed entry by X. LeBachelet, “Immaculé conception,” esp. 1001–3 for the legend of Abbot Élsis. I have followed the admittedly corrupt Latin text in PL CLIX 323–26 because it seems closest to Wace’s version, but see Eadmeri monachi Cantuariensis tractatus ... ed. Thurston and Slater, olim sancto Anselmo attributus nunc primum integer ad codicum fidem editus adiectis quibusdam documentis coaetaneis a PP H. Thurston et T. Slater S.J. The CM poet seems to have depended wholly on Wace’s version of events.


24757 Cf. Wace 3: En quel tens, coment c par qui. But Wace refers to the establishment of the feast, while the CM poet speaks still of the conception itself.

24762 Wace 9: Que a nul tens aneis fist on.
Cf. Wace 11: le rei Guillalme.

Wace 13–14 does not describe William's prowess but stresses his conquest: Par force e par bataille prist, / Viles, chastels, citez conquist.

Wace does not mention Harold's Danish origins.

Cf. Wace 20, a detail not found in Eadmer's Latin.

The CM poet omits Wace 25: Qui le rei Aralt orent mort.

Apparently original with the CM poet, though perhaps suggested by Wace 25.

William's reaction, though alarmed, is less fearful than Wace 28: Dolenz en fu, paor en ot.

FGE's vnderstode translates Wace 33: Cum cil qui mut saveit de guerre better than C's vnder stode, which should properly be one word.

The CM poet's laconic litotes, Wit-ven ani mer in muth, condenses Wace's effusiveness: Qui mult par saveit bien parler / E un bien grant consell doner / Si esteit de grant eloquence / E parlot par grant sapience (41–44). Wace has here substituted diplomatic competence for Eadmer's emphasis on Elsis' devotion: ... Jesu Christo devotissime famulabatur, ejusque genetricem, servitium ejus faciendo devotissime, venerebat. PL CLIX 323B.

E's cosin is clearly in error.

Wace 47: Bailla lui mut bons garnemenz seems to have given the CM poet difficulty, E's Wit tresori his schip was diht offering the best translation though at the expense of the rhyme with gift in the following line. C's triffor appears to be a nonce word, perhaps a misreading of long s for f in a word like tressor. G at least manages to load the ship with cargo, but F only manages to get the abbot himself aboard. The AN MSS show considerable variation here, though nothing that might account for CFG's confusion. Eadmer says nothing of Elsis' preparations, only that on arrival he et salutes ac munera atque servitia ex Guillelmi regis parte obtulit to the Danish king. PL CLIX 323C.

Cf. Wace 59–60: E tels i ot qui il promist; / L'ost fist remaindre, tant lor dist. The MSS show many variants, and Ashford's note, p. 93, which quotes CM 24822–26, does not help much, nor does Eadmer's proceresque terrae munera et promissis oneravit. PL CLIX 323D.

The CM poet's own interjection.

The CM poet generalizes what in Wace 80–82 is specific: Ne 1'uns ne puet l'autre aider; / Li plus sage poi i savaient, / E li plus prot poi i veeient. Eadmer has ... preces cum lacrimis Deo fundunt, et se graviter deliquisse miserabiliter gemunt. PL CLIX 324B.

The CM poet's elaboration of Wace 89–91: E ma dame sainte Marie, / Que vers ton fil face aie / En lor vie petit se fient. Wace has omitted Eadmer's long prayer: O Deus clementissime, Pater misericordiae, dignare nos respicere mersos pro nostro crimen. Respice, clementissime, de sede tuae gloriae, visita nos iam positos in extremo vitae periculo. Assit nunc tua gratia! assit tua benignitas! assit maxima bonitas! assit bona gratuata dona! Succurre nobis miseris, pietas ineffabilis, ne nos sorbeat infernum nunc pro nostris criminibus. Pie Deus, cognoscimus quod graviter deliquimus, pejora commeruimus [sic], quia multum peccavimus. Etc. PL CLIX 324B-C. Perhaps Wace felt the prayer detracted from the subsequent prayer to Mary.
24875  Wace 94–95: A Deu s’esteient comande, / Quant uns angeles lor aparut differs from the CM poet, who attributes the angel’s arrival to Mary, sco [F ho, G scho] pat euer es bot o bale.

24880  selcuth clething misses Wace’s ecclesiastical emphasis: Si ert d’un vesqual vestement, which he takes from Eadmer’s ... quemdam pontificalibus vestibus ornatum. PL CLIX 324C.

24885  C’s ferr cost should of course be one word, as it is in E; it translates Wace 103: la nef.

24887  The CM poet omits Wace 105–6: Li abes Helcin se dreca, / Cum il ainz pot vers lui ala, thus denying Elsis a moment of dignified recovery, also allowed him by Eadmer: Dum autem ... Elsinus surrexisset. PL CLIX 324D.

24889  C’s Forgeten should read For geten; cf. FGE.

24898–908  Wace 118–24 is a good deal more frank about the carnal begetting of Mary: ... Fu conceue e engendree. / Voe, Helcin, a celebre / E as altres faire honorer / Le jor que ot engenderment / Sainte Marie charnalment, / Que fu conceue en sa mere / E engendree de son pere. Eadmer is as reticent as the CM poet: in alvo matris concepta fuit. PL CLIX 324D.

24923  The CM poet is content with mentioning Mary’s birthday, where Wace 140–41 is more specific: Tot cel de la nativite / Qui est oit jorz dedenz Septembre.

24931–34  The CM poet’s addition. C’s propre refers to the proper of the mass; FG seem to have misunderstood.

24940  CGE’s Vte of pair sight [F ship] is the CM poet’s addition. Cf. Wace 152: Ez vos l’angele d’iluec torne.

24944  The image of seamen dressing their tackle is more vivid than Wace 155: E cil lor nef repareillierent.

24947  CE’s farnet and F’s compani translate Wace 159: sa gent. G’s fardel is wrong.

24950–52  The CM poet’s emphasis on Elsis’ public declaration is not found in Wace 161–62: Si reconta la o il pot / Ce que veu e oi ot.

24965–72  The CM poet’s conclusion, not in Wace, who goes on to tell of Mary’s conception, birth, and upbringing, matters already narrated in ll. 10123–654, above.
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Glossary

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

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

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

Lines numbered A1–A60 replace CM 10835–906.

A drad. See drēde, v.
abāde, n. delay 490, 7399, 7559, 12538: without ceasing, without remission 10678.
abide, abyde, v. wait 3008; stay 1151; await 955; endure 2249; live to see 6900. pr. 3 sg. abidep lasts, exists 2124; awaits 12778. imp. pl. wait! 15604. pa. t. abāde 8059; abūde 10569; abūd 1899.
aby(e), v. pay for 2036, 7816, 11948, 13069.
abūde, n. delay, 3145, 4527, 7337, 15210.
abyrne, n. abyss 22487, 22678.
abōde, n. living, life 3083.
aboute, as adj. bent on, planning to, concerned to 14638, 14887.
abrēde, adv. prominently 16578.
acombred, pp. embarrassed 12213.
affiaunce, n. trust 8896.
af(f)ray, n. assault 16702; alarm 15570.
aftir, prep. (modern uses not cited) according to 493, 3340, 11288; on behalf of, with regard to 19934; For ~ pe vs pineh long You seem to have been away from us for a long time 20190.
agast, adj. afraid 8224, 13073, 18200.
agrise, v. be terrified 21972.
aȝyn, aȝein, aȝēyn, adv. back 1865, 2623; in return 6722, 6754.
aȝyn, aȝein, aȝēyn(e), aȝēynes, prep. close to 2518; to meet 3324; against 448; instead of 7644; in preparation for 19103; in reply to 16243; stond ~ withstand 7225; per ~ against it 3094; in opposition to that 8701.
aȝeynsawe, n. objection 8382.

aȝeynseyinge, n. denial 1163.

ay, adv. forever 126; constantly 497; always 3637; perpetually 5107, on ~ 8252; continuously 12603.

aknowe(n), pp. acknowledged 3092, 7741; confessed 19101; I am ~ I confess 5084, 9059.

al, pron. and adj.: ~ is oon it is the same thing 5062; ~ maner lede all people 1190.
al, adv. completely 15107.

al, conj. See alle.

aldur. See aller.

algâte, adv. at any rate, in any case 4091; in any way 6208; in all cases 6360; in any circumstances 6365; in every way 6575; by every means 9597; nevertheless 23712.

alle (bat), conj. although 14458, 17659; al 2206.

aller, pron. gen. pl. of all 469, 4949, 11194, 11571; aldur 7263; alper 251, 1693, 2318, 4795.

almesdede, n. almsgiving 10197, 10511, 11350.

almous, almes, n. pl. alms, charity, mercy 19764, 19813; for ~ were pat he were dede it would be a mercy if he were to die 11874.
alowe, v. praise 15096, 20765.

