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LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE NOUS L'AVONS RECEUE
17289-21346 from MS College, of Arms, Arundel LVII

Peter H. J. Mous

Dissertation submitted to the University of Ottawa, Department of English, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Spring, 1980.

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# Table of Contents

Introduction........................................... 1  
The Structure of CM 17289-21346.................. iii  
The Manuscript....................................... v  
Other Manuscripts of CM............................. viii  
The Form of the Poem................................. xvi  
Manuscript Relations.................... xx  
Dialect............................................. xxiv  
Date................................................ xxvi  
Provenance and Authorship.................... xxviii  
Genre............................................... xli  
Sources........................................ xliv  
Editorial Principles.............................. 1  
Text............................................. 1  
Introduction to Critical Apparatus............ 198  
Abbreviations.................................... 424  
Explanatory Notes................................. 199  
Bibliography..................................... 427
Introduction

The object of the present edition of the New Testament section of CM1 17289-21346 is, first of all, to present a self-contained segment of a MS which had hitherto not been published2, and, secondly, to examine its exegetical sources. The MS is College of Arms, Arundel LVII (referred to in this text as "H"), and the material included in this part comprises the important events of the New Testament, from the Burial of Christ by Joseph of Arimathea through the account of the Apostles and Evangelists.3

1 A table of abbreviations used in this thesis is found on pp. 424-26.
2 Since four leaves of MS H are missing (ll. 20983-21344), MS T, which generally follows H very closely, has been used to fill the gap in the narrative. There are a few excerpts found in the four versions edition of Morris; see CM pp. 1024-32, for MS 5's missing lines 17853-18028; and pp. 1082-88, for lines 18895-992 of MS F.
3 See CM Part V, p. 5b, Calendarium de Cursor Mundi (Laud MS. 416). The NT section of this dissertation corresponds to "The 6th Age of the World" an episodic outline of which is found in CM vol. VII, pp. 61*-62*.
The present work is part of an edition of the complete MS under the general direction of Dr. A.P. Campbell, with Dr. Sarah Horrall as General Editor.⁴

⁴ See the first Volume of The Southern Version of Cursor Mundi, edited by Sarah M. Horrall, The University of Ottawa Press, Ottawa, Canada, 1978. Subsequent volumes to be edited are by Dr. Henry Stauffenberg, Mr. Roger Fowler, myself, and again Dr. Horrall.
The Structure of CM 17289-21346

Morris's edition of this section of the CM shows the following textual headings: the heading of 17289-17364, however, is found in L, T, and H.

17289-17364 Of Ioseph of aramathi: To speke now spethe wol I

17365-17780 The Resurrection of Christ

17781-17848 The Resurrection of Simeon's two Sons

17849-18512 The Writing of Carius and Lenthius on Christ's Entry into Hell

18513-18638 Pilate's Letter to Rome

18639-18660 Christ is like a Lion

18661-18758 Our Lord's Life after He had Risen

18759-18816 The Ascension of Christ

18817-18862 A Description of the Person of Christ

18863-18910 The Acts of the Apostles

18911-19214 The Descent of the Holy Spirit

19215-19286 The Falsehood of Ananias and Sapphira

19287-19402 The Apostles are Imprisoned and Set Free by an Angel

19403-19476 The Stoning of Stephen

19447-19516 The Persecution of the Christians, and Saul's Hand in it
19517-19600 Simon Magus Wishes to Buy Holy Gifts
19601-19748 Of Paul and his Conversion
19749-20010 Peter Sees a Vision and Preaches to the Heathen
20011-21682 Of the Assumption of Our Lady
20683-20848 Of Our Lady's Body
20849-20994 Of the Works and Death of Each of the Apostles
20995-21008 Andrew
21009-21018 James the Greater
21019-21078 John the Evangelist
21079-21088 Philip
21089-21104 Thomas Didymus
21105-21116 Bartholemew
21117-21126 Matthew the Evangelist
21127-21146 James the Less
21147-21154 Judas the Good
21155-21164 Mathew (i.e. Matthias)
21165-21194 Simon Zelotes
21195-21216 Luke the Evangelist
21217-21236 Barnabas
21237-21346 Mark
The Manuscript of the CM

MS H of the CM, used in this edition, is MS. Arundel LVII, fols. 100⁻¹36 of the College of Heralds.

The MS's binding is brown leather, the backing, or spine, showing five protruding goldlined bands covering the sewing cords and the edges of the leaves, as medieval manuscripts sometimes were probably gilt edged, although they now have a blackened appearance. The number "57" has been tooled on the spine. On the front cover is found the oval shaped monogram seal of the College of Heralds bearing the inscription:

SIGILLVM: COMVNEX: CORPORACIONIS: OFFICII: ARMORVM,
around the central figure of a shield showing a bird in each quadrant, the shield flanked on each side by a lion. Over this shield is seen a crowned helmet on which an eagle is perched. The bound volume measures 13x9" and is approximately 3" thick.

On the inside cover is written

LXX N57

This book belongs to
the
College of Arms, London
There is an inserted letter which reads:

Mrs Lamb  

Arundel Manuscript N. 57  

("Cursor Mundi" and "Prick of Conscience")

Professor Angus McIntosh of Edinburgh University examined this today and told me that, in his opinion, it was almost certainly written at Lichfield\(^1\) in the early 15th century.

Garter has asked that you should note this.

F.S. Andrus

The next two pages are leaves taken from a Gregorian chant book. There is a number cclvii, and a Sequence\(^2\) to Mary, with some variants, abbreviations, and omissions, compared with the Liber Usualis.

---

\(^1\) The opinion that the MS was copied at Lichfield is also found in Margaret Grace Dareau and Angus McIntosh, "A Dialect Word in Some West Midland Manuscripts of the Prick of Conscience", Edinburgh Studies in English and Scots, eds. A.J. Aitken, et al. (London, 1971), p. 21.

\(^2\) See Liber Usualis, p. 1861: "Inviolata, integra, et casta es Maria..."
The CM is copied on folios 1⁰-132⁵. The handwriting has been termed a clear "lettre batarde", without the usual slant, however.¹ "It begins with l. 153 on leaf 1, sign A. ii, col. 1, and ends with l. 23838, as T, on leaf 132b."² It is written in double columns of 40 lines each, except for the Passion Story (ll. 14934 ff., fols. 88⁵-100⁵), which has single columns.

The MS contains, moreover, a partial copy of the Prick of Conscience (fols. 133⁰-175⁵). Five leaves are missing between fols. 132 and 133 (originally the first 80 lines of the poem). The last line of fol. 175⁵ is l. 8278 of the Prick of Conscience. Other lines that are missing (1346 lines) would have covered about 9 more folios after fol. 175.

¹ Cf. Charles Moorman, Editing the Middle English Manuscript (Jackson, Miss., 1975), pp. 21-22.
Collation

Dr. Horrall's collation is the only true collation established.¹

Collection of Arundel MSS

They were collected, according to T.C. Skeat, by Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel (1585-1645).² However, Arundel LVII was not among the Earl's MSS.³

Other MSS of "CM"

C (BM Cotton Vespasian AiIII, fols. 2r-163v).⁴

⁴ MS C is described in A Catalogue of the MSS in the Cottonian Library, Deposited in the British Museum (London, 1802); Rupé, CM, pp. 63*-65*.
a) date: 1375-1400
b) The most complete study is by Lamberts.  

c) copied in or near Durham
d) edited in full by Morris
e) dialect, Northern

F (Bodl. 3894 Fairfax 14, fols. 4r-123v)

a) date: the MED places this MS between 1375-1400.
b) There is a note on the history of this MS in
c) copied in Lancaster
d) edited in full by Morris
e) dialect, Northwest Midland

2 A map of Middle English dialect areas is found in
3 The description of this MS is found in
4 S. Moore, Meech and Whitehall, ME Dialect Characteristics, p. 2.
G (Göttingen Univ. theol. 107 fols. 1\textsuperscript{V}-169\textsuperscript{V})

a) date: 1375-1400 (MED)

b) studies: Die Handschriften\textsuperscript{1}, Hupé\textsuperscript{2}

c) copied near Worcester (Hupé, CM p. 132*),
est of the ancient diocese of Lichfield and Coventry.

d) edited in full by Morris.

T (Trin. Camb. 588 (R.3.8) fols. 1\textsuperscript{N}-142\textsuperscript{V})

a) date: 1375-1400 (MED)

b) 2 studies, one by M.R. James\textsuperscript{3}, and the other
one by Angus McIntosh\textsuperscript{4}, near Lichfield\textsuperscript{5}

\textsuperscript{1} The Ms is described in Die Handschriften in Göttingen: II Universitäts-Bibliothek (Berlin, 1893), p. 353.

\textsuperscript{2} Hupé, CM, pp. 65*-66*.

\textsuperscript{3} Described by M.R. James, The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College Cambridge, II (Cambridge, 1901).

\textsuperscript{4} Angus McIntosh, "A New Approach to Middle English Dialectology," English Studies, XLIV (1963), rpt. in Roger Lass, ed. Approaches to English Historical Linguistics (New York, 1969), pp. 396-98. It is almost certain that, like H, the MS was copied near Lichfield (cf. letter on p. ii of this dissertation).

\textsuperscript{5} Hupé, CM p. 135* writes "Our scribe (T) belongs to the South-Midland, and more towards the West;..."
c) edited in full by Morris

d) dialect, S. Midlands (Hupe, p. 135*)

I (Bodl. 1479 - Laud Misc. 416 - fols. 66r- 181v)

a) date: 1459 (a date recorded in the MS itself)
b) described in Summary Catalogue¹ and Hupe²

c) A note indicating that the MS owner was one 
    "syster Ann Colvillè" enables researchers to 
    place the MS just outside of London at the 
    Bridgettine Abbey of St. Saviour, the Blessed 
    Virgin Mary, and St. Bridget of Syon.³

d) The MS has not been edited, except for some 
   parts taken by Morris to fill up gaps in MS F.

e) dialect, Extreme S.E. Midland.

² Hupe, CM pp. 68*-69*.
B (BM Addit. 36983, fols. 1⁰-117⁰, 127⁰-158⁰)

a) date: later MS, dated 1442 (cf. fol. 215⁰)
b) described in Catalogue¹
c) MS has not yet been edited
d) dialect, SE Midland ²

¹ A description of the MS is found in Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years MDCCCI-MDCCCV (London, 1907).

² Hupé, CM, p. 103* ascribes L and B to "the extremest South of the East-Midland dialect". This text of CM substitutes extracts from two other poems for portions of the original. A part of the Meditationes Vitae Christi replaces ll. 14916-17288 of the CM, and ll. 4085-6407 of the Prick of Conscience have been substituted for ll. 22005 ff. of the CM.
The extant fragments of the CM

1. E (MS of the Royal College of Physicians, known as the Edinburgh Fragment, fols. 37⁰-50⁰; 16r-36v)
   a) date: 1375-1400 (MED)
   b) description Hupé, CM 62*-63*; Willy Hörnung¹
   c) in Scottish-English area
   d) Morris printed this MS
   e) dialect, "Northumbrian (or Scotch)", Hupé p. 130*

2. Add. (BM Addit. 31042, fols. 3r-32v)
   a) date: 1425-1475
   b) Karl Brunner², Karen Stern³, and Sarah Horrall⁴.
   c) copied by Robert Thornton, probably in the North Riding of Yorkshire.

¹ Willy Hörnung wrote a study of the MS entitled Die Schreibung der Hs E des Cursor Mundi, Diss. Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität (Berlin, 1906). The MS contains only ll. 18989-24968.
d) It has not been edited

e) dialect, Yorkshire (Northern)
Two MSS, MS Camb. Univ.

1. Cg 4.27.2 and BM Addit. 10036, comprising the narration of the Assumption of Mary were listed by Hupé as part of the CM. However, they are really copies of the earliest ME poem on the Assumption, a work which forms the basis for the CM poet's own section on this section.¹

2. MS McGill Univ. 142 presents a fragment of four leaves corresponding to 11. 20129-20314 of the CM dated ca.1400². Since Hupé originally included MSS of the Southern Assumption in his list of CM MSS, it was mistakenly considered a CM fragment. However, the MS is really a part of the Southern Assumption poem.³

¹ J. Burke Severs provides a bibliography in A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, II (Hamden, Conn., 1970), pp. 45-51, 642-44.


The Poem's Form

Morris\(^1\) divides CM into "seven ages of the world", which is followed by four poems, while the Northern redactions C and G contain seven additional poems.

\(^1\) Morris, CM pp. viii-ix.
I Chronological Division

1. Prologue: 1-270
2. 1st age: The Creation to Noah: 271-1626
3. 2nd age: The Flood to Babel: 1627-2314
4. 3rd age: Abraham to death of Saul: 2315-7860
5. 4th age: David's reign to Babylonian Captivity: 7861-9228
6. 5th age: Mary's parentage to John the Baptist: 9229-12751
7. 6th age: Christ's Baptism to the finding of the H. Cross: 12752-21846
8. 7th age: Doomsday and the subsequent state of the world: 21847-23908

Here end MSS H and T.

---

The theory that the world's history is patterned after the seven days of creation (Gen. 1:1-2:4) was first propounded by St. Augustine in De Civitate Dei, XXII, PL XLI, 804; Ernest G. Mardon, The Narrative Unity of the "Cursor Mundi" (Glasgow, 1970), ch. 1, pp. 19 ff.
II  Four Short Poems

9. Prayer to Our Lady: 23909-23944
10. The Sorrows of Mary: 23945-24658
11. Apostrophe to Saint John: 24659-24730
12. The Story of Elsey, and the Festival of the Conception: 24731-24970

Seven Additional Poems

13. An Exposition of the Creed: 24971-25102
15. Prayer to the Trinity: 25403-25486
16. A Prayer for the Hours of the Passion: 25487-25618
   (Matins of the Cross, cf. MS F): 25619-25683
17. A Song of the Five Joys of Our Lady (in MS G only)
   25619-25683
18. The Book of Penance (divided into four parts)
   25684-29547
Dr. Horrell mentions that CM exists in three different forms:

1. The oldest probably contained only Sections I and II of the above table. MS E, the Edinburgh fragment, might have had the form described in the Prologue (ll. 131-222). No copy of CM in this original form (if it ever existed) has come down to us.

2. The next form of the CM is found in the three northern MSS, C, F, and G, containing Morris's so-called "additions".

3. A modification and simplification of the shape of the poem were made in the fourteenth century when CM was recast in a southern dialect. The frequent changes mostly pertained to the vowels and Scandinavian vocabulary of the northern renditions. MSS H, T, L and B are the extant MSS of this southern version. They, however, contain only the items mentioned under section I, namely, those pertaining to the chronological history of the World, ending with the account of Doomsday, although the Prologues of these MSS state that the MS will treat topics II, 3 and II, 4 as well.

---

1 Horrell, CM pp. xi-xii.
2 Consult G's table of contents in Morris, CM V, pp. 2a-4a. For more extensive information, see Morris CM, pp. 985ff.
Manuscript Relations

As to the relationship between the CM MSS there are several theories offered. Hupé, in his essay on "The Filiation and Text of the Manuscripts", presents the following stemma, in which he holds T to be the immediate southern source for MSS B, L, and H.¹

However, the lack of certainty is shown in Hupé's subsequent statement only thirteen pages further. This was written some three years later (Hupé, p. l11*). He had reconsidered T's dependence upon G, and changed the

¹ Hupé, CM, p. 103*
stemma, although expressing "that it is not beyond doubt".¹

¹ Hupé, CM, p. 116*, where is also found the diagram with the changed stemma. See also H. Hupé, "Zum Handschriftenverhältniss und zur Textkritik des Cursor Mundi", Anglia XI (1889) 121-145, and Cursor Mundi, Anglia Beiblatt, I (1890-91), 133-36.
Max Kaluza, however, has T, H, B, and L all derive from a southern exemplar.¹

However, S. Horrall has clearly shown that H and T are really not interdependent, although they are clearly close in many respects. Moreover, considering the occurrence of lines found in original sources as well as in H and T, though not in C, F, and G, Kaluza's stemma, as she has demonstrated, is far from satisfactory.²

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² Horrall, CM, p. xvii.
It seems a safe conclusion to draw at this point, that all southern MSS, H, T, B, L, are derivatives of an unknown exemplar which is not extant any longer.
Dialect of MS H

The dialect of H, according to Hupé, is southwest Midland, while Angus McIntosh, as has been mentioned before (p. vi), places the copyist of the MS at Lichfield or in its immediate vicinity.

Throughout MS H linguistic changes, made during the scribe's translation from the northern to the southern dialect, are in evidence. One of the most frequently found is the vowel change from northern "a" to southern "o". Another frequent modification is found in the third person of the present indicative, both singular and plural. The southern "ep" ending has been substituted for the

---

1 Hupé, CM, p. 103*. When all sections of the text have been edited, the editors hope that a complete study of the dialect of H can be made.


3 See, e.g. 11. 17291 "wræþe/ wroþe", 17569 "mare/more", 17692 "stane/stone", 17738 "ga/go", 18883 "ane/ one", 1884 "slane/slene", 19851 " sare/sore".
northern "es". Sometimes one finds an occasional northern form as well.

Since it was not within the scope of the dissertation to present a thorough study of the dialect features, the above examples serve only to indicate some of the differences found in comparing the northern texts with the MS. H.

A more extensive treatment will appear in the printed edition of MS H in *Etudes médiévales de l'université d'Ottawa - Ottawa Medieval Texts and Studies* (Ottawa: The University of Ottawa Press).

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4 See, e.g. 11. 17408 "lyues/lyuevb, 17416 zeldevb, 17450 "lettes/lettevb", 17460 "holdevb, holdevb" 18487 "leuevb/leuevb", 18048 "makes/makevb", 18050 "stondevb/stondevb", 18088 "byndes/byndedvb", 18089 "enforcevb/enforcevb", 18240 "brekes/brekevb", 18464 "spekes/spekevb", 18702 "loues/louevb".

5 The Northern and North Midland ending "es" in this position occurs only rarely, as in "sayes"(17545, 21321), "falles"(20805), "calles" (20806), "seyes" (20775). The northern forms are usually retained because the redactor did not readily find a suitable rhyme-word for a southern modification.
In the chapter "The Author's Time and Dialect" of *Cursor Studies, and Criticism on the Dialects of its MSS.*, Dr. H. Hupé refers to Dr. J.A.H. Murray and says: "In his opinion, the *Cursor Mundi* was written near Durham, about 1275-1300 (while Alexander III reigned in Scotland), and was preserved in an orthography not much later."¹ He then states on philological grounds that the poem was written as early as the second half of the thirteenth century. His reasoning touches upon two facts: first, there was the disgraceful expulsion of the Jews in 1290, to which the author of the *CM* would have been expected to make some allusion; secondly, in 1279 Edward had issued a silver coin, to which the *CM* writer very likely would have referred, "in speaking of" the xxx penis' which Judas got for his treachery."² This would narrow it down to a period between 1255-80.³ The same period

¹ Hupé, *CM*, p. 186,*
² Hupé, *CM*, p. 187.*
³ Hupé, (ibid).
"the last quarter of the thirteenth century", is the date assigned by Dickens and Wilson.¹ "In Beginnings,"² the date "c. 1300-1325" appears, which coincides with MED³ (1325).

The Morris edition of the poem is entitled "Cursor Mundi , A Northumbrian Poem of the XIVth Century".

Therefore, the majority of scholars place the poem's composition between 1275-1325.⁴

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3 The latest and most authoritative of this and other MED datings come from Hans Kurath and Sherman Kuhn, eds. Middle English Dictionary: Plan and Bibliography (Ann Arbor, 1954), p. 35.
4 Jacob Justin Lamberts, The Dialect of Cursor Mundi (Cotton MS Vespasian A III), Diss. Michigan, 1953, pp. 3-4.
Provenance and Authorship

Morris states in the subtitle of his CM edition that the work is "A Northumbrian Poem", a view which agrees with the opinions of scholars. Northumbria, however, includes a large area, namely all of England north of the Humber and all of Scotland south of Clyde and Forth. The question is whether the CM was written in England or in Scotland.

When checking for evidence one comes to the conclusion that linguistic evidence is inconclusive. Smithers observes that "the numerous adoptions from ON (which total ca. 30) are unbookish words likely to have been current in speech, and imply an area densely settled by Scandinavian invaders." This Scandinavian element in the poet's vocabulary is principally found in MSS C and E. However, Scandinavian invaders did not settle in Scotland, except in the far northern part and in a small SW section.

1 A more extensive treatment of this topic is found in Horrall, CM, p. xxii ff. This section follows its basic outline.


The critics have divergent opinions on the question of Scottish or English provenance: Kaluza concludes that, since there must have been some Scottish in the original text, the CM was composed in Scotland;\(^1\) Otto Strandberg had to disagree with this view, because of facts referred to in the prologue (MS C 11. 232-50), which mentions that "his ilk book is [sic] es translate/ In to English tong to rede/ For the loue of Inglis lede,/ Inglis lede of Ingland".\(^2\)

Rolf Kaiser maintains that the CM found its origin in Scotland, because the poet's reference to English is simply a reference to the language. For example, Scottish nationalism, he maintains, came only after the fourteenth century.\(^3\) However, Kaiser cannot discover even one writer who applied the word "England" to southern Scotland. Finally, he decides that he is not sure, and says that "Ingland" may be merely a rhyme tag.

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1 Max Kaluza, "Zu den Quellen", p. 453.
Lamberts and Mardon accepted Kaiser's views, but line 24765, to which Mardon refers, is no real proof if one considers that the epithet "bastard" applied to William the Conqueror was merely an assertion of fact and no moral indictment.

Some additional arguments which might be brought forward include the question of the border between England and Scotland, which was already well established in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Besides, English Kings tended to exaggerate feudal relationships between the two countries, while there was a growing self-realization in Scotland of the thirteenth century, manifested in the growing interest in its own past.

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In short, ideallv and spiritually, the two countries had already drifted apart considerably by the time Edward I invaded Scotland in 1296.

The conclusion from the observations above would seem to be that one could hardly credit a Scottish poet with composing a monumental work, such as the CM, for his unfriendly neighbour south of the border. Another observation which underlines this conclusion is that the Church in Scotland had been a "filia specialis", directly responsible to the Holy See since 1192, and considered itself quite independent from English ecclesiastical influences. 1

An additional supporting argument is that the poet's mention that he wrote for "Inglis lede of England" (235), would seem to imply the intention of avoiding confusion, meaning to express the intention of an Englishman living in England close to the border.

One can offer a number of hypotheses when searching for an explanation for the presence of the fifty Scottish words, which Kaiser refers to. 2 The simplest and

---

most likely would have these words form the common linguistic property, at the time, of the English and Scottish along the border.

But what the CM itself reveals about the origin of its composition may be an initial step in the right direction.

The poet needed a good library, as can be deduced from the works he used in his composition, which were consulted in such a way that he must have had access to a good number of them at the same time.

As for the Latin source works used by the CM poet, many of the libraries of reasonable size would have contained them. Because of this, no definite library would come to mind. However, the French MSS would have been rarer, but of the MSS of Herman's Bible not one can be traced to the Northumberland area.

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2 There is, however, a MS, BM Royal A xxi, in which is found a copy of Herman's Bible. This copy from the thirteenth century is bound up with a fourteenth century copy of the De Imago Mundi, a work known to the CM poet and used by him. This MS was once in the possession of the Abbey of St. Thomas in Hagnaby, Lincolnshire, according to the MS inscription dating back to the fifteenth century.
When looking for a library as a likely place of composition, one cannot but note Durham Cathedral, whose library, according to J.W. Thompson, was one of the most outstanding.¹

N.R. Ker states that not more than 92 MSS are still extant from all Scottish libraries put together,² which again seems to lessen the likelihood of an alleged Scottish origin for the CM.

Another factor which must be taken into account in the search for the provenance and the author of the CM is the time and its conditions. In 1296 "The War of Independence" started, with armies from both sides crossing the border between England and Scotland and laying waste the countryside of the respective enemy. A year later finds almost all of Scotland revolting. Northumberland clergy fled to Durham. Subsequently, large parts of Scotland were con-


² Ker, Med. Libs., p. xi.
quered, but then the Scots came back to wreak havoc in northern England.

Durham was able to buy off the Scots and was spared for a long time, till the town was surprised one day because of a lapsed truce, and Robert Bruce wrought a slaughter and destruction in the town and the surrounding countryside, but was unable to take the castle and abbey. Durham's abbey, among all known possible places, is thus indicated as the place of composition of the CM.
Author

The opinions of critics range from secular to religious, and from active to contemplative. Laurel Braswell sees the author as a parish priest, perhaps a religious, because the poet has that pastoral attitude to instruct "lewed men", and paints a portrait of the ideal spiritual shepherd (ll. 27148 ff). There are also the injunction to confess to one's own parish priest (ll. 26171-3, in MSS C and F) and the reference of the poet to himself as a "cautif clerk" (1.23909). ¹ Ernest Mardon, on the contrary, places the poet in a larger monastery.²

It can be safely concluded that the poet was someone in Holy Orders. But of what group of clergy, secular or religious, he would have been a member is another point for consideration. He was in all probability no friar, because the injunction

\[ \text{For-pi que\n\nou o scrift has nede,} \\
\text{o pi pariche preist \ou \be \bede,} \\
\text{(ll. 26172-73, MSS C and F)} \]

² Mardon, The Narrative Unity, p. 197.
would make it rather unlikely that the poet would have been a member of the mendicant orders.

It would have been equally unlikely for the author of the CM to have been a Cistercian monk, because ll. 24731 ff. tell about the feast of the Immaculate Conception. Although this feast was of English origin in the West, the Cistercians did not celebrate it because St. Bernard de Clairvaux was opposed to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. The doctrinal belief took until the fourteenth century to spread throughout the whole Church.

It would also have only been remotely possible for the poet to have been a secular priest. Parish priests in the Middle Ages were not particularly noted for rather high intellectual pursuits. Parish churches, moreover, seem to have had a great dearth of books1, especially of the type that the poet used in the writing of the CM. Wormald mentions only one parish priest who

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1 Ker, Med. Libs., pp. 219-24. Among extant MSS, Ker has identified only 130 belonging to churches and chapels. Virtually all of these are service books, martyrologies and the like. Only four churches out of 126 had two books. The rest had only one a piece.
had his own library.\textsuperscript{1} Deanesly states that no English or French devotional literature was found in any recorded will of a secular priest. This would automatically exclude the access to Herman's Bible, or the Chateau d'amour, before the time of Wycliffe.\textsuperscript{2}

But Augustinian priests were in Northumbria, and they had Cathedral priories in Carlisle and St. Andrews. The Cathedral of Carlisle, and its library presumably, burned down in the great fire of May, 1292.\textsuperscript{3} Moreover, the Scots frequently invaded the territory and waged war, all conditions that were not conducive to the intellectual pursuits of clergy, even if some of the religious houses might have managed to survive.\textsuperscript{4}

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{1} Francis Wormald and C.E. Wright, \textit{The English Library before 1700} (London, 1958), p. 5.
\bibitem{2} Margaret Deanesly, \textit{The Lollard Bible} (Cambridge, 1920), p. 186.
\end{thebibliography}
A Benedictine monk is a more likely candidate in our quest for the poet of the CM. The achievements of the Benedictine Order find an explanation in the motto "Ora et Labora", which, in a sense, might be paraphrased as "devotion and scholarship." One point that speaks in favour of the Benedictine poet is that more Anglo-Norman works were found in Benedictine Libraries than in those of other regulars.¹

Durham had a Benedictine Cathedral priory with one of the richest libraries in the Middle Ages.² The Benedictines could lay claim to expertise and experience where building was concerned, and built an abbey at Durham, which did actually withstand the frequent ravages of Scottish plunderers.³ Monks from this English abbey erected and looked after a priory in Coldingham (Scotland), where, at the close of the thirteenth century, some thirty Benedictines from the motherhouse in Durham were counted among the resident monks. This might simply account for

¹ Legge, A-N in the Cloisters, pp. 111-2; cf. p. 52.
³ Ibid. p. xl.
the 50 Scottish words not found in other non-Scottish texts.

In conclusion, then, although no direct proof could be found, the indirect and circumstantial evidence does seem to point to Durham as the place where a monk composed the CM, within the confines of his monastery.
Genre

There seems to be little agreement among those who approached the problem of classifying the CM. Smithers describes it as "a monumental treatment (in 30,000 lines) of the spiritual history of man, from the Creation to the Day of Judgement."

But the CM has many aspects, as is evident from our examination of one portion of the MS. It has the aspect of history, as it gives, for example, the main facts of what happened to God's people from after Christ's death, through the Resurrection, Ascension, Pentecost, Assumption, and the missionary endeavours of the apostles. But the poet shows a specific view of history, one that was in vogue in Latin works of the twelfth century, as, for example, in Hugh of St. Victor, who saw history as an organized concatenation of events projected in time.  

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Because it was organized, he saw it as "an articulated continuity, whose themes made sense." However, our poet relates the events of history in a manner that serves his goals. Ten Brink notices this when he points to the poet's main artistic strength, namely, his sense of proportion, as is evident in the CM, where some incidents are told in great detail, as the preparation of Mary for her death, because she is the focal point of the CM, while other, possibly interesting, historical events, such as some O.T. wars in the time of the Jewish Kings, are passed over without any description.

The poem has the aspect of hagiography. In the section of the apostles and evangelists the essential elements of their virtuous lives are mentioned, especially


2 Ten Brink, Early English Literature, p. 289; Clara L. Thomson, in A.W. Ward and A.R. Waller, eds., The Cambridge History of English Literature (Cambridge, 1907), II 343; Dickens and Wilson, Early ME Literature, p. 114.
their last day, which in the martyrologies is referred to as a saint's "dies natalis".

Wells lists the CM as one of the "Comprehensive Works of Religious Instruction and Information." ¹ This must undoubtedly be one of the main goals the poet had in mind in composing this gigantic work. In the Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature the poem is found under "Moral and Religious Instruction." Frequently the poet includes sections of a moralizing nature.

However, the type of writing the CM represents is most naturally classified among the biblical paraphrases. French paraphrases preceded those in English by only a few years. They were written from the late twelfth century on.²

Some critics saw the CM in the romance tradition, especially because of the poet's introductory lines:
"Man yhernes rimes for to here/ And romans red on maneres sere".¹

All critical views referred to so far seem to have some aspects of truth, except, perhaps, the romantic one. This great divergency of content, however, must be held together by some structural unifying bond. Mardon calls this "artistic unity", which he says the poet has maintained by skillful synthesis of prophecy, legendary materials, and the Holy Roodtree. He then concludes by saying that "The whole monumental work is framed in the Medieval devotion to Our Lady."²

Two MSS show that the scribe himself was not clear about the genre; G refers to CM as "tretis", while T defines the work "a boke of storeys".

However, the CM shows in its "variety in unity" and "unity in variety" that it is a "generic compendium", incorporating the afore-mentioned aspects.

¹ Beryll Smalley,
² Mardon, 'The Narrative Unity', p. 15.
Sources of CM 17289-21346

As both antecedent writers of dissertations on segments of MS H have mentioned, to draw up an exhaustive list of all the poet's sources would be unfeasible, due to the universal character of the subject material. This is especially true for the NT sections, which have provided theological topics for a great deal of medieval writing.