als, adv. also 137, 402, 3347, 3678, 3740.

als, adv. and conj. See also.

als fast as, conj. as soon as 823.

alsô, adv. as, equally 8105.

alsô, conj. as 3431; als 3737.

alsô sôône, adv. immediately 339, 617, 860, 7108; als ~ 8120; als(ô) sôône (as) as soon as 5105, 10773, 11719, 12043.

alsô swîpe, ~ swîpe. See swîpe.

alsô tîte. See tîte.
alper. See aller.
alperhyȝest, adj. superl. highest of all 10600.
alperleest, adv. superl. least of all 10423.
amy, n. friend 20193.
amyd(e), amydde, adv. in it, interspersed 8462; along with other things 7522; around, alongside 14358; meanwhile 14015.
amydwarde, prep. in the middle of 13702, 15026.
among(e), adv. at the same time 88; in the same place, here and there 2114, 2526; meanwhile 10210; intermittently 17803.

and, conj. if 7456, 15143; & 13644.
anent(is), prep. concerning, with respect to 6880, 23722.
angur, n. discomfort, affliction 4505.
anōōn, anōône, adv. at once, immediately 885, 1076, 2441, 19694.
apâce, apâs, adv. at a good pace, quickly 23730; at a walk 15872.
apayed, adj. pleased 12877, 17570.
apere, v. contravene 13837.
apert, adj. open, public 13982.
apert(e), adv. openly 5839, 6355, 6534, 12815, 12922.
aquyt, pp. acquitted 4477.
ar(e), adv. and prep. See er.
ar, conj. See or.

aray, n. equipage, train 11522.
araye, v. prepare 20173.
arë, n. grace, mercy 2749; òre 10099.
arërë, v. arouse 15678.
arësoun, v. explain 1122; question 14621.
arewe, adv. in turn 19781.
aromâte, n. spice 21299.
as(s)ay(e), v. test 3126, 12937, 12961, 13471; taste 3656. pa. t. asayed tested 3118.
as(s)oyne, n. legal excuse, pardon 2266, 16395.
aspyes, n. pi. spies 11541, 17349.
asslse, assyse, n. assize, legal hearing 9687, 9707, 19103, 19344, 22781.
astâte, n. state, condition, situation 231, 616a, 822a, 1587, 4092; high estate 9683.
at, prep. until 7672.
atrott, adv. at a trot 15872.
atteyne, v. atone 1113.
attri, attrý, adj. venomous, poisoned 22021, 22207.
atwyn(ne), adv. separately 17845; in two 8219; parted 11481.
aug3t(e), n. property 3395, 3963; household and possessions 3930, 3997; property, money 5398; possession 6765, 6771.
aug3t(e). See owе.
aumenëre, aumonër, n. distributor of alms 15219, 15969.
auntres, n. pl. perilous enterprises, adventures 11.
availë, avayle, v. prevail 4646; assist 13481.
Auerille, n. April 13249, 13259.
ausë, n. opinion 9068.
ausëd, pa. t. informed 15745. pp. avisëd taken note of 15917.
ausyioun, n. dream, vision 4603.
avowe, n. vow, solemn promise 10203.
avayte, v. provide for, arrange 5416. pr. 3 sg. awaytep is preparing 11592.
avâke, v. rouse themselves 15782.
awe, n. fear 22182; stonde noon ~ have no fear 482; me stondep ~ I am afraid 18050; property inspiring fear goddes ~ 3000, mannes ~ 6988; reverence 12091, 12096.
awë(е)n, as n. own (name) 22313; come to myn ~ come into my possession 8692.
awrëke, v. avenge 11554.

bachilère, n. young knight 8541.
bad. See bede, v.¹
badède. See bëde, v.²
både. See bide.
baft, n. rear: on ~ astern 22150.
bailly(e), n.¹ officer of justice, king's officer 5008, 11006, 12914. pl. bailis 6445.
bailly, baillye, n.² jurisdiction, control 9551, 9558, 10028, 18554.
bailly, bailly, n.³ wall enclosing a castle courtyard 10023, 10027. pl. bailês, baýl(y)es 1034, 9893, 10015, 10034.
bak, n. back: on ~ to the rear 10764; back, backward 15018, 15756.
baldë. See böde.
bäle, n. doom, disaster 44; punishment 9398; evil 9787; horror 18505; torment 1864. pl. baìles evils, afflictions 105.
bæ, v. curse 12050, 13631, 19458.
bandoun, n. power, control 9013; detention, captivity 15780.
banerere, n. standard-bearer 12723p.
barbicans, n. pl. fortified towers 9903, 10033.
baret, n. strife 4137, 5316, 9331, 18740.
barm(e), n. bosom 5442, 8621, 11778.
barn(e), bern, n. child 2563, 2597, 2628, 2725, 11957, 20450. pl. barnes, bernes 2945, 4673, 4681.
baronage, n. coll. nobles 4549, 4627, 4649, 8161, 8533.
barn(e)tem(e), barnteem(e), n. producing of children 3790; child 21127; children, brood 2044; progeny 2138; descent 8499.
batail wrist, n. See wrist.
batailed, adj. equipped with battlements 9902.
bede, n. prayer 17672, 19209. pl. bedes 8261.
bede, v. command 9608; intercede 16282. pa. t. beded prayed 20216; bode 19836. pp. beded commanded 22645; prayed 11316; invited 13366.
bëde, v. offer, present, show 5403, 10636, 12360, 12732, 14575; pa. t. bedde 14456, 15167; bë(e)de 880, 881. pp. beded 6069; bet 23317; badde providing, serving as 16094; bôden offered 16771.
bëstaile, n. coll. herds 2444.
bëþ. See bëþ v.
beget, v. acquire, have possession of 23878.
beyinge, n. being 23537.
belde, n. boldness 12237; comfort, succour 9963, 18152.
bëme, n. trumpet 22711p.
benesoun, benisoun, benysoun, n. blessing 1930, 2541, 3412, 3616, 5461.
bënde. See bënde v.
berde, byrde, n. maiden 9967, 10077, 12305.
bëre, n. bier 12515, 20703, 20708, 20724.
bëre, n. commotion, carrying on 10447, 12496, 15114, 16055, 23253.
bëre, v. (modern uses not cited) thrust 7624; ~ on honde treat 15922. pa. t. bare signified 14753. pp. born thrust, pierced 7625.
beringe, n. burial 16872.
bëryng, n. childbirth 11079.
bern, bernes. See barn.
besauntis, n. pl. gold coins 4194, 23885, 23887.
bëse. See bëse v.
beseme. See biseme.
bet, adv. compar. better 7642, 23162.
bet. See bëde v.2
bëte, v. amend 105, 748; cure 3279; rescue, save 9572, 22295; make amends for 13054. pa. t. bet(t) 2156, 14415. pp. bet redeemed 15550; atoned for 946; bette set to rights 15016.
bëp, pron. dual. both 3432.
bëp, pr. 3 sg. (modern uses not cited) as fut. will be, shall be 3109, 3206, 3614. pres. (proverbial) 4507. imp. pl. be! 6240; bëep 6087. pr. p. bëonde enduring, lasting 15312, 22388.
bëpe, pr. 3 sg. beats, drives? 21076.
bi dëne. See bidëne.
bi syde, adv. aside, apart 3622.
bicôom, pa. t. came to be 5348; where ~ what became of 8998, 20684.
biddyng, n. making requests 7131. pl. biddyngis commands 9816.
bide, býde, n. waiting 1761; delay 6275.
bide, byde, v. wait, remain 2517, 22444; stay, rest 5873; wait, hold in readiness (refl.) 7469; await 21876; his biddyng ~ put off his command 12997. pr. 3 sg. bideb awaits 20402. pr. p. bidynge 17725. pa. t. báde stayed, waited 14238; bód 13822; bóod(e) 1907, 20829; bóde awaited 1752. pp. biden waited 15971; béden 10991.
bidene, bi dêne, bydêne, by dêne, adv. promptly (often largely meaningless) 1457, 1552b, 1814, 2923, 13628.
bie, bý, n. town 19511, 21251; bij 13290, 21153.
biere, n. buyer 14730.
biggyngis, n. pi. buildings 23453.
biggondre, pr. p. going 6830.
bigile, bigyle, v. deceive, trick 716, 3880, 5991, 22064, 22162. pa. t. bigyled 3734, 9009. pp. bigyled. bygyled 8632, 9004, 9479.
bihest(e), n. bidding 18753; promise 2349, 5723.
bihete, n. request, behest 4171, 10049.
bihete, v. promise 5431. pa. t. bihét(e) 6872, 20835; prophesied 10720, 18106. pp. bihét promised 3010, 3137.
bihêue. See bihôue.
bihôue, byhôue, n. use, benefit 7335, 14883; concern, regard: to his ~ on his behalf 3361, to þi ~ with regard to you 4384; requirement 3645; bihêue advantage 14707.
bihôueb, v. imper. is incumbent upon 5512, 13538, 18893. pa. t. bihôued, byhôued was necessary, was fitting 1208, nedeful ~ hit wore was necessary that it should be 422.
bij. See bie.
bikende, pa. t. handed over to 7242. pp. 8840.
bikur, n. dispute 14066.
bilad, pp. situated, in a state (of) 16808; treated 17049.
bileft(e), pp. left, left behind 4403, 17592; bilêued 7736; bilaft left in the possession (of) 18558.
bileid, bileyde, pp. surrounded 10003; wrapped (around) 1336.
bigêne, v. mean A19.
bînomen, bynomen, pp. taken away 17550; deprived 9490; amputated 22829.
birst, n. breaking 6339.
bisême, besême, v. be appropriate, be fitting. 8734, 22358.
biset, v. surround 23887 (guard). pa. t. bisette harassed, persecuted 195. pp. biset(t) surrounded 3962, 7179; besieged 7056.
bisîly, adv. diligently 11406, 19033.
bîsmare, n. shameful creature, whore 22029.
bispit, pp. spat upon 17771.
bisshopriche, n. apostleship 18892.
bistad(e), pp. situated 674, 1045, 2800, 4287; present 5254.
bisuylid, pp. defiled 23149.
biswîke, biswyke, v. deceive, cheat 2998, 19231.
bisynes, n. agitation 18510.
bîtâke, v. entrust, grant, give 8743. pa. t. bitôke 12309. pp. bitrate(n) 1126, 15971. Cf. bitêche.
bîtande, pr. p. biting 5954.
bitēche, v. hand over to 15445, commend 5307; entrust 12172; grant, give 20098. pa. t. bitau3t(e) gave 3539; conveyed 18768. pp. committed 14810; given over to (in bad sense) 14870. Cf. bitāke.