There are, however, certain works which may be cited as having directly influenced the poet in the writing of ll. 17289-21346 of the poem.

1. **Biblia Sacra Vulgate Editionis**

Dr. Horrall observed that the CM poet used the Vulgate only occasionally in the O.T. section of the poem,\(^1\) while Dr. Stauffenberg noted a "considerable fidelity"\(^2\) to the NT in the segment preceding the material presented in this thesis. Neither statement, however, applies to ll. 17289-21346. Certain sections show significant

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\(^1\) Horrall, CM, p. xxii, n. 62.
\(^2\) Stauffenberg, CM, p. xxii.
dependence on the Biblical text, while other major segments are almost exclusively based on apocryphal material, incorporated to expand and clarify the Biblical narrative.

2. Evangelium Nicodemi (ll. 17289-18584).

As the poet says in line 17287-88, this section is taken from the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus:

Par- for wroght nichodeme a writ
I tell nu wit bi leue of itt.

In Evangelia Apocrypha¹ Tischendorf presents a text "adhibitis plurimis codicibus graecis et latinis", and has assembled under this title 1. Gesta Pilati (pp. 365-88), 2. Descensus (Latine A) (pp. 398-416), 3. Descensus (Latine B) (pp. 417-434).

The Evang. Mic. here refers to the composite text edited by Tischendorf.

There is, however, a more recently edited Latin text, The Gospel of Nicodemus, Gesta Salvatoris, edited by H.C. Kim.² This text has been used for comparison.

2. This text is an edition based upon the Codex Einsidlense, Einsiedeln Stiftsbibliotek, MS 326, published by the Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Toronto, 1973.
with the CM in the notes of this thesis and is referred to as Gesta Salv. It is a main source for part of the CM.

A Middle English poetic version is "The Middle English Harrowing of Hell and Gospel of Nicodemus".¹

3. Le Chateau d'amour² (ll. 18661-18750)

5. The Southern Assumption (ll. 20065-20848)

Three MSS: Assumptioun de Notre Dame, Cambr. Univ. MS.Gg.4.27.2 (referred to here as "Cambr."); Brit. Mus. Add. MS.10. 136.1f.62 (referred to here as "BM"); and Harl. MS 2382, 1f.78, bk.(referred to as "Harl.").⁴

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³ See PL CXCVIII, 1663 gg.

The poet intermittently uses the following sources:

1. *Acta Apostolorum*.

2. *Hermen: De l’assomption Nostre Dame von Herman de Valenciennes* (Greifswald, 1913).

3. *Trans. M.* which is *Sancti Melitonis Episcopi Sardensis de Transitu Virginis Mariae Liber*, an "appendice" to the following text.

4. Wace's *l'établissement de la fête de la conception de Notre-Dame* (shortened to *ND* in this dissertation), par MM. G. Mangel et G. S. Trebutien, ed. B. Mancel (Caen, MDCCCXLII).

5. *La vie de la Vierge Marie de maître Wace* (Tours, MDCCCLX)\(^1\), abbreviated to *VM* here.

   a) *De Vita et Morte Sanctorum*, *PL* LXXXIII, cols. 147-56.

   b) *Ad Opera S. Isidori Hispalensis Prolegomena*, *PL* LXXXI, cols. 393-94.

\(^1\) Publié d'après un manuscript inconnu aux premiers éditeurs, Imprimerie de J. Bouserez.
C) "Appendix CC", Liber de Ortu et Obitu Patrum. PL LXXXI, cols. 1285-94.


2 Beichner, ibid., p. 239: "I found that the passage on the Evangelists in the Cursor is a translation of an early Latin poem of Petrus Riga..."
Editorial Principles

This edition of CM 17289-21346 is designed as an exact reproduction of the appropriate section of MS Arundel LVII, emendations and conjectural readings being consigned to the footnotes. Extensive textual and philological remarks and discussions and comparisons with versions already published are found in the explanatory notes.

As both preceding editions of parts of MS H reproduced the original spacing as precisely as possible, including separation of compound prepositions, this edition aims to do the same. The punctuation of the MS has been reproduced without change. The slash-marks in the margin have also been retained. Where the text was imperfectly legible, the factor in transcription was frequency of pattern. Abbreviated words have been expanded, with the expansions underlined. One exception to this is the ampersand, which has been retained unexpanded.
To distinguish between the different types of capitals, the following terminology has been employed: large, medium, and small. "Large" means that the capital has the height of four lines of text, "medium", that it occupies two lines, and "small", that it is slightly higher than one textual line. The occasional small capital has a different shape when compared with the other small capitals which start each individual line.

The editor of the first part of MS: H used two sets of line numbers to refer to MS Arundel LVII and the four MSS published by Morris respectively. The editor of the second part of MS H, however, thought to forestall possible confusion by listing only the line numbers corresponding to the multiple Morris edition. The present text follows this procedure.

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1 Horrell, CM, p. lxxi. Each editor of the MS H consented to use Dr. Horrell's system of MS capital classification.

2 Stauffenberg, CM, p. xxviii.
Of Joseph of Arimathy

To speke now spede wole I

Of Joseph whenne he iewis knew
Pat he had buryed swete ihesu
Wrobe were they to him & wode
And al mengid in her mood
Pei sent seriauntis bennne to nym
Bope nychodeme & him
And opere twelue pat for him spake
Whenne pei souȝte ihesu wip wrake
Alle pei hem hid take ȝeme
But forþ com sir nychodeme
For he was ouer þo iewis þan
As her prince an hyȝe man
He coom to hem wipoute spare
As in her synagogue þei ware
3e men murpereres he seide so crous
How dar ȝe come in goddis hous
Pei seide what merin dostow
Pat so hast spoken for ihesu now
Pi part mot euer wip him be
Amen, amen, amen, seide he

The first two lines are a heading.
The initial O is a large decorated capital.
Also Joseph of aramathye
Coom forþ þo & asked whye 17310
Pat se me wyte for I wel did
With ihesu body þat I haue hid
In a toumbe was myn owen
Euel haue se don wolde se beknownen
Of þat riȝtful þat se dud honge 17315
And wrouȝt him mychel wo wiþ wronge
At þese wordis forþ þe leep
And leide hondis soone on Joseph
To calle iayleres were þei bolde
And bad do him up in holde 17320
Do him be kepte in prisouns astate
Til hit be past oure sabate
He hap vs done despite & shame
Perfore loke þat his licame
Vndir erbe not be graue 17325
But taken wilde beestis to haue
Penne seide joseph of aramathie
Me þinke se speke as dud golye
Dat vndirtoke to stryue & fiȝt
Wip dauid aȝeyn goddes myȝt
God hab seid gone ful longe
My self shal suffere þe iewis wronge
Pilat was þere but he was blende
Wenne he wasshen had his hende
He seide of þis man trewe & gode
I wol be sakles of his blode
And þe him þaf to vnswere
Let vs & ouris þe blame bere
Now hit shal as I ful wene
On þeu & þouris be al sene
Dei ladde Joseph as I haue tolde
To prisoun in to a stronge holde
Þere he of no món shulde haue siȝt
Ny no leme of dayes liȝt
Fro mete & drynke for to fast
And shutte þe doris at þe last
Wipinne & wipoute loken so
Þe lokes aseled wip lokes two
Pei sent aspyes also aboute
Pat he shulde not passe oute
Aftir her sabat so to gider
Alle wolde pei come gider
For to loke alle wip o rede
For to do Joseph to dede
Aftir pat sabat day was gone
Pidir coom pei euerychone
Undide pe lokes wip pe key
And als pe seelis dude awey
But Joseph pat pei laste here
Was awey pei ne wiste where
So ferde & mased po stood pay
Pat pe ne wist what to say
Seel & lok fast pei fond
Pe keye had pei in her hond

Whil pei speke of his selcoupe
Anewe tiping hem coom to moupe
Oon of pe knystis pat were sent
For to kepe pe monument

17365

The scribe probably wrote "mouth".
Tolde hem that of angels one
Had lifte awaye the grauene stone
That cloped was as snowe shyre
And his semblant like to fyr
This angel set him on the stoone
For drede we fel doun dede vchone
To bo wymmen that ihesu boust.
He bad bei shulde drede nouȝt
Se seke the body of ihesu dere
Risen is he: he is not here
His wordis wel we vndirstonde
Ihesu that on oros dud honge
Is risen as he bifiore seide
Lo here be stide he was in leide
But to his disciplis seye ze
From deþ to lyf vp risen is he
Bidde hem to galile go ful riȝt
To se him þere as hem hiȝt
Dis knyȝt seide leve hit wele
That I haue tolde euerydele
Penne þei bad biforn hem calle
Pat kepte þe graue þe knyȝtis alle 17390
What were þo wymmen þat him souȝt
Why nadde þe hem wiþ þou brouȝt
We knewe hem not þo seide þai
As we were deed alle douȝ we lay
Whenne we were so out of myȝt 17395
How shulde þei for vs be kiiȝt
Penne swore þo iewe þat were wroocop
Bi lyuynge god þat was her oob
We leue þou not wite hit wel
3oure sawes ben false euerydel 17400
Þo knyȝtis vnswered alle in greue
3e are euere in mys bileue
Whenne þe him say before þoure siȝt
So mony maistries made of myȝt
Bope herde. & sene of him now 17405
No merueile þouȝe þe vs not trow
Þei seide wel we hit vnderstoode
Þe lord lyueþ þe dide on rode

17406 The t in "not" is written above the line
Also we haue of men herde seide
Joseph bat in toumbe him leide
3e diden him vndir lok & sele
Bat he awey shulde not stele
But 3e him misten aftir soone
And noone of 3oore doris vndone
Pus if 3e ristwisly wolde deme
3eldep Joseph 3e hadde to 3eme
And we shul 3elde ihesu soone
In to oure keyping bat was done
De iewis seide ihesus 3elde 3e
And we shul Joseph 3e shul se
We woot where Joseph is al boun
In aramathy his owne toun
De knyztis seide if Joseph be
In aramathy his owne cite
Penne dar we saye of ihesu bat he
Is redy now in galile
Of pis soop sawe are we bolde
De aungel so to po wymmen tolde
Of ßese wordis drad ße iewis
To blake ßo bigon her brewis
To counsell soone were ßei brought
Now is vs neede of redy þouȝt.
But we wiþstonde bityme now
Ihesuþ shal make to him bow
If we lete þis tiping sprede
Alle be we shent þat may we dredeth
Des knyþðis anoon we Þiftis bene
Þat we may stoppe her mowþ wiþ mede
A somme of pens gedered þai
And þat þo knyþðis for to say
To alle þat wolde tþynge frayn
To vnswere hem þus Þayn
Whil we by nyȝt in slepe lay
Ihesuþ meyne coom & him stale away
Þei seide if any man þou wite
Þis may þou saue & make quyte
Allas þat tyme of couetise
So mony men hit makeþ vnwyse
Hit reuep rìgtwisnes his wey
And lettep men be soothe to sey 17450
Rìgt may come to noon ende
Pen còuetise mon haþ blende
Whenne ȝiftis haue fordone be siȝt
How may men folwe be reule of rìgt
But ihesu crist þat rìgtwis is 17455
And al him self sooþfastynys
Pen þuȝe hit lette neuer so longe
Alwey to wreche he dop be wronge
And sooþfast-whenne fals is fledde
Hóldeþ forþ his owne sted 17460
Penne shal falsheþe be falled in felde
Wip alle þo þat wip him helde
So duche þese knyþtis þat I of mele
3iftis made hem þe scoþe to hele
As mede hem bad so þenne þei dud 17465
Pat þei herde & say þei hid
Þei seide as hem was beden sey
Pat ihesuus cors was stolen awey
But aftir þat þerwip þei won
Sheshepe & shame of mony mon
Mën seide hem aftir myche shame
And of her trouþe left þe name
Alle fæl’s shul fare on þat wyse
And euer shal r æ tfwisnesse vprése
Wo was hem þo wrecches wick
Wenne þis tiping bigon to quyk
In þat tymé out of Þuede
Of walkynge men were comen þre
To þat folke tolde þei al bidene
Þat þei hadde wip her þæn sene
Iþesus þei seide to deþe þe didde
Sittynge his disciplis amydde
We say on mounte of olyuste
He seide to hem breþer swete
þæ þal wende ouer al þis werd
And þre þei haue seen & herd
Alle þat hit leueþ & bapteme take
Shul saued be of al her sake
When he had his tale hem teld
To heuen he stoy we alle biiheld 17490
De prestis & pese. opere olde
Seide to hem pat bis tale tolde
Dar 3e swere pe sope I wis.
Pat 3e herde & say al bis
Pei seide certeyn pe sope hit es 17495
We take god fully to witnes
But we soop seide what shulde we wynne
For sope no bing but open synne
Wip bis pe maistris bo wp stert
Dis word hem sat sore at hert 17500
To counsel bo pre men peldde
On goddis halue pei hem forbedde
Pei conjured hem bi goddis awe
Dese wordis no more to shawe
Pat neuer of ihesu more spoken be 17505
Fol. 102 r col.1
Perfore pei zaf hem myche monye
Pei zaf hem ziftis grete to spende
And pre men pei wip hem sende
To her londe hem for to lede
For hit shulde no furber sprede 17510
Pe iewes droge to gider bon
And sory sorwynge þei bigon
Pei seide what tokene may þis be
In israel in oure cuntre
But Anna & cayphas þese two 17515
Pat moost souste ihesu to slo.
To coumforte hem þat were in care
Dowey þei seide let be ȝoure fare
We shul not þo kraytis trowe
Pat kepte þe graue of ihesu nowe 17520
Þei vs tolde of aungels one
Had lifted of his graue þe stone
His disciplis wel may falle
Seide so to þo kraytis alle
And ȝaf hem ȝifitis so to sey
Whil þei his body bar away
Þei lyed þat þei say him ryse
For soon þe hit is noon ober wyse
For ziftis grete of vs pei toke
And nouȝt of ouris pei forsoke
As we hem bad or wolde bidde
Wel ȝe woot bat so pei didde
But raper shulde pei to vs take
Pen to ihegu for oure sake
Penne stood vp & seide nichodeme
Godemen for goddis loue take ȝeme
What ȝe sey & seip but riȝt
And dredeþ sumwhat god of myȝt
Herde ȝe not what þese þre men seide
And on ȝoure lawe her honde þei leide
Þei swoor þat þei & opere fele
Say ihegu wiþ his meyne melé
And steyȝe vs fro faire & swete
From þe mount of olyuete
And holy story telleþ & sayes
Þat hely bi olde dayes
Was taken vp as in to heuen
 Miche haue þe herde þerof neuen
His sone men asked where he was bicomen
And he hem seide was him binomen
Raft away forsoppe is he
How be seide may bis be
May be sum goost awey him ledde
And so to wildernesse is fledde
In israel ben grete fellis
Pere is he soob & nowhere ellis
But chese we dougy men & lele
To seche bo fellis of israelie
Pei wenf forf him to seke
His sone & ophere men eke
Whenne be pre dayes had him souzt
No tibing hoom of him be brought
Perfore seide nychodeme bo
My reed is now if ge wole so
3e seke bo fellis al to gider
Pat ihesu be not rauysshed gider.
And gis we fynde him pere bi chaunce
We may do for oure synne penance
Alle þe iewis lasse & more
Of þis counseil apayed þei wore
And chees men þat þo were myȝty
And lele to leue in: ful trewely
Bopþe souȝte þei douȝte & dale
But of ihescu herd þei no tale
Weilewey þat þei were blynde
Whenne þei wende ihescu so to fynde
Him to fynde who so wol him seke
Her mood to him most þei meke
To knowe him al weldonde
Þenne may þei fynde him nyȝe at honde
Mȝȝtyly at al his nede
To siche he wol his body bede
For pouȝe he sitte in heuen halle
Sitt is he in erpe ouer alle
Mȝȝty bope fer & neere
And nouþer myst in heuen ne here
Þei þat trewely in him lyue
His blessyng he wol hem lyue

17572
Note the colon after in.
17585
The M in Mȝȝty is a small capital.
17586
The A of And is a small capital.
pese caitif iewis did not so now
sende him to seche in clif & clow
To fynde ihesu if he were reft
Wip any goost & bere bileft
He pat alle goostis gode & ylle
Hap to welde at his wille
Pus were bo iewis al mysled
Her sondis coom aȝeyn vnsped
Pat hadde him souȝte vp & douȝ
But Ioseph in his owne toun
Pei seide pei sey in aramathy.
And bere pei lefte him sikerly
Prynces & prestis of pe lay
Of pis tiping wondride pay
And ponked god of israele
Pat so couþe his dedes dele
Pat he shulde be founden pus
Pat was in prisoun & not ihesus
// Pei made a gederynge greet & derne
And seiden gode men loke we ȝerne
How we myȝte do þat douȝty gome
Ioseph of aramathi to vs to come
To telle his state vche grot
And obere þingis þat he wel woot
Þenne dude þei soone to write a writ
Þis was þe tenure of hit
Þeas hit seide Joseph & griȝ
Haue þou & al þat is þe wip
Wel we woot we haue done mys
Àȝeyn þe & þi lord þat is
And god him self hab þe brouȝt
Fro wicked wronge we on þe souȝt
Hit shal be but to queue
Leue frend woldes þou þe seme
To come wip vs to speke & mele
Þeas to make wip vs & hele
Þei senden seuen men ful dere
þat Josephs moost frendis were
And bad when þei wip him mett
Wip þeus & loue he shulde be grett
Soone in his hond þei lettre sette
Wel shulde þei seide his mys be bett 17630
Ioseph þei fond þe story seys
Redy at home in his paleys
þei heilsed him wiþouten wyte
And rauȝt him to rede þat scrite
Soone whenne he had rad þat dede 17635
Towarde heuen his heed he bede
I blesse þe lord me kepte hast zitt
And saaf vndir þi wyngis set.
He cust þe messangeris alle
And hendely gestened hem in halle 17640
Wel ferde þei wiþ him þat nyȝt
þe morwe his asse dude he to digȝt
To ierusalem he toke þe strete
þe iewis him coom for to mete
To Joseph seide þei alle to gider 17645
Peseful þe þi coming hider
Joseph soone his vnswere ȝaue
Goddes pees mut þe haue
He kust hem alle wipouten blyn
Wip nichode mue toke he is In 17650
Wel was he gestened wip good feip
pe toper morn pe story seip
Coom cayphas anna nychodemus
And Joseph pei asked pus
Joseph to grete god of israele 17655
Shryue pe & telle vs lele
Of bing bat we wol at be freyne
Pe soob we prey pe not pou leyne
Alle we coude be myche grame
For pou buryedest ihesu licame 17660
In an hous perfor we loked pe
But whenne we come pe to se
No tokene of pe fonde we bere
Wherfore we for wondride were
And for pe drad we alle in care 17665
Til now pou-telle vs of pi fare
To god & vs telle now soone
What of pe pen was done
Joseph he seide I shal sow say
3e sperde me In on o friday 17670
At eventide in to hat stede
And as I stode seyenge my bede
Pe saturday soone at mydny3t
Pat I say pis was pe si3t
By nokes foure pe house vp honge 17675
And soone aftir was hit nou3t longe
I say comyng ihesu so brigt
As hit were a lemyng li3t
In hat hous þere I was stad
And I fel doun al for drad 17680
Vp he me toke wibouten let
And wip a dewe my face he wet
Soone wiped he my face
And blessed me þenne wip his grace
He seide Joseph be not ferde 17685
Biholde on me þis ilke is I
I behelde þenne what he was
And called him maistir helyas
Helyas am I not he seide
But ihesus pat pou in graue leide
He lad me to pat stide anoone
Pere I had him spered in a stone
His sudary his wyndyng clope
Pere were þei laft I say hem bope
Pat he was Ihesus þo wiste I wele
Couþely biforn him gon I knele
Lord I seide blessed þou be
Pat here is comen in nome of þe
Bi þe hond þo he me hynt
And brouȝte me forþ wipouten stynt
Riȝt to myn owne hous at home
And to me whenne I þidir coome
Peès mot þou haue he seide Joseph
Go not out of þi hous a step
Til fourty dayes be comen to ende
Now to my disciplis wole I wende
Whenne Joseph had tolde þis tale
þei fel as þei had dronken dwale
Grouelynge dougn on erbe plat
Were þei neuer mate er þat
Vchone to ober þus gon sey
What signe wol þis be quod þei
In ierusalem we here now myn
We knew boþe ihesus & his kyn
// Vp roos þo & stode hem by
A douȝty man þat het leuy
I knowe he seide of hem břed
Douȝty men þat god dred
Bisily to god preyonde
Wip sacrificise & wip offronde
Wherne Symeon þe mychel prest
Þat bare þe holy goost in brest
Ihesus bitwene his armes fong
He seide lord lyued haue I long
Bidyng þe þe siȝte of hele
Þat þou hast diȝt to israele
Now haue I seen hit wip myn eȝe
Lete me in þes þi seruaunt deȝe
Pat ilke symeon þo was boun
And 3af mary his benesoun
To hir he seide I wol þe warn
Pat þit sumtyme þis ilke barn
Shal be to summen vprysyng
And to summe doun fallyng
Mony shal he fynde vnbeyne
Mony shul seye him aȝeyne
Þe swerd of sorwe & of wo
Shal þourge þin hert for him go
Of monnes hert þe þouȝtis hid
Shal for him be knownen & kid
Þenne seide þo iewis now sende we
Aftir þo ilke þrestis þre
Pat tolde þei say ihesus sete
On þe mounte of olyuete
Þei sent for hem whenne þis was done
And hem þei dide to resoun soone
Þei vnswered bi god of myȝt
We say him þere wiþ open siȝt

17730

17735

17740

17745
We say hym & herde his steuen
And openly he stey to heuen
Of 3ou þei seide vs þinkeþ wondir
And dide þo þre men in sondir
And bi hem self asked hem sere
If þei wolde lyȝe for to here
If any fro opere wolde saye ouȝt
But al her fondyng was for nouȝt
Alle seide riȝte as þei sey
Ihesus on heiȝte to heuen stey
Penne seide Anna & cayphas
Oure lawe wol bope þat is & was
Pat in þe mouȝ of two or þre
Shulde al þe sophe stonde & be
What more shal we say 3ou þan
I trowe hit was a riȝtful man
And payed so wel god in his state
Pat wip his word was he transolate
Of þe prophete sir moyses
Pat noon woot where he doluen es
But Ihesus in honde was lauȝt
And to sir pilate soone bi tauȝt 17770
Boȝe biscourgid & bispit
For he of mony gult was wit
Woundid wip spere naile on tre
Wip bornes crowned also was he
Pis menskeful Ioseph duȝ him delue 17775
In a tounbe made to him selue
And þre men als now witnes here
Pei seye before her yzen clere
Pis ilke ihesus speke wip his
And siȝen styȝe to heuen blis 17780
Ioseph of aramathye roos in þlas
And seide to Anna & cayphas
Sow þinke wondir her of I wis
Of ihesus vprist & soþ hit is
3e wolde hit neuer leue nor nowe, 17785
Pat he was ihesus god to bowe
Vp risen he is doute is hit none
But he is not vp risen allone

17781
The I of Ioseph is a large decorated capital.
For sum menof his ilke kip
Ben risen vp forsode him wip
Pat seyn was in ierusalem
Of olde symeons barsetem
Two sones had he longe is hit gone
Sip bei were dede & leide vndir stone
Alle were we at her endinge day
And halp hem in erbe to lay
Goob seeb now for be holy dome
And se shul fynde her graues tome
In my cite of aramathy
Pere ar bei walkynge witturly
Pere men seen hem in pat toun
In knelynge state & orisoun
Euer amongs men her hem cry
Wip no mon speke bei hem by
Go we wip a wille bidir
And fonde we to brynge hem hidir
And we shul hem wip coniuryng
Make to telle of his vp risyng
Soone when these words were out past
Pei hyzed hem pidir wondir fast 17810
Caiphas & anna also
Joseph nychgodeme & mo
And oon pat het gamaliel
Of him is not but troupe to tel
Pei say be tombs toom pat day 17815
To aramathie po wenten pay
Wip beze breber pei met in hyze
Pei fonde hem in her bedes lyze
Pei heiled hem wip myche fare
And worshiped hem & wip hem bare 17820
To ierusalem wip mychel drede
To her chirche pei gon hem lede
Whenne pei were in be temple wrouȝt
Moyses lawe in honde was hem brouȝt
And bourȝe pat lawe of moyye 17825
And bi her grete god adonay
Her mychel god of israele
Pei coniured hem no sope to hele
Pei seide he bat hæp reised 3ow
Sey vs if it was ihesus now 17830
Telle vs alle wipouten stryf
How 3e were reised from dep to lyf
Whenne carius and lenthius
Were conjured of bese iewis bus
Wip al her fleshe bei quook a none 17835
And wip her hertis zaf a grone
To heuen bei lift her yzen glade
And on her tongis bonkynge made
Wip her signes of be croys
And soone spak wip monnes voys
Worshiped bei seide lord be pou & pyne
Anoon bei called aftir parchemyne
We wol sou writte wipouten lye
Dat we herde & say wip yse
A twyn bei set hem to bat note 17845
And eiper bi him seluen wrote
And pouze bei sundry sittynge were
Was no ping in her sawe's sere
Lord ihesu cryst seide by

God þat alle myȝtis may

Pat is vp risen from deþ to lyf

And hast vs kud þi riȝt so ryf

Lete vs lord by leue of þe

Telle of þyn owne priuete

Pourȝe vertu of þi swete croys

Coniured are we to telle wiþ voys

Þou bad, vs we shulde no mon telle

þi dedes derne þou didest in helle

Þo dedis of þi maieste

But þourȝe þi self coniured are we

Siþ hit is so now most we nede

Þe myȝtis telle of þi godhede

As we were stad in merkful stalle

We & alsoure elders alle

To us þer brast a goldein leme

Brȝter þenne þe sonnes beme

So riȝt purpur hwe is noone

Þat ilke liȝt vpon vs shone

The initial A is a large decorated capital.
Adam þat was man formast

Bigon þenne to glade in hast 17870

Wip patriarches and prophete

In merke sette þere þei sete

 þei seide for glaid wip gretyng gle

Þis ilke liȝt forsoðe is he

Þat maker is of lastyng liȝt 17875

Now hap he sent vs þat he hiȝt

Penne bigon seynþ ysaye

þe holy prophete for to cwyþe

Þis ilke liȝte is goddis sone

Þat I in erþe telle of was wone 17880

Po folk in dedly derkenes stad

Þis greȝt liȝt made hem glad 17882

And as þis briȝtenes gon vs bolde 17885

Oure fadir Symeon þe olde

Seide wip bleþeful chere vs to

ponke we god now comeþ oure ro

To oure lord ihesu crist þe blisse

Al myȝty góð his fadir isse 17890
In temple was he me bitau3t
Songe in armes I him lau3t
Pe holy goost þus did me mele
Myn y3en lord han seen þi hele
Whiche þou hast for þi folk diȝt
Of israel wip blissful liȝt
Po seyntis alle þere þenne stadh
Wip þat bigan to be more glad
Þenne coom a mon wipouten lité
Þat semed wel to haue ben eremyte
Vche oþer asked what he was þon
And he vnswered I am Ion
Ion is my name voys & prophete
Biddyng make redy þe strete
þe weye before goddis face'
Þat to his folk hab granted grace
Þat ihesus I biheld & sìʒe
Whenne he to me was comyng nyʒe
Pourʒe þe holy goost I spake
And seide þe lomb wipouten sake
He is here & I seide lo
Pat shall be worldis synne vndo
Po I heef pat sackelles of pli3t
I sawe vp on his licam li3t
In shap of doufe be holy goost
And herde a voys fro heuen coost
Hit seide bis is my loued son dere
In whom I am wel payed 3e here
Comen am I Ion before pat kyng
Bodeworde of him for to bryng
Make 3e redy withouten wite
Goddes sone comep 3ou to visite
He pat shall louse 3ou out of bond
Comep to se bis lodly lond
De olde Adam had vndirstonde
In flum iordan him houen of honde
On seep his sone bigon he cal
He seide sone telle vs now al
De sopfastenes & no ping hele
Pat pou herdest of seynt mychele

17925 The initial P is a large decorated capital.
Pe aungel whenne I gan pe wyse
To bo 3atis of paradise
To pray oure lord god so dere
To sende me wip his messangere
Pe oyle of his merciful tre
Pat I seke my3t anoynt wip be
//
Penne coom seeth & stode nere honde
And spak pat alle my3te vndistonde
I coom he seide to paradis 3ate
And 3erne bisou3te I peare ate
Penne I wip seynt michaele met
Soone I him & he me gret
From god he seide I am sent
To al monkynde take I entent
Seeth he seide to pe I say
Dou bisy pe not from pis day
Wip wepynge preyre for to wynne
Pe oile pat was bihet for synne
To anoynte bi fadir adame
For his lymmes pat zit are lame

The initial W is a medium-size capital.
3it may he gete hit no wayes
Bitwene bis & be laste dayes
Perfore we calle hit dayes last
Whenne fyue pousonde seeer are past
Fyue pousonde seeer fyue skore bi skille 17955
Penne shal god his graunte fulfille
His owne sone shal he sende doun
In erbe to monnes saluaicioun
Pi fadir cors he shal vp reise
And mony opere bi po weyse 17960
So haly as he shal be noon
Hofen shal he be in flum iurdon
Whenne he shal styze vp of pat stonde
De oyle he shal brynge in honde
Of his mercy to anoynt alle wip 17965
Pat seken troube wip grace or grip
And to alle po pat ben baptist
To lastyng lif in name of cryst
Pat goddes sone so mychel of my3t
Among monkynde shal he ligt 17970
Pi fadir shal he brynge & his
Pro helle to paradys bat blis
Po patriarkes bat bis herde
Wiþ myche ioye po þei ferde
Mournynge among hem po was gone 17975
Wiþ cry þei ioyeden everychone
Where sathan say po seyntes dere
Make al þat myry chere
De duke of deyp & prynce of helle
To helle bigon he þus to spelle 17980
Helle he seide make þe redy
To receyue ihesu hastily
þat boost him goddes sone to be
And sit þe deyp ful sore drad he
He seide for deyp þat he shulde dye 17985
His flesshe was sekse & dreurye'
Harde hap he werred me aȝayn  fol. 105 r col. 1
And myche marred of my mayn
Whom I made blynde hault or mesele
Wiþ his word he þaf hem hele 17990
I brouȝte þe dede men as þyne awen

17977 The initial W is a medium-size, decorated capital.
17987 The initial H is a medium-size capital.
Whiche he haþ helle fro þe drawen
penne vnswered helle to prynce saton.
What is he þat so myȝty oon
So myȝty & of deep so ferd
Sip alle þe men of þe werd
Vndir þe ben in watir & londe
And þou hast brouȝte hem to myȝn honde
If þou be so myȝty þus
What maner mon is þat ȝhesus
Pat werreþ on þe everywhore
And sipen dredeþ deep so sore
Sip his monhede is of siche myȝt
Who may aȝeyn his godhede fȝt
I saye sip he is al weldonde
Is no þing may his wille wipstonde
Why dredeþ he deep wost þou not no
Not for to bigyle þe so
He wolde þe take to wo to wende
To be þer in wipouten ende
Sathan þenne to helle vnswerde
He seide why art thou aferde.