bityde, v. happen 5458, 22443. pa. t. bitidde 3024. pp. bitid placed (fig.) 13866.

bityme, adv. promptly, in good time 7578, 17433.

bitwēne, adv. also, at the same time 3572.

by(e), byse, v. purchase 926, 19574; ransom, redeem 152, 4420, 18592; atone for 822, 1115, 1146, 2584. pa. t. bou3t(e) 1231, 14935. pp. 1280, 13849.

bygeēt, n. acquisition: euel ~ ill-gotten gains 2206.

byle, n. boil 6011.

byrde. See berde.

byṣen, adj. monstrous 16595.

bysou3t, pa. t. sought after 5357.

bytwēne, conj. until 8497.

blāke, v. darken 14747, 17430.

blan. See blyn, v.

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Citations list all forms in which the name occurs in CM, followed by a brief identification using the form of the name now conventional, usually the one found in the King James Bible. If that or the Vulgate version, or the conventional form of a non-biblical name, differs markedly from CM, the more familiar form is cited in square brackets and cross-indexed to the main entry.

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Arphaxat
Arphaxad, son of Shem and
grandson of Noah
2157

Arthour
Arthur, King of Britain
9

Asa
son of Abijam and great-grandson of
Solomon; one of the kings of Judah
9145

Asine
Ashkenaz, son of Gomer and
grandson of Japhet
2186

Asy, Asye
Asia
2089, 2097, 2099, 21035
see also Masye

Assener
Aseneth, wife of Joseph, Jacob’s son
4668

Asser
Asher, son of Jacob and a concubine
3902

Aufrik, Aufryk
see Affrik

Augustus
Augustus, the Roman emperor
11186, 11194, 11277

Austyn, Austyne
St. Augustine of Hippo
360, 587, 22583⁰, 23011

[Azariah]
see Osyas

Azor
son of Eliakim; in the Virgin Mary’s
genealogy
9239

Babiione, Babiloyne¹
Babylon
2106, 2108, 2203, 7052, 9207, 22096

Babiloyne²
Babel
2265

Balam¹
Balaam, regarded by CM as son
of Bus and grandson of Nahor,
Abraham’s brother
2309

Balam²
Balaam; prophesied the Star of
Bethlehem
11389⁰

Baltizor
Balthazar, one of the Magi
11502⁰

Baraban, Barabas¹
Barababb; criminal released in
preference to Jesus
16382, 16391, 16441

Barabas²
Barsabas; surname of Joseph,
candidate for election as an apostle
18899

Barach
Barrack; one of the Judges of Israel
7017

Barnabas
St. Barnabas, companion of St. Paul
19727, 21217

[Barpanthar]
see Parpantera

Barsabe, Bersabe¹
Bathsheba, wife of King David
7884, 7910, 7960, 8341

Bartelmew, Barthelmew, Barthulmew
St. Bartholomew the Apostle
13289, 18872, 21105⁰

Batriane
Bactria (Afghanistan)
*21096
Batuel, Batuele
Bethuel, son of Nahor, Abraham’s brother, and father of Rebecca
2308, 2310, 3287, 3344

Bede
the Venerable Bede
507

Bedleem
Bethlehem
7348, 7349, 8538, 9137, 10750,
10829, 11180, 11184, 11200–11289,
11466–11488, 11561, 12518, 14790,
14794, 14864, 22088

[Beersheba]
see Bersabe

Belsabuk
Beelzebub; appellation of Satan
18230

Beniamyn, Beniamynne1
Benjamin, youngest son of Jacob
(by Rachel)
3904, 4808, 4850, 4984, 5013, 5023,
5051, 5118, 5124, 5159, 20938

Beniamyn2
the tribe of Benjamin
7008, 7012

Bersabe2
Beersheba; home of Abraham
3207

Betanye, Bethany1
Bethany; home of Martha, Mary, and Lazarus
13969, 14077, 14138, 14229

Betel, Bethel
Bethel; place where Abraham built an altar
2388, 2441

Bethany2
Bithynia
20877n, 21211

Bethsaida
town in Galilee
20861, 21079, 22101, 22106

Borffora
in CM burial place of James, son of Alphaeus
21175

Boz
Boaz, son of Salmon; in the line form Abraham to David
7857

Bruyt
Brutus; legendary founder of Britain
7

Bus
Buz, son of Nahor, Abraham’s brother
2308

Cabal
Jabal, son of Lamech; in the line of Cain
1512

Cadades
Cades; country of Abimelech
2961n

Caiphas, Caiphe, Cayphas
Caiaphas, the high priest
14503, 14508, 14526, 15119, 15121,
15394, 15874, 15887, 16017, 16039,
16569, 17515, 17653, 17759, 17782,
17811, 18493

Caym, Caymes, Kaym, Kaymes1
Cain
1044a–1075, 1102, 1114, 1123, 1161,
1202–1223, 1350, 1446b, 1496,
1497, 1507–1559, 2071

Caym2
error for Cainan; in the line of Seth
1459n

Caynan
regarded by CM as grandson of Shem and great-grandson of Noah
2159n

Calamynee
in CM a city in India where the apostle Thomas was martyred
21101
Calef
  Caleb; leader of the Israelites with Joshua
  6929, 6993, 7001

Calmana
  wife of Cain
  1501

Calvory
  Calvary
  16601, 16674

Cam
  Ham (Vulg. Cham), son of Noah
  1629, 2025, 2053, 2069, 2089, 2136, 2191

Canaan
  land of Canaan
  2365, 2368, 2480, 3236, 4805, 4821, 5388, 5470

Canan
  Canaan, son of Ham and grandson of Noah
  2192

Cane
  Cana of Galilee
  13362

Capados
  Cappadocia
  20877

Capharnaon, Capharnaoun, Capharnaum
  Capernaum; town in Galilee where Jesus ministered
  12488n, 13246, 22107

Carius
  raised from the dead; gave account of the Harrowing of Hell
  17833, 18452, 18492

Carmeny
  error for Armenia
  21154n
  see also Ermonye

Cartage
  Carthage
  2113, 8534

Cephura
  Keturah; wife of Abraham after Sarah's death
  3388

Cesar
  Caesar; Roman emperor at the time of the Crucifixion
  16026, 16036, 16366

Cesar, Cesare
  Caesarea
  19804, 19916

Cethim
  Kittim, son of Javan and grandson of Japhet
  2187

[Cham]
  see Cam

Chananew
  Canaanite; epithet of Simon the Zealot
  21165
  see also Symeoun

Charles
  Charlemagne
  15

Chebron
  see Ebron

[Chorazin]
  see Corozaym

[Christiana]
  see Cristiane

Chus
  Cush, son of Ham and grandson of Noah
  2192, 2193, 2195

Ciprioun
  Cyprus; regarded by CM as city of St. Barnabas
  21218

Cirillus
  tried to steal the Cross-wood
  8880n
Cyrenius
Cyrenius, governor of Syria; organised the census at the time of Jesus' birth
11196
Claude
Claudius, the Roman emperor
18524
Cleophas
second husband of St. Anne; father of Mary Cleophas
12663, 12693
Cleophe
surname of Mary, wife of Alphaeus
12549a, 16752
see also Mary4
Constans
in CM, Roman emperor in the Last Days
22317
Constantine Apolym
Constantinople
21216
Cornelius, Cornely
Cornelius; official at Caesarea
19806, 19812, 19823, 19894, 19907,
19917, 19922, 19927, 19936
Corozaym
Chorazin; town in Galilee
22101, 22105
Costantyn
Constantine, the Roman emperor
21213
Cristiane
Christiana; name given to Maximilla
8920
see also Maximilla
Dalida, Dalidam
Delilah, wife of Samson
7188, 7190, 7235, 7249
Damask, Damaske
Damascus
19612, 19657, 19732
Dan, Dane, Danes
son of Jacob and a concubine; regarded as ancestor of Antichrist
3902, 21975, 22011, 22013
David, Davy
David, King of Israel
147, 6943, 7370, 7407-7493, 7520-
7593, 7604-7698, 7701-7795, 7802-
7881, 7910-7990, 8021, 8114, 8148,
8221, 8285, 8327, 8447, 8513-8539,
8831, 9005, 10162, 10191, 10730,
10740, A8, 11157, 11256, 14430,
14789, 14864, 15055, 15071, 17330,
18098, 18132-18149, 18345, 18881,
18994
Delbora1
wife of Seth
1449, 1502
Delbora2
Deborah; leader of the Israelites;
associated with Barrack
7017n
[Delilah]
see Dalida
Didimus
surname of St. Thomas the Apostle
14218, 21089
see also Thomas
Dismas
the repentant thief crucified with Jesus
16738n
Dyna
Dinah, daughter of Jacob and Leah
3899, 3910
Domiciane
the emperor? a city?
21997n
Domyccion
Domitian, the Roman emperor
21036
Dorca
  Dorcas; other name of Tabitha
  19761, 19778
  see also Thabita

Dothahim
  Dodanim, son of Javan and grandson
  of Japhet
  2188

Dothaym
  Dothan; place where Joseph’s
  brothers were herding their sheep
  4104

Draussyan
  widow raised form the dead by the
  apostle John
  21053

[Eber]
  see Heber

Ebron, Chebron
  Hebron; valley in the Holy Land
  406, 1416, 2483, 3212, 4035, 5339,
  5474, 9397

Econyas
  see leconyam

Eden
  Eden, where Cain fled
  1500

Edmounde of Pounteney
  St. Edmund of Pontenay
  2005n

Edon
  Edom; the land which Esau inherited
  4036

Effrain, Effraym
  Ephraim, son of Joseph, Jacob’s son
  5236, 5437, 6932

Effrem
  Ephraim; town to which Jesus
  withdrew for a while
  14536, 14556

Egip, Egipt, Egipte
  Egypt
  163, 2400, 2582, 3080, 4178, 4240,
  4627, 4684, 4810, 5007, 5042, 5186,
  5192, 5205–5237, 5370–5395, 5409,
  5479, 5492, 5930, 5979, 6090, 6116–
  6177, 6230, 6935, 10341, 10524,
  11588, 11746, 11766, 11797, 21171,
  22959

Egyas
  condemned St. Andrew to crucifixion
  21001

E3eb
  Horeb; where Moses saw the burning
  bush
  5736

Elayn
  Helen of Troy
  7049, 7081

Eliachim
  Eliakim, son of Abiud; in the Virgin
  Mary’s genealogy
  9238

Eliazar
  Eliezer, servant of Abraham
  2561

Eliazar
  Eleazar, son of Aaron
  6948

Eliazare
  Eleazar, son of Eliud; in the Virgin
  Mary’s genealogy
  9243
  see also Leuy

[Eliezer]
  see Elyaser

Elizabeth
  Elizabeth, mother of John the Baptist
  3427, 10151, A47, 10937, 10997,
  11011, 11018, 11027, 11037, 11117

Elizeus
  Elisha, the prophet
  9159

[Elim]
  see Helyn

Elisa
  Elishah, son of Javan and grandson
  of Japhet
  2188
Eliud
son of Achim; in the Virgin Mary’s
genealogy
9242, 9243

Ely, Elye¹
Eli, the priest
7264, 7277

Ely, Elyas, Helie, Hely, Helyas, Helye²
Elijah, the prophet
1477, 9149, 9346, 9348,
12780, 12811, 17546, 17688, 17689,
18392, 22362⁰

Elyaser, Elyezere³
Eliezer, son of Moses
5712, 6440

[Elon]
see Achialon

Emanuel
Emmanuel; name of Christ in
Isaiah’s prophecy
9286

Enea
Aeneas; healed of palsy by Peter
19753

Engelonde
England
8, 235

Enok
Enoch, son of Jared; in the line of
Seth; taken up bodily to Paradise
1467, 1482, 1483, 18390⁰, 22362⁰

Enos¹
son of Seth and grandson of Adam
1451, 1457

Enos²
Enoch, son of Cain
1504, 1509

Ephesim
Ephesus
21069

[Ephraim]
see Effraim and Effrem

Ercules
Hercules
7028

Ermonye, Hermonye
Armenia
1869, 21110
see also Carmen

Esau, Esau, Esau, Esau, Esaw, Esawe
Esau, son of Isaac and brother of
Jacob
140, 3492, 3499, 3518, 3519, 3598,
3599, 3652, 3662, 3680, 3686, 3700,
3720, 3726, 3765, 3954, 3971,
3973, 3994, 4003, 4009, 4020, 4035,
5036, 5357

Esrom
Hezron (Vulg. Esron)
son of Pharez and grandson of Judah;
in the line from Abraham to David
7851

Ethiopye, Ethyopy
Ethiopia
2115, 8132

Eufrate, Eufrates
Euphrates; river in Paradise
1038, 1317

Europe
2090, 2098, 2123

Eue
Eve
757, 830, 932, 933, 1047, 1186,
1211, 3980, 5028, 5342, 9387, 20565

Ezebon
Ibzan; one of the Judges of Israel
7045⁰

Ezekias
Hezekiah, son of Ahaz; one of the
kings of Judah
9178

Fison
Pison (Vulg. Phison); river in
Paradise
1317

Fyton
Pithom; city which the Egyptians
built using the Israelites as labourers
5529
Fraunce
France
246, 22254

Frigie
Phrygia
21083

Gabriel, Gabrielle
Gabriel, the archangel
10816a, A2, A21, A58

Gad
son of Jacob and a concubine
3902

[Gaetulia]
see Ienile

Galatie
Galatia
20877n

Galile
Galilee
10164, 10818, 10825, A5, 11925,
12698, 13253, 13361, 14559, 14786,
14798, 14861, 15553, 15559, 16147,
16150, 17385, 17426, 18773, 18962,
20862

Gamaliel
one of those who interrogated the
resurrected Carius and Lenthius
17813, 18494

[Gawain]
see Wawayn

Gedeon, Judeon
Gidcon; one of the Judges of Israel
7021, 7027

[Gehon]
see Gison

Gelboe
Gilboa; mountain where Saul and
Jonathan were killed
7756, 7804

Gena
Javan, son of Japhet and grandson of
Noah
2183, 2187

Gersan
Gershom, son of Moses
5712, 6440

Gesmas
the unrepentant thief crucified with
Jesus
16739n

Gessen, Iessen
Goshen; the part of Egypt in which
Jacob and his descendants lived
5421, 5963, 6026, 6056

[Gideon]
see Gedeon

[Gihon]
see Gison

[Gilboa]
see Gelboe

Gison
Gihon (Vulg. Gehon); river in
Paradise
1317

Gog
country, with Magog, from which an
evil people will rise in the Last Days
22331

Golias, Goly, Golye
Goliath; Philistine giant killed by
David
148, 7443, 7487, 7553, 7575, 7577,
14431, 17328

Gomor
Gomorrah
2469, 2843

Gomer
Gomer, son of Japhet and grandson of
Noah
2183, 2185

[Goshen]
see Gessen

Grace, Grece
Greece
5, 7033, 7037, 7064, 22228n, 22320

Gregore, Gregory
Pope Gregory the Great
22041, 22400, 22596, 22888, 22914
3op, 3open
Joppa; city in the Holy Land where Peter preached; identified by CM with Acre. 19760, 19816, 19825 see also Acres

[**Habakkuk**]
see Abacuk

[**Hagar**]
see Abak

[**Ham**]
see Cam

[**Haran**]
see Aram

[**Havilah**]
see Elula

Heber
Eber, son of Salah; in the line of Shem 2163

[**Hebron**]
see Ebron

[**Helen of Troy**]
see Elain

Helie, Hely, Helyas, Helye see Ely

Helym
Elim; place where Moses found the three rods 8009

[**Henoch**]
see Enok and Enos

[**Hercules**]
see Ercules

Hermonye see Ermonye

Herodias
wife of Herod Antipas 13012, 13020, 13032, 13070, 13153, 13228

Heroude, Heroudis
Herod Antipas, son of Herod the Great; had John the Baptist executed; king at the Crucifixion of Jesus 13002, 13013, 13014, 13025, 13033, 13048, 13072, 13168, 16153, 16158, 16159, 16165, 16167, 16183, 16188, 16205, 16219