Recyue ihesu thou liper hyne

Oure werreour bohe myne & pyne

I haue ourie iewis made in stryue 18015

Wip bittur peyne him brynge of lyue

I made hem ryse ayeynes him

To smyte him wip a spere ful grym

Eysel I made hem menge wip galle

For to slake his purst wip alle 18020

On tre I dude hem him to hynge

And nayles borde feet & hondis styngay

Pe tyme comyng is now ful nere

Pat delp shall brynge him to vs here

Helle 3af to satan vnswere

Ar his tyme pou hast tole me here 18025

Pat his same man was he

Pat dede men dide drawe fro me

For mony haue I holden here

Whil pat bei in worde were

Han rafte dede men fro me euene

18020 The MS has "furst", which is an obvious scribal error for "purst".
Not wip her myste but his of heuen
He þat is of heuen kynge
He ȝaf þe dede to hem preyinge
What is þis ihesus wip his lawis 18035
Þat þus þe dede from vs drawis
Not wip preyere as obere did
But o word þat he wolde bid
Hit may be þis is þat ihesus
Þat styrinkynge lazar toke from vs 18040
Of his graue þe ferþe day
He him toke and lad away
Þat dede from þep to lyue he dyd.
His word wipstonde he had he no myst
// Penne vnswered þat false of rede 18045
Prynce of helle & duk of dede
Þis ilke ihesus sopely is he
Þat makeþ vs ofte greued to be
// Whenne helle had herde satan sawe
Of him he seide me stondeþ awe 18050
Poureoure mystis bope to gidir
I be forbede þou brynge him hidir
For whenne in erbe a word he bad
I quook for him so was I drad
And alle my wicked werkis eke
Fordone were þourge him so meke
Als of læar had we noon holde
But souer þen of tongue is tolde
From vs he leep selcoup liȝt
Was neuer eern so fresshe to fliȝt
Til he coom þere his licam lay
And so went forþ bope her way
Wel woot I now & wene hit nouȝt
He þat siche myȝtis wrouȝt
Is stalworþe gōd welynges in wille
And monhede myȝty to fulfille
And is saweour of monnes sede
And if þou him hidir lede
Alle þat here are of men wiþ meyne
In prisoun of my cruelte
Done bi doom to deþ so dym
To lyf he woole hem lede wip him
Whil bat helle & prince satone
Made togidir bis mornyng more
Per coom a steuen as bondir blast
A goostly voys criyng fast
3e princis of helle yndob 3oure 3ate
Pe kyng of blis wol haue in late
Whenne helle bis herde hit seide noocon
Do now go hepen fro me saton
A feynt fiȝtere me pinke art pou
How wolt pou fiȝte wip ihesu now
Wip bat ʒaf helle hit self abreyde
And cast out po satan & seyde
To his wicked werkis samen
Sper ʒoure ʒatis bis is no gamen
ʒoure brasen ʒatis sper ʒe wele
And byndeb hem wip barres of stele
Enforseb zow wip myste & mayn
Stalworply to stonde aʒayn
Ar ʒe wip alle po bat we ne wolde

18073
The initial W is a medium-size, decorated capital.
Be take in opere mennes'holde
Dis herde þo seyntis alle & seide
To helle wiþ wordis of vmbreide
Open vp þi zatis helle wyde
Let in oure kyng wiþouten abyde
He wol in come þe kyng of blis
David seide anoon wiþ þis
To ende he seide now com my sawes
Dat I seide bi olden dawes
His mercy is knowen þat lord kyng
And his selcouþis to oure ospryng
Penne brast þo brasen zatis strong
And stelen lokis þat þeron hong.
Penne seide ysay þe prophete
Dis is þat I sumtyme bihete
Vp shulde þe dede ryse I seide
Out of þe graue he was inleide
Penne þei shulde be mery & glad
Þe folke þat in wo were stad
For fro þat lord shall come in dole
A dew of redde to make hem hole
On hem to sprede bi his my3t
As he in adames tyme hi3t
Whenne þei herde þis of Isay
Po seyntis alle þaf a cry
To helle vndo þi þatis faste
Now art þow wrecche doun cast
Helle þei seide overcome art þou
And euer wibouen my3te fro now
And efte þer coom a mychel steuen
As hit were a þondir of heuen
Open þoure þatis þe princis wyde
To blisful kyng wibouen abyde
He wol come in þat kyng of blis
Whenne þat helle had herde þis
þat þis steuen twyes had sou3t
Allas he seide þat I was wrou3t
þe kyng of blisse what is he þat
David seide I woot wel what
þese wordis þat I here of cry
Wel I knowe hem seide dauy
For I wip prophecy had hit 18135
Be þe holy goostis myȝt
Pat I tolde biforn of þan
I say you now wel I hit kah
Pat lord þat is wibouten wrong
And euer in myȝte I liche strong 18140
Dis blisful kyng hit is þat iche
For þere may be noon ober siche
He þat bihelde fro heuen doun
To here þe pleynt of his prisoun
How þei in synful sikyng ware 18145
He pouȝt to louse hem out of care
Now þou helle foul of styynke
Vndo let In þi blisful kyng
Whil dauid seide þus to helle
Suche wordis as þe herde me telle
Pe kyng þat alle þinge hâp in welde
He coom in wip a blisful belde 18150
Pe lorde him self in his godhede

18149
The initial W is a medium-size capital.
Coom þþrfor to do þat dede
Po woful were so dedly dym
Al listed þe leem þat coom of him
He brast þe bondes of oure synne
And made vs aȝeyn to wynne
Fro þat derkenes þere we lay
þere euere is nyȝt & neuereday
Po helle & deþ say hit be so
þei & her werkis ful of wo
þei were for wondride of þat list
In her cuntre þei sey so briȝt
When þe þei iheþu openly sawe
Among her setis þere doun so lawe
Of her pride þouȝte hem no prow
þei zȝf a cry loude I now
What art þou þus hidir comen
þou hast vs wip þi pouste nomen
18170
What art þou þat art so wȝt
Oure shenshepe to shewe in siȝt
So prisful what art þou of pip

18161
The initial P is a large decorated capital.
De lastynge signe þat berest þe wip
Pat þourȝe wrecche of þi maiste 18175
Condemnest þou al oure pouste
What art þou so greet & smal
Pat art so lowe & hyȝe wip al
Boþe as kyng & emperour
In shap of þral so stif in stour 18180
So strong þou art & kyng of blis
Deed were þou & lyuinge is
On þe crowys were þow słoon
Deed lay þou loken vndir stoon
In þi dyȝynge alle þinge dradde 18185
Pe sterres in her mystis madde
Of þat deep fre art þou now
Oure legiouns alle distourbest þow
What art þou þat lousest so
Pat formast synne bonde to wo
Po þat were cast in,caitifte
To formast fredome makest þou fre
What art þou þat wip þi leme

18189

The initial W is a medium-size capital.
Li3tenest adames barneteme
Pat blynde lay bi derkenes of synne 18195
To myche li3t bou bringest Inne
Pus seide alle bo legiouns bere
Of fendis pat doun casten were
Do pat so bremely were doun cast
Pei were ful ferde & soore agast 18200
Wip a voys alle cryed pan
Whepen art bou so selcoupe man
So my3ty a man & so shene
And benne of alle synnes clene
For al bis world hit hâp ben ay 18205
Oure vndirloute til now bis day
To bryng vs rente of songe & olde
But neuer siche rent as bou hit solde
A ded man siche as bou art one
To vs er sent hit neuer none 18210
What art bou pat art so bold
To come bis wyse in to ourе hold
Pat art not for ourе pynes drad
But lousest þo in hem ben stod
What maner maystry makest þou on vs
18215
May falle þou art þat ilke Ihesus'
Pat satan our princ vs of tolde
And of þi þep on rode so bolde
18220
þat þourȝe þi þep vp on þat tre
Al þis world shulde bowe to þe
Wip þat iones wrappe bi gan
Soone was hit sene of satan þan
Satan þat pyneyful princ he laȝst
And vndir myȝte of helle bitauȝst
18225
And adam towarde him he drouȝe
Þere bliss Ṗe of briȝtenes was Inouȝe
Helle hent þerne þat gerard grym
And wondir sharply snybbed him
Pow princ of los he seide & duk
18230
Of wasteful werke sir belsabuk
Out cast þou art of goddis aungele
Despite of alle riȝtwis & lele
Þe kyng of blis why doost þou honge
To do vs lese þat we had longe
But now þi foly wel is kid 18235
Litle wist þou what þou did
Lo now how þis ihesus here
Pourge lust of his godhede clere
Þis merkenes dryub doun fol. 106 v col. 1
And bondeþ brekeþ of þis prisoun 18240
His bounðen hæþ he raft vs fro
And alle þat wepen wipinne oure wo
Þei serue vs so þat oure biddyng
Is al fordone wip her preying
Now is oure kyngdome fordone al 18245
Of monkynde gete we ful smal
Satan fadir of wickedhede 18251
Why hastou done siche a dede
Po þat hæþ longe vndir vs bene
Wipouten hope in tray & tene
Non is þat wol him deyne 18255
A teer of his yjen let reyne
A satan prince of helle here

18240
Read “bondes” for “bondeþ.”
And þou þat art þerof portere
Al þat þou wan þe to like
Pourze Adam & þe tre wip swyke
Þou madest hem lese paradyse
Hem hastou lost now oþer wyse
Þou hast hem lost bi his rode tre
And now shul þei go from þe
Wip kynge of blis hastou werryed
And so þi self foule bitrayed
Fro now vndirstonde hit wele
Ful mony peynes shalt þou þele
Ful þele lastynge & ful hard
Þou shalt dryse wipinne my ward
Haue prince sathan duke of dede
Hede of pride why zaf þou rede
Þat ilke ihesus to crucifye
Wipouten skil vn riȝtwislye
Why was þou þerto so bolde
To bringe þat riȝtwis in oure holde
Þat sacles hidir so to lede
Euel hastou done þi self to spede
For mony wicked & mys dedy
Hastou lost here for þi
Whil þat helle & foule satone
Maden þus her mōurnyng mone
Pe kyng of blis as was his wille
Helle he seide þis maner tille
Prynce satan shal dwelle in pyne
Euer vndir pouste pyne
In stide of adam & his þrode
And alle riȝtwis men & gode
To me fro þou shal I drawe
Pat of þou shul þei stonde noon awe
With þat he strauȝt forþ his honde
And seide to his þat he þere fonde
Come þ to me my seyntis now
Alle þat my likenes hab on ȝow
Come þ now hidur alle to me
Pat þourȝe þe fend & a tre
Alle damþned were now shal þe seen
A tre hap done him dampned ben
To deep he demed sou so dym
Now shall pat doom falle on hym

// Anoon was al pat feir gederynge
Lopen vndir oure lordis wynge
By þe riȝt hond he adam chees
He seide Adam I ȝye þe pees
To þe & to alle childre þyne
And to alle riȝtwis myne

// Adam fel down to his fete
And spak to him wordis swete
Lorde he seide I ponke þe
Pat þi pees hast brouȝte me
Pere I was wiþ my foos mysferde
I calde on þou hast me herde
þou hast deleyuered me fro þat wrake
Of hem þat lepen in to þe lake
Alle his seyntis now þe synge
In his worshepe þat is oure kynge
For him to greue is ful grille
Lastyng lyf is in his wille
Alle þo seyntis kneled doun
And seide alle wip a soun
Comen art þou god & mon of myst
Our raumsonere as þou vs higt
Al þat þou seidest bi prophecie
Pou hast fulfilled mystilye
Pourþe þi cros þou hast vs bouȝt
And for vs also hidir souȝt
From deþ of helle to lousen vs
Al hab þi deþ vs saued þus
Lord þei seide al wip a steuen
As þou hast sete þi mark in heuen
Of þi blis lord god so gode
And hast þe token of rode
Reised in erþe of oure raumsoun
Pou sett hit lord in helle þer doun
To knowe þe þi crois victory
Pat deþ haue here no maistry
Oure lord toke vs his hond ful glade
And on Adam a crois he made
And on alle his þat þo þere were
He leide his blessyng ihesu dere
þat lord anoon wipouten stynt
Adam bi þe riȝt hond hynt
His owne seyntis þat he souȝt
He hem out of prisoun brouȝt
þenne, cryed dauid wip steuen strong
Synge we þis lord an vncoûpe song
þenne vnswered al þat clene couent
To blis he haþ his seyntis sent
Synge we to him wipouten þere
Amen and alleluya here

In þat place þo þere was
A prophete het mechias
Who may be lord he seide as þow
Al þing is worpi þe to bow
þat þou þi wrecche so swetyly slakest
And fro þi folk her synnes takest
þi wille is merciful wip inne
And so pou dost awey oure synne
Po seyntis seiden alle pore
Pis is oure god for euermore
Lord & god he shal be aure
And euermore oure gouernoure
Wipouten ende now be it so
Amen alleluya song þei þo
Abacuk þo bigan to melle
And seide þou art lord of helle
Al þi pepul þus to brynge
Out of þraldome to þi gederynge
Po seyntis songen euere a mong
Amen alleluya in song
And so dud vche gode prophete
Folwynge þat blessed lordis fete
Amen alleluya song þei
And honoured him euere bi þe wey
Oure lord bi þe hond adam caust
And to seynþ mychael him bitauȝt
Into þaradis sikerly

*18367* is, scribal error, should be *it*
Was lad þat blessed company
Soone whenne þei were comen In so
Of olde men met þei two
þat þei were olde was eeth to se-
po seyntis seide what are þe
þat were not dede in helle wiþ vs
But in paradys to bide þus
De ton vnswered to þat floke
He seide my name is cald enoke
þis mon he seide þat is my fere
Hely het wiþouten were
In to þis blisse were we brouȝt.
But neuer of dep wist we ȝit nouȝt
Here shal we be in lyf lastonde
Til antecrist be come to londe
To fiȝte æȝyn þat cured fende
Wiþ signes of oure lord hende
In ierusalem we shul be slayn
De þridde day to rise æȝyn
Bifore þat ilke fend so proude
We shul styŒe vp to þe cloude
Whil þei þus spak coom hem by
A wretched man ful wondirly
On his shulder a crowe he bare
Of him alle a wondrble ware
þei seide what art þou bat art here
And hast to þeof so like a chere
How coom þou to þat gode
þat on bi shulder berest a rode

Sop he seide to hem a noon
A strong þeof þenne was I oon
Miche harm dud I in londe
Perfore was I hent in honde
Iewes me honged ihesu bi syde
Me & my felowe ful of pride
I say bi ihesu dou3ty dede
Pat he was god men au3te to drede
I preied him he shulde on me rewe
To me he seide I het þe trewe
Pat þou þis ilke day shalt be
In blis of paradis wip me
pis token he taugte me of pris
Go for he seide to paradys
If be gatewarde he wipstonde 18425.
Sey him pou hast good waronde
Ihesus goddis sone sey pou
Pat on rode was Nayled now
Sende be bidir & bus I wrougt
And soone be angel in me brougt 18430
In paradys on pis riést syde
Here he seide a whyle pou byde
Til adam fadir of al mon kyn
Be comen wip his folk her In
Wip alle his children pat ben gode 18435
In crist pat done was on be rode
Po prophetis & patriarkis fol. 107 v col. 2
Whenne bei had herd pis beof sey bus
Alle bei cryed wip a steuen
Blessed be pou lord of heuen 18440
Fadir of mercy wipouten mys
Pat siche grace hab sent to his
Synful men for to bus lede
In paradys & hem to fede
In to his pasture endeles riche
peere lyf is lastynge euere yliche
To pat pasture he vs brynge
Pat is ouré maker heuen kynge
Dis ilke pasture is heuen blis
perto vs brynge ihesu wip his
Pese were pe priuetees we sawe
Icarius & my felawe)
We breper two but not dar we
Telle more of pat priuete
Seynt michaele forbode on vs leide
Goob to 3oure breper forb he seide
To ierusalem & peere shul 3e
Cryinge in 3oure orisouns be
In orisouns myche knelyng
Preisynghe cristit vp risyng
Pat wip him hab 3ou reised so
He wol pat 3e where 3e go

The initial P is a medium-size, decorated capital.
Be dumbe of speche to vche man
Pat to 3ou spekeb til pat pan
Pat he haue lent leue 3ou to
His derne priuetees to vndo
Aftir he bad vs soone anoone
Wende vb ouer be flum iordone
Feres shul 3e fynde þere mo
Pat vp be risen wip 3ou two
Witnes for to shewe in siȝt
Pat he is risen vp as he hiȝt
He hap vs graunted for ource prow
Dis tyme to holde ource paske now
Oure frendis to do to witnesynge
Of his holy vp rysynge
To be holy flum iurdane
Oure baptizynng now haue we tane
A clyping is comen vs vp on
So whir in world was never noon
Whenne we shul haue holden bo
Pre dayes of paske wibouten mo
We shul be rauysshed for p away
Shal no mon se vs fro pat day
We haue 3ou tolde pe sophe sawe
Of al pat we haue leue to shawe
Worshippe 3e euer god of myst
And shryue 3ou of 3oure synnes risst
And dop penaunce whil 3e may
His pees be wip 3ou haue good day
Whenne writen was pat pei wolde write
Carius penne toke his scryte
A3eyn to anna & caiphe
And to gamaliel pese pree
But lenteus bo 3af vp his teme
To Ioseph & to nychodeme
Transfigured were þei al so tite
Was neuer snowe half so whyte
Away þei went fro siȝt of yȝe
Was neuer mon hem siþen siȝe
Po writatis þat þei lafte þore
Nouþer was þenne opere more
Not a lettre more ny les
But as þe ton þat opere wes
Þis turned þe iewis in to bale
Whenne þei herde þis wondur tale
For soþe þei seide þis ilke Þede
Was done bi myȝtis of godhede
Fro þe temple went þei oute
Wiþ mychel bisynes & doute
On her brestis gon þei bulk
And vchone to her in to skulk
Ioseph & nichodeme his fere
Dude to write þis story here
To sire pilate þei hit vndide
As hit bifel in þat stide

The initial P is a medium-size, decorated capital.
In þe temple wipouten lite
Pilate dud þis story to wryte
In comune bookis of Þer lay
Bope þat he sawe & herde say
Of ihesu and þese iewis dede
Lettris to rone he wroote good spede
Of whiche þus was þe bigunynge
Ponce pilate gret claude þe kyng
Litil is goon sib hit bitidde
Bifore myne yzen hit was kidde
Pat iewis wip enuye & hete
Han sleyn her owne god so grete
Pat was þe god of her osprynge
Kenesly þei him demed to hynge
To her eldres had he hiȝt
Pat to hem wolde he of his myȝt
His aungel fro heuen sende
Fro her foos hem to defende
Dis heste among hem shulde bene
Thoureþe a mayden good & clene
pis ilke mon was to hem sent
Now in my tyme & my present
Whil I was demer of her lawe
Whenne summe of bo iweis sawe 18540
pis ilke mon do miraclis sere.
Blynde to se & doumbe to here
To palesye & to mesele
And als to wode he 3af her hele
Redy to reise be deede to honde 18545
And to his wille be wynd to stonde
Vpon be se wipouten wete
Goynge as vp on a strete
And opere tokens fele vnteld
Pat be i for goddes sone him held 18550
Po princis of prestis his fulle foos.
Wip wrappe & enuye on him roos
As prisoun be i him toke for pi
And him bitau3te to my baily
Of mony wrongis be i him wryed 18555
And mony lesyngis on him lyed
Be seide he wrouȝte bi wicchecraft fol. 108 v col. 1
And wip þe deuël was bi lafft
A leued al þat þei me tole þe
And so to hem I him vp ȝolde 18560
þei him henne siche was her reed
And grauen he was whenne he was ded
And of mony knystis somme set I
To kepe his graue sikurly
þer vp on was done her sele 18565
þat noon shulde þe body stele
þe þridde day he roos to lyf
But þo bigon a newe stryf
Bitwene þe iewis & my knystis
For þei seide as þei say wip siȝtis 18570
Greete ȝiftis toke þei for þat prisên
To hele þat he was so vprisen
Fro mony iewis þat were fele
þe soþe algate shulde þei hele
þei say him rise out of his graue 18575
þo knystis to whom þei ȝiftis zaue
Perfore I warne þe sir kyng
Trowe þis for no lesyng
And namely leue her of no iew
For al þus dud þei wip ihesu

\[ \text{18580} \]

þus were þe iewis false & wik
þei wered on ihesu deed & quyk
Maugrey þe iewis his false foos
þus he heryed helle & roos
Whenne he for vs was bouȝt & solde

\[ \text{18585} \]

Two & bretty þeer he was olde
Moneþes sixe & wekes two
Whenne he þe iewis let him slo
But we shal þus vndirstonde
Iewis & sarazines him slouȝe wip honde

\[ \text{18590} \]

þe skil þeroȝ was for þi
Pat he hem boþe coom to by
Pat ilke day dyed he
Pat his modir was grett wip aue
Two nyȝt he in sepulcre lay

\[ \text{18595} \]

But not but one hol day
Whil his licam lay vndirstone
His goost was to helle gone
His body here his goost þere
His goðhede wantide nowhere
Into helle þat lord liȝt
On paske day as at mydnyȝt
For wite we wel & vndirtake
þat ilke tyme he sent wrake
Vp on þe ægipciens vn.lele
þat he let sle wiþ his aungele
þat ilke tyme on nyȝtir tale
He broȝte his frendis out of bale
þat was fro helle to paradise
And whetten his wille was to ryse
To his licam he went riȝt
And roos vp bi his owne myȝt
Pe þridde day in certeyn tyde
He roos erly wiþouten abyde
Bope god & mon as he was ore
Vndynge for euermore
For wip be myste of his godhede
Overcomen he hap be lastyng dede
Pus coom hat oyle in place
Hat god het adam of grace
Long myst adam pink
From pe si3t of hat kyn
Foure þousande foure hundride & foure bi tale
Was adam bidying in his bale
His lif was in his world here
Nyne hundride & pritty 3ere
Blessed be hat kynge & clerk
Hat so con saue his honde werk
Blessed be she hat him bare
Suche a saluyng to cure kare
Hat ilke lady sende vs grace
Of hispreisyng to speke sum space
Pe leoun of riȝtwisnes þus reised
His dedis made his godhede preysed
Leoun men may him clepe wip riȝt
For may no beest be more of myst

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The initial P is a medium-size, decorated capital.
Also her is another resoun
Why he is tokened to a leoun
De leouns whelpe whenne hit is born
Lip deed til pe briddle morn
Wipouten lif of any lym
His fadir þenne comeþ to him
And wip his cry þat is so gryse
He þyueþ his whelp lyf to ryse
So dude ihesus oure shampeon
Þo he lay deed for oure raunsoun
Whenne his fadir wolde he made
Him vp to ryse vs alle to glade
Of leoun also þe kynde is hyse
Slepyng loukeþ he neuer his yse
Nor ihesus þouþe he his goost ʒalde
His godhede þat hap al in walde
Mistros neuer dyse my neuer shal.
Ny slepe þat hap to wake vs al
Þat kynge þo he was risen to lyf
Sewed him to his disciplis ryf.

The initial A is a medium-size capital.
The "a" before "leoun" was inserted later with a caret.
Coom & seode ofte hem among
And also eet wip wip hem & dronk
Wip hem he dwelt fourty dayes
And preached as he story sayes
Of heuen blis bat is so hy
And whenne his wille was vp to sty
To gadir alle his to gidir he bad
Soone be were to gider lad
Ihesus kud him to hem newe
To wite if be in troupe be trewe
Her mys bileue for to mys preyse
And out of wanhope hem to reyse
For summe were of bat gederyng
Bat leued not 3itt his vp rysynge
But her mystroupe soo to say
Is strengbigne of oure troupe to day
Greet sikernes to vs hit was
Pe mys trowynge of seynt thomas
For he holde trowe on no wyse
Oure lord ihesu shulde so ryse
Of his vp rist he was in were
And seide for þing þat I may here
I'may not leue vp risen he es
Til I se & fele his flesshe
De pirlis bope of honde & fete
And of his syde þe wounde wete
Whenne I haue groped þo wip honde
De sope þenne wol I vndirstonde
But ihesu þat his bale wolde bete
Louesumly thomas he lete
For to grope his woundis wyde
And put his hond in to his syde
He seide thomas now fele & se
Wheþer I my self now be he
Stonde stidfaste now herfore
And mysbileue þou nomore
Whenne thomas þat to críst was couþe
Herd þis of ihesu mouþe
Þou art he seide lord god myne
Þat for me hast suffred pyne
For pou seide crist hast hit sene
pou leuest hit wipouten wene
Blessed shal alle þo men be
Pat hit shal leue & not se
For þerne wolde ihesu in his dedis
Conferme þe treuþe to alle ledis
He bad his disciplis teche
Ouer al þe .world þe gospel preche
Pat is to vche creature
For þei shulde in trouþe be sure
Alle þat wolde leue þat tolde
And bapteme receyue wolde
þei shulde be baptized wipouten boost
In name of fadir sone & holy goost
And who þat wolde no bapteme take
At doom þei shulde falle to wrake
Þe leuer & þei baptized boþe
Shulde be saued from al loþe
Bus hab he vs ensaumple left
Pat we most ned þe be born eft
First in fleshe & siben in cryst
Of modir wombe & benne baptist
Fadir & modir vs get & beer
But crist hab vs geten here
In be holy goost geten-vs hab he
Perfore his sopfaste soñes be we
Ful wo may him be & owe
Pat wol not siche a fadir knowe
For pat is he wel we woot
Pat neuer of be appel boot
By him we may wibouten let
Aske oure eritage of det
De lawe he held wondir wel
Vnholden lafte he neuer adel
Neuer was hit holden per biforn
For pat he coom to be born
Of erbe he coom be firste mon
Pat al oure baret bigon
Pe toper coom from heuen tour
Pat brouȝt vs sauynge & socour
Pe formast man was flesshely wrought
Pat al pe world in bale brouȝt
He was put out of paradys
And his osprynge as for vnwyss
But ihesu oure fadir made al pleyn
And gat oure eritage aȝeyn
Pat lyst in erpe from heuenn hyȝe
And þidir wol vs do to stiȝe

To his disciplis bad þat hende
Fro ierusalem þei shulde not wende
But bide his fadir bihest þere
As men bi hym had seide ere
Se seide þe baptist Ion
I baptize ȝow in watir oon
In haste þe shal wikouten boost
Be baptised of þe holy goost
Whenne ihesus had fulfilde his spel
And tuaȝte hem as he coude wel
Forþ he ladde þe meyne swete
Vpon þe mounte of olyuete
In likenes of a processioun
And 3af hem alle his benesoun
And wip his owne propur my3t
He stey vp in her aller siʒt
A cloude þat doun æȝyn him coom
Bitaugte him to his aungels þon
Whenne þei siʒt of him had tynt
3it loked þei wipouten stynt.
Whil þei bihelde so in delite
Bisyde hem stood two in white
And seiden gode men of galile
Wher vp on merueile þe
3e merueile vp on iheþu now
But riʒt as he is take fro ʒow
He shal come at anoþer tide
Par ʒou not him now abyde
But þat coome shal be wondir kene
Whenne he come shal al to deme
Vpon þe holy burseday
Went iheþus to ordeyne oure way
Wip his fadir to make her In
Pat wole wip wille be of his kyn
In heuen blis pat is to sey
If we wol folwe be riȝt wey
His kyn wole he not forsaie
But we vs fouly mystake
But god forbede hit so to wende
Pat we oure foo make of oure frende
Wel owe we to loue him bon
Who loueþ him not is no mon
Certis if we soop shal rede
Mon is noon but he do monhede
And of vnmonhede is hit drawen
Pat of good dede wol not be knawen
Oure monhede bowe we þenne him to
In al þe gode þat we may do
For firste in erþe he here hit fet
And now in heuen he hab hit set
Ful hyȝe aboue alle creaturis
What herte may penke of siche honoris
Pat vs hab done þe kynge of blis
Pat coupled þus oure kynde to his
And set hit on his fadir riȝt honde
Pat myȝty god al weldonde
Pat is a selcoubë þing to neuen.
For þus is erþe hiȝer þen heuen
Per ihesus god & mon wip alle
So hiȝe is set in heuen stalle
Monhedē but erþe what is hit
Pat now wip þe godhedē is knyt
He sende vs now þat ðike grace
Pat we may se his blisse face
More blisse & ioye may neuer be
Pen on his blessed face to se
Of his visage þat is so briȝt
Me to speke is vnriȝt
For aungels þat aboute him ben
Her moost ioye is on him to seen
To se him þere hë sitteþ now
In heuen as may alle avow

The initial ð is a medium-size, decorated capital.
But of his lîkenes þat he bar
Whil he þreched here & þar
We may sey as hit is red   18825
In oure bokis in dyuerse sted
Of heȝte he was a metely mon
Aftir þat þe men were þon
Nouþer to greet ny to smal
And wondir semely eke wip al   18830
His cheer was dredeful on to loke
And louesum also seþ þe boke
His heer like to þe note broun
When þe hit for rype falleþ doun
Upon his shuldres liggyng wele   18835
By his eres slydynge sum dele
In heed he had a shede biforn
As nazarenes han þere þei are born
His þorhede feire wemles in sìȝt
Wipouten wrynkel hit was sìȝt   18840
His vyis sumdel with reed was meynd
Wip nese & mouþ feire ordeyned
Forked feire þe chyn he beer
And tender berd wip mychel heer.
Berd & heed of oon hew were
Note broun as I tolde you ere
Metely heer was on his chyn
Louely & blessed vs to wyn
Stidfaste his loke & symple ay
His yȝen clere & sumdel gray
Clerely spake he what he wolde
And alle his skiles wisely tolde
In his snybbynge aweful was he
In techynge myȝte noon sopere be
Teres he wepte we fynde ynowe
But we fynde neuer þat he lowe
Lyke his modir was þat childe
Wip fair Visage & mood ful mylde
Sene is hit bi þe verony
And bi þe ymage of þat lady
þe toon is þe toper liche
Stad in heuen blisse ryche
Whenne ihesus vp went to heuen
As se me herde biforme neuen
To ierusalem bo went bei sone 18865
As hem was beden for to done
Alle bo breper were comen bidder
And in an hous bo weren to gider
Stille bei bar hem bo & euen
Bo apostlis bo were but elleuen 18870
Peter. Ion. Iame. & Andrew
Philipp Thomas. & Barthelmew
Mathe. Iacob. Iudas. Symeoun
Alle these lay in orisoun
Mary his modir & opere also 18875
Dat were wont wip ihesu to go
Pere was nyge six skore men to telle
Peter roos & bigon to spelle
Breper he seide pe writen mot nede
Be fulfilde pat we rede 18880
Pe holy goost seide pourquoi dauy
Of Iudas & of his tricchery
Pat in our tale was tolde for one  
And dude our lord Ihesu to sone  
Wip tresour of pat felonye  
A feld he did him for to bye  
He brast in two as he hong  
His guttis at his womb out wrong  
De salmes seip bi good taast  
His wonyng shulde wylde & waast  
And for his tresoun & his swiche  
Anoper shulde haue his bisshoprice  
Of pis gederyng bihoue There is not enough information to fill in the missing word(s)  
In witnessynge to chese a mon  
To goddis seruyse him to take  
And also a hool noumbre to make  
Alle seide let hit be so  
And of hem alle chees bye two  
Pe ton het Ioseph barabas  
And bye toper mathias  
Pei seide & bus god bisou$t  
Pou lord pat seest al monnes pou$t
Shewe vs wheper of these here
Pat pou wolt haue to thi mistere
In stide of Iudas pat is losen
Whiche of these pou wolt haue chosen
Penne cast bei lottis for to telle
And soone vp on mathi hit felle
On him it was oure lordis will
Pe noumbre of twelue to fulfille
Ten dayes from pe ascencioun
Pe apostlis lay in oriscoun
And as bei so to gider lay,
Vp on pe holy witsunday
At vndren tyde per coom a soune
Fro pe eir brestynge doun
As hit were a ponder blast
Brodly on pat house hit brast
Wip a wynd pat coom wip alle
And bei sittyng fulde pat halle
Pe holy goost bo lieste pon
Bope on wommon & mon