Heroude
Herod Agrippa, grandson of Herod the Great; had James son of Zebedee executed 12701, 21016

Herpolie
Hierapolis; city in Phrygia 21083

[**Hevila**]
see Elula

[**Hezron**]
see Esrom

Hispanye, Speyne Spain 2103, 20948, 21013

[**Hyrcaenia**]
see Irtane

Homer 8531

[**Horeb**]
see Ezeb

[**Hosea**]
see Osee

[**Huz, Vulg. Hus**]
see Vs

[**Jabal**]
see Cabal and Iobal

Iacob, Iacobes, Iacobus

Heroude, Heroudis
Herod the Great; king at the birth of Jesus 161, 172, 11440, 11454, 11473, 11481, 11526, 11538, 11547, 11582, 11591, 11798, 11799, 11911, 13004
Iacob²
   Jacob, son of Matthan; father of Joseph, the Virgin Mary’s husband
   9247, 9248, 12746n
Iacob, Iacobus, Iame³
   James the Less, son of Alphaeus; one of the Twelve Apostles
   12670, 12671, 12689, 13299, 18873, 19491, 21127, 21169
Iacob, Iame⁴
   James the Great, son of Zebedee and brother of John; one of the Twelve Apostles
   12700n, 13284, 15591, 18871, 19494, 21009, 21011, 21019
Iame, James⁵
   James, eldest son of Joseph, the Virgin Mary’s husband
   12521n, 12528, 12537, 12546n, 21148 (identified with James³ the Less)
Iapheth
   Japhet, son of Noah
   1630, 2029, 2031, 2059, 2090, 2122, 2135, 2181
Iare
   Jair; one of the Judges of Israel
   7035, 7039
Lareth
   Jared, son of Mahalaleel; in the line of Seth
   1463, 1465, 1553
Iasper
   Jasper; one of the Magi
   11493n
[Javan]
   see Gena
Idoyne
   Ydoine; heroine of medieval romance
   20
Ieonynam, Econyas
   Jehoiakim (elsewhere Jechonias), son of Josiah; king in the time of the
   prophet Jeremiah; in the Virgin Mary’s genealogy
   9197, 9233
[Jehoram]
   see Ioram
Ielula
   Havilah (Vulg. Hevila), son of Cush and grandson of Ham
   2193n
Ienile
   Gaetulia
   2116n
Iepte
   Jephtha; one of the Judges of Israel
   7041n
Jeremye, Ieromye
   Jeremiah, the prophet
   9195, 9333, 9345, 11648n, 22439n
Iericho, Ierico
   Jericho
   12303, 12333, 21154n
Ierom, Ieronym
   St. Jerome
   20789, 22441n, 22595, 22987
Ierusalem, Iherusalem, Ierusaleme, Ierusalemes
   Jerusalem
   2146, 2536, 7599, 7878, 8198, 8581, 9203, 10367, 10545, 10559, 10749,
   11069, 11290, 11436, 11487, 11643, 12583, 12691, 12796, 12957, 14230,
   14568, 14937, 17643, 17713, 17791, 17821, 18399, 18457, 18752, 18865,
   19333, 19480, 19492, 19541, 19600, 19610, 19722, 20698, 20946, 21128,
   21137, 21170, 22117, 22264, 22356
Jesse
   Jesse, father of King David
   7347, 7360, 7380, 7381, 7383, 7390, 7858, 7860, 9269, 9282, 10190,
   10721, 10727, 10731, 15072
Jessen
   see Gessen
Ietro
Jethro, priest of Midian and father-in-law of Moses; also called Reuel
6433, 6444

Illerike
Illyria
20947

Inde
India
2105, 21096, 21102, 21108

Indie
Numidia
2116

Ioachim, Ioachym
Joachim, father of the Virgin Mary
154, 9251a, 10144a, 10158–10192,
10227–10277, 10300–10377, 10409,
10560, 12659, 12750

Job
Job, regarded by CM as son of Huz
and grandson of Nahor, Abraham’s
brother
2309

Iobal, Tobal
Jubal, son of Lamech; in the line of
Cain
1512, 1516 (confused with Jabal),
1519

Ioel, Ioele, Iohel
Joel, the prophet
9167, 9346, 18978, 22964

Ion1
Yonec; hero of medieval romance
19a

Ion, Ione, Iones2
John the Baptist
167, 171, 3429, 10154, 10934,
10965, 11007–11095, 11113, 11115,
12714–12785, 12806–12891, 12907,
12917, 13001–13098, 13100–13192,
13215–13256, 14467, 17902–17919,
18755, 19952

Ion3 (gildemnoup)
St. John Chrysostom
11380, 11393

Ion, Ione, Iones4
St. John, the Apostle and the
Evangelist; the person married at
Cana of Galilee
12703, 13284, 13430a, 13434–13443,
15245, 15591, 16745–16757, 16845–
16871, 18871, 19045–19055, 19190,
19494, 19542, 19597, 20055, 20067,
20101, 20133, 20283–20299, 20315–
20399, 20415, 20428, 20489, 20501,
20551, 20711, 21009, 21019, 21035,
21276, 21296, 21321, 21329

Ion5
St. John the Divine; author of the
Apocalypse; equated with John,
Apostle and Evangelist?
22056, 23194, 23202

(Kyng) Ion6
King John
19

Ionas
Jonah, the prophet
9168

Ionathan, Ionathas
Jonathan, son of Saul
7647, 7652, 7758, 7800

Ioram
Joram (also Jehoram), son of
Jehoshaphat; one of the kings of
Judah
9157, 9163

Iordan, Iordon, Iordone, Iurdan, Iurdane,
Iurdon, Iurdone
River Jordan
168, 2465, 2866, 3773, 3929, 6957,
7996, 8186, 12333, 12832, 12880,
12917, 17926, 17962, 18468, 18477

Ioseph, Iosephes, Iosephs1
Joseph, son of Jacob and Rachel
142, 3904, 4042–4090, 4109, 4172,
4193, 4195, 4200–4270, 4328–4381,
4411–4498, 4502–4587, 4613, 4650–
4659, 4730–4750, 4814, 4823, 4863,
4886, 4923–4967, 5038, 5047
(restoration), 5052–5075, 5132–
5177, 5204–5249, 5364–5396,
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5408–5496, 5505, 6186, 6187, 6961, 6964, 10339, 10522

Joseph²
see Iosephat¹

Iosep, Ioseph, Ioseps³
Joseph, husband of the Virgin Mary

Joseph⁴
citizen of Capernaum who encountered the child Jesus
12492

Joseph⁵
Joseph, son of Joseph³
12546n

Joseph⁶
Joseph, son of Mary Cleophas
12670

Joseph, Iosephs⁷
Joseph of Arimathea; provided burial for Jesus’ body
16817–16876, 16913, 17287, 17289, 17309–17359, 17410–17423, 17598, 17610–17685, 17703, 17707, 17775, 17781, 17812, 18496, 18513

Joseph⁸
Joseph, surnamed Barsabas; candidate for election as an apostle
18899

Iosephat¹, Ioseph²
Jehoshaphat (also Josephat), son of Asa; one of the kings of Judah
9147, 9157

Iosephat, Iosephathes²
Jehoshaphat (also Josephat); valley, supposedly in the Holy Land
20694, 20772, 22969, 22974, 22979, 22985, 22988

Iosias, Iosyas
Josiah, son of Amon; one of the kings of Judah
9189, 9197

Iosue
Joshua; successor of Moses as leader of the Israelites
6407, 6926, 6931, 6950, 6951, 6956, 6993

Iothan
Jotham, son of Uzziah; one of the kings of Judah
9171

Ire
Ur of the Chaldees; original home of Abraham
2367n

Irtane
Hyrcania? region of Persia
21095

Isaac, Isaake, Issac, Ysaae, Ysake, Yssac
Isaac, son of Abraham and Sarah
137, 2152, 3009–3041, 3116a–3128, 3164, 3211, 3216, 3241, 3267, 3338–3396, 3410–3439, 3514, 3555, 3595, 3619, 3731, 3786, 4025, 5033, 5351, 5354, 5473, 7849, 10518, 19090

Isacar¹
Issachar, son of Jacob and Leah
3897

Isacar, Ysacar²
Issachar, the high priest; rejected the offering of Joachim
10233n, 10255, 10288, 10320, 10418

Isaias, Isay, Ysaye
Isaiah, the prophet
706, 9167, 9266, 9297, 9817, 10716, 10719, 17877, 18105, 18117, 22440n