The initial I is a medium-size, decorated capital.
Vnto her hedes alle bidene
Were firen tongis sittynge sene
A firen tonge on vchone list
But not hit bret hēi hit were briȝt
And whi hit coom in firen siȝt
For to strenghe & ȝyue myȝt
For wel we woot wipouten gyle
Fire is good to strenghe pe tile
Tongis bitokenen alle langage
Pe hēi shulde haue ful knowlge
To stonde stifly for pe fay
And trewely preche cristis lay
Of pe holy goost filde were pei þan
And for to telle hēi alle bigan
Pe miraclis grete of iheþu couþe
For alle langagis pei couþe wip mouþe
Pe holy goost ȝaf hem at pe blast
Of alle wittis to touche & tast
Every langage þat þenne was
Kyndely couþe pei hit bi gras
Dat tymes was more in pat toun
Sere men of alle religioun
To pat feest coom penne pore
Of vsche cuntre lasse & more
Wherfore were þei drad & gast
For heryng of pat mychel blast
For pat blast þat þei pore herde
To þe apostlis hous þei ran for ferde
Spekyenge of þat grisly crak
Her owne langage vchone spak
Of vsche þing þat þei coude freyn
Redy þei zaf vnswere aþeyn
Pat ilke tonge what so þei were
To vsche lede zaf þo vnswere
Of al wisdome þat men knowe
Þei coude resoun redy shewe
Alle merueiled how hit mygte be,
And seide þese men of galile
Born in þat cuntre to seen
How þei seide may þis þen
Pat oure langage speke þei þus
Greet wondir her of pinke vs
Some bad opere þenne do wey
And seiden dronken of must were þei
Vp stood peter in þat þrong
And seide gode men ȝe haue wrong
We are not dronken as ȝe say
Hit is but vndren tide of day
We be not wont þat tyme to ete
My not to drynke biffereoure mete
But I shal telle you hit wel bettur
If ȝe con rede ȝoure owne lettur
Þer was a prophete trewe & lele
Bi olde dayes þat het Ioele
I shal sende in þe laste dayes
Of my sprit þus he sayes
Bope on mon & wommon eke
Of prophecie shul þei speke meke
ȝoure sones & þoure. douȝtris fre
And þoure ȝonge men shul siȝtis se
3oure eldre men shal dremes dreme
And of my goost I shal a streme
To mon & wommon yuue also
To come bi prophecie and go
In heuen on hyse shal I showe
Signes & on erbe lowe
He tolde hem mony tokens sere
Pat is no nede to reken here
Breber he seide wel may I
Telle you of pe prophete dauy
He wiste pat god had to him sworn
Pat oon shulde of his seed be born
To sitte in sete pat were his
But he pat say so fer pis
Of his vprist he tolde in helle
Hit shal not be laft to dwelle
Neuer shal rote his flesshe so brieʒt
But reised is he bi his myʒt
From deep to lyf now risen is he
And perof witnesse alle are we
Reised so wipouten let
And made sikir bat his fadir het
pe ziftis of pe holy st sere
He hap vs yuen as ze se here.
To heuen he stey bat is wel sene
And I say to zow folk bidene
Dat ihesus is bat lord of myst
3e dude on rode wip vnri3t
Pese wordis herde monyoné
And rewed soore in hert anoone
To petre & opere apostlis to
Gode men bei seide what shal we do
But baptize zou & dop penaunce
In ihesu name for his sufferaunce
3e shul forzyuen be zoure sake
Pe holy goostis zifte to take
For whi to zou & to zoure sede
Pe childre bat of zou shal brede.
Pe mede is het of alle & alle
Dat cristen ben ihesu wol calle
But for 3oure bote I 3ou Forbede
To leuen on his wicked lede
Petur peyned him ful 3erne
In goddis name bat folk to lerne
Po bat toke his word to herte
Her soulis turned hit to querte
Dere was bat ilke day in lyues
Baptized pre hundride men & wyues
Pat bisily ful ofte dere
Entendaunt to be apostlis were
And ete breed wip hem to fare
Whenne bei had noust ellis whare
Do bat hous hadde or ober good
Solde hit & wip be apostlis good
Bifore be apostlis feet hit brouȝte
To do þerof what hem good þouȝte
Erly be apostelis vche day
To be temple wenten to pray
At her þeyn coom be mete bei 3aue
To vche as bei say mistere haue
Petur & Ion a day at none
Wenten to chirche to make her bone
Bisyde þe wey sai þei þere ly
A mon croked in þe palesy
And had ben moost part of his dayes
As þe story telleþ and sayes
Vche day men þidir him bere
For to bide his almes þere
Petur & Ion þei by him soode
And he bad of hem sum gode
Petur & Ion vnswered him hon
And seide biholde on vs þou mon
Biholde on vs now and se
And vnDISTONDE oure pouerte
Þou maist wel se now oure wone
ȝiftis haue we to þe none
For Petrus gode was hit nouȝt
þat obere men to him had brouȝt
For to kepe to her nede
And for þo pore men to fede

The initial P is a medium-size, decorated capital, with decorations going up four lines and down thirty lines.
Pat for pat skil her godis solde
And to be apostlis vp hit zolde.
Pat I may sanye he seide I shal
Pou hast nede aftir hele to cal
In ihesu nazarenes name
Rise vp he seide & go pou lame
His hond he take & vp he ros
Greet pase to be temple he gos
Bfore my3te he not goon a fote
Louyng our Lord he lepte for bote
Dus prophecye fulfillel was po
Pat seide be halt shulde skippe as ro
De folk po pei his mon had sene
Wondride on him al by dene
Petur anoon bigan to mele
And seide se folke of israele
Why wondir se so vip vnr3t
As pis were done vip our e my3t
But my3ty god vipouten make
Of abraham and of Isaake
And of oure elders that han bene o
His derworhe sone hap blessed so
That stood before prince pilate
And sufferde de þe bi ȝoure debate
De calling ȝon his holy name
Hap sent hele into þis lame
Wip þe trouhe þat fel þerto
For hit may wondir myche do
But my breþer I vnþirstonde
þat ȝe hit dud vnþitonde
Repenteþ ȝou & beþ aknowen
To saue ȝoure soulis vchone his owen
Aȝeuþ þe grete comune assise
Where alle shul come before iustiþe
Wipþstonde ȝoure synne þat ȝe may rise
Wip þat parti þat is riȝtwise
Forȝyuenes þenne shal be of pliȝt
Denne forþ whom þenne þourþe þe myȝt
Of risyng on þe laste day
De lastynge deþ shal worþe away
Bi his fadir sitte he shalle
To his recorde haue vs alle
Dat he spake firste wip prophěcies
Ay to pe tyme dat alle shulde ryse
Pe apostlis spak þis & more
Pe prest coom þat tyme þore
Pe temple maistris wip hem boun
Alle were þei of o commoun
Hem tened sore at þis talkyng
And seiden how dar þe do þis þing
So preciouse wordis of him to say
Dat we dude deme þis ender day
Pe saduces namely þat lede
For þe vprysing wolde þei wede
For þei wolde never for no þing
Dat knowen were þe vp risynq
Pe apostlis dude þei take soone
And so in prisoun were þei done
Þei set men þere hem to þeme
For late hit was þenne hem to dene
But mony leued on her lore
And to baptisme went derefore
So pat of men & als of wyue
Were dere convertide thousandis fyue
Pat opere day pat folwed nest
Gedered out bope prince & prest
And sette hem in pat court amydde
And bad hem of be dede pei didde
Pei shulde telle faste & soone
In whoso name hit was done
But petur pat alle opere past
His vnsere, he saf in haast
But firste he shewed in his dede
Pat her askyng was but sophede
He seide hit is resoun pat we
For oure gode dede chalanged be
Vnskillfuly ze con vs blame
For wite ze wel pat in pe name
Of ionesu pat ze diden on rode
Pat euer ze mys vndirstode
God his fader him reised to lyue

The initial P is a medium-size, decorated capital.
As woot mony mon & wyue
Pat is made as a corner ston
For to make two folkis oon
On in him for to be fest
Pat ilke pat fro oure werk se kest
In him is helte of monkynde al
As noon opere name on to cal
Pat of hele may 3yue hem blis
But if mon fully penke on pis
De maistris whenne bei vndir3ode
How stidfastly be apostlis stode
Dei bad bei shulde hem wi8drawe
Whil bei speke to gidir a brawe
Dei seide se ze not bese men
Who con vs councele of hem ken
De merueile say ze pat bei did
We may not nay hit so is hit kid
But perfore shal we prete hem hard
Pat bei shulde neuer more forward
Dis name to mon nor wommon neune
Of ihesus goddis sone of heuene
Glad were þei benne & beden pore
Dat þei shulde neuer more
Of be name of ihesu spelle
Ny no ping þerof to telle
Þei vnswered soone anne
Bope petur & seynt Ione
Wheber owere more þei seide bow
To god al weldynge or ellis to sow
3e to bid vs to wip stonde
Goddis biddyng al weldonde
De ping þat we han herd and seen
Whi may hit knowen not ben
Seruautis ellis be we sory
Sopfastenes is not to deny
Do iewis þat euer were so curst
Wolde ete haue prisounde hem if þei durst
For pepul durst þei not do hit þon
And þei went hoom vnto syon
Whenne þei coom to her breþer þere
Þei tolde how þei hondeled were
Þei helde vp hondis wip o steuen
And þonked ihægu hyge in heuen
Whenne þei had alle seide her bede
Anoon bigon to stire þat stede
And in þat erpe dene þat shoke
þe holy goost eftson þei toke
Out of her holy hertis horde
Spedly spelle þei goddis worde
Of þat folke a mon þer was
Called by name ananyas
I wolde he seide my godis gyue
Wip þese rigtwis men to lyue
Wip hem I may of mete & drynke
My lyuere haue wipouten swynke
To his wyf seide he I & þow
Herto shul we make a vow
þe vow he made his londe he solde
þe penyss fully taken & tolde

The initial O is a medium-size, decorated capital.
He hem brouȝt at be last
Before be apostlis feet doyn cast
But haluendel of bat stall he
And seide bat was be hool more
His wyf assentide wel þer tille
Was neuer be fruyt of siche but ille
For alle siche hem self biswike
And lopen most bat shulde hem like
Petur hit say in holy siȝt
For filde he was of grace & myȝt
Say me he seide ananyas
Whi hastou temptide sathanas
Of þi salte to make leysyng
And zelden vp but half þi þing
Al bat hou wende þerwip to wynne
Shal turne þe but to sake & synne
Siker art hou now of synne & sake
Perof hou hast in honde þe wrake
Has seynt petur seide no more
Pe mon fel doyn ded riȝt pore

The initial H is a medium-size capital.
Songe men hent be careyn bere
And faste for to bury hit bere
Pre houris airtir more ny myn
His wif vnwityng bus coom In
Wommen seide petur solde ye bus
Soure lond sir she seide sus
Dou lyest he seide & shuldes wonde
Wip falshede be holy goost to fonde
Lo where at be dore bei stonde
Pat riȝt now dalf bi dede husbonde
So shal beï be do now anone
Wip pat she fel doun dede as stone
Wondir no mon of his here spoken
Pouge wrongis bo so soone were wroken
For cristene chirche bo hit bigan
3it was hit not al stabul ðan
For custom is among alle trewe
Whenne lawe is made bitwene men newe
At be bigynnyng be to redde
Pat drede may do lawe be dredde
To do be folke drede & awe
Pat wolde not ellis holde be lawe
Pe gode & trewe for loue & mede
Pe wicke holde be lawe for drede
For þenne durst no mon wip hem menge
But he wolde trewely wip hem lenge
Mony seke to hem souȝt
And mony signe þei on hem wrouȝt
Boþe in weyes & in strete
Pe seke were born hem to mete
Mony þat petur wolde ryne
Of him to ken her medicyne

Petur was prince of þo twelve
Gretter of signe þen crist him selue
He wrouȝte as hit is seide sumwhere.
Prierelage of signe he bere
Crist him self het him þat
Whenne he for him dide mony what
Fro þo her folk wex more & more
Fast þe folk fel to her lore
But sit þo iewis þat were feloun
þei dide þe apostlis in prisoun
Bi þo saduces fals envyye
þat loued no resurexioun trise
Shulde be of mon at domes day
Aȝeyn þe apostlis þei seide nay
þese were þo saducis I tolde
þat wip þe phariseus euer dide holde

//
But soone aftir on þe nyȝt
Sende hem was an aungel brist
þat brouȝt hem out of prisoun strong
And bad hem to þe temple gong
Soone þei wente wip wille glad
And dude as þe aungel hem bad
For to spelle þe word of lyf
þat alle myȝte here knowe mon & wip
Þe prisoun dores laft þei as þei fond
Nouþer brast þei barre ny bond
þat was to make her troupe agrounde
And iewis falshede to confounde.
Whenne þo layleris on his wise

Shulde hem brynge bifoire iustise

Lordyngis here is selcoupse seide þei

We fynde oure prisones alle away

Þe doris stoke þe wallis hale

So god me helpe soþ is þis tale

Noon out goynge of hem fonde we

Bibenke 30w hou þis may be

Þo maiestris fast hem bipouȝt

Wip þat a mon tibinge brouȝt

Þo þat were he seide in prisoun

In þe temple now þei sermoun

To þe temple anoon þei ȝede

Þe apostlis to prisoun to lede

But no stregþe did þei hem tille

Þei went wip hêm at her wille

Þei durst no hardnes hem do

For þei folk helde wip hem so

Amydde þe court as þei were sett

Þe bisshop forbode hem brett

The initial W is a medium-size capital.
We bidde he seide & als forbede
Poure se myst of bisshophede
Pat se in ihesu name pat is
Be not so bolde to preche fro his
For al ierusalem & more
Haue se fulfilde wip soure lore
Wol se dryue on vs be blame
Of any wrekyng of his name
Pat we haue slayn him wip wronge
Pat se prechynge so broly gonge
Alle anoon saf po vnsware
Myst noon for opere po forbere
To leue hit were more meede to 3ow
To god ben any man to bow
Oure fadir god dud ihesu to rise
Pat se honged wip fals assise
And haf him set on his risthonde
His woot we wel may not wipstonde
Ofte to sou hit haf ben tolde
Witnes perof are we bolde
Pe holy goost he hab vs sent
And trewely to him Wolfe we tent
Repente sow whil se haue space
And se may haue pis zifte of grace
Penne bigan pei waxe al mate
And wip her teep to grisbate
Wip swappes soore pei hem swong
And scourgid so pei let hem gong
Pei bad hem fle as pei wolde dede
To menge ihesu more we rede
Pei wente forp ioyefullere pen ore
And noping greued hem ore sore
But ponked ihesu cristis name
Pat pei for him hadde bat grame
Pe stidfaste troupe in hem so
Lo what strengbe fallep persto
Nouber for word ny for dynt
Of stabul troupe wolde pei stynt
Hem pou3te no ping so swete in lyf
As for ihesu to suffere greet strif
Euer be more men dud hem mys
Pe sikerere bei were of blis
Cristis blis bei loused so wele
Pat bei mystes of no turment fele
As bifoire hem wroust he pe wey
So aftir him faste folwed bei
Por he had hem so dere boust
Of al pis world 3af bei noust
Pe maistris pat coom aftirward
Pei lerned at hem to suffere hard
Pat neuer forsoke for no wrake
Pe cristen troupe pat bei had take

In tyme of pese apostlis dere
Pe cristen lawe wex faste here.
Pese apostlis token kepe
And herdis were of cristis shepe
To cristen doom so faste men felle
Pei myste not kepens al welle
Pei ordeyned vnder hem opere seuen
Whiche bei were I shal hem neuen
Steuen on philip & thamor
Tymon menian & nichomor
Nicolas als þese seuan were
Set þiforme þe apostlis seere
Ouer hem þei helde her holy honde
And a while were preyonde
Obes þenne to hem þei made
To do hit were þei wondir glade
Pe burhen vndir hem to bere
Of þat folke whenme was mistere
Goddis word wex fast & grew
And also dude þe troupe trew
And of þo prestis þere was fele
Þat lafte her hastis & lyued lele
Steuen of strengeþe & goddis grace
Was fulfilled in every place
Mony miraclis grete of myȝt
Dude he bifoer folkes siȝt
Vp þer roos a striyf þenne hem wip
Folke þat were of dyuerse kip

19389
The initial S is a small capital.
19403
The initial S is a medium-size, decorated capital.
19402
Read "lastis" for "hastis".
Pat synagoge of iewis held
Soone þei wende steuen haue feld 19410
But al her stryf was in veyn
Had þei no myȝt him aȝeyn
Wip speche ofte þei spake him to
But noon myȝt not at him do
Þe holy goost in him spake 19415
In word myȝte þei not him take
Aldþ þo men þat say his chere
Pouȝte he was an aungel clere
Twey witnes had þei hem purueide
To telle of god he had myssaide 19420
Aȝeyn moyses & her lawe
So fayn wolde þei þim do of dawe
He fyned neuer hem to myssay
þei tolde þe bisshop of her lay
Steuen made him redy boun 19425
And þenne began a greet sarmoun
þere he proved wipouten awe
Þat fals was her owne sawe
For firste to loue god pei bigon

In moyses tyme pat good mon
Siben he tolde hem of her lawe
Pat pei coupe not hem self knawe
Wherme he had hem tolde pe sope
Pei bigonne to grynde wip tope
Hem pou3te her hertis brak for tene
Eth was to kyndel pat was kene
Steuen lift vp y3en his
I se he seide pe kynge of blis
Mannes sone here se I stonde
Ihesus god on his rig3t honde
In fourme of mon he say him in
His fadir & he sumdel in twyn
He say him stonde & helpe him bede
For helpe owep to come at nede
He say him croised in manere po
Pat he fro stonyng shulde not go
To here neuene ihesu name
Pat helde pe iewis moost her shame
And namely worst was hem pan
Whenne he was cleped god & man
Penne wex þo wrecches out of witt
And gon her eren for to ditt
Hem harmed no þing more in hert
Perfore on steuen allé þei stert
Þei drouȝe him out of toun allone
And þere demed him to stone
Þe fals witnes him stone bigan
Þat seide he herde him greet god ban
Þei held hit lawe wibouten synne
Þat þe witnes shulde bigynne
A childe het saul of her lede
To tent þe while to her wede
Þat ilke þat þo was cleped saul
Siben was he apostel paul
Whil þei were him sleonde
Vp to heuen he helde his honde
Vp on his knees down he him set
And derworpely god he gret
Ihesu he seide to be I bow
I selde my goost rescuyue hit now
And lord forsyue pes men her pliȝt
For of pe sohe haue pei no sist
Pus his holy soule he solde
To ihesu bat for him was solde
Pro bat steuen was done of dawe
Past pei roos wipouten awe
Ageyn holy chirche hit tȝ waste
In ierusalem most vnwraste
Whenne pis steuen pus was solne
Pat of seuēn dekenes was one
Pe disciplis folwede pei harde
Pat pei hem droof out of her warde
Saue pe apostlis pat hem ledde
Pei stood but alle opere fledde
Alle opere fledde but git pei stode
So done pe herdis pat ben gode
Pe apostlis say hit was nede
To turne in to anopher lede

The initial F is a medium-size, decorated capital.
Alphe sone þat het Iacob
Of Ierusalem þei made bisshop
Þei leide hondis him vp on
Petur & iacob & seynt Ion
Perfore of fewer þen of þre
May no bisshop sacred be
In þat tyme saul alle past
Þat cristis chirche bigon to wast
Pro hous to hous sekande he ran
And out he drouge wif & man
Þei he hem pursewed so wip wove
As god wolde none he slow
For god him kepte þat euere is goode
His hondis vnfoulid of monnes blode
Þei þat scatered were for nede
Pro stide to stide walkynge þei zede
Stidfaster þen þen ere
For þei to skared were
Philip was of dekenes one
Next aftir steuen was gone
To proche he coom into a by
Dat men cleped samary
\underline{Pere} be folke wip hool assent
To his wordis 3af entent
Miraclis dud he for hem fele
Mony seke 3af he hele
\underline{Per} was a mon symon magus
As oure story telleb vs
He ladde be folke wip myche swike
For signes were his werkis like
To folk wrou3t he greet ferly
And Al was by nygromauncy
Goddes vertu or greet prophe
Or ellis aungeel be him lete
Or goddis sone be him held
For he made be folk al dweld
Wherne be folk in pat toun.
Trewely leued phelippis sarmoun
And to baptizing hem bowed
Symound let \underline{penne} as he trowed

\underline{19523}  
Read "\underline{prophete}" for "\underline{prophe}".
He baptized him to holy chirche
For tokenes he saye philip wirche
Obere pen he myste do
For he wende to come perfo
Perfoe toke he bapteme feyn
to be wip philipp so aquerynt
He wolde be to him sumwhat nere
Pat he myste of signes lere
Whenne pe apostlis herden say
Samaritanes had taken her lay
Fro ierusalem pei sent anone
Bope seynt petur & seynt Ione
Pei preyed for hem wipouten boost
Pei shulde receyue pe holy goost
Pat is to sey wip tokenes sene
But par no mon perfo wene
Pat hit rescuyed had bo
Vnsene whenne pei toke bapteme so
Here may we se on his wise
Douse mony mon zyue baptise
May no man pat is in londe
Conferme but bisshopis honde
Dis nedefulnesse phelip wiste
Perfore alle bo pat he baptiste
He sende hem to be apostlis ay
Pat bei shulde hondis on hem lay
As we se now bisshops do
Pat bis pouste is yuyen to
Pe bisshopis hool conferment
Of stregbe hit is be sacrament
Stably to stonde in stryf
In lastyng cristen mennes lyf
Whenne symon magus vndirstood
Pe holy goost benne was so good
Pat bo men pat hit vndirfong
Mi3te do grete dedis strong
He wende hit were but a queyntise
Pat my3te be bou3t for sum prise
As hit is in pe storius red
To be apostlis 3ifts he bed
Selle me þis maistrie he seide
Pat on what mon my hon be leyde
He haue þe holy góost in hyȝe
To wynne þer wip hit wolde hit byȝe
Petur vnswered to þat qued 19575
Þi catel be þi self to deed
Holde þe catel þat is pyne
To be wip þem helle pyne
Here may men se bi þis resoun
Whenne seyntis þaf her malisoun 19580
Þei þaf hit noon bi euel wille
Ny for wrappe þei bar hem tille
But þe riȝtwisnes to do
On hem þat worþi were þerto
Dou hast no part seide petre here 19585
Wip falsheþe hastou made þe fere
Bi þi hond shaltou haue no myȝt
To do þe holy góst dowþ list
But do penaunce nede hastou
For god hastou souȝt wip wowe 19590
He wole for3yue so may hit falle
pe falshede þou him fondide wip alle
Hit fel seynt petre as for rent
To calle men to amendement
So auȝte alle prestis more & les
In as myche as in hem'es
Petur & Ion went aȝeyn
And preched boþe wip myȝte & mayn
Laft þei for no blanche nor shome
Til þei to ierusalem coom home
Let we now þese prechouris stonde
And speke we of oon warronde
Saul souȝte faste aboute & þret
Alle þe cristen þat he wip met
Of prince of prestis gat he leue
And þerfore purchased him abreue
For to seke vp and doun
If he myȝte fynde in any toun
Cristen men to lede wip wronge
To ierusalem to prisoun stronge

19591 The initial H is a medium-size capital.
19601 The initial L is a medium-size decorated capital.
As he bus went to quere & aske
Towarde a toun bat het damaske
Pe fuyr of helle him smoot bat stounde
And bremely caste him to be grounde
Blyndefold he was as he were lay
He herd a steuen bus to him say
Saul saul say me now
Wherfore me bus purswest pou
What art pou lord he seide vnsene
I am ihesus nazarene
Pat pou purswest al bat pou may
But vndirstonde bat I pe say
Hit is to be myche vniȝt
Aȝeyn troupe wip wronge to fiȝt
Saul quook so was he drad
For ferd in his mood al mad
Seye me lord what shal I
Pi wille to do I am redy
Ris vp & go be toun is nere
What pou shalt do pere shalt pou here
Pe folk were ferd pat wiþ him ferde fol. 115 r col. 1
No man þei sez what so þei herde
Of saul here þei wel þe steuen
But nouȝt þei say þat coom fro heuen
Blynde he was his wey he souȝt
Pat bifo[r]e was blynde in þouȝt
His yse liddes open had he
And sit myȝt he no þing se
Al blynd to toun men him led
Pre dayes lyuþþ he þere ynded
Nouȝt he eet þo þre dayes
Ny siȝt say he noon wayes
In þo þre dayes & þre nyȝt
Miche he lerned men telle riȝt
Of spellyng þat he sib[en] spake
For of þrechynge had he no make
In damaske toun þat tyme was
A crist[e]n man het ananyas
To whom ouȝe lord seide in siȝt
Go to a strete þat þus hizt
In siche a hous shaltou fynde
Saul of thars liggyng blynde
He lip liggyng his heed doun
Fast preyng in orisoun
Ananias him vnswerede 19665
Lord he seide ofte haue I herde
Of myche prisonyng and pyne
Pat he hap done seruauntis pyne
Pouste he had to do alle shame
Pat euer cryed vp on pi name 19670
Do wey seide crist hit is not now so
Pere I bidde pe go pou go
Go now to him he is me lele
Of my che'syng he is vessele
My name to knowe & als to bere 19675
Bifore kyng & eke caysere
Baptizyng pat pou him bede
But of pi lore hap he no nede
His lore maistir I shal be
Miche shal he suffere for me 19680
Him self shal part haue of 

Pat he dud er to seruauntis myne

Ananias sou3t Pat in swipe
And soone poule he fond 

Soone his hond on him he leide

He me sende saul he seide

Ihesus him hopen kud to be

Bi wey for to do be se

Wip inne & oute to haue bi si3t

Take be holy goostis myst

Shales fel fro his y3en a way

He had his si3t from Pat day

Whenne he had bapteme vndergone

He eet & drank & keuered anone

To cristen men as I 3ou telle

In synagog bigon he to spelle

Pat soone penne wex bei coup

Goddes wordis in his moup

Alle Pat him dred wondride on

And seiden is not his Pat mon
Dat we say his 3ondir day
Aȝeyn ihesu name werray
Also he coom to his toun
Cristen to fette to prisoun
Saul couered in a stounde
Pe iewis faste he gan confounde
He bad hem alle leue & lift
Dat was no god but ihesu crist
So fast pe iewis he wip stood
Dat soore he mengid her mood
Wherfore pei took her rede
Dernely to do him to dede
Of dat reed bigonne pei rowne
Wip alle pe ledères of dat tounne
Nist or day whenne pei myst spie
By murtherment to do him dye
Ofte pe toun for him pei set
And saul wiste dat he was pret
In a leep men let him doun
Ouer pe walles of dat toun
Wipouten any wounde or wem
He wente po to ierusalem
To pe apostlis he him bedde
But pei were of him sum deel dredde
Pei wende not sitt pon
Pat he had ben cristen mon
But barnabas hem tiþing tolde
And made hem of his cristenyng bolde
He tolde how ihesu him gon mete
And to him spake walkyng bi strete
And how he bленched for no blame
To preche in damaske goddes name
Apostel was he sīpen one
Pat make in prechyng had he none
And fro pat tyme men cald him ay
Conuers poule in goddes lay
Poul went forþ here & bare
And spelled faste wipouten spare
Bope to hepen folk & to iewis
And faste disputed wip pe grewis

The initial W is a medium-size capital.
As iewis fond he none so pro
For ofte þei souȝte him to slo    19742
To petur turne we now aȝeyn    19747
For to make oure story pleyn
Petur fast þe trouȝe vndid
& preched in a toun het lid    19750
Þere he fonde a mon yn fere
Had hade þe palesye seuen þere.
To him seide petur enea þo
Cryst ȝye þe hele of þi wo.    19755
Rise he seide þi bed þou diȝt
To stire biforn þat had no myȝt
Soone he roos wipouten more
Had he nuper greef ny sore
Penne fel þo folk to crist þi dene
In toun of ȝop was a mayden shene    19760
Of somme was she cald dorca
And somme hir called thabita
Cristen was she of goddis hous
Aboute werkis euer of almous.