Ismael, Ismaele, Ysmael
Ishmael, son of Abraham and Hagar
2629, 2638, 2695, 2698, 3023, 3043, 3074, 3381, 3386

Ismaria
sister of St. Anne
10148n, 10149
Isombras
hero of medieval romance
19

Isoude
Isolde, heroine of medieval romance and mistress of Tristan
17

Israel, Israeles, Israele
Israel; name given to Jacob
Israele, Israel, Israele, Israelite, Israelite, Israelite
Israel, the nation
Israel, the nation

Italye
Italy

[Jubal]
see Iobal

Iubiter, Iubitere
Jupiter
6997, 22285

Iuda, Jude, Iudea
Judaea
2106, 11466, 11468, 11923, 14158, 14186, 14560, 14566, 17477, 21121, 21158

Iudas, Iudam
Judah, son of Jacob and Leah
3898, 4182, 5240, 5580, 5658, 7850

Iudas
Judas Iscariot; the betrayer of Jesus
8840, 11904, 13300, 14554, 15217, 15379, 15383, 15386, 15403–15491, 15504, 15513, 15723–15775, 15868, 15880, 15961, 15969, 16459, 16489, 16517, 16525, 18882, 18905, 21155
see also Scarioth

Judas
Jude, also called Thaddaeus; one of the Twelve Apostles
13288, 13298, 18873, 21147
(identified with Jude 5)

Jude
Jude, son of Joseph, the Virgin Mary’s husband
12546n

Judeon
see Gedeon

Jules
river in Paradise
10380

Julius Caesar
Julius Caesar
4

[Jupiter]
see Iobiter

Iurdan, Iurdane, Iurdon, Iurdone
see Iordan

Kay
Sir Kay; Arthur’s seneschal
13

Kaym, Kaymes
see Caym

[Keturah]
see Cephura

[Kittim]
see Cethim

Laban
son of Bethuel and brother of Rebecca; father-in-law of Jacob
2310, 3323, 3770, 3789, 3828, 3840, 3847, 3851, 3860, 3869, 3879, 3881, 3892, 3917, 3921, 3925

Labdon
Abdon; one of the Judges of Israel
7057, 7083

Lameth
Lamech, son of Methuselah and father of Noah; in the line of Seth
1487, 1489, 1492
Lameth\textsuperscript{2}

Lamech, son of Methusael; in the line of Cain

1511, 1513\textsuperscript{n}

Lazar, Lazarus, Lazaroun, Lazarus, Lazer

Lazarus, brother of Martha and Mary

193, 13963, 13968, 14081, 14127--14199, 14219--14236, 14294, 14300, 14349--14377, 14448--14483, 18040, 18057

Lentheus, Lenthius

raised from the dead; gave an account of the Harrowing of Hell

17833, 18495

Leuy\textsuperscript{1}

Levi, son of Jacob and Leah

3897, 5583, 5586, 5601, 6624, 10936

Leuy\textsuperscript{2}

Levi, son of Eliud; also named Eleazar; in the Virgin Mary’s genealogy

9244\textsuperscript{a}, 9245, 12738\textsuperscript{n}, 12744

see also Eltazare\textsuperscript{3}

Leuy, Leuye\textsuperscript{3}

Levi, teacher who disputed with the child Jesus

12170, 12178, 12179, 12183, 12185, 12212

Leuy\textsuperscript{4}

Levi; after the Crucifixion reported Simeon’s prophecy about Jesus

17716\textsuperscript{n}

Leuy\textsuperscript{5}

Levi; an earlier name of the apostle Matthew

13291, 21118

Libie, Libye

Libya

2110, 7019

Lichaony

Lycaonia; region in central Asia

Minor

21106

Lid

Lydda; town in the Holy Land where Peter preached

19750, 19768

Lya

Leah, first wife of Jacob

3872, 3873, 3889, 3895

Longeus

Longinus; soldier who pierced Jesus’ side with a spear

16835\textsuperscript{n}

Loth, Lothis, Lothus

Lot, son of Haran and nephew of Abraham

2312, 2364, 2377, 2443--2437, 2505, 2527, 2762--2795, 2805--2849, 2913--2952

Lucas, Luk, Luke

St. Luke the Evangelist

12581, 13442, 13977, 21195, 21275, 21294, 21320, 21325

Lucifer, Lucifere

Lucifer; name of Satan before he fell

442, 473, 480, 516

Lumbardye

Lombardy

20880\textsuperscript{a}, 20974

Macedonea

Macedonia

21122

Madan\textsuperscript{1}

Madai, son of Japhet and grandson of Noah

2183

Madan\textsuperscript{2}

Medan, son of Abraham and Keturah

3389

Madian\textsuperscript{1}

Midian, son of Abraham and Keturah

3390

Madian, Madyon\textsuperscript{2}

Midian; land to which Moses fled after killing an Egyptian

5680, 5731, 6433
Magdalene, Maudelene, Maudeleyn
Mary Magdalene
189, 13967°, 13995, 14232, 16751
see also Mary³

Magog¹
son of Japhet and grandson of Noah
2183

Magog²
land of Magog
22332
see also Gog

Magus
Simon Magus; put to death by Peter
19517°, 19563, 20891, 22161
see also Symon⁶

Mahoune, Maumet, Maumete
Mahomet
2284, 7458, 11754

Malahiel¹
Mahalaleel, son of Cainan; in the line of Seth
1461

Malahiel²
Mehujael (Vulg. Maviel); in southern version of CM regarded as son of Enoch; in the line of Cain
1509°

Malches
Malchus; Peter cut off his ear and Jesus healed it
1461, 15799, 15815

Mambré
Mamre; mountain in Canaan
2481, 2705

Manasse, Manassen¹
Manasseh, son of Joseph, Jacob's son
5236, 5437

Manasses²
Manasseh, son of Hezekiah; one of the kings of Judah
9181, 9185

Marcus, Marke
St. Mark the Evangelist
13442, 21237, 21250, 21274, 21295, 21237, 21250, 21274

Maria¹
Miriam, sister of Moses and Aaron
5606

Maria, Marie, Mary, Marye, Maryes²
the Virgin Mary

Mary³
Mary Magdalene; equated with Mary sister of Martha and Lazarus; washed Jesus' feet
189, 13995, 14002, 14070, 14080, 14083, 14090, 14108, 14111, 14129, 14140, 14232, 14240, 14245, 14275, 14279, 14288, 14302, 14310
see also Magdalene

Mary⁴
Mary Cleophas, daughter of St. Anne and Cleophas; half-sister of the Virgin Mary; wife of Alphæus
12549°, 12666, 16752

Marye⁵
Mary, daughter of St. Anne and Salomas; half-sister of the Virgin Mary; wife of Zebedee
12696

Martelle
wife of St. Peter? Saint and martyr?
21187°

Martha
sister of Mary and Lazarus
191, 13966, 14080, 14083, 14088, 14090, 14096, 14104, 14129, 14140, 14240, 14250, 14274, 14320, 14324
Masye
Asia
2087
see also Asy

Matan, Mathan
Matthan, son of Levi, Eliud’s son; in the Virgin Mary’s genealogy
9246, 9247, 12745, 12746

Mathe, Matheu, Mathew, Metheu
St. Matthew, the Apostle and the Evangelist
13297, 13442, 18873, 21107, 21117, 21227, 21273, 21291, 21293, 21319, 21323

Matheu, Mathi, Mathias
Matthias; chosen as an apostle to take the place of Judas Iscariot
18900, 18908, 21156, 21159

Matussale
Methuselah, son of Enoch; in the line of Seth
1483

Matussalel
Methusael, son of Mehujael; in the line of Cain
1510

Maudelene, Maudeleyn
see Magdalene

Maumet, Maumete
see Mahoune

[Mauretania]
see Mortaygne

[Mavel]
see Malalyel

Maximilla
inspired by the Cross-wood to prophesy the Crucifixion in the time of Solomon
8902
see also Cristiane

Mecheas, Mechias
Micah, the prophet
9168, 183354

[Medan]
see Madan

Mede
the Medes
21094

[Mehujael]
see Malalyel

Melcha
Milcah, daughter of Haran
2312

Melchior
one of the Magi
11497

Melchisedech
Melchizedek, priest and king of Salem; another name for Shem, Noah’s son
2142

Melchisedech
Melchizedek, priest and king in the time of Abraham
2535

Menian
one of seven men ordained by the apostles
19390

Mephaim
Mizraim, son of Ham and grandson of Noah
2192

[Meschech]
see Mosog

Mesopotany, Mesopothanye
Mesopotamia
3230, 3253, 21149

Metody
Methodius
2004

Metheu
see Mathe

[Micah]
see Mecheas

Michael, Michaele, Mychael, Mychele
St. Michael, the archangel
496, 17930, 17941, 18380, 18455, 20669, 22401, 22405
Michol
- Michal, daughter of Saul and wife of David
- 7646