19749
The Initial P is a medium-size, decorated
capital.
But principally of operé bing:
To sewe pe pores clopping:
Dis mayden died whil petur did
Dis miracle se herd at lid
Petur was but litil hem fro
Of cristen men sende bei two
And preyed pat he wolde him hy
But bei tolde hym not why
Petur seide not pecof nay
But to his licam coom pat lay
Wip pore wedis aboute biset
Full tenderly pere for hir gret
Wip wepyng showed bei in dede
Pat dorca 3af hem ofte in nede
Pat petur shulde wite what she were
Her preyere gladliere to here
He bad do out bo mon arewe
Pat in pat hous were left but fewe
For pere were somme so may be
Were not worbi miracle to se.
Toward that cors he turned his face
Knelyng bisous of grace
Thabita he seide rise vp I bidde
She lift vp soone hir ygen lidde
Whenne she of peters had a sight
Bi hir self she sat vp rišt
To seynt petur she took hir honde
And he hir reised for to stonde
Do that were out in bad he calle
And salde hir quyk biform hem alle
Do bicoom cristen al that toun
That petur souȝt wiþ his sarmoun
Of sarmoun wolde he no wey blyn
Longe þei length at an In
Per he fonde a feipful frende
His name was symon þe hende
Many made he þere to cryst bowe
Þat toun is called acres now
But whil þat petur length þere
In a toun þat het cesare

Note at the bottom of the folio " þer was".
Pere was a man heldyng to riȝt
Cornelius to name he hiȝt
A mysty mon of greet honour
Was set vndir pe emperour
To suffere pere no wrong be done
Vp on a day at tym[e] of none
An aungel coom & stood him by
And seide drede pe not cornely
Pin orisqu[ê] & pin almous
Is knowen hize in goddis hous
Pou shal purueye be soone sum men
For to sende vnto zopen
And do pat petur come to pe
At symundis hous pe hend[e] is he
Fet him to pe he shal be lere
Al bi lyf how pou shalt stere
Cornelius aftir pat siȝt
Called to hym two men & a knyȝt
To zopen sone he hem sende
As pe aungen had him kende
Pei wente forþ & diden so
Pe tober day pei say hem fro
Pe Innes þere seynt petur lay
penne was hit vndir lyde of day
Dat is pulke tyme to mene
Dat petur went to preye clené
First to preye & siben to eté
For þat tyme had he hongur grete
While pei diȝte his lif lode
In orisoun he lay & bode
Beþwip he fel in a swyme
Dat iheþus him selſe sende, on þyme
Of monnes wit not þenne he wist
As wille was of iheþus crist
His þouȝte he lokèd to be lift
And say þerinne a mychil clift
A lynnen cloþ foure sware
Let a doun him þouȝte was þare:
At nokes foure foure listis longe
Out of þe eyr þerwip hit honge
Whenne hit on erpe was leten doun
Alle foure fotid beestis say he boun
And al maner crepyng best
Of þo þat are not tolde honest
Petur hongride þo ful sore
A voys seide þenne to him þore
Petur rise & sle and ete
As who sey go & þou shalt gete
De iewn folke among þou go
And heþen lede for þou shalt slo
Her lastis þat ben not to preysse
And holly holy chirche vp reyse
Whenne petur þo beestis sawe
Of hem þouȝte him mychel awe
Forboden beestis were þei in lede
Lord ihesus he seide forbede
For any nede I shulde me dres
To mete þei ete in heþenes
To me to ete were no resoun
Pat is to heþen men comoun
As petur pou3te what was to done  
Pat coom another voys soone  
Petur he seide sle & ete  
Pat to do par be not lete  
Cal not comoun hit is vnri3t  
Patt clen3ed hap god of my3t  
Patt is be heben as who sey  
Clengynge in goddis for si3t in fey  
Par be not wond3-wip hem to menge  
To lerne hem shal pou-wip.hem.lenge  
Doun and wp on bis wise  
Pis ilke cloop was laten prise  
Pries pis ilke steuen him tolde  
To make petur perof so bolde  
Ambrose seip pat we say pre  
Rehersingis whenne a childe shall baptized be  
Leuest pou in god. 3e pis is one  
Pv toper forsakestou satone  
Pv pridde is wolt pou baptized be  
Al anoyntingis ben per pre
On brest in shulderes & in frount Pries is he þenne put in frount Whenne þis cloop was þries shawen Aȝeyn hit was to heuen drawen Whil þat petur him biþouȝt, What þis cloop bitokene mouȝt Po þre men coom him nyȝte honde Pat coomen-on cornely eronde First coom þei to symoundis In Askynge if petur were þere In Petur þerwip was warnyst Pourȝe goostly mysþ of ihesu crist Petur hit seide lo ȝondur þre Men are sende to seke þe Rise go wiþ hem haue no drede I þe sende and shal þe lede Petur met hem soone in hy þe mon þe seke he seide is I What is þe enchesoun of þoure wye Gladly þei seide we wol þe sey
A centener sir cornelius
To seke þe sende he vs
He drede þod no mon more
And of him hap he had vnswore
To his hous þe to brynge
For to here þi sarmonynge
Her sopore petur dud þo diȝt
And wip him gestened þei þat nyȝt
On þe morwe þei went her wey
And to cesar soone coom þey
Longe aftir hem þouȝte cornely
He duode his frendis calle for þi
Whenn þe þis comyng vndistooode
Soone he roos ægeyn þim ȝode
And whenn þe met þim þe strete
Cornelius þim fel to fetel
Wip al his herte him honoureunde
Petur þim take vp þi þe honde
To þim he seide ryse vp þroþer
I am a mon as þou anþer
Cornelius here had frendis fele fol. 116 v col. 2
Petur to hem pus gon mele
3e woot he seideoure lord forbedes
Vs to menge wip oure ledes 19930
But now wip si3t I haue hit sene
Dat of monkynde is noon vnclene
Perfore bileue I am sou lent
And comen to sou as aftir sent
What 3e wolde wip me wite I wolde 19935
Cornelius be sope him tolde
First al of be angels si3t
And si3p of bodeword broujt ri3t
For his metynge pat I wip met
I dude he seide be for to fet 19940
Petur opened vp his moup
I se he seide pat hit is coup
Dat god pat made for vs raunsoun
Biholdeþ not monnes prisoun
Ne he biholdeþ not whether he be 19945
Iewe or sarazene bonde or fre
But alle folke hat him drede
Wip lous to his lawe he ledes
Noon wole he away caste
Pat trouply wole him loue & laste  19950
Petur him seide a spellynge bon
Of baptizynge pat Ion bigon
Pat was of penance & baptime
And how crist sufferide
How he him self pat ilke wyse  19955
Tooure ensauple dud baptise
Sipen of his lyf he wip hem ledde
And how iewis on rode him spredde
And he roos be bridde day
Perof trewe witnes_bar bay  19960
He spak wip vs in flesshe & felle
And bad vs wende his worde to spelle
His fadir pat al hap for to 3eme
He toke him quyke & dede to deme
Not we allone his folweres
But vche prophete him witnes beres  19965
Alle to be saf of synne & shame
Pat wele leue in his holy name
Whil pat petur spak his spelle
Pe holy goost dow on hem felle
On alle pat herde pat spel in place
Pe holy goost benne coom wip grace
Ponkynge al worbi dere
From benne pei spake wip speches sere
Petur seide benne who may forbede
Watir or baptem in pis lede
Pe holy goost is comen to se
Now is tyme baptized to be
He duke hem baptize eueruchone
In ihesu name bo allone
Te forme pat him tauyte was ere
Of baptizing he helde hit bere
For pis skil him pouzt rede
Cristis name berewip to sprede
Pere dwelled petur a litil stage
And pis was pe firste passage

19967
The initial A is a medium-size capital.
Pat be apostlis in party
Made among folk bat were paeny
Fro now forf I am in wille
Of be apostlis to holde me stille
Of hem now speke I no more
For penne be sondride wide whore
Vchone in to cunteres sere
Pe cristen lawe folke to lere
Her owne lord wel hem ledde
In her spellenyng wel be spede
Doue be wel spede soop to sey
Mony tument suffered be
Laste be for no greef ny shame
But werrayed in her lordis flame
Pei dud al pe sope to prowe
To brynge her worpi lord in loue
What cunter vchone toke to preche
Afterwarde I shal sou teche
What endyng vchone had & whore
Penne may I tell of hem nomore

The initial F is a medium-size, decorated capital.
First wole I telle of hir endyng. Of alle kyngis þat bar þe kyng
Of alle kyngis þat bar þe kyng
How she þat bar him þat vs boust
Vnto þat mychel blisse was brouȝt
Þouȝe I be vnworpi mon
Hirem am I al þat I kon
Wip fel flesshe & soule wip al
I am and euere shal ben hir þral
For I may neuer be so fre
As to þat lady þralled be
Hir worshepe þerwip to wynne
To telle noot I where bigynne
For þouȝe my tunge were of steele
And þat I loued no þing so wele
And I bigon hir worshepe speken
A housande seer myȝt I not reken
Þouȝe I dide noon oper þinge
Pe tenpe part of hir lovynge
For euere þe more I þouȝte to say
Pe widder shulde I fynde way
Perfore lady I wol not fyne
Euer to be in preysynge fyne
Wel I woot so kynde art pow
Pou wolt me my wille alow
For ofte menskest pou mon with mede
For his good wille wipouten dede
In bi worshepe do me to lende
Lady to my lyues ende

Wherefore I shal a litil sty
Rede 3ou now of pat lady
For pat hir sone oure lord ihegsu.
Dy3ed on rode al for vs
Witep hit wele out of were
Alle pat wol hit herty lyere
Ouber herep or ellis redes.
Hir blessing shul pei haue to medes
And cristis owne benysoun
And of synnes remissioun
Womman shal not perisshe of barn
Ny bi mys tyme be forfarn
My falle in to no dedly pli3t

Whense hit here day or ny3t
More berof I say 3ou 3it
Who wel herep or redep hit
Of our3e lady & als seyn Ion
Her benesoun b3p not to hem woon
Edmounde of pointney sikerly
3af dayes of perdoun berto forty
Written his same ping I fonde
Him self hit wro3t I vn3rstonde

WHO SO DESIREP GREET PARDOUN
HERE OF OURE LADY ASSUMPTIOUN

Whenn3 ihesu crist was don on ro3e
& suffered deep for our3 gode
Soone he cald to him seyn Ion
Pat was his sibbe kynnesmon
And his owne modir p3 two
Calde he to him no mo'
Wommon he seide lo here somé pine
For monnes loue suffere his pyne

20051 The initial W is a medium-size capital.
20060 The two lines following this line are in bold type and red ochre. The lines are not numbered in Morris.
20065 The initial W is a large decorated capital.
Lo how I honge vp on his tre
For sone I woot hit rwepe be.
My feet & honde of blood are reed
Wipouten gilt I poole his deed
Myne bat owe me to louen
For whom I coom doun fro abouen
Pei me do pis mychel shame
Serued I never to bere her blame
His modir stode & sqre she grete
De teres fel doun to hir fete
No wondir of hir wepyng sore
Hir sorwe myyte be no more
He bat she in body bere
As his wilie was so dere
Heng bere a tre nayled to
Alas alas alas seide she
How may I lyue how may I be
How may I on his sorwe se
Coude I eer of sorwe nou3t
Dere sone what hastou pou3t
How shall I lyuen wipouen þe
Leue sone saye to me
Penne spak ihesu wordis gode
As he honged on þat rode
He seide to his modir dere
I shall bisteche þe a fere
þat trewely shal kepe to þe
Whil þou shalt in erpe be
Soone he seide to seynt Iou
For my loue kepe wel þis wommon
Kepe & serue hir wip þi myȝt
þat no þing do hir noon unriȝt
At þat same word so saide
In to his kepynge he toke þat mayde
He sereued hir nyȝte & day
And bisyed him hir to pay
To temple wip him hir he nam
And soone as he þider cam
Among þo nonnes of þat stide
God to serue þere he hir dide

The initial Ê is a medium-size capital.
The she laste all her lyue
Loued she nouper first ny stryue
Alle bo ladyes but theere were
In all her wille her forbere
Whil she was wip hem bore
Pei serued her lasse & more
To hool & seke dud she bote
And serued hem to honde & fote
Naked & hongry she cladde & fedde
Pe seke brought she to bedde
Was per nouper hool ny fere
But pei had of hir greet mistere
Pei hir loued wip all her nygt
She hit deserued so wolde riht
She wook more pen she slept
Hir sone to serue toke she kepe
To him she calde wip reuful stuen
And he hir sent an aungel fro heuen
Himself coom als but she bare
To comforte his modir carre
Seynt Ion hir kept & helde dere
For he was to hir tewe fere
Wolde he neuer fro hir gone
Boðe her willes was in one
Al þat she bad gladly he did
Whil she lenged in þat stide
Whenne she had þere longe bene
De lady þat is heuen queene
Hir longed sore hir sone to
And soone, whenne she was meued so-
An aungel sent he hir fro heuen
Pat grett hir wiþ a mylde steuen
In þe temple wiþ hir he met
Honourynge hir soone he hir gret
He seide lady ful of grace
Wel þe be in every place
Be not for me ferde here
I am þi sones messangere
Fro him now to þe I come
De greteþ wel þi dere sone
Flour of erbe of heuen quene
Blessed mot þou euer bene
Wel be þe tyme þou were born 20155
Ellis þe world had ben lorn
If þou were & þe fruyt of þe
Wipouten ende had mon loste be
Lady best of alle þinge
Blithe bodeword I þe brynge 20160
Take þis palme in þin honde
Hit is þi dere sones sonde
þe þinke longe þi sone to sene
Here shal þou not longe bene
He shal sende aftir þe ful soone 20165
Wel haþ he herde þi Boone
þou shalt be brouȝte to heuen blis
Neuermore of myrþe to mys
þere he is kyng shal þou be queen
Al heuen court may blithe ben 20170
Al heuen court þinkeþ longe
Til þou be comen hem amonge
Pou shalt be here but dayes pre
Lady dere arraye now be
pen vnswered oure lady
And seide to bat aungel in hy
Art pou my sones messangere
Pat bringest me pis tiping here
Hab he set me suche a day
Pat I me make redy may
Gladly wole I wite when
To take lewe of my kynnesmen
At frendis pat me han fed & clad
And holpen me as my sone hem bad
Pe aungel seide I say hit be
Pou shall be here but dayes pre
Pis bridde day shal we come doun
Wit aungels fele make be boun
And fecche pe wip mery song
For aftir pe vs pinkep long
Penne saide soone oure lady
To be aungel pat stood hir by

The initial S is a small capital.
Note that "I" is written above the line, and is apparently a later insertion.
What is thy name pou sweete amy
Gladly wile perof wolde I
My name now say I pe nouȝt
But haue þis palme I haue þe brouȝt
Kepe hit now pray I pe
And lete hit neuer from þe be
I may not longe leuen here
For I am sent as messangere
To þe apostlis I mot a noone
And telle hem sondred oon & one
Pat þei be here þis pridde day
Lenger dwellen I not may

 Whenne he had his eronde done
He went his weye also soone
Oure lady toke þe palme hir brouȝt
Pat to kepe forȝat she nouȝt
Into hir chaumber she hit bare
And soone whenne þat she coom þare
Of dude she hir cloþes neuer þe latir
And wesshe hir sweete body in watir
Whenne she had so done in pat stide fol. 118 v col. 1
A newe smok on she dide
Whenné she was shed & wel clad
To ihesu crist above she bad
She seide sone I þonke hit þe
Pat þou woldis þinke on me
My sone þou art & heuen kyng
I þe biseche of þi blessyng
Swete sone for þi holy name
Kepe me fro pyne & shame
Pat þe deuel haue no myȝt
To dere me hit were vnriȝt
Sone þi helpe for now is ned
Pat I haue of þe deuel no drêde
For wip his wyles þat he con
He bigileþ mony mon
Leue sone leef him nouȝt
Of monkynde þat þou dere bouȝt
Sone þou art ful of pite
For synful mon biseche I þe

The initial W is a medium-size capital.
Pat pou sone for bi holy grace
3yue hem bope myste & space
Hem to amende or pei be dede
Pat pei haue of pe deuel no drede
Sone kepe hem from her fo
For whom pou poledest mychel wo
Whenne she had preyed pat she walde
His sibbemen to hir she calde
Hir kyn & hir sibbe men
Wip reuful steuen spak she pen
Frendis she seide my dere sone
Wole I here no lengir wone
He wol I come & wip him be
Wherfore I preye for charite
If I haue any ping mys wrouȝt
Say hit me & helpe nouȝt
I wol hit mende & pat is riȝt
Pat my soule haue no pliȝt
Pe good pat ze haue done to me
Mi sone pat done was on pe tre

20242
Read "Hir" for "His"
Mon to bye fro pyne & drede
3elde hit 30u at tym3 of mede
And bringe 30u to pulke blis
3ere I shal be & he now is
Alle 3at eu3r were hir by
Of bis tiping were sory
Pei seide lady how may bis be
How shul we lyue to misse be
Lady 3at hast vs served so
Allas how shul we parte be fro
Lady dere what hastou 3oust
Rewe on vs & parte no3t
In myche sorwe & myche wo
Shul we lyue to parte in two
Penne vnswered 3at good lady
To 30at were penne hir by
Let be wepyng hit helpe3 n03t
Heldep ioye into 3oure pou3t
Whil I am here wakep me
Hit dop me good 3at I 3ou se
Haue ye no drede wite hit wele
Of pyne I shal pole no dele
To me shal come no pyne ny wo
My sone wol pat hit be so
For my licam his body bare
He wol pat hit suffere no care
He pat I bare pat blisful birep
Wol me sende of heuen myrp
Ion & pe apostlis where pei be
Alle shul pei come to me
Whil she þus speke þat wommon
Her of wist not seynt Ion
He coom to speke wip oure lady
Wondir him þouȝte pei were sory
Lady he seide what is þe
And þese ladyes þat I here se
Lady why makestou siche chere
Deed now were me leuer I were
Hastou ouȝte herde þat I not can
Of me or any oþer man

20289
The initial L is a medium-size, decorated capital.
Shall I neuermore haue blis
Til I wite what hit is
Oure lady wepte & Ion also
Treweloue was bitwene hem two
Lady he seide what is þe
For my seruyse telle hit me
Mary vnswered wip reuful steuen
Me coom tiping er from heuen
Mi sone me sent his messengere
He wolde not longe þat I be here
Wite hit for soþe hit reweþ me
Þat I so soone shal parte fro þe
For þi loue & þi good seruyse
Pou hast me kid in mony wyse
Boþe wel me fed & clad
And done as my sone þe bad
My sone shal wel þelde hit þe
I shal him saye whenne I him se
Penne vnswered hir seynt Ion
For he was þo a sory mon

The initial S is a medium-size capital.
Lady he seide how shal pis bene
Whenne I be shal nomore sene
My ioye is done every dele
Shal I neuer fro now be wele
Sip we shul now parte in two
A Ion why seistou she seide so
douze I be not here pe bifor
pi seruyse hastou not lorn
I shal menge my sweete sone
Pat shal do be to him to come
Whenne tyme is pat he wol haue me
Swete Ion biskeke I pe
Let pou no iewis come me to
Despite fayn wolde pei me do
My body wolde pei do som shame
pei hate myche to here my name
My body pou helpe fro hem I sey
douze we be sibbe I and pei
pei hate no ping more pei me
My sone pei honge on a tre
I woot wele þei loue me nouȝt
Perfore þeronne haue þou þi þouȝt
Whenne I am parted Ion fro þe
Pat þei me do no vilene
Now sone þat wonest in heuen liȝt
Let hem þerto haue no myȝt

// Sey me lady sip hit is so
Pat we so soone shul parte in two
Say me how longe hit is to þon
Certeynly þenne seide she Ion
Bitwene þis & þe þridde day
Lenger dwelle here I ne may
Whenne he þis herde he was sorry
Wepyng he seide lady mercy
How shal I lyue how shal I fare
How shal I couere of my kare
First was my lord done to dede
Pourȝe þe ieweis false rede
And now wolt þou lady me fro
Now me neweþ al my wo
Wolde my lord I wolde be dede
For of my self con I no rede
//
A Ion she seide whi seistou so
Aungels ofte shul come pe to
To kepe pe wel in al þi state
And coumforte þe erly & late
As she spak þis to seynt Ion
Coom þe apostlis everychoon
To gider but þei wist hit nouȝt
How þei were to gider brouȝt
Of operes come wist þer noon
But of her coome bli þe was Iωn
Alle he hem kiste so feyn he was
And seide to hem deo gracies
Blessed be ay ihesu þi myȝt
For at oure nede hit dop vs rȝt
Sip þi modir shal come to þe,
Pat she may faire waked þe
Of þyne apostlis now to gider
I nœt how þei ben kommen hidir
Say me broper quod petur to Ion
Why art pou so sory mon
Why wepestou what is pe
For alle loues telle now me
I shal be sey pe resoun why
Pat pou me seest now sory
But do me first to vndirstonde
How se are gedered here to honde
Pat se so wyd were spred
Say me what hab 3ou hider led
Herke now Ion a meruel ping
I was fe r hennes at a prechyng
Per out in anoper land
I helde my book in my hand
I deluyered me of my sermoun
I noot how I coom in pis toun
As me mot helpe good ihesus
I noot how I coom in pis hous
We se wel pat we alle here ere
Pis is merueile mon to bere

The initial $S$ is a small capital. The MS has "qd" for quod, but has deleted the abbreviation mark.

The MS has a mark over the "i" in "ping".
Of vs is noon woot for whom
Ny what wyse we hidur coom
Listeneb quod Ion & hereb þis
I shal ȝou telle what hit is
Into þat hous comeþ þus
Oure lady is þerē & bideþ vs
And ordeyneþ hir to fare vs fro
For hir sone wolþ þat hit be so
Hir sone háþ sent his messangere
He wolþ no lenger she be here
Hidur he háþ ȝou alle sende
To speke wip hir ar she ende
Comeþ alle In here wip me
Bifore hir faire knel þe
And seipþ hir lady wel mot þe 'ben
Oure lord háþ sende vs þe to seen
To visite þe & to be þe by
Perfore are we komen in þy
But o þing þen seide Ion
To petur & þe apostlis vchon

20406
Note strange mark over "lenger".
20410
Read "knele þe" for "kne þe". There is a mark after "þe" in the form of an apostrophe.
But loke whenne ye come per In
per is mony of hir kyn
Pat noon of vs alle in fere
Bfore hir make no lodly chere
But fair semblaunde to make hir glade
Do now alle as I zou bade
Forp zeode pe apostlis twelue
Rist bfore oure lady selue
Into pe chaumbur pat she was In
Wip Miche folke of hir kyn
On knees pei set hem euerychon
As hem had beden seynt Ion
Lady pei seide heuen queene
Blessed mot pou euermore bene
Of alle wymmen best pou be
Oure lord hap now us sent to pe
For to serue & do pi wille
As hit is resoun & skille
Heuen & erpe bowepe pe to
Pi sone wol pat hit be so

He hap in kepyng al þing
And is þi sone heuen kyng
þen roos vp sooneoure lady
And kist þe apostlis by & by
Of her coome she was ful glad
don þei seten as she bad
She askd hem hów þei coom þere
For þei were spred so wide where
Lady þei seide þi sone vs souȝt
Bi hym be we hidur brouȝt
To kepe þe wel as oure lady
Whil þou art here vs by
So fayn she was þat þei þere wern
Blessed she seide be þat bern
I am his modir he kid hit me
Wel is me now sow to se
Sip hit is my sones wille
þat I come to him hit is skille
My body I prey þou kepeþ so
þat noon hit touche þat is my fo
Wakep now for my licam

Wel I woot & trusty I am

Pe iewes are ful of felonye

Mi sone þei slowe for enuye

Feyn wol þei be to do me shame

Miche hate þei my licame

Perfore I pray þar charite

And for þe loue þe haue to me

Whenne I am faren to heuen blis

Wakep o nyste þere my body is

Kepeþ hit wel nyste and day

Pe iewis stele hit not away

Pei wolde hit brenne or shame done

But sone þou graunte me my bone

Let hem þerto haue no myȝt

For sikerly hit were vniȝt

She seide al shal ben I wis

As þi worþi wille hit is

Whil ource lady spak so

To þe apostlis þat coom hir to

\[20457\]

The initial W is a small capital.
An aungel list & stood hir by
And seide heil be þou lady
And alle þat are here wip þe
Loke now þou redy be
þou shal to heuen þere to be quene
Bliþe maistou þere euer bene
to þe shal serue þe court of heuen
Whenne ours lady herde þat steuen
þat þe aungel seide hir to
Filde of gladnes þenne was she
to hir bed she geode and lay
Aboute þe tyme of mydday
Ion & þe apostlis sat hir by
Hir to kepe as her lady
Amonges hem soone aftir þis
A song of paradis coom I wis
So swete was hit þo to here
þat alle þo þat bi hir were
Sone & olde & everychone
Fell aslepe soone anoone

20490
There is a strange mark (as a French "accent circonflexe") over the "p" in "kepe".
Alle but oure lady þo did slepe  
To þis merueile take þe now kepe  
And erþe quake coom þat shoke  
Alle þinge as seip þe boke  
Þenne spake þat lady to seynt Ion  
And to þe apostlis everychon  
And to maydenes þat were þeryn  
And eke to ðere of hir kyn  
Wakeþ she seide & sitteþ 'vp riȝt  
I shal fare þere my sone hab riȝt  
Now is þe tyme þat I shal fare  
Þere I shal neuer wite of care  
Sitteþ alle stille more & les  
And hereþ nów þis merynes  
Þenne coom ihesus in his myȝt  
Kynge of heueng he dud ful riȝt  
As sone to modir him to shewe  
He called his aungels were not fewe  
And al þe fellowship of heueng  
He seide to hem wiþ mylde stuyen
Come þe wip me now in hy
My modir is she hir sone, am I
I took of hir flesshe & blowd
Rigt is hit I do hir good
I þat euer was and ay shal be
In al þis blisse þat þe here se
I þaf raunsoum for al, mon kyn
Pro helle to take þat were þer In
I had hem made to serue me
And þour þe appel of þat tre
He eet þæyyn my forbedyng
He was lost & his ospyng
Hit rewed me wondir sore
I wolde hit suffere so no more
I liȝt doun and mon bicam
Of þis mayden flesshe I nam
Bifore alle obere I hir chees
And I was born of hir flesshe
Pritty wyntur & somdel more
I lyued to wisse mon in lore
Myche dide þei me of vilete
\( \text{fol. 120 v col. 1} \)
Pat myne owne shulde haue be
Wipouten gult þei dide me wronge
Bitwene two þeofis þei me honge
Nayled faste þourge honde & fete
My body ðe of blood was al wete
My hert þei stang wip a spere
Pat alle say þat were pere
Pis shame poled I on me souȝt
Dere haue I monkynde bouȝt
As I honged on rode tre
My modir was ful wo for me
And so was oure cosyn Ion
I called him to me soone anoyn
I seide to him leue cosyn
Kepe wel þis wommon modir myn
For þe leue þou hast to me
Kepe hir whil she bi þe be
We parted þenne as I seide er
Allone I heng on rode þer
Fro my body my soule I nam
And soone þenne to helle I cam
Alle my frendis þat I þere fond
I took hem out on my riȝt hond
Adam eue & mony one
I dud hem out of pyne to gone
Whenne I had þus heryed helle
And al doun as I zou telle
I hadde ouercomen þe folke quede
Pe þridde day I roos fro de þe
From erþe I stey to heuen þon
For I am boþe god and mon
I am now here wip my myst
So is my wille þat is riȝt
þat my modir be wip me
Hit is tyme þat hit so be
Come þ now on wip mery song
And do hir come vs alle among

//
þenne coom ihesus wip his meyne
Aungels archaungels greet plente
Vnto hir boure wip myry song
Hem pouȝte po to hir ful long
pis boure was ful of myche blis
And so is euer perè ihesus is
Alle po pat were perè
Suche blis say pei neuer ere
Among pat song greet of vertu
Oure swete lady hir sone knew
po she him say she was ful glad
Listen pe boone pat she bad
Euer blessed mot pe tyme be
Pat pou were lord born of me
Hit is sene I am pe dere
Now pi self art comen here
Pyné apostlis sendestou me
Now art pou comen wip pi meyne
To fecche me soone in to pi riche
Had neuer modir sone pe liche
Do now sone what pi wille is
For me pinke longe to pe I wis

20585
In "Pat" the "a" is deleted without an abbreviation mark.
Modir he seide come to me
Of alle wymmen beste þe be
þere I am kyng þou shal be queene
Ful joyful modir maystou bene
Sone she seide lord & kyng
I þe biseche of a þing
Shal I haue of þe fende a siȝt
Or any of his þo malediȝt
I loue him not he is my fo
Leue sone let me se noon of þo
Swete modir dere þe nouȝt
Coom hit neuer in my þouȝt
I wol not þole hem sikurlye
Noon to come biforn þin yȝe
þou shalt no þing se ne here
But me & aungels in fere
Swete modir wite þou wele
Of pyne shaltou no þing fele
Al heuen court shal serve to þe
And make þe modir fre
Modir pis gifte I wol be lyue
Euer in heuen wip me to lyue
I shal haue mercy modir dere
Of al monkynde for bi preyere
Pat were forlorn if bou ne ware
For of bi body bou me bare
Alle pat menske be lady
And alle pat serue be trewely
And bei pat wolde brye crie mercy to pe
And hertly saye mary help me
For loue of pe modir pat stounde
In what synne so bei be founde
I shal hem helpe I hette pe soone
For bi loue hit shall be done
If any haue bene al his lyue
In heede synne mon or wyue
And he wol at his laste chaunce
Forsake synne & haue repentaunce
And telle hit if he may haue prest
Or oper mon pat is him neest
If he may telle ny do no more
But his synne to rewe sore,
Of what synne þat euer hit be
Modir for þe loue of þe
I shal of him haue good mercy
If he wole þus do for why
Douȝe a mon him self had wrouȝt
Alle þe synnes þat may be þouȝt
And he wol at his laste day
If he noon opere tyme ne may
Repenten him & calle to þe
Of what synne so hit be
Soone shal I here his preyere
For þi loue my modir dere,
And what þou wolt biseche me fore
Be hit lasse ouþer more
Hit shal be modir at þi wille
My graunt shal þow haue þer tille
Hit were vnriȝt I shulde wipstone
de of ouȝt of þyn eronde
Oure lady loutid him biforn & seide sone pe tyme pat pou were born
Ouer alle opere blessed pou be
For al my wille pou grauntest me
So aut I modir vndirstonde
And blessed hir wip hir riȝt honde
To hir sone she loued moost
Penne she zalde hir holy goost
He called to him seynt michael
And seide kepe me þis soule wel
Pou and also þi fere
Per is no þing to me so dere
Penne had she hir soule out sent
And hit was from þe body went
Alle þo aungels þat coom from heuen
Sôngen þo wip a mery steuen
Hit was wel sene on her song
Miche Þoye was hem among
In þis myrþe to heuen she wan
Soone whenne she þider cam
She was made *bere* queen ful mylde
Blessed eu er be suche a childe
I shal you telle for hit is hers
Where benne bicom his cors
Whenne be soule so was nome
God bad petur to him come
Petur he seide I bidde be
My moder body wol kept be
Whenne I firste into world cam
For be sauyng of man
Of hir body was I born
Petur be forfore go bpu biforn
Alle bi felowes shul go wiþ be
In to Iosephat vale so fre
Bere hir birde soone anoon
3oure foos shal let e you bi hem goon
Goþe alle wiþ feir processioun
To ierusalem bourge be toun
Dop þo bellis alle to rynge
And wiþe faire also þe synge

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20684
Read "hir" for "his".
Wip sergis & als wip candels briȝt

Pat se haue no defaute of liȝt
Foure apostlis shul bere þe bere
Pat łye on shal my modir dere
Haue se no drede þerof now

For I my self shal be wip ȝow
Whenne ihesus hadde þus I seide
And þe body was on bere leide
Alle he þaf hem his blessyng
And stey to heuen þere he is kyng

Penne seide þe apostle Ion
Breþer go we soone anoon
And do we þis processiou[n]
And syngwe feiere pourȝe þe toûn
Foure of þe apostlis þat þere wern

Pat holy body forþ þei bern
Feire þei song as hit was riȝt
And mony sergis þere was liȝt
Þe iewis þat wyere goddes enemy
Of þis þei herde soone in hy

20701

The initial W is a medium-size capital.

20715 & 20716

The text has a horizontal accent over the n in both "wern" and "bern".
pei asked what was pat ping
pei seiden mary burying
pat seint petur & his fere
Hir body bare on bere
Alas pei seide now for shame
Skape she vs we shal haue blame
Arme we vs to be strong
We shul hem take or ouȝt long
Pat ilke body take we hit
To caste hit in sum foul pit
Or brenne we hit or do sum whare
For she þulke traytour bare
Pat we sumtyme heng on rode
For vs pouȝt he was not gode
pei went to do pat forward
piderwarde pei hyȝed hem hard
But ihesus wolde not pole pat shame
He made hem alle blynde & lame
Pat of hem alle was per noon
Pat myȝte a fote furber goon
Per was a prest was to bolde
As hit is in be story tolde
On hire bere leyde his hond
Unhele bere soone he fond
His hond claf to bere so fast
Mercy he cryed at bere last
His feet were al clongen dry
Petur he seide haue now mercy
And preye for me pat haue his sore
For iewe wole I be no more
Leuestou quad petur in him pon
Pat is bope god and mon
And born was of his mary
He seide I leue hit Inwardly
Penne partid his hond fro bere
And soone he wex hool & fere
Seynt petur bo him toke a palm
To go to men pat leyen in qualm
He seide & touche hem wip hit
And bei shul bope haue hele & wit
And so he dide bi grace & myst
pei couered alle to hele & siust
penne bicom pei cristen bore
Foure thousande men & more.
Him is worbi to alowe
Pat dop his foos him pus to bowe
Pe body to pat vale pei bare
Of Iosephat whenne he coom bare
Pepe pei dud hit penne bury
Wip feire, seruyse & song ful mury
Soone berafter summe bokis seyes
Oure lord li3t of his paleyes
And wip his holy court he coome
To fette his modir body hoome
In flesshe & blood vp to be take
For in erpe she had no make
For she him bar of hir body
Hir priuelage most be pe more for pi
Pat hit so shulde be men say
For in pe toumbe' pat she in lay
Men fynde no þing but floure
Spryngynge euer wîp swete saucoure
But herto seip Ieronym
He woled not take þat book on him
Wheþer hit be so or nay
Pei þe body be myst away
Dispute he seide is no mistere
Bitwene wise in suche a were
But take hit to him moost of myst
Lete him þerof þe resoun riȝt
Wel we woot wipouoten wene
Of heuen & erpe she is queene
Of heuen emperise and ladý
Set in trone hir dere sone by
She restēp nouþer day ny nyȝt
To preye for synful mennes pliȝt
Þer is noon þat to foly falles
þat leue wole & on hir calles
Hendely and hopeþ wele
But þei shul feire his helpes fele

20803
The text has a curved line over "She" and a symbol, similar to the French "accent grave" over the first "e" of "restēp".

20808
Read "hir" for "his".
Aȝeyn oure fo she be oure sheld
And namely at oure doun held
His lady pat I mene of moost
Conceyued bi þe holy goost
Pat blessed childë pat she vs beere
At hir elde of fourteme þere
And þritti þeer was ðhesu crist
Whenne he dud him to baptist
Pre þeer he þprechëd & moneþes þryn
He dyed & roos for al mon kyn
Fouerty dayes in erpe þe boode
Ar he vp to his fadir glode
Aftir his vprist and pyne
She lyued þeerë but seuen & nyne
Sixty þeer & þre bi tale
Foure moneþes & two wikes al hale
Pat I bihet now haue I done
Lady bi þi sone in trone
Let me so longe in þi seruyse
Pat I may come to paradise
At myn endynge I preye to pe
In tyme of neode my helpe þou be
Speke of þo spellers bolde
Sip we han of þis lady tolde
Pe apostlis þenne wyde were spred
Pat to þe lawes newe vs led
Aftir þat we fynde in boke
What endyng vchône of hem toke
In short maner I shal þou sey
For tyme passeþ faste away

//

Petur was seynt andrew broþer
Pe ton was blessed & þat oper
In bethsaida was he born
Of galile was tolde biform
Of holy chirche is he ground wal
Bi crist him self þat ledeþ al
Formast chosen perfore as heued
Ouer alle his feres was he leued
Of goddis sone þe confessour
Of al monkynde herde of pastour

20849
The initial S is a medium-size, decorated capital.
20859
The initial letter of Peter is a normal capital. T, however, starts each apostle with a slightly larger capital letter than H.
Denyinge he fel wepyng he roos
Corouned in passioun he wos
His name is ȝuyen to him of dede
And titil of myste & of dede
He preached whil he was in lyue
Namely in þese londis fyue
Capados and Galathie
Bethany and masye
And in a lond het Italia
Þat now men callen lumbardy
Of his dedis shortly to rede
On þe flowing see he þede
A deed mon quyked bi his shade
As þat he bi him þen glade
To þe crepeles ȝaf he fote
And of þe pale sy mony bote
But arianias and his wyf
For þis he dampned hem of lyf
Open to haue ensaumple hem by
To do no more trichery
Symon magus pat ıogelour
Pat ladde folk wiþ greet errour
Pat in him self was so proud
He wende to fle ouer pe cloud
But pourge petres orisoun
Sorwefuly he fel a doun
Whenne he antioche had founde
Pe chirche & holy set pe grounde
Aȝeyn ḟis ilke symon he ȝede
To rome & turned mys lyuynge lede
He spak of troupe wipouten spare
Fyue wyntur was he bisshop ȝare
Six & pritty wyntur euyn
Fro ṣat ihese stey to heuen
In rome bi ȝeon ṣat nero hȝ̩t
Was emperour þere malediȝt
For þe loue of his sarmoun
His feet vp his heed a doun
Nayled on a rode he wes
And so to be him seluen chees

The initial S is a small capital.
Maistir was he to hem of rome
Wherfore him owed to haue no dome
He was not worpi per tille
Perfore pei demed him at his wille
Buryed his body was pat tyde
Wipouten pe toun on pe est syde
Poul pat saul had first to name
Whil he dud pe cristen shame
Firste was he iewis avocate
And siyen at pe apostlis astate
Calde of ihesu crist of heuen
Pere he doun was cast herd-his steuen
Elynde he fel seyng he ras
Vessel of chesynge wrouigte he was
To whom he first was werreour
Aftir bicoom he good prechour
Sheep of wolf meke of felle
In chesynge last formast in spelle
His lond was thars pat he bred In
Comen of pe kyng beniamyn

The initial P is a medium-size, decorated capital.
Pe toper zeer aftir pe ascencioun
Toke he bapteme & gon sarmoun.
For he as apostle stood in stide
Was noon so mychel trouail dide
Goddes word to spelle & sprede
Amonges alle lyuynge lede
Mony folke to troupe he won
At Ierusalem he firste bigon
Pourge illerike & lumbardy
Riȝt til he coom to hispanye
Of his miraclis shal we nuye
Rauysshed was he to pridde neuen
A day & a nyste in þat stounde
Hé stad in þe see grounde
A goost of gyle away he droof
þat in a maydenes body clof
A childe þat bi a fal was slayn
He þaf hit lyf & heled aȝayn
A Logelour wip blyndenes he smate-
To halte goyng þaf he state
De venyn nedder bat was strong
Not he shoned for hir stong
But of his hond bere hit was fest
He shook & in be fire hit kest
Mony seke & eke vnfere
He heled soone bi his preyere
Mony was be harde shour
Pat he dreyse for his saueour
Vpon his owne flesshë & blood
Firste be iewis bat were wode
On him be werred euwer wiþ wo
And alle be hepene folke also
Miche he boled as I ȝou tolde
Of hongur first travaile & colde
In prisoun lay he ofte in woþe
In merkenes & in bondis bope
Whil be iewis fast him bond
And tauȝte him heþen men in hond
He was so stad mony a day
Vnneþe he bare þe lyf a way

Following this line four folios of MS H have been lost, to be replaced here by the parallel text from MS T.

Read "stour" for "shour".
Read "pirst" for "first".
In a lep over a wal was he let doun fol. 127 v col. 2
Harde in prees & in prisoun
Poure se an erbè den pat per was 20985
Perwip was he leten pas
Sipen at Rome Nero boun
Pat emperour was of pe toun
For he preched goddes word
Heueded he was wip dynt of sword 20990
Pat ilke day & pat zere fol. 128 r col. 1
Pat martired was petur his fere:
Vpon pe west half of pat cite
Buried wip cristien men was he
Pe bridde, apostle het Andrew 20995
A mon of mekenes & of vertu
His name bitokeneb for to rede
As feir or mon of gode monhede
Bope poure se sithe and achay
He went prechynge cristis lay 21000

20995 The initial P is a medium-size capital.
Vndir a tiraunt hett Egyas
Bounden on a rode he was
Harde bounden wip ropus strong
To do his pyne laste longe
Wipouten shedyng of his blode  21005
For moost he *prech*ed of pe rode  21006
Seint Ion & Iacob pe more  21009
Zebedei sones pei wore  21010
Dis Iacob *prech*ed wide where
And sende lettre here & pere
Pe londe of speyne in feip he fest
And mony oper of pe west
At pe laste wipouten wite  21015
Heroude dide his heed of smyte
To his bodi dud men gone
And leide hit in a marbul *stone
Ion pe mayden Iames broper
More loued wip crist pei any oper  21020
So to him he bare him nest

---

21009 The initial S is a medium-size capital.
21019 The initial I is a medium-size capital.
Pat he slepte on his brest
Pere of be welle of witt he dronke
Pat of resoun is so ronke
In prochynge he bicoom so wis
As pouze a flum of paradis.
Pe grace of goddes word he spred
To hem pat he to lawe had led
His maistir modir pere he laust
She was to pat disciple bitauyt
Maiden to kepe mayden cleene
As he hir oper son had bene
In asy preeched his seynt Iop
An emperour domycion
Dud him to fleme to an Ile
Pere he was a twelmoneb while
Pe emperoure hoped him to mate
In a toune wellynge hate
Ful of oyle he dud him shote
Hit harmed him nouper honde ny fote
As he vntamed was of lecchery
As was unweand his body
He dude miracles as he wel mouȝt
Of treet þerdes golde he wrouȝt
Of grauel bi þe see side
Stones preciouse of greet pride
And aftirwarde bi cristis meyn
Turned hem to her kynde æȝyn
He reised þe widewe drausyan
Pat deed was & als a ȝong man
Venyn he dronk wipouten wo
Poysende men he rered two
Pat dede were bi þat drynke
And whenne he longe had lyued in swynk
Aftir six þeer & seven
Frooure lord stey to heuen
Fulfilde of elde whenne he seeȝe
His endyng day hit coom neȝe
Furst he dud his graue to delue
And sipen leide þer In him selue
Whenne he had seide his orisoun
in pat graue he leide him doun
As hit is in þe story tolde
To ihesu crist his soule he 3olde
In þe cite of ephesim
Men were þerefore þere of him
He is not deed as mony seis
But þreting liph he alweis
þat erbe men saye 3it bi stounde
Men seen risyng fro þe grounde
And as slepyng ondep ofte
Hit bebe þe poudir upon lofte
As a þing þat were 3it quyk
Þe londes folke wol hit not ryk
Phelip was of betsaida þo
Born as Petur was also
To þe frenshe þrecked he
Wonyng þiside þe mekel see
In herpolie & frigie þe fre
Done he was on rode tre
Not nailed as ourle lord allone
But þere men stoned him with stone
Pouȝe his licam deed þere were
His soule is wiþ god ful dere
Thómas didimus þat híȝt
Longe he douted in þe riȝt
Pat he wolde not leue bi ere
Wiþ eȝe siȝt aftir he hit bere
He preched wides aboute & þede
To peres & parthi þe folk of mede
And to þe folke of irtane
To hem of Inde & batriane
Past he souȝte þe eftren þede
And went into hepen lede
Þere he ȝode wiþ sermoun
Til tyme of his passioun
In a cite hett calamynee
Of Inde þere his ende toke he
Smyten þourȝe was he wiþ a spere
And his body is buryed þere
Barthulmew born was in suly

The initial T is a medium-size capital.
The initial B is a medium-size capital.
Read "estrin" for "eftren"
He preached in lichaony
And witenes of Metheu fynde we
Gospel he turned in to tongue of Inde
Sipen at a toun het albane
Of muchel hermony he was tane
And pyned wip ful harde payne
Al quyke was his body flayne
Matheu apostle & euangelist
Leuy calde & cosyn of crist
Furste was he publicane pon
And sipen of gospellours on
He preached furst in iudea
And aftir in macedonea
For sarmonynge of goddes word
Men seye he stiked was wip sword
He lipe on pe mount parth to se
Of blis his soule hap greet plente
Jacob alphei barnteme
Bishhop was of ierusalem
Rigtwis to calle him men were wonne

The initial I is a medium-size capital.
He was oure lady sistur sone
Men calde him perfore oure lordis broper
pei were likely eiper to oper
Mon of sopfastenes & ri3t
So muche holynes & li3t
pe folke wolde vchone opere stem
Who my3te furste touche his hem
In ierusalem he preched fast
pe iewes set him at pe last
Abouen on pe temple on hy3e
For he in prechinge wolde not li3e
Dou3 on pe temple pei him swong
Wip wickedhede & fals wrong
Sipen stones at him pei draue
Sipen smoot him with a walker staue
Pat pei brak his horn panne
Cristen men him buryed panne
Anoper apostle het Iudas
Pat pis Iacob broper was
He preched in mesopotany
And in pe cuntre of pounty

The initial A is a medium-size capital.
Dere made he wip his sermoun mylde
Po men pat were as bestis wilde
He was heded in abij
In iericho of Carmeny
Whenne Iudas had him seluen losen
Mathias in his stude was chosen
As be lot on him fel
In Iuda he toke to spel
pis Matheu was oon of po
Of half foure score & two
Pat ihesus sent his word to sprede
Whil he him self prechinge 3ede
Of his endynge fynde I nou3t
How he out of his lif was brou3t
Symon 3elote. & chananew
Al was a name he loued trew
His lord alto serue he tent
As he in his loue had brent
Aftir pis ri3twis Iacob
Of ierusalem was bishop

The initial W is a medium-size capital.
The initial S is a medium-size capital.
Pe londe of egipte he toke to lere
And whenne he was of six score ʒere
Vndir emperour traian
Nailed he was on rode & slan
Buried he was in borffora þo
In story writen is hit so
Þese were þe apostlis twelue
Þat folewed ighest þim selue
Precheres of troupe techeres of lede
Þouȝe þei alle be oon in mede
Vchone toke hem sondry sted
To þrecche as hit biforn is red
Petur & phelip þese two
We fynde hadde wyues & no mo
Witnes is seint petur wif
For she was martired in his lif
And als of seint Martelle
His douȝter was seint petronelle
Þe furst masse þat petur song
Was þere þo no canoun long

The initial þ is a medium-size capital.
But pater noster as men sayes
Lenger was hit not po dayes
But sip men pat aftir wore
Per to echde more and more
Ducas was cristis gospellere
And of pe apostlis dedes writere
Leche of crafte lered of gru
Of lore coude he nouȝt in ebru
Deciple of poule & folewynge fere
In wele & wo out of were
As he was born in chastite
Perere was no mon mysyte chastere be
Pe mis leuynge he toke to teche
Bope of lif & soule leche
Perfore made he bokes twyn
Pat medicyne of soule is In
Of gospellyng pe ton is kid
Pat ober what pe apostlis did
Pe seüenti, & fere zere
Aftir he had lyued here

21195
The initial L is a medium-size capital.
Penne he dezed in bethany.
Pere was he buryed for to ly.
But in pe toun of costantyn
pat wel was loued wip god fy n
pei dude seint Andreu relikes & him 21215
Bringe to constantine apolym
Barnabas was of naciou n
A cite ciprioun hett pat toun
Wip poul among po he pen lede.
He wan to apostle hede 21220
In lawe he was wondir lele
In vertues folowyng ful fele
Mony obere men in strif
Fondede for to folwe his lif
In alle po studes pat he zede 21225
Of goddes word he sew pe sede
Of seint Matheu pe gospel book
Whodirwarde so euer he tok
Wibouten let wip him he bare
pere he fond any seke or sare 21230

21217 The initial B is a medium-size capital.
If he lete pat book hem ryne
Hit was to hem medicyne
Whenn he had suffrede peynes strong
For cristen troupe & stryuen long
Drawen he was & bren wip fire
His soule went to heuen shire
Marke pe gospellere in wone
In bapteme was petres sone
Son & desciple was he lele
To teche pe folke of israele
Aftir pat he was leuyte
Cristis gospel dide he write
Pe gospel in a tale he wrote
Men seyn of his pombe he smote
And pat was for he wolde fle
Pat he no prest made shulde be
His lif aftir so dud he lede
Pat ȝit he toke bishophede
Pe wordis pat petur preached zerne
Marke men seyn wrote in derne

The initial M is a medium-size capital.
De furste pat chirche made in abie
Pat men clepen alexandrie
On paske day masse whenne he song
Coom pe hepen folke wiþ wrong
Sat cristien men to pyne were prest 21255
Aboute his necke acorde pei fest
Towarde pe prisoun pei drowse him snelle
Pe flesshe of him in peces felle
And siben aftir pat prisiong
His soule he salde to heuen kyng 21260
Him self lord vs bidur bringe
For of pe blisse is noþ endynge

//

Pourre are pei tolde pe euangelistes
Pat drawe pe weyn pat is cristes
Of hem to telle forsobe we aught 21265
What pei bitoken and her draught.
What pe 3ok & wheel may be
What bridel & pe axel tre
Whiche mon whiche calf leoun & brid
Pe cause shal to zou be kid 21270
Foure stremes are in paradise
And wayn with foure wheles men wise
Matheu takeþ be furst whele
Marke þe toper takeþ wele
Lufe þe bridde whele resoun rist
Pe ferbe Ion foule of myst
Pe wheles are drawen dyuerselie
Pe furste goop be secounde dop hise
Pe bridde wheel is wont to ryn
Pe ferbe fleep wipouten blyn
Gods axeltrees be per two.

A nobel bridel peer is al so
Wis & war is her ledere
And softe is her zok to bere
Two axeltrees be two lawes hit is
Pe bridel is wisdome hem to wis
Pe charieteres is ihesu crist
His body pe zok he hap stablist
Grace hap zyuen hir giftis zore
To vche dyuersc of pesc bifoere
Matheu wroth al in ebru
Pese opere þre al in gru
Pe stile of Matheu watir was
And wyne þe lettre of lucas
Marcus pagyn was like mylke
And Iones hony swete as silke
// Pe furste to wax hap sauour
Pe toper to mirre þe briddle to flour
Pe ferpe like to Aromate
Good among alle spice state
// Pe firste tileþ on felde to fede
Pe toper sowep aftir þe sede
Pe briddle hareweþ hit truly
Pe ferþe waterþ hit in hy
Vchone of hem her lore þei lere
Oon ringþ to þe world to here
Dyneþ þe toper sowenþ þe briddle
Pe ferþe singþ wþ souþ vnhidde
// Pe furste hap þelle þe toper tympane
Pe briddle harpe þe ferþe organe
// pe furste of hem as laumpe is briżt
Whil pei syue to obere liżt
pe toper as serg pe bridde as stern
pe ferpe as day pat is pe ern
pe furstes gle of men was 21315
pe toperes was made of bras
pe bridde of siluer pe ferpe of golde
perfore were her werkes holde

// Matheu of mon hab facioun
Luk as ox euer lokep doun 21320
Ion like ern pe skil is sere fol. 130 r col. 1
Takep tent whi & ȝe shul here
Matheu is like to monnes state
For he of crístis monhede wrate
Luke to ox for pis resoun 21325
He spake moost of his passioun
Marke of leoun berep tokenyng
He spelle moost of his vp risyng
Ion like ern heȝest of fliżt
Spak of his godhede heȝest of myȝt 21330
be state of vche euangelist
Berup in himoure lord crist
He is mon. ox, leoun & ern
May no mon skilfully bis wern
Man whil he here lyued in lif
Ox whenne he was slayn in strif
Leoun whenne he ros wip mist
As ern he toke to heuen his flist
And 'vche mon hat wel wol fle
Wip riȝt may ðese foure be
Mon whil he: monlik him lede
Ox to sle his flesshely dedes
Leoun risyng from synne so hard
Fould wip pouȝte to heuen ward.
Introduction to Critical Apparatus

The intention of the notes is three-fold: to present the sources used by the CM poet, to indicate the main line of thinking in medieval exegesis that launched the CM, and to demonstrate the general use of apocryphal material as far as it pertains to the CM.

The principal goal of this edition is the presentation of CM text MS H, without a thorough comparison with MSS C, F, G, and T.

Even where the Bible is the ultimate source of much of the material presented in this section, the immediate source, where known, is given first.
Explanatory Notes

17289 ff. The part of the CM dealt with in this dissertation comprises the material described in ll. 199-210 of the poet's versified table of contents.

In Morris's numeration, ll. 17287-88, as Haenish already noted in The Sources of the "Cursor Mundi", p. 39*, the CM poet indicates that the next section of his monumental work is a translation of the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus:

Par-for wroght nichodeme a writt,
I tell nu wit bi leue of itt.

These lines connect the preceding segment of Jesus' Death and Burial to the opening lines of the text of this dissertation. It would, therefore, seem à propos to give a clear explanation of the various texts involved in The Gospel of Nicodemus, since it forms the source of the first 1288 lines.

As H.C. Kim mentions in the introduction of his edition of The Gospel of Nicodemus, this apocryphal New Testament work underwent a variety of modifications before it reached its final form, usually referred to as Acta Pilati.
G.C. O'Ceallaigh in *Dating the Commentaries of Nicodemus*, *H Th R* 56 (1963) 23-5, presents four distinct phases in its textual development:

1. "Form A", Greek, c. AD 600. The Greek Recension A, Part I of Tischendorf's *Evangelia Apocrypha*, the Latin translation of which is constantly referred to in the textual comparison of this segment of the *CM*, presents this form.

   It should be noted that the Descent into Hell is not yet integrated into this text.

2. "Form B" appears somewhat later, and, Kim says, "while the first version was still current" (*Gosp. of Nic.*, ibid.). It is the Early Latin Recension, which incorporates "Descensus Christi ad Inferos". Kim says that nothing in Tischendorf exactly corresponds to this version, since his Latin *Evangelium Nicodemi* is an eclectic text.

3. "Form C", according to Kim, is a loose paraphrase of the preceding *Form B*. Tischendorf, strangely, divides it into two parts, but the two form an integral unit, as can be seen from the critical apparatus (cf. *Evang. Nic.*, p. 2).
4. "Form D" appeared still later. It represents the Late Latin Recension, to which Tischendorf refers as D^a, D^b, and D^c. Kim says that D^b is generally considered the oldest and is the basis for his edition (Codex Einsidlensis). It forms the main source of the first 1300 lines of the text of this dissertation. The two Latin texts will be referred to as Evang. Nic. (Tischendorf's) and Gesta Salv. (Gesta Salvatoris, Kim's edition of Codex Einsidlensis).

The third text referred to, presenting the same material by another ME poet, is The Middle-English Harrowing of Hell and Gospel of Nicodemus, cited in these notes as Gosp. Nic. (ed. William Henry Hulme, Oxford Un. Press, 1907, rpt. 1961; EETS ES 100).


Certain portions of this work were known to a number of Church-fathers: Justin (*Apologia I*, PG VI, cap. 35 and 48), Tertullian (*Apologeticus*, PL I, cap. 5 and 21), and Eusebius (*Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, PG XX, Lib. II, cap. 2). Epiphanius (*Adversus Haereses*, PG XLII, Haeres L, col. 886), however, is the first to mention the *Gesta Pilati* explicitly.

17289 St. Joseph of Arimathea (fl. c. AD 30), was a Jew who buried Jesus in his own tomb and whom later legend connected with the Holy Grail and Glastonbury. He went to this town in England with twelve missionaries, sent by the apostle Philip.

William of Malmesbury's *De Antiquitate Glastoniiensis ecclesiae* (mid. 13th. cent.) is the text in question, as mentioned in Geoffrey Ashe's *King Arthur's

De Antiquitate itself dates from a period long after William's death. It may be as late as 1240. In the opening chapter, super-imposed by another hand, a long-anticipated figure at last makes his entry. 'St. Philip... coming into the country of the Franks to preach converted many to the Faith, and baptized them. Working to spread Christ's word, he chose twelve from among his disciples, and sent them into Britain. Their leader, it is said, was Philip's dearest friend, Joseph of Arimathea, who buried the Lord... In this manuscript occurs the splendid title ROMA SECUNDA, which clung to Glastonbury during the Middle Ages. So here we encounter Joseph of Arimathea, who is forever Glastonbury's peculiar saint..."

He also appears in Malory's Morte Darthur (pp. 602-603, and pp. 518-526). Joseph is a member of the council (Marc. 15:43; Luc. 23:50-53). Mart. Rom. (March 17) does not make any mention of an affiliation with the judicial council of the Sanhedrin. According to Matth. 27:57-58, he was a rich man who persuaded Pilate to deliver the body of Jesus into his hands. The motive of this action, given by Marc. 15:43, was that he expected the Kingdom of God. Ioan. 19:38 says that he was a secret disciple of Our Lord. Cf. Legenda Aurea, pp. 241-242, 302,303.

In an early extant work connecting Joseph with the Holy Grail, Joseph is entrusted with the cup of the Last Supper, i.e. in Robert de Baron's verse romance Joseph d'Arimathie, also entitled Le Roman de l'estoire dou


17289 The opening line of this edition does not have a direct equivalent in the NT. The Evang. Nic. (p. 365, XII) has "Audientes autem Iudaei...", as does the Gesta Salv. (p. 26, XX). C, F, G and T are all in accord with H.


17291 "wrope... and wode". Gosp. Nic. 741: "... 3e were ban woode."

17292 This line is frequently found in CM, and is really a formulaic expression, Cf. CM 8804; 6537.
17293-95 Except for "sergauntis", the lines are based on Gesta Salv. XII, 1:2-4. Cf. Evang. Nic. XII.

17294 Nicodemus was one of the important leaders of the Jews and a contemporary of Christ. Of all canonical authors, however, St. John is the only one who mentions him. Ioan. 3:1-9, 7:50, 19:39. Christian legend (Dobschütz, Christusbilder, p. 268** ff.) has it that Nicodemus was a sculptor, and attributes to him the Volto Santo, greatly venerated in Lucques, Italy.

17296 G's "sake" stands alone in the CM texts. It is a scribal error, for its meaning does not fit the line.

17297-300 Evang. Nic. p. 365; XII and Gesta Salv. p. 26: XII, with its strong ablative absolute: "omnibus autem se occultantibus solus Nicodemus ostendit se quia princeps Iudeorum erat"; Ioan. 3:1. Line 17297 of L has "queme", which seems less satisfactory than "3emé" found in G, T, and H, considering the meaning and context ("queme= to please, delight; "3emé"= to watch, guard, observe).

17304 CM: "in godis hous" is from the NT: Matth. 12:4, Marc. 2:26, Luc. 6:4, I Tim. 3:15; the other texts have "tempill" (Gosp. Nic.-747) and "synagogam"
(Evang. Nic. and Gesta Salv.). CM has "how dar ye come in", which is not used in Gesta Salv. (p. 27), which has "quomodo ingressus es", nor in the Evang. Nic. (ibid.), but is found in Gosp. Nic. : "how dar bou neigh...". Nicodemus speaks first in Gesta Salv. XII, 1:7-8 and Evang. Nic. p. 365.


17308 Nicodemus' threefold "Amen" takes on the form of an oath, as in Is. 15:16; Num. 5:22; I Reg. 1:36; and CM 18353, 18368, 18374, 18377.

17312-13 Luc. 23:53 insists Joseph's tomb has never been defiled by the presence of another corpse. The Evang. Nic. (ibid.) speaks of a new tomb ("monumento novo"). Line 17312 is wrongly translated in C, which omits mention of Christ.

17314 CM's "beknowen" is the A.S. "oncnown", or acknowledge.

17324-35 There prevailed in antiquity the superstitious belief that the souls of the unburied were unable to find rest; this belief was common among the ancients, as seen in Homer's Odyssey, in Ulysses' concern for

17326 Only C and G add "tame".

17328-30 Cf. I Reg. 17:44: "dixitque ad David: Veni ad me, et dabo carnes tuas volatileibus coeli et bestiis terrae."


17333-34 The reference to Pilate's blindness is a possible echo from Gesta Salv. XII, pp. 27-28: "Obstructus corde, Pilatus lauit manus suas coram sole."

17339-44 The Gesta Salv. pp. 31-36 seems to be closest to the CM text: "Et nunc timeo nequando ueniat ira Dei super nos et super filios nostros sicut dixistis. Audientes autem Iudaei sermones istos, exacerbati sunt animo nimis et apprehendentes Ioseph tenuerunt eum et incluserunt eum in cubiculo ubi non erat fenestra".

Cf. Gesta Pilati p. 367; Gosp. Nic. has: "had no window
and done but one."

17346-48 *Gosp. Nic.* 775-76: "On be done pai set baire
seles ilk ane with lokkes pai wel e wald last." *Gesta
Salv.* p. 27: 36-37: "Signauerunt ostium cubiculi super
claue Annas et Cayfas." Only *Gosp. Nic.* comes closest
to CM's "lokes two".

17351-54 *Gesta Salv.* p. 27, XII, 2:1 p. 28:3; Cf. *Gosp.
Nic.* 782-83.


have these lines. The Latin sources, however, did not
repeat what actually had been expressed in 11. 17351-52.

*Gesta Pilati* p. 368, XII.

17357 L, G, and T agree with H, but C is definitely in
error with "pai sperd fast", which contradicts the
following line.

17361 *Gesta Salv.* p. 28,12:6-7; Cf. *Gosp. Nic.* 790-91,
*Evang. Nic.* p. 368, XII.

368, XII.

Cf. *Evang. Nic.* p. 368, XIII. C and G have "sum", but
L, T and H have "con". C and G follow the Latin more closely here.

17366 C and G have "vmouth", whereas L and T agree with H and have "mou".

17368 Only G has "zem", all the others have "kepe".

G's form is probably a scribal error.

17369-74 *Gesta Salv.* p. 28;12:3-8; *Evang. Nic.* p. 369; *Matth.* 28:3; *Marc.* 16:5; *Luc.* 24:4; *Ioan.* 20:12; CM agrees with *Matth.* and *Marc.* and has one angel sitting down, while *Ioan.* speaks of two angels, and *Luc.* has two angels standing; cf. *Gosp. Nic.* 804: "and bare on him sett".

17370 C and G have "mikel", L, T and H have "graue", which is closer to "monumenti".

17371 As usual C and G resemble one another ("suan" and "suannes") but differ from the other texts that have "snow" which is also found in the sources, both Biblical and apocryphal. *Gesta Salv.* p. 28,13:6-7:

\[\text{Et aspectus eius erat sicut fulgor}
\]
\[\text{et vestimenta eius sicut nix.} \]

*Matth.* 28:3:

\[\text{erat autem aspectus ejus sicut fulgur}
\]
\[\text{et vestimentum ejus sicut nix.} \]


17376 C and G have "We heard he said", the other texts have "he said".

17377-78 To suit the rhyme; F, T, H add "dire" because of "here" in the second line.

17380 C uses a passive structure like the Latin "crucifixus est", G adds the word "hy", while L, T, and H are alike and use the active voice.