[Mizraim]
- see Mephaim

Moab
- son of Lot
- 2951

Moise, Moysen, Moyses, Moysy
- Moses

Mortaygne
- Mauretania
- 2116

Mosog
- Meschech, son of Japhet and grandson of Noah
- 2184

[Naamah]
- see Noema

Nabetheus
- Nabataeans? a people in Canaan
- 2453

Nabugodonosor
- Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon
- 9209

Nachor
- Nahor, son of Serug; grandfather of Abraham; in the line of Shem
- 2172

Nachor, Nacor
- Nahor, son of Terah; brother of Abraham
- 2306, 2307, 2334

Nason
- Naashon (Vulg. Nahasson), son of Aminadab; in the line from Abraham to David
- 7855, 7856

Natan, Nathan
- Nathan, the prophet
- 7912, 7956

Nazareth
- 10164, 10826, A6, 11017, 11118, 11128, 12272, 12638, 12646, 13246, 13257, 15751

[Nebuchadnezzar]
- see Nabugodonosor

Nembrot, Nembroth
- Nimrod, son of Cush and grandson of Ham; built the Tower of Babel
- 2195, 2199, 2215, 2223, 2283

Neptalim
- part of Galilee
- 13247

Neptalym
- Naphtali, son of Jacob and a concubine
- 3902

Nero
- Nero, the Roman emperor
- 20909, 20987

Nichodeme, Nychodeme, Nychodemus
- Nicodemus; high-ranking Jew and supporter of Jesus; associated with Joseph of Arimathea
- 14846, 16853, 17294, 17298, 17535, 17563, 17650, 17653, 17812, 18496, 18513

Nichomor
- Nicanor; one of seven men ordained by the apostles
- 19390

Nicolas
- Nicholas; one of seven men ordained by the apostles
- 19391

[Nimrod]
- see Nembrot
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Nyle
River Nile
4752, 4778

Nynue
Nineveh; city in Assyria destroyed in the time of Josiah
9191

Noe, Noes, Noeus
Noah
135, 1043, 1234, 1236, 1424, 1425,
1489, 1623–1633, 1723–1756, 1802–
2049, 2058, 2081, 2084, 2176, 3983,
5029, 5347, 9673, 12222, 23658

Noema
Naamah, daughter of Lamech and sister of Tubalcain; in the line of Cain
1524

[Numidia]
see Indie

[Obadiah]
see Abdyas

Obeth
Obed, son of Boaz and grandfather of David.
7857

Ozias
see Osyas

Oliuete. Olyuete
Mount of Olives; hill near Jerusalem
13690, 14940, 15155, 15582, 17483,
17544, 17744, 18762, 22981

Olyuere
Oliver; one of the paladins of Charlemagne
21910

Oreb
heathen leader in the time of Gideon
7025n

Orpheus
7028

Osee
Hosea, the prophet
9167

Osyas, Ozias
Azariah (also Uzziah); regarded as son of Joram; one of the kings of Judah
9163n, 9171

Othomel
Othniel; regarded as son of Caleb; one of the Judges of Israel
7001n

Panera, Pantra
Panthar, son of Levi and brother of Matthan; in the Virgin Mary’s genealogy
9246n, 9250n, 12745n, 12749

Papilon
a variant spelling of Babylon; in CM, the place where St. Michael is to kill Antichrist
22402n

[Paran]
see Pharan

Parys
Paris, the Trojan
7049n

Parpantera, Perpantera
Barpanthar, son of Panthar; grandfather of the Virgin Mary
9250, 9251n, 12749n, 12750

Parth
in CM, mountain where the apostle Matthew’s body is preserved
21125

Parthia
21094

Paul
see Poul

[Peleg]
see Phaleth

Peres, Peris, Pers
Persia
2105, 6999, 21094, 22097, 22228

Perpantera
see Perpantera
Perus, Peter, Petre, Petres, Petrus, Petur
St. Peter the Apostle
13274, 13312–13334, 15301–15315,
15357, 15364, 15495, 15519–15557,
15591, 15655, 15659, 15789, 15795,
15805–15818, 15883, 15913–15952,
15996, 16011, 18871, 188878, 18969,
19015–19085, 19143, 19190, 19233–
19281, 19494, 19542–19597, 19747–
19796, 19803–19899, 19903–19989,
20377, 20416, 20686–20692, 20723–
20757, 20859, 20895, 20992, 21080,
21183–21189, 21238, 21249, 22602,
23530–23535

Perus² (Maior)
Peter Comestor
1921n

Petronelle
St. Petronella, daughter of St. Peter
in CM
21187

Phaleth
Peleg, son of Eber; in the line of
Shem
2165

Pharan
Paran; desert where Ishmael lived
3082

Pharao, Phareo¹
Pharaoh; ruler of Egypt in the time of
Joseph
4512, 4660, 4869, 5101, 5333

Pharao, Pharaoh, Pharaon, Pharaons,
Pharaos, Phareo²
Pharaoh; ruler in Egypt in the time of
Moses
5478, 5565–5591, 5762, 5763, 5796,
5808–5887, 5906, 5948–5971, 6005–
6057, 6179, 6201–6260, 6304, 6436,
6507, 6838, 11789, 14403, 14404

Phares
Pharez, son of Judah; in the line from
Abraham to David
7851

Phariees, Phariseus, Pharisewis
Phariees; Jewish sect
13577, 13588, 13698, 14824, 19296

Phelip, Philip, Philipp¹
St. Philip the Apostle
13465, 13466, 13480, 18872, 21079,
21183

Phelipp, Philip²
Philip, second son of Herod the Great
13011, 13019, 13042

Phelip, Philippis, Philip, Philipp³
Philip the Deacon; one of seven men
ordained by the apostles
19389n, 19509n, 19528, 19532,
19536, 19553

Philistiene, Philistiens
Philistine(s)
6181, 7091, 7094, 7150, 7155, 7161,
7165, 7178, 7189, 7439, 7634, 7791,
7979

[Phison]
see Fison

[Phrygia]
see Frigie

Phua
Puah; midwife commanded by
Pharaoh² to kill the Israelite boy-
children at the time of Moses' birth
5552

Phut
son of Ham and grandson of Noah
2192

Pigre
river in Paradise
1038n

Pilat, Pilate, Pilatis
Pontius Pilate
16023–16091, 16114–16160, 16204–
16239, 16301–16399, 16407–16427,
16686, 16803–16883, 16901, 17333,
17770, 18515–18524, 19093

Piscina Probitaca
pit into which the Jews threw the
Cross-wood
8928n
Piscine
regarded as the proper name of a
stream or pool in Jerusalem where
miraculous cures occurred
13761
cf. Siloe

[Pithom]
see Fyton

Ponce (Pilate)
Pontius (Pilate)
18524
see also Pilat

[Potiphar]
see Putifar

Poul, Poule, Paul, Poules
St. Paul the Apostle
19466, 19684, 19736, 19737, 20925,
21199, 21219, 22219, 22237, 22271,
22612, 22816, 22992
see also Saul

Pountenay
see Edmounde of Pounteney

Pounty
Pontus
21150

Preamus
Priam, King of Troy
7037

[Puah]
see Phua

Putifar, Putifares
Potiphar, Egyptian official who
bought Joseph as a slave
4243, 4249, 4254, 4259, 4363, 4407,
4417, 4621, 5283

[Ragan]
Ragan
Reu, son of Peleg; in the line of Shem
2167

[Raguel]
Raguel
Reuel, father-in-law of Moses; also
called Jethro
5706, 5708

[Ram]
see Aaron

Ramatha
Ramah; home of Samuel
7677

Rameses
Raamses; town which the Egyptians
built using the Israelites as labourers
5529

Ranese
Rameses; part of Egypt given to
Jacob and his sons
5382

Rapidym
Rephidim; place where Joshua and
the Israelites fought against Amaleck
6406

Rebecca, Rebecka
Rebecca, wife of Isaac
2310, 3286, 3338, 3346, 3355, 3369,
3375, 3426, 3432, 3667, 4024

Regma
Raamah, son of Cush and grandson
of Ham
2194

[Rehoboam]
see Roboam

[Reu]
see Ragan

[Reuben]
see Ruben

[Reuel]
see Raguel

Riphat
Riphath, son of Gomer and grandson
of Japhet
2186
Robardes (Seynt)
  Robert Grosseteste
  9516

Roboam
  Rehoboam, son of Solomon
  9140, 9141

Romayne, Romane, Romaynye, Rome,
Romes, Roome
  Rome
  2125, 8535, 9174, 9176, 14498,
  18522, 20904, 20909, 20915, 20987,
  22231–22269, 22319, 22343

Romulus
  founder of Rome
  9173

Rouland, Roulande
  Rowland; chief of Charlemagne’s
  paladins
  15, 21910

Ruben
  Reuben, eldest son of Jacob (by
  Leah)
  3896, 4120, 4147, 4169, 4197, 4793,
  4947, 4986, 5014, 5021, 5049, 5117,
  5200, 5203

Saba
  Seba, son of Cush and grandson of
  Ham
  2193

Sabatha
  Sabtah, son of Cush and grandson of
  Ham
  2194

Sadoch
  Sadoc, son of Azor; in the Virgin
  Mary’s genealogy
  9239, 9241

Saduces, Saducis
  Sadducees; Jewish sect
  19123, 19291, 19595

Sagabatah
  Sabtechah, son of Cush and grandson
  of Ham
  2194

Salamon, Salamone, Salmon¹
  see Salomon

Salatiel
  Salathiel, son of Jechonias; in the
  Virgin Mary’s genealogy
  9234, 9235

Sale
  Salah, son of Arphaxad; in the line
  of Shem
  2161

Salem
  city of Melchizedek; early name of
  Jerusalem
  2145

Salmana
  Zalmunna; heathen leader in the time
  of Gideon
  7025

Salmon²
  son of Naashon; in the line between
  Abraham and David
  7856

Salomas
  third husband of St. Anne
  12694

Salomon, Salomones, Salomonne,
Salomoun, Salamon, Salamone, Salmon¹,
Solomon
  Solomon, King of Israel; son of
  David
  149, 7962, 8310, 8312, 8383, 8403,
  8416, 8444, 8539, 8555, 8565, 8573,
  8580, 8653, 8659, 8748, 8751, 8757,
  8792, 8851, 8858, 8871, 8883, 8956,
  8978, 8988, 9007, 9041, 9075, 9094,
  9116, 9133, 10216, 14432, 14612,
  14762, 14808, 22121

Samaritanes
  people of Samaria
  19540

Samary
  Samaria
  19512

[Samgar]
  see Sanygath

Samy
  a prophetess
  9184

Sampson, Sampsons
Samson
4298, 7084, 7093, 7104–7192, 7201, 7213, 7215, 7250, 7256, 7263, 9003, 10344
Samuel, Samuele
Samuel, the prophet
7284, 7287, 7301, 7313, 7315, 7343, 7359, 7379, 7382, 7390, 7676, 10343
Sanygath
Shamgar (Vulg. Samgar); one of the Judges of Israel
7013
Sara, Sare, Sarra
Sarah, wife of Abraham
2331, 2401, 2437, 2591, 2603, 2607, 2613, 2683, 2716, 2720, 2721, 2963, 2972, 3007, 3026, 3209, 3376, 3387, 3404, 3425, 10484, 10517
Sare
Sarah, regarded by CM as the daughter of Haran
2312
Satan, Satanias, Sathan, Sathanas, Sathonas, Saton, Satone
Satan
480, 713, 725, 745, 7446, 9052, 9482, 11903, 11940, 12023, 12992, 15388, 15521, 16927, 17977, 17993, 18011, 18025, 18049, 18073, 18080, 18084, 18217–18285, 19238, 19884, 22058, 23188
Saturneus
Saturn
6997
Saul, Saules
Saul, King of Israel
147, 7324–7350, 7406–7493, 7603–7698, 7703–7780, 7800–7861, 14428
Saul
later St. Paul
19463, 19465, 19497, 19603, 19617, 19633, 19643, 19662, 19686, 19705, 19718, 20925
see also Poul
Scarioth
Judas Iscariot; the betrayer of Jesus
13300, 14554, 15218
see also Iudas
[Scythia]
see Sithi
[Seba]
see Saba
Sebastians
place where John the Baptist was buried
13212
Sedechias
Zedekiah; king when the Jews fell into captivity
9200
Sedek
another name for Shem, Noah's son
2141
Seem, Sem
Shem, son of Noah
1629, 2043, 2059, 2089, 2092, 2135, 2137, 2139, 2141, 2151, 2153, 2279
Seeth, Seep, Seth, Sey
Seth, son of Adam
1204, 1242, 1247, 1249, 1283, 1295, 1309, 1323, 1363, 1387, 1415, 1446b, 1449, 1464, 1502, 17927, 17937, 17945
Segor
Zoar; city to which Lot fled on the destruction of Sodom
2836
[Scir]
see Syer
Semare, Sennare
Shinar; land where Nimrod built the Tower of Babel
2213, 2222
Sephora
Shiprah, one of the midwives commanded by Pharaoh to kill the Israelite boy-children
5552
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Sephoram

Zipporah, wife of Moses
5710, 6438

Serut

Serug, son of Reu; in the line of Shem
2169

Seth

See Seeth

Seth

Author of a book prophesying the Star of Bethlehem
11398

[Shamgar]

See Sanygath

[Shechem]

See Sichen

[Shem]

See Seem

Sichen, Sichym

Shechem; place in Canaan associated with Joseph, Jacob's son
2380, 5267, 6963

Siloce

Siloam; stream or pool in Jerusalem; the scene of miraculous cures
8947, 13550, 13570, 13815

Cf. Piscine

Sirie, Sulie, Suly

Syria
2106, 6305, 21105

Sithi

Scythia
20999

Syer

Seir; home of Esau
4021

Symeon

Simeon, son of Jacob and Leah
3896

Symeon, Symeons

Simeon; lived to see the infant Jesus
11315, 11327, 11358, 14439, 17053, 17721, 17729, 17792, 17886

Symeoun

Simon, son of Joseph, husband of the Virgin Mary
12546

Symeoun, Symond, Symound, Symounde

Simon; at his house Mary Magdalene washed Jesus' feet
13986, 13990, 14019, 14029, 14031, 14050, 14054

Symeoun, Symound, Symon (Zelote)

Simon the Zealot; one of the Twelve Apostles
13298, 18873, 21165

See also Chananeia

Symon (Magus), Symound

Simon Magus; attempted to buy magical power; put to death by Peter
19517, 19530, 19563, 20891, 20903, 22161

Symon, Symoundis

Simon; host of Peter in Joppa
19800, 19820, 19895

Synay

Mount Sinai
6361, 6459

Syon

Zion; hill in Jerusalem
19204

[Syria]

See Sirie

Sodom, Sodomam

Sodom
2475, 2531, 2735, 2741, 2766, 2843

Solomon

See Salomon

Speyne

See Hispanye

Steuen

St. Stephen Protomartyr; one of seven men ordained by the apostles
19389, 19403–19481, 19510

Suly

See Sirie

[Tabitha]

See Thabita
[Tarshish]  
see Tharsis

[Tarsus]  
see Thars

[Terah]  
see Thare

Thabita  
Tabitha; another name for Dorcas; raised from the dead by Peter
19762, 19787
see also Dorca

Thadew  
Thaddaeus; surname of Judas; one of the Twelve Apostles
13288
see also Judas

Thamor  
one of seven men ordained by the apostles
19389

Thare  
Terah, son of Nahor and father of Abraham
2173, 2175, 2305

Thars  
Tarsus; home of Saul (Paul)
19662, 20937

Tharsis  
Tarshish, son of Javan and grandson of Japhet
2188

Thebas  
Thebes
7004

Themas  
Damascus in Canaan
2520
see also Damas

[Thola]  
see Tola

Thomas (Didimus)  
St. Thomas the Apostle
13299, 14218, 18680, 18692, 18695, 18699, 18872, 21089

Tiberiade  
Sea of Tiberias
13453

Tigre  
River Tigris
1037, 1317

Tiras  
son of Japhet and grandson of Noah
2184

Tymon  
Timon; one of seven men ordained by the apostles
19390

Tobal  
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Togoriens  
Togarmah, son of Gomer and grandson of Japhet
2186

Tola  
one of the Judges of Israel
7029

Traian  
Trajan, the Roman emperor
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Tristram  
Tristan; hero of medieval romance and lover of Isolde
17

Troye  
Troy, the city
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Tubal  
son of Japhet and grandson of Noah
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Tubaltaine, Tubaltayne  
Tubalcain, son of Lamech; in the line of Cain
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Vry, Vrye  
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Vtayne, Vteyne
maidservant of St. Anne
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Wawayn
Sir Gawain; Arthur’s nephew
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Zabulon¹
Zebulun, son of Jacob and Leah
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Zabulon²
Zabulon; part of Galilee
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Zachary, Zacharye, Zakary
Zacharias, father of John the Baptist
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Zeb
Zeeb; heathen leader in the time of
Gideon
7026n

Zebedee, Zebedei
Zebedee, father of the apostles James
and John
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Zebee
Zebah; heathen leader in the time of
Gideon
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[Zebulun]
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[Zedekiah]
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Zeno
dead child restored to life by the
child Jesus
12297

[Zion]
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[Zipporah]
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Zorobabel¹
son of Salathiel; in the Virgin Mary’s
genealogy
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Zorobabel²
writer about the Last Days
22440n