17395 C and G substitute "self" for "so" in the other texts. The Latin has "et nos", supporting C and G.

17396 "Kiżt" (H) is listed in **MED** alongside L's "kyth", which Morris, referring to line 11008, defines as "to make known, discover, or reveal." The infinitive is "cacchen", and both "kiżt" and "kyth" are ppl. **MED** refers specifically to this line (p. 4, 2a), and gives the meaning "capture, arrest, or entrap." C and G have
"laught", which means to catch or take.

17399-400 Gesta Salv. p. 28, 13:2-8: "Dixerunt eis Iudaei, 'Vivit Dominus quia non credimus ubis.'"


17401 C and G follow the Latin text more closely:

"to ḫa iuus" ("Iudaeis").


17429 C has "scomed", which is not found in any other CM text or known source. Morris, Glossary, p. 1758, says it stands for the pp. pr. sconand of scon, to shun. 17443 The Latin source has "vobis dormientibus", C and G have "pae", while L, T, and H have "we". 17444 The Latin has "corpus", C and G have "Iesu", and L, T, and H have "him". 17447-62 For this reflection on covetousness and its effects cf. Marc. 7:22; Luc. 12:15; Rom. 1:29; II Pe. 2:3. 17463-68 Matth. 28:15; it is not found in Gesta Salv. 17463-64 Cf. Gosp. Nic. 853. It is curious that the same thought only appears in the English Gospel of Nicodemus; this is true of the next two line references as well. 17467 Gosp. Nic. 863. 17468 Gosp. Nic. 860. 17477-510 This section is directly based on the apocryphal writing of Gesta Salv. p. 29, XIV: 1:1-p. 30, 2:16. Cf. Gosp. Nic. 865-908 and Evang. Nic. pp. 371-74. The Latin sources have the names of the three: "Fines autem quidam sacerdos et Addas didascalus et Egius Levita...", Evang. Nic. (ibid.). The basic Biblical source of 11. 17486-88 is Marc. 6:15-16 and
of 11. 17489-90 it is Marc. 16:19.

17493 L, T, and H follow the Latin more closely here: "si uera". C and G omit this reference to "truth", and speak only of "swearing."

17503 L, T, and H have "aw" or "awe", while C and G have "lau" translating the Latin "legem" in "tenentes legem Domini".

17509 The "hame" or "home" of C, L, and G, has become "hem" in T and H.


17519 C and G literally translate the Latin source.

17533-34 There is no known Latin source for these lines; C and G differ considerably from the other texts and even from each other.

17542-44 Act. 1:3; Ioan. 6:32 and 20:17. Note Matth. does not mention it, Marc. 16:9-20 is generally considered a later addition. The section seems to follow a different plan from that of 1-8, cf. Cath. Comm. no. 743c.

17543 C and G differ from L, T, and H, but none of them is close to the Latin source.
17545-62 Nearest to Christ's Ascension were the translation of Enoch and assumption of Elijah in the OT. CM's source here is based upon IV Reg. 2:16-17.

17554 C and G follow the Latin "montibus Israel", while H, L, and T speak of "wilderness".

17575-97 This moral reflection on spiritual blindness echoes Gregor. 31, Moral (cap. 17.a., ed.); cf. also Summa Théol. 2-2, 15,2,6; Act. 9:8, 17,18.

17590 Cf. note in Morris Part VI, p. L I; MED specifically refers to this.

17598-628 Sources for these lines: Gesta Salv. p. 31, XV, 1-2; Evang. Nic. pp. 376-78. It is worth noting, however, that line 17627 differs from the Evang. Nic. which ends its recommendation to observe Joseph when he would receive the letter, to see whether he would read it. If he did not do so the messengers were to greet him in peace and return alone. CM has only that he should be greeted with peace and love, omitting the conditional clause. Gosp. Nic. p. 84: 965-997.

17625 Christian numerology considered seven a perfect number; cf. Rev. 1:4,20.

17629-51 Of the three main texts quoted here, the Gesta
Salv. p. 82, XV, 3-4 continues on with this line, the Gosp. Nic. p. 84, 1004—p. 86: 1023, starts with 1. 17634, while the Evang. Nic. resumes at 1. 17631.

17632 "paleys" seems an extravagant word for Joseph's abode.

The Latin does not have this line, but has "domum suam", for "halle", 1. 17640.

17638 Cf. Christ's own words, using the same simile in Matth. 28:37, and Luc. 13:34 "quoties voluil congr-eare filios tuos quemadmodum avis nidum suum sub pennis..."


17653 The Latin sources and all CM MSS have Nicodemus form part of the common questioning body together with Annas and Caiphas.


17685 L, T, and H translate the Latin source "noli timere" by "be not ferdy", C has "be noght sori", and G "be noght eri."

17689 The reference to Elias or Elijah, is based on I Reg. 17:19-21 and II Reg. 1:2. Many people thought Jesus
was Elias, cf. Matth. 16:4. Enoch alone shared the translation experience of Elias.

17705 In the introduction (Hennecke, p. 444 ff.) to the *Gospel of Nicodemus, Acts of Pilate, and Christ's Descent into Hell* by F. Scheidweiler, is found a strong argument that the "fourty days" as found in all GM texts and in the *Gesta Salvi*, the *Gosp. Nic.*, and the *Evang. Nic.* should actually read "four days". "Referring to the *Acts of Pilate*, the argument starts by indicating that anyone reading chapters 13 and 14 in succession would be left with the strong impression that after the report of the soldiers at the grave there follows immediately the message of the Galileans Phineas, Addas, and Angaeus about the Ascension." The "forty days" appears at the end of the fifteenth chapter. Here Jesus advises Joseph of Arimathea, whom he delivered from prison, to remain in hiding for forty days. But there is an important Greek MS, Hennecke says, which also contains the prologue and which reads "four days" instead of forty. There appears to be danger only if Joseph appears in Jerusalem; but with the news of Ascension brought by the three Galileans, the Jews no longer dare to go after Jesus' adherents.

17716 Levi in the NT; the only one mentioned by that name is the son of Alpheus, cf. Marc. 2:14 "Et cum praeteriret, vidit Levi Alphaei sedentem ad teleonium, et ait illi: Sequere me. Et surgens secutus est eum." Cf. Matth. 9:9-10:3; Luc. 5:27-29. It is clear from Matth. 9:9-10:3 that Levi the publican and the Apostle Matthew are one and the same.

17729-40 Cf. Luc. 2:34-35.


17741-80 Cf. Deut. 19:15; Gen. 5:4; Gosp. Nic. 11. 1081-88 refer only to lines 17766-774.

17761 Matth. 18:6 "Si autem te non audient, adhibe tecum adhuc unum, vel duos, ut in ore duorum, vel trium testium stet omne verbum." Cf. Deut. 19:15; Ioan. 8:17; II Cor. 13:1; I Hebr. 10:28.

17767 Cf. Deut. 35:5 ff.

17770 Cf. Matth. 27:2; Marc. 15:1; Luc. 23:1; Ioan. 8:28.
17771 Cf. Matth. 27:30; Marc. 15:15-19; Luc. 23:22; Ioan. 19:1.

17773 Cf. Matth. 27:35; Marc. 15:23; Luc. 23:33; Ioan. 19:18, 34. The soldier's name has been said to be Longinus. The Legenda Aurea gives a short hagiography on March 15. The Mart. Rom. says the following in the opening line of the "Idibus Martii": "Caesarea, in Cappadoceae, passio sancti Longini militis, qui Domini latus lancea perforasse perhibetur." He is mentioned in the Gesta Pilati, p. 387, as the soldier who pierced the side of Jesus with a spear, in the Acts of Paul, in which mention is made of his wife Dirmilla and daughter Frontina (Apocr. NT, p. 287), in the "Letter of Pilate to Herod" (ibid., p. 155), in which he has become "the believing centurion". John the Evangelist refers to at least two soldiers. The legendary name of the soldier Longinus is simply the Latin for "spearman"; Ioan. 19:23: "sed unus militum lancea latus ejus aperuit, et continuo exivit sanguis, et aqua." Cf. Ioan. 19:35-37. As has been mentioned in Dr. Stauffenberg's CM (pp. 217-18), Longinus's "blindness, miraculous recovery on Calvary, and subsequent 'canonization' become standard apocryphal additions to the narratio passionis." Cf. Petrus Comestor's Hist. Schol. Evang.
PL CXCVIII, Leg. of the Holy Rood, (pp. 106-107), The South Engl. Legendary I (xxii), The North Passion (p. 215), The North Passion (supplement, pp. 131-132), The South Passion (11. 1634-40). The development of the legend around Longinus is treated in detail by Rose Peebles in The Legend of Longinus in Ecclesiastical Tradition (Bryn Mawr College Monograph Series, no. 9, 1911).

17774 Cf. Matth. 27:29; Ioan. 9:2; Marc. 15:17; Ioan. 19:5.
17775-86 Cf. Matth. 17:60; Marc. 15:46; Luc. 28:53; Ioan. 19:42.
17781 With line 17781 starts Christ's Descent into Hell. With "ascendentem in caelum", one of the two recensions of the Latin translation ends, followed by the Latin recension A of the Descensus. Cf. Hénnecke I, p. 469, note 2. The Descensus did not form part of the older extant Greek version (A, AD 425) of the Evang. Nic. which is an adaptation of a text used by Epiphanius in 375 to 376 (Hennecke p. 447). The other Greek text (B), a redaction of A, adds the Descensus, which is, according to Hennelcke I, p. 449, a substantially older fragment.
17787-91. Joseph here probably refers to the event only recorded in Matth. 27:52-53: "Et monumenta aperta sunt: et multa corpora sanctorum, qui dormierunt, surrexerunt. Et euntes de monumentis post resurrecti- 


17793 Cf. CM 17833.

17798 MSS H and L have "her", C and G have "pair" while T has "soure". Except for T, all MSS translate the Latin "eorum".

17805 The Latin has "cum omni honore et moderatione." MS H translates "a willie", meaning "will, longing, or pleasure." MS T has "a wile", meaning "wile, trick, or artifice", and L has the same, spelled "a wyle". G has "lufsumli", which is "lovingly". It is probably an attempt to translate the Latin. G's "ful-

'umli" is an error for "lufsumli" (l and f are reversed). However, not one of the MSS is very close here.
17812-22 Joseph of Arimathea, Nicodemus, and one called Gamaliel. This Gamaliel is probably the same as one of the sons of Simon and grandson of Hillel, a Pharisee, doctor of the Law, member of the Sanhedrin, Act. 5:34, and early teacher of Saul of Tarsus, Act. 22:3. He intervened successfully at the trial of Peter and the Apostles with a plea for a more tolerant "wait and see" policy, Act. 5:38-40. There is also an apocryphal writing called Gospel of Gamaliel (cf. Revue Biblique, April, 1906, 253 ff.).


17826 Adonai, the perpetual substitute for the ineffable OT name "Yahweh", to which it lends its vowel signs. Cf. Exod. 6:3; Jud. 16:16.

17845 Cf. Dan. 13:51: "Et dixit at eos Daniel, Separate illos 'ab invicem procul, et dijudicabo eos." Mosaic law demanded at least two witnesses in all civil and criminal cases. Cf. Num. 35:30; Deut. 17:7; Heb. 10:28; Matth. 26:60.

17855 "swete croys" echoes the Good Friday liturgy of
the Adoration of the Holy Cross, of the antiphon,
"Crux fidelis, inter omnes Arbor una nobilis: Nulla
silva talem profert, Fronde, flore, germini: Dulce
lignum, dulces clavos, Dulce pondus sustines." Cf.
Missale Romanum, Feria VI, in Parasceve, p. 169 and
Lib. Us., p. 742. This hymn used to be sung in the
liturgy of the Office of Good Friday, during the Adoratio
Crucis. The Cath. Enc. vol. VII, p. 704a, main-
tains that it goes back to the ninth and tenth centu-
ries, and that a work by Martine (c. xxiii) "De anti-
quà ecclesiae disciplina" gives fragments of Ordines,
some of which go back as far as 600 AD. Cf. Introductio
aux sources de l'histoire du culte chrétien au
moyen âge, p. 146 which refers to "Ordo XXII". The
description of the "triduum sacrarium" of Holy Week goes
back to perhaps AD 700-750.

17857 Cf. Christ forbidding Peter, James, and John to
tell others about His transfiguration, Marc. 9:8:
Et descenditibus illis de monte, praecepit illis ne
cuiquam quae vidissent, narrarent: nisi cum Filius
"helle". Cf. Ps. 15:10; I Pet. 3:18-19.


17858-18512 contain the story of the harrowing of hell by Christ as told by Carius and Lenthius. References to Christ's Harrowing of Hell are many and of varying lengths and descriptions. The CM poet follows the tradition of his own time, and seems closest to Eastern Orthodox teaching. Christ descended into Hades, the place of all departed spirits, and redeemed some. However, in the old Roman Creed, as quoted by Tertullian (c. 200), there is no mention of the Descent, cf. De Virg. Vel., PL II, 889, Ad. Prax., PL II, 156, and
De Praescr. viii and xxxvi, PL II, 26,29. The Nicene Constantinopolitan formula of the Creed does not have it, cf. S. Anselmus Cant., De Processione S. Spiritus, PL CLVIII, 317. Rufinus (end 4th ce.) explicitly states "in symb. 18 sciendum sane est quod in ecclesiæ Romanae symbola non habetur additum descendit ad inferna, sed neque in Orientis ecclesiis habetur hic sermo." (The Apostles' Creed, p. 56). However, it existed in that of Aquila (ibid., p. 61 and p. 108). During the Nestorian controversy (AD 428 ff.), the Harrowing of Hell gained dogmatic importance and was included in the Athanasian Creed. It is also in some Greek Creeds, and in that of St. Jerome, lately recovered by Morin, cf. Cath. Enc. Vol. X, p. 632a.

Among the Western Creeds which mention the Descent (The Apostles' Creed, p. 101 ff.) are: "Creed of the Prymer" (xiv cent.) "Creed of the 'King's Book", "Creed of Priminius" (+758), "Creed of Aquilea", and "Creed of Venantius Fortunatus". The Eastern "Nicene Faith" (p. 101) also mentions it.

In the apostolic writings of the NT; the Acts,
Epistles, and Apocalypse, there are several references to the Descent of Christ into Hades. St. Paul makes a number of implied references to the Descent of Christ: Eph. 4:9; Phil. 2:10; Rom. 14:9; 1 Cor. 15:55; Rom. 10:7 (adapted from Deut. 30:13; cf. Ps. 70:20"... et de abyssis terrae interum reduxisti me"). The much disputed text of 1 Pet. 3:19: "In quo et his, qui in carcere erant, spiritibus veniens praedicavit," again strengthens the medieval view of the CM poet, especially when tied in with St. Paul's citation of Ps. 68:18 in Eph. 4:8: "... Ascendens in altum captivam duxit captivitatem..."

The unknown author of Gosp. Nic. worked many of the OT passages into his story of the Harrowing of Hell. Since this apocryphal work is one of the main sources for the CM poet, the following references are considered worthy of mention: Ps. 15:10; 16:8-11; 22:7 ff.; 24:7-9; 20:1-5; 98:1-2; 102: 19-20; 107: 15-16; Isa. 9:1-2; 26:19; 42:7; 45:2; 35:10; Osee. 3:14; Hos. 6:1-3; Mic. 7:18 ff.; Zech. 9:11. Still other references (of NT) are: 1 Pet. 3; Act. 2:24-3; Matth. 12:40; Col. 2:15.
Among other medieval writing concurring with GM's description of the harrowing of hell are the following O.E. poems (the order is that of Greenfield's *A Critical History*, pp. 124 ff.): *Christ I*, *Christ II*, *Christ III* ("ninth cent.", ibid. p. 131). These three poems are found in the *Exeter Book* collection of poetry. *Elene* and *The Dream of the Rood* are contained in the "Vercelli Book". *The Descent into Hell* ("called Harrowing of Hell in some editions", ibid., p. 141) has been collected in the *Exeter Book*. *Christ and Satan in Junius MS* and *Guthlac B* in the *Exeter Book*. *The Panther* of the O.E. *Physiologus* can be found in the *Exeter Book* as well. The ME miracle (mystery) plays, the *Chester Cycle*, the *York Cycle*, the *Wakefield Cycle*, the *Lincoln Cycle*, all devote a separate scene to the harrowing of hell. It is also found in the ancient Cornish play, *Ordinalia*, a trilogy, the third part of which *Resurrectio Domini* contains a passage portraying the "Descensus". A number of homilies make references to the same, as already noted by Aho in *A Comparison of O.E. and O.N. Treatments of Christ's Harrowing*
of Hell: "Sermo de Sacrificio in Die Pascae", Aelfric's Homilies I, p. 229, where Christ is compared to Samson, who broke the gates of the city of Gaza: "Ure Maelend Crist tobraec hellegatu." Cf. also "In Dominica Palmarum" (ibid., p. 217): "pa getimode ßam reßtam deofle swa swa deß ßam graedigan fisce..."); also "Decollatio S. Johannis Baptistæ" (ibid., p. 481).

The Harrowing of Hell is more often treated in Byzantine than in western art. There are, however, a number of artifacts that portray Christ's Harrowing of Hell, as the 13th c. mosaic in St. Mark's, Venice. It is shown also on a carved stone slab of the 12th c. in Bristol Cathedral; Fra Angelico, in St. Mark's, Florence, is another example.

The illumination of Psalms in O.E. gloss (Tiberius Psalter, for example) includes the harrowing of hell scene.

Many of the Fathers' references "De Christi descensione ad inferos" could be listed, from Tertullian, to St. Ambrose, and from Ambrose to St. Augustine. The oldest manuscript of the second-century Christian text is known as "The Shepherd of Hermas".
It refers to the apostles and teachers preaching in Hades, PL I, 467-68. Cf. also S. Irenaeus, adv. Haer., PG VII, 1056-58; Origin, Contra Celsum, PG II, 657; St. Ambrose, De Virginitate, PL XVI, 300; St. August- tine, De Civitate Dei, PL XLI, 541.


17872-84 The source of these twelve lines is not Gesta Salv. The Evang. Nic. or the Gosp. Nic. does not have any references to these lines either.

17874 In Holy Scripture, from Gen. 1:3 through Rev. 17:5 light symbolized the presence of God. In Hebrew Creation epics, as in those of some other nations, like the Egyptians, the formation of the universe was described as the separation of darkness from light, Gen. 1:15. In their years of wandering the Israelites
relied on God's "pillar of fire", Ex. 13:21. Cf. Burning of perpetual light before the Tabernacle, I Sam. 3:3, the seven-armed candelabra, II Chron. 4:7, and Lev. 6:9; Ps. 58:105; NT: Ioan. 1:4-9, 3:19-21, 8:12; Matth. 5:14-16; Eph. 5:8; cf. Hennecke I, p. 28.

17875 This is a clear reference to Gen. 1:3-4.


17879-82 Only M3G continues till 17885. The reference is clearly to Is. 9:2: "populus, qui ambulat in tenebris vidit lucem magnam: habitantibus in regione umbrae mortis, lux orta est eis." Cf. Ps. 107:14; Luc. 1:79.

17881-82 This is the exact opposite of Ioan. 1:15, where John makes tacit reference to man's rejection of God's light, and the introduction of the darkness of evil into God's creation. John stresses that this darkness did not conquer the light; which is clearly indicated in these lines of CM.

17883-84 MS G is clearly original. The lines have been accidentally omitted from the Southern version.

17889-17904 This section has no parallel in Gesta Salv., nor are there analogues in Evang. Nic. or in Gosp. Nic. It basically follows the Gospels, cf. Luc. 3:2-22; Matth. 3:1-17; Marc. 1:1-12; Ioan. 1:6-34.

17901 C, G, and T have "yon", L has "šon". while H has "šon". The words "šon" and "šon" here mean "then", and this meaning seems to fit better with the Latin Gesta Salv. and Ioan. 1:22: "quis es tu?"

17915 The dove, one of many birds in Christian symbolism, was the first to be symbolically employed. It stood, as is well-known, for the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity, Luc. 3:25. Cf. Bede, In Matth. Ev. Exp. and In Luc. Ev. Exp., PL XCII, 18, 359. For a more detailed discussion see Dr. Stauffenberg's CM pp. 183-84.

17925-72 Adam in Hell hears of Christ's baptism and begins to call his son Seth to tell the patriarchs and prophets where the latter went when Adam was mortally sick. This section is based on Gesta Salv. XIX, 1-30. Cf. Gosp. Nic. 1249-1280, and Evang. Nic., p. 393 (XIX),
as well as The Chester Plays pageant XVII, EETS. ES No. LXII, 1892, ll. 65-80, which has Seth tell of Adam's request to have him go to paradise and ask for the Oil of Mercy with which to anoint Adam. Michael appeared and told Seth to travel no further, since neither his prayers nor tears would avail him to receive the Oil of Mercy until 5500 years would have passed. None of the other three Cycle Plays, York, Chester, or Townley, speak of Seth's quest for the Oil of Mercy, ll. 1237-1448. C, F, G, T, and H dedicate only fifty lines to the story at this point, omitting Seth's looking in at the gate of Paradise, and the description of what he sees there, as well as the giving of the three pippins. The condensed version here has the essential elements, such as the promise of the provision of the Oil of Mercy by Christ, after His Resurrection, some 5100 years after Adam's demise. Greater emphasis is placed on the universal application of the Oil, since not only Adam, but all who seek truth will be anointed. For more extensive notes on the topic, see Dr. Sarah Horrell, The Southern Version of "Cursor Mundi", p. 362; Esther Casier Quin's comprehensive research: The
Quest of Seth; W. Meyer, *Vita Adae et Evae*; for some recent research on the subject refer to J. Burke Severs, ed. *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500*, II (Hamden, Conn. 1970).

17865-68 Closely connected to the liturgy of the time of the year, the season of Lent and Easter, the season of Spring, the Cycle Plays present the worked-out symbolism of light and darkness, the light of Christ shining into the darkness of the world ("et lux in tenebris lucet" Ioan. 1:5). Cf. York (op. cit.) ll. 21-96; Chester (op. cit.) ll. 3-36; *Ludus Conventriæ* (op. cit.) ll. 113-114, which refers to light only indirectly; Towneley (op. cit.) ll. 17-88, in which the light symbolism is developed in greater detail, through the functioning of light as a token of Christ’s coming, seen as a good sign by Eve, foretold by Isaiah as a help for those in darkness, described by John the Baptist as a consolation sent by the heavenly Father, and recalled by Moses as a wondrous light in Christ’s Transfiguration. For other references to light and darkness in the Harrowing, see CM ll. 17865-68; 17874-85; 17896; 17914; 18059; 18163-64. Cf. also Dendy’s
The Use of Light in Christian Worship, esp. ch. IX

"The Ceremonies of Holy Week" which clearly shows the early adoption (4th cent.; cf. p. 128) of the symbolism of light; the Pascal Candle (Christ), the lighting of the new fire, a christianized pagan custom (ibid., p. 149). In regard to the practice of fire festivals in spring "there is an example of it practised by monks in England in 1266" (cf. Chronicle of Lanercost, ap. J. M. Kemble, The Saxons in England 1849; I, 356). Christ says in Ioan. 8:12 "Ego sum lux mundi." Cf. also C. Vogel's Introduction aux sources de l'histoire du culte chrétien au moyen âge (p. 142), which reads in "Ordo XXV": "la bénéédiction du cierge pascal est, dès le ive siècle, en usage en Haute Italie et, dès le ve, dans les églises suburbicaires de Rome."

17935 The Oil of Mercy is certainly reminiscent of the "oleum infirmorum". St. James 5:14-15 says: "Infirma-

17950 Adam's limbs were yet "lame" because of the effect of original sin.

17965 Adam had not been anointed yet.

17967 The reference to Baptism is found in Ioan. 3:5.

17968 The idea expressed is found in Ioan. 4:13-14.

18971 "bi fadir", referring to Adam.

17972 In the NT the word Hell or Hades, as the Hebrew "Sheol", sometimes refers merely to "the grave" as in Ap. 20:13; Act. 2:31; I Cor. 15:55, or in general to
"the unseen world". It is in this sense that the Creeds refer to Christ's descent, meaning the state of the dead in general, without any reference to happiness or misery, a doctrine expressed in Eph. 4:29 and Act. 2:25-31. Hades here then is an intermediate state between death and resurrection, apparently divided into two parts, one abode of the blessed, and the other of the lost.


17977-18072 The dialogue between Satan and Hell found in this section again echoes Gesta Salv. XX, 1 and 2-XX, 3:25, and Evang. Nic. pp. 394-95 (XX).

17981-82 'Clearly based on Ps. 23:7-9. The psalm's "king" is explained as Jesus.

17984 This apparently refers to Christ's agony in Gethsemani, so vividly portrayed in Marc. 14:34-42; cf. also Matth. 26:36-46; Luc. 22:39-46. St. Paul, in Heb. 2:14 speaks of Christ's solidarity with man, sharing his human weakness, "carni et sanguini", while verse 15 speaks of "timore mortis." Satan implies here that Christ is only a man, an extension of the Arian heresy.
Satan takes credit for all the misery that Christ took away; Christ cured the blind: Matth. 9:27-29; 20:30; Marc. 8:22-23; 10:49-51; Luc. 8:35.


"werreour". Satan refers to his soldiers or servants, those who fight for the king of this world, cf. Ioan. 18:36 where Jesus answers Pilate: "... Si ex hoc mundo esset regnum meum, ministri mei utique certarunt ut non traderer Judaeis..."

Cf. Matth. 26:27; Marc. 14:15; Luc. 22:23; Ioan. 18:19, and CM including H, ll. 14776-17082.

"dæp", personified, but contrary to the character Death in Everyman, where he is the obedient servant of God, Death, here, is considered by Satan one of his servants, since Christ's death was seen as the end of one of the enemies of the power of darkness. In the morality play, however, everything is made to fit the moral of the play.

Hell accuses Satan of contradicting himself.


"stynkynge lazar", cf. Ioan. 11:39; "jam foetet."
18041 "he ferbe day" cf. Ioan. 11:39 "quatriduanus est enim."
18042 Cf. Ioan. 11:44 "solvite eum, et sinite abire."
18045 "pat, false of rede", cf. Ioan. 8:44.
18060 Cf. The Bestiary p. 105, which speaks of the aging eagle in search of the fountain which will give it new vigour and vision. Yaweh was the supreme fountain of life, cf. Ps. 36:9; Jer. 17:13.
18065 Cf. Ps. 24:8.
18070 The Latin source, Gesta Salv. XX, 3:22-25, describes the "prisoun of my cruelte" a little more precisely: "Et si perduxeris illum ad me, omnes qui sunt hic in incredulitate carceris clausi et in insolitis uinculis peccatorum constricti, soluet."
18073 "Prince satone". Satan, name of Lucifer after his fall, (Morris, part VI, p. 1817). The name Lucifer is used in Isa. 14:12 to render the Heb. "shining one"
applied to the King of Babylon, fallen from his royal estate. In the 3rd c. AD the saying of Jesus: "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven," Luc. 10:18, was thought to refer to Isa. 14:12. Hence Lucifer came to be regarded as the name of Satan before his fall.

18077 O.B. Hardison, Jr. in Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages, speaking of a more elaborate ceremony for Palm Sunday in his chapter entitled "The Lenten Agon", a ceremony found in the Mozarabic Missale mixtum, describes the procession at its return to the church door. The bishop or priest strikes the west portal with a staff or wood of the cross, saying "Attollite portas principes vestras: et elevamini portas eternales: et introibit Rex gloriae" (cf. Missale mixtum, PL LXXV, 390-91, and Young, The Drama of the Medieval Church I, 92,93). This is done three times, with two canons within the church asking, "Quis est iste Rex gloriae", and the bishop answering, "Dominus fortis et potens."

of Early Christianity, London, Swan Sonnen-Schein & Co.,
1894, p. 309; Polycarp, Epistola ad Philipenses, PG
V, 1006-15; Justin Martyr, Dialogue with Trypho, PG
VI, c.72, 643; cf. also Gosp. of Bartholemew, Hennecke

18079-84 Gesta Salv. XXI, 1:5-8. Satan is physically
expelled: "Et eiecit Inferus Satan foris sedibus suis."
This version is followed by CM. In the Evang. Nic.
p. 397, however, Hades says to Satan: "Recede a me et
exi de meis sedibus foras: si potens es praedictor,
pugna adversum regem gloriae." The Gosp. Nic. omits
the incident. Cf. also St. Gregory Thaumaturgos,
Homily on All Saints, in Ante-Nicene Christian Library,
XX, 154 f. in which he states that Hades and Satan
have been stripped of their armour, PG X, 1202.

18092 Note the cryptic Latin rendering: "... ne cap-
tiuemur tenentes captivitatem." Gosp. Nic. 1356: "or
we forever be thrall." Cf. also homily ascribed to
Eusebius of Alexandria, Homily in Sancta et Magna
Parasceve, et in Sanctam Passionem Domini, PL LXII,
722: "Vae mihi miserō, illusus: adjuva humilitatem
meam, claudamus ostia, ne huc ingrediatur!"
18093-97  Gesta Salv., XXI, 2:1-3. Call of the Saints
to open the gates. Cf. Ps. 23:7,9; Gosp. Nic., p. 397.
The call in CM comes from the "seyntis" inside hell
i.e. from the righteous dead, while the Powers in the
following analogue are outside hell. The point of
similarity, however, is that of the summons to permit
the Lord to enter Hades. Cf. homily In Sancta et Magna
Parasceve (op. cit.), PG LXII, 722: "Et ecce Dominus
venit in infernum, persequens diabolum, et Virtute
(i.e. angels, cf. II Thess. 1:7: 'cum angelis virtu-
tis') praecurrebant. Et ecce portae clausae erant:
et vociferatae sunt Virtutes dicentes: 'Attollite por-
tas, principes, vestras, et elevamini, portae aeter-
nales, et, introbit Rex gloriae" (Ps. 23:9-10). The
Gosp. Nic. mentions one voice crying. There are,
however, more angels present, since Christ de-
livers Satan to be bound. The earlier tradition has
Christ descend alone. Eus. of Caesarea in De Demon-
stratione Evangelica says on Ps. 21: "id sane fuit,
ne fuentium quidem ac propitiorum angelorum quempia,
nec divinarum potestatem prorsus ullam, ausam esse
regias mortis domos invadere", PG XXII, 779. Early
tradition, however, has Christ accompanied by angels, e.g. Ephraim Syrus, *Nisebene Hymns*, no. 36, in *A Select Libr. of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, trans. into Engl., Oxford: James Parker and Co., 1898, xiii, 197: "Trembling took hold on Death; Hell that never of old had been lighted up, into it there flashed splendours, from the Watchers who entered in and brought out the dead to meet Him, who was dead and gives life to all." The "Watchers" of course, are the angels. Eus. of Alex., *In Sancta et Magna Par.* (op. cit.), has the Powers run before Christ and command Hades to open the doors; PG LXII, 721 f. Cf. also St. Ambrose, *de Fide*, iii, 4, 27, 28, and 14, III, and iv.i.1 f.; PL XVII, 2-2, 1162.


Nic. 1363.


18108 H, T. and L have "he", while C, and G use the plural "hai". The last two MSS are closer to the Latin source: "qui in monumentis sunt?"

18117-22 Gesta Salv. XXI, 3:2-3: "... Omnes sancti... dixerunt..." Aperi portas tuas nunc uictus sic infir-"ms et inpotens eris."

18128-31 Cf. Evang. Nic. p. 398: "Videns inferus quia duabus vicibus haec clamaverunt, quasi ignorans dicit: Quis est rex gloriae? Respondens David ad inferum ait: Ista verba clamoris cognosco, quoniam ego eadem per spiritum eius vaticinatus sum. Cf. Ps. 33:8: "Quis est iste rex gloriae? Dominus fortis et potens: Dominus potens in proelio." The psalm verse is rightly chosen, since it echoes the original call of Jews (carrying the Ark to Sion) upon the gates of the old city of the Jebusites to lift up their heads in honour, because the King of Glory is to pass through them in procession to his new place of honour. Cf. The Mystery Plays: York, pp. 379-89, ll. 124-32; Chester, p. 325, ll. 181-84; Ludus Coventriae does not refer to the psalm; Towneley p. 229, ll. 197-98.


18940-46 This section paraphrases Ps. 23:8 and Ps. 101: 20-21.

18149-62 Gesta Salv. XXI, 3:16-20; the CM scribē expands the moralization of the Gesta Salv.: Invictae uirtutis auxilium uisitauit nos sedentes in tenebris delictorum


18163 Cf. S. Ephraim Syrus, Nisibene Hymns, no. 36, in A Select Library xiii, 197, which says that in Hades never before lit, appeared flash splendours from angels entering, bringing the dead to meet the Lord; G. Bert, Aphraat's Des Perzischen Weisen Homilien (TU iii, 3-4) p. 351 f.; Prudentius, Cathe merinon, ix, PL LIX, 870.


18168 C: "wit mikel au"; G: "wid mekil au"; L: "lowde y-now"; H & T: "loude I now". The Latin has no adverbial modifier: "exclamaverunt."

18169-70 Death and Hell admit they have become powerless because of Christ's victory over them; cf. Rom.
6:9; I Cor. 15:54; St. Ambrose, de Myst. Pasc. ii ser. 35, c. 4: "ita divinus triumphus aeternis characteribus est conscriptus, dum dicit: Ubi est, mors, aculeus tuus? ubi est, mors, victoria tua? (I Cor. 15:55)", PL XVII, 674.

18172 C and G have "to dright", the other MSS, L, T, and H have "in sixt". There is no known Latin source for either reading.


18177-78 The infernal legions wondering about Christ's dual nature question him. Cf. Gosp. Nic. 14:29-30: "Se nouchou was man, on what manere was godhede in þe hid?"

18189-92 Gesta Salv. XXII, 1:16-18; Gosp. Nic. 14:37-40: þe sawles þat vs war sent has þou won hepin oway, þou has vs schamly schent and priued vs of oure pray.

18193-96 Gesta Salv. XXII, 1:18-20: "Quid es tu qui peccatorum tenebris excaecatos diuina, splendida luciferaque luce perfundis?"
18202-220 *Gesta Salv.* XXII, I:22-34, rephrasing the same speech.


18221-26 Cf. Blickling Easter Homily (*Dominica Pascha*) in R. Morris, (op. cit, p. 82 f.), where Christ is described as easing the suffering of the captives in hell, and binding down Satan; cf. also *Col.* 2:15.

18223-24 Jesus subdues the Great Dragon. Cf. *Apoc.* 20: 2-3; *Physiologus*, the *Panther*; the *Bestiary*, T.H. White p. 15; also *The Panther* the *Exeter Book*, p. 171: 59a-61a (ASPR III).

18225-26 Cf. S. Ephraim Syrus, *Hymn on Our Lord*, in
A Select Library, series 2, xiii, 306: "Sheol brought Him forth, that through Him its treasures might be emptied out."... "For our Lord... brought forth the dead from Sheol..."

18227 MED defines "gerard" as "villain", cf. CM 11811, 11905 (ref. to Herod); 22308. MSS C and G have "gerard", while F has "deuil" and T has "fend".


18227-34 Evang. Nic. p. 400, VII (XXIII) "Beelzebub" is "balsabuk" of CM poet (18230), also spelled Baalzebub, meaning, "lord of flies", originally a Philistine god worshipped at Ekron, believed to be creator and controller of flies. In the NT the Pharisees reproach "... in Beelzebub principe daemoniorum..." (Matth. 12:24). It was a common belief of Jews and Christians that heathen deities were demons.


18251 Ioan. 13:44, and 3:8.
18257 Matth. 9:34, 12:24; Marc. 3:22.
18271 Cf. I Cor. 15:56.
18281-88 Cf. Origen, Sel. in Ps. 9:18, PG XII, 2, 1190-91.
18293-301 Aelfric's Homilies (Aho, p. 139).
18301-306 Peace to Adam; Peace, "Shalom" (in Heb.), was an early ideal of Israel. Peace was the kernel of the Messianic hope for the Kingdom of God. Ps. 72:7; Isa. 2:4, 9:5-7.
18301 Cf. Aphraates; G. Bert, (op. cit.) p. 351 f.
18303-318 Cf. Wulfstan's Homilies, Sermo de Cena Domini, in which the rescue of Adam and Eve is cited as proof of Christ's mercy (Aho, p. 150).

Cf. The Blickling Easter Homily (op. cit.) p. 89.

Cf. Phil. 2:10.

Liber Usualis 1961, p. 746-47, and 741, Liturgy of Good Friday:
Antiphon 1: Adoramus te Christe, et benedicumus tibi, quia per crucem tuam redemisti mundum;
Antiphon 2: Per lignum servi facti sumus, et per sanctam crucem liberati sumus; fructus arboris seducit nos, Filius Dei redemit nos; Antiphon 3: Salvator mundi salva nos; qui per crucem et sanguinem redemisti nos, auxiliare nobis te deprecamur, Deus noster; Antiphon 4: Crucem tuam adoramus Domine: et sanctam resurrectionem tuam laudamus et glorificamus: ecce enim propter lignum venit gaudium in universo mundo (p. 741).

Cf. S. Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. iv, 27, 1 f., PG VII (1), 1058. These words seem to present Christ's blessing with the sign of the cross as an absolution:
"Et propter hoc Dominum in ea, quae sunt sub terra, descendisse, evangelizantem et illis adventum suum, remissionem peccatorum existente his qui credunt in eum. Crediderunt autem in eum omnes qui sperabant in eum, id est qui adventum ejus praenuntiaverunt, et dispositionibus ejus servierunt, justi, et prophetae, et patriarchae; quibus similiter ut nobis remisit peccata." Cf. also The Towneley Plays, EETS, LXXI, 1966, p. 304 = l. 364. Isa. 42:7; Hos. 6:1-5; Zach. 9:11; Rom. 10:7; Eph. 4:8-19; Ignatius, Epistola ad Magnesios, PG V: 662-74; St. Jerome, in Dan. lib. i, 3, PG XXV, 5-6, 505-512; St. Augustine, Opus imperf. contra Julianum, PL X, 1523; Ignatius, Epistola ad Philadelphienses, PG VI, c.5, 699-702. The Blickling Easter Homily (Morris, op. cit. p. 89), describing Christ raising all saints from hell; cf. Wulfstan's Catechetical Homilies, in "Translation of the Creed" (The Homilies of Wulfstan, ed. Dorothy Bethurum, Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1957, p. 166). These two references are very short and simply state that Christ descended into Hell and led out His chosen ones. Cf. also Dream of the Rood, ed. Dickens & Ross,
Methuen's Old English Libr. 1965, pp. 34-35, ll. 147-156; Guthlac B, only one line refers to the Harrowing of Hell: "... ece aelmihtig... dryhten... Øreata maestne to heofonum ahoft, ða he from helle astag", The Exeter Book, p. 80, 1100-1104 (ASPR III).


18353-60 Cf. Micheas, the 6th of the twelve minor Prophets, a contemporary of Isaias, writes in his book bearing his name regarding the Messiah. After reproaching the people for their ingratitude, he ends the final chapter with the words: "Quis, Deus, similis tui, qui aufers iniquitatem, et transis peccatum reliquarum haereditatis tuae? Non immittet ultra furorem suum, quoniam volens misericordiam est. Revertetur, et miserebitur nostri: deponet iniquitates nostras, et projiciet in profundum maris omnia peccata nostra." Mich. 7:18-19; Jer. 10:6; Act. 10:43.
Cf. Homilies ascribed to Eusebius of Alexandria, PG LXII, 721 f., which describe the saints rejoicing while David quotes Ps 95:1, 47:1, with the saints responding "alleluia".

Cf. Hippolytus, De Christo et Antichristo cap 26, 45, PG X, 747, 763.

Habakuk, author of the 8th book of the minor prophecies. Showing Christ's power over hell and death he says: "Splendor ejus ut lux erit: cornua in manibus ejus; ibi abscondita est fortitudo ejus; ante faciem ejus ibit mors. Et egredientur diabolus ante pedes ejus." Hab. 3:4-5.

11. 18374 and 18377 resemble 1. 18368.


Homilies ascribed to Eusebius of Alexandria, PG LXII, 721 f.: The saints run to Paradise and enter.

Cf. The Dream of the Rood, 11. 151-156:

Wa he mid manigeo com,
gasta weorode on Godes rice,
An wealda ælmihtig englum to blisse,
& eallum þam halgum, þam þe on heofonum aer wunodon on wuldre, þa hegara Wealdend cwom, almihtig God, þaer his edel waes.

St. Ambrose, in Epist. ad Rom. c.10, PL XV (2), 150; Hippolytus, On the End of the World, i.2.99; Origen in Rom. v, PG IV, 1019, 1051; Prudentius, Cathaemerinon, ix, PL LIX, 870; also Matth. 27,53; Prudentius sees the "holy city" as the heavenly Jerusalem; S. Cyril of Jerusalem (in ref. to Isa. 63.11), Catech. Lect. xiv, 19, PG XXXIII, 862; The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, Test. of Benjamin, in ed. R.H. Charles, London, Society for Promoting Christian knowledge, 1925, 1917, p. 102 f.; The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Test., ii. 358-359; Eusebius, Acta Thaddei, in Hist. Eccl., i. 13.19, PG XX, 123-30; Acta Thomae, Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha, ii.2.115.

18383 Legenda Aurea, p. 244.

18386-95 S. Ephraim Syrus, Hymn 36, in A Select Library xiii, 196.


18390 *Legenda Aurea*, p. 244.

18390-92 "Ambulavitque (=Henoch) cum Deo, et non appa-
ruit: quia tulit eum Deus" (Gen. 5:24). "Fide Henoch
translatus est ne videret mortem, et non inveniebatur:
quia transtulit illum Deus: ante translationem enim tes-
imonium habuit placuisse Deo" (Hebr. 11:5). "Henoch
placuit Deo, et translatus est in paradisum, ut det
gentibus poenitentiam" (Ecc. 44:16). For Elias see
Reg. IV, 2:1-12: "Factum est autem, cum levare vellet
Dominus Eliam per turbinem in coelum, ibant Elias et
Eliseus de Galgali." (2:1)..."Cumque pergerent, et
incendentes sermocinarentur, ecce currus igneus, et equi
ignei diviserrunt utrumque; et ascendit Elias per tur-
binem in coelum." (2:11).

It has been maintained, in view of Mal. 4:5, that he
is to return before the Second Coming. He and Henoch
are commonly understood to be the two witnesses of
Apoc. 11:3-14 (Cath. Com. 146b).

18394-96 These lines suggest a millenial view, which
is expressed in the Latin source, *Gesta Salv. XXV*, 11b-
l2: "non gustavimus mortem sed in adventum Antichristi
18400  **Legenda Aurea** Cap. LIV p. 244. Cf. also S. Irenaeus, **Adv. Haer.** v. 31.1, PG VII,II, 1208; and Cyril of Alexandria, **Hom. Pasch.** xi, PG LXXVII, 10: 634-636.

18403-36  Cf. Homilies ascribed to Eusebius of Alexandria in **Sancta et Magna Parasceve**, PG LXII, 724: the robber bearing a cross is not mentioned, but Christ gave him the sign of the cross to show to the flaming sword at the entrance. Then God opened Paradise, where he found Enoch and Elijah. The **Narratio Josephi Arimathiensis** (a kind of appendix to the **Evang. Nic.**, of which the earliest MS is of the twelfth century, **Evangelica Apocrypha of Tischendorf**, p. 459 ff.) presents an interesting parallel. Dismas, the thief, is told that he will be in Paradise from which Adam was ejected, since he is to go to the cherubim (**Gen.** 3:24) and obtain entrance into Paradise.

Christ writes a letter to the angels to permit the robber to enter paradise incorruptible of body. The first day of the week Christ came to Joseph with the thief on his right hand. He was released, and saw Jesus first, then the thief bringing Him a letter. Sweet fragrance
emanated from the thief. Joseph then went to Galilea with Christ and the robber, and Christ was transfigured. They remained together for three days. When John came, the robber disappeared. When John inquired about the man, Christ reproached him. Did he not perceive the fragrance of Paradise? The thief and Joseph vanish, and Joseph is found in his own house. The cross is wholly mystical. The robber is to be alone in Paradise, unlike the account of the saints led there in the Gosp. Nic. Cf. also Legenda Aurea, Cap. LIV, p. 244. Cf. also Origen Hom. xv in Gen. 5, PG XII, 244-45; S. Cyril of Jerusalem, Catech. Lect. ciii, 30,31, PG XXXIII, 807-810.


18421-22 Christ had said: "Hodie mecum eris in paradiso." (Luc. 23:43). This raised some speculative problems
in connection with His Descent into Hell. How could Christ be in Hades and Paradise at the same time? The following are some patristic "solutions". Origen, *Com. in Ioan.* xxxii, 19, *PG* XIV, 827, suggests that before going "in corde terrae", Christ had placed Dismas in Paradise. St. Augustine says that if Christ spoke these words as God, He is present everywhere, but if as Man, as Paradise is no part of Heaven, and the soul of Christ went to Hades, Paradise must then be a part of Hades (*Ep. ad Dard.* PL XXXIII, 833-34); Greg. of Nyssa asks how Christ "eodem tempore et apud inferos et in paradiso fuerit," since Paradise is not under the earth. His solution: with His body Christ was in Hades, with His Soul in Paradise, to which place He led Dismas, Christ's Divinity working in both. *In Pascha et Christi Resur.*, opus cited in Ussher, iii, 348, *PG*, 615-18.

18469-70 Cf. *Gosp. Nic.* 1621: "And with vs. er resin many ane".

18473-74 C follows the Latin source, "tres dies". L, T, and H change to "prow", because of the rhyme, while G with "thoru" is obviously in error, since it does not mean "three" and the meaning does not make sense.

18477 The Jordan was considered "holy" because of the use of its water for spiritual renewal, as in the baptizing by John, esp. of Christ. St. Gregory of Tours, speaking of the custom of baptizing on the feast of Epiphany, relates that those who lived near the Jordan bathed in it that day, and that miracles were wont to take place (De gloria martyrum, PL LXXI, 783; cf. cap. xviii, xix).

18478-80 Cf. Baptismal ceremony, where a white veil is placed over the baptized person's head: Celebrans principalis dicit: "Piliol, nova creatura facti estis et Christum induistis. Vestis haec candida sit vobis signum dignitatis,..." (Rituale Romanum, "Ordo Baptismi Parvulorum", Roma: Typis polyglottis Vaticanis, MCMLXIX, p. 55). For early traditions of the rite of Baptism, cf. St. Isidore, De Ecclesiasticis Officiis Lib. II, c. 25, PL LXXXIII, 820 f.; Isidore (+636), however, does not mention the white robe, but a contemporary, St.

18482-84 This obviously echoes the time of Christ in the tomb and his resurrection, namely, three days. Cf. CM 18567; Matth. 17:23; Marc. 9:31; Luc. 9:22; Act. 10:40; Tertullianus, PL I, 401 ff.

18485-90 Gesta Salvi, p. 48, XVII, 2:1-4: "Haec sunt quanta nobis iussit Dominus referre nobis".

18488-9 Gosp. Nic. 1631: "but ye may you repent."

18497 This transfiguration seems simply to signify the fact that both were already glorified. In the Gospels the Transfiguration of Jesus, Moses, and Elias is a ready source for these lines; cf. Matth. 17:1-8; Marc. 9:2-8. St. Leo the Great saw a design of God behind Christ's transfiguration: "In tranfiguratione illud principali- ter agebatur ut de cordibus discipulorum scandalum crucis tolleretur." (Catena in Marc., PL LIV, 310).


18505  Gesta Salv. XXVII, 4:2 has "omnis" synagoga, which is rendered by "hale" in C and G. The sentence change in F, T, and H produces, "bale", which veers away from the Latin "omnis".


18515  Cf. Gosp. Nic. p. 126: 1657: "When his was tald vnto Pilate."

18517-18  Pilate had the story written in the temple. Gosp. Nic. p. 126: 1661: "Vnto be temple he toke be gate". This information is not found in the Latin source.

18521  Here H and T follow the Latin source by translating "gesta" by "dede"; C, F, and G have "state", rhyming with "wrate".
18518-80 This takes us to the end of Pilate's letter, as well as to the end of our Latin source, *Gesta Salvatoris*.

18524-27 Cf. Hennecke Vol. I, p. 477, "Note*. The Acts of Peter and Paul #40-42 (Aa I, p. 196 f.) has the original report. It is not really Claudius but Tiberius to whom Pilate allegedly addressed his letter, as R.A. Lipsius explains: "The dispute between Peter and Simon Magus, in which the report was read, took place in the original legend under Claudius, who consequently became the receiver of the letter" (Hennecke p. 477).

18533 C, F, and G use "dun", but T and H translate "de coelo" with "fro heuen". In *Gosp. Nic.* p. 133:1733 Christ Himself is sent, as in *Evang. Nic.* ("sanctum suum"), while in CM an angel is delegated from heaven.

18535 Cf. *Evang. Nic.* p. p. 413: "... et hunc se promiserit per virginem missurum ad terras"; *Isa.* 7:14, which is known as the Emmanuel Prophecy.

18536-638 Pilate's letter retells the story of Christ's life, death, and resurrection in abridged form. Most of this has already been told before in CM, and this
summary basically follows the Gospel narrative.
"Was sent amonges vs forto bide."
wrought wondres wyde."
18542-56 Cf. Evang. Nic. pp. 413-14: 7 different mir-
acles are mentioned here, while CM lists 8.
paim bethought/And plened paim for enyve."
18557-58 Cf. Matth. 12:24. The Evangelist uses the
word "Beelzebud" instead of "witchcraft". C, which
is generally closest to the original Northern version,
uses "treietur", which is the same as G's "tregettur"
(magician, juggler: cf. MED, and CM 12247), and F's
"tregitour", ll. 18557 & 18558 have reversed their
rhyme words in F and G, compared to C. The last
three MSS all have "traitur", which T and H omit.
18558-64 Neither the Gesta Saliv. nor the two analogues
here mention Pilate ordering the watch at the grave.
to ilka knygght"; Evang. Nic. p. 50: "... ut darent
pecunias militibus meis dicentes."
18577 Evang. Nic. p. 50: the final word by Pilate to his superior in Rome is made into a warning in CM; the Latin has "suggero".

18586-88 Cf. Isidore, Append. xx, Liber de Ortu et Obitu Patrum, PL XXXIII, 1286. Speaking of Christ, Isidore says: "Qui dignatus est ad nos humiliter venire, et inter nos xxxiii annos et VI menses carnaliter et clementer habitare". The CM poet apparently made a mistake with his numbers here.


18627 Luke's genealogy of Christ consists of seventy-four generations Luc. 3:23-38. The number 4404 seems highly artificial, and must mainly be seen as mystical. "Four", a square, was considered the number of completeness, the number of the material world. It represented the number of letters in YHWH (Yahweh), the number of heads of Eden's river (Gen. 2:10), the winds (Ezek. 37:9), the quarters of the earth (Apoc. 7:1), the world kingdoms in Apocalyptic literature (Dan. 7:3-16 f.), and there were four Gospels.

"Fourty", sometimes reckoned as the length of one generation, often appears in Lib. Judic. (3:11) and the
annals of the early Hebrew Monarchy.

A "thousand" was a round number for God's large scale view of time.

The combination of these numbers, as in CM, seems to stress the completed era of the material world from Adam to the coming of Christ. This number, however, seems in contradiction with 5100 years mentioned in CM 17954-55, and is different also from the numbers in CM 1443-44, namely 4304 in C, F, and G, and 4300 in T and H.

18631-32 Cf. Gen. 5:5.

18591-18860 Cf. Bestiary, A Book of Beasts, T.H. White, pp. 7-11, and Middle-English Reader, pp. 14-15. "Leo the Lion" is the first beast described in The Bestiary (op. cit.). The representation of the lion, the prince of animals, in CM follows the bestiary tradition: the lion is proud in the strength of his own nature (18642), the lioness gives birth to dead cubs, and lays them up lifeless for three days, until their father, on the third day, breathes in their faces and makes them alive. (E.P. Evans, in Animal Symbolism in Ecclesiastical Architecture, understands that they revive them with a
roar). So did God the Father with Jesus (18645-54). Another feature of the lion of the Bestiary is that when he sleeps, he keeps his eyes open. So did Christ (18655-60).

18655-56 Middle-English Bestiary

be briddes lage havef be leun; þanne he lieþ to slepen Sal he nevre luken þe lides of his egen
(11, 12-13, stanza 1)

18657-60 A Middle-English Bestiary

"Wakeþ so his wille is, so hirde for his folde"
(1. 5, stanza 2).

18661 The source for the lines 18661-18750 is the Old French Le Château d'Amour 1396-1468, as noted by Kari Sajavaara, in The Use of Robert Grosseteste's "Château D'Amour" as a Source of the "Cursor Mundi", (NM, LXVIII, 1967, 184-193); this is the fourth passage that forms the basis for sections of the CM. Apart from evidence from the lines, it is clear that the CM poet consulted and used Château d'Amour from l. 9516: "sent Robert bok." Line 1396 reads: "Desk Jhesu fu resuscitez".

18662 Cf. Joan. 20: esp. 14, 19-26; Marc. 16:14; Luc. 24:36; I Cor. 15:5; Act. 1:3 and line 1397 Château d'Amour: "A ses disciples se mustra."
18663-67 Haenisch bases this whole section of the CM's life of Christ on the Vulgate. Ioan. 20:19-30, and Act. 1:3-11. Act. 1:3-4: "quibus et præbuit se ipsum vivum post passionem suam in multis argumentis per dies quadraginta apparens eis, et loquens de regno Dei. Et convescens...". Chateau d'Amour:

Od eus e but manga,
Quarante jurs i demura,
A eus le regne Deu precha
11. 1398-1400

18666. "pe story" refers to the Chateau d'Amour.

18668-70 Chateau d'Amour 1401-03.

18668 This reference to the Ascension has its source in Marc. 16:9-20; Luc. 24:51, and Act. 1:9-12. Although the place of the Ascension is not distinctly stated, it would appear from the Acts, (Act. 1:12) that it was Mount Olivet, since after the Ascension the disciples are described as returning to Jerusalem "a monte, qui vocatur Oliveti, qui est juxta Jerusalem, Sabbati habens iter."

18671-706 For this Thomas episode cf. Ioan. 20:24-29. However, John is not the only one giving particulars of Thomas, cf. Chateau d'Amour 1390-1407.
18671-82  **Chateau d'Amour 1390-1400:**

Donque apparuict a eus jhesu.
Pur oster lui mescreance, 1390-91.

18679-80  **Chateau d'Amour 1397-98:**

Car plus nus fist avantance
De thomas la mescreance.

The last line is literally CM 18680: "the mys trowynge of seynt thomas." H and T both have "mys trowynge", whereas the other texts have only one word here.

18681-82  Cf. **Ioan. 20:31**, which says that Jesus wrought many signs to give believers a strong foundation for seeing Him as the Christ, the Son of God. The same idea is clearly seen in **Chateau d'Amour 1399-1400:**

Ki ne voleit pur nus hom
Crere la resurrection.

H expresses this idea less explicitly in 18681-82, but when these lines are seen in connection with 18679-80, the same theological explanation persists itself.

18686  **Chateau d'Amour 1401;** cf. **Ioan. 20:25.** The French source uses "plaies", wounds, the Gospel "fixuram clavorum", and CM "flesh".
18694 Chateau d'Amour 1402; cf. Ioan. 20:27.

18701 Chateau d'Amour 1403; cf. Ioan. 20:28. The act of faith by the believing Thomas is the fullest and most explicit recorded in the Gospels. Thomas, according to John, has remained in an unbelieving stubbornness a full week. "Et post dies octo, iterum erant discipuli eijus intus: et Thomas cum eis (Ioan. 20:26). H renders this text beautifully with an iambic rhythm.

Although these words are traditionally put in the form of an assertion, it would seem that the question form would more logically connect up with the last evangelical beatitude of believing without seeing. However, CM and Chateau d'Amour certainly depend on a text which sees this as an assertion, not a question.

18707-08 The CM poet, however, sees Christ's act as a confirmation of the truth, as does his source the Chateau d'Amour 1409-10:

A ceu jur vout apertement
La foi fermer de tute gent.

18709-16 Chateau d'Amour 1411-20. Cf. Matth. 28:19-
20. This section is known in theology or exegesis as The Universal Mission (Marc. 16:15-18), and the Gentiles are included here. This will cause difficulty later (Act. 15), but the principle of Gentile reception is already clear (cf. Matth. 28:19-20, and Marc. 16:16).

The rite of membership with Christ is baptism (18714-16), but faith and ritual are not sufficient (Matth. 28:20), since there are obligations of the moral order. Cf. also John Scotus Eriugena, De Christi Resurrectione, PL CXXII, p. 1228.

18711-12 These lines are found only in the Southern manuscripts (M, T, L, B), but they are authentic, translating Château d'Amour 1429-31. They help to show that the commonly accepted manuscript stemma is wrong.

18717-18 Cf. Marc. 16:16(b); Château d'Amour 1421-22;

\[\text{Car ki rene ne serrad}\
\text{James enciel ne entera.}\]

18719-20 These lines express in a positive form the same thought as the two preceding lines did in a negative way. Château d'Amour 1423-24.
18721 Cf. Ioan. 13:15.

18722-28 This section paraphrases Ioan 3:3-8 in which Nicodemus during a nocturnal visit to Christ questions Him on the kingdom of God. John has Christ say that His kingdom is not of this world, Ioan. 18:36. The first birth was the birth of flesh. Like begets like. The Second birth is that of the spirit, or "in Christ" (18723 and 18727). The analogy with the natural birth is beautifully expressed in the Roman Rite of blessing the Baptismal Font: "From the immaculate womb of the divine font comes forth a heavenly offspring, born a new creature" (Cath. Com. 788b). The idea of spiritual rebirth is found in the "Pontificale Romanum saeculi XII":"... ut omnis homo hoc sacramentum regenerationis ingressus in verae innocentiae novam infantiam renascetur." (Michel Andrieu, Le pontifical romain au moyen-âge, Tome I, "Le pontifical romain du XIIe siècle", Citta del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1938, p. 245); Hermas, Visio III cc. 3,4 in Fathers of the Second Century, by A. Cleveland Coxe, Boston: The Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1885, pp. 12-14, PG II, 899-903, and Simil. IX, 16, PG II, 995.
18729-50 This whole section of Christ and Adam is based on Chateau d'Amour 1434-54. It also echoes ideas Paul expounds in Rom. 5:12-19, in which he shows the effects of Adam's deeds and those of Christ. The CM poet reiterates the contrasting theme in this passage, which might be summed up by the motto expressed in I Cor. 15:22: "As in Adam all die, so in Christ all shall be made to live." Cf. Act. 4:12. Adam clearly is presented here as a type of Christ.

18739-41 Cf. I Cor. 15:57.

18750 CM's dependency on Chateau d'Amour ends here.


18752-53 The Apostles were to await in the Holy City the promise of the Father, as in Luc. 24:49; the Holy Spirit, promised in the OT and also by our Lord. Ioan. 14:16 and 16:7; Act. 2:17. In the OT, Joel 2:28-29; Isa. 44:3.

18755-58 The distinction between the baptism of John the Baptist and that of the Holy Spirit was made in Luc. 3:16. The outpouring of the Holy Spirit is called a 'baptism', or cleansing, as in the sacrament of Baptism. St. Augustine, PL XXXIII, 1086, and Tertullian, PL I, 1213, presumed the apostles had already received
18759-18816 The Ascension of Christ is his final post-Resurrection manifestation to his followers. Luke records the forty-day period after the Resurrection (Acts. 1:13). The Ascension, believed (as also CM mentions, 1. 18762) to have taken place on the summit of the Mount of Olives overlooking the Holy City of Jerusalem, was a preparation for the Day of Pentecost. Mark 16:9-20, records the event, John makes reference to it in John 6:62, 20:7, while Luke 24:51 does not have to mean that the Ascension and Resurrection took place the same day. Biblical and Patristic references abound. Isidore gives the time of the Year: "III Nonas Maii ejus in coelum Ascensio" (App. XX, Liber de Ortu at Obitu Patrum, PL LXXXIII, 1286).

18761 Cf. Acts. 1:6: "Igitur qui convenerant..."
18764 Jesus blessed those who had been listening to Him, as in Prov. 8:34: "Beatus homo qui audit me..."; cf. Luke 24:50-51.
18765 The idea expressed here by the CM poet, "wip his owne propur myst", is also found in the verb "ascendere" from which "ascensio", an intransitive verb, implying that the action was performed by the subject of a verb without an object, in contrast with "assumptio". Christ ascended by His own power.


18786 This reflects one of the basic tenets of Christian theology, as Ps. 85:11 puts it: "Doce me, Domine, viam tuam, ut ambulem in veritate tua; dirige cor meum, ut timeat nomen tuum," (Breviarum Romanum, pars hiemalis, Desclée & Socii, Tornaci, 1945, p. 323).

18791-92 Cf. Luc. 10:27; Ioan. 13:34, 14:23. The thought in these lines follows the two preceding lines 18789-90, in which it is expressed that one should be on his guard not to make an enemy of God, that is, to be
assured of God's friendship by loving Him (18791-92). John expresses this idea in Ioan. 14:15: "Si diligitis me: mandata mea servate," in Ioan. 14:23: "... Si quis diligite me, sermonem meum servabit,...", in Ioan. 15:14: "Vos amici mei estis, si feceritis quae ego praecipio vobis", and in Ioan 15:10: "Si praecipiant mea servaveritis, manebitis in dilectione mea."

18793-18816 The following quotation of one of the most original and suggestive of modern writers on medieval religion, the late Pierre Rousselot, seems an appropriate commentary on the poet's reflections in these lines. The numbers in brackets are inserted to show particular echoes in the Cursor MS. H: "St. Augustine had considered the struggle for truth (18793) and holiness (18798) before all, as a personal affair between the individual soul and God: it is by that that he had, so to speak 'interiorized God'. But he had not in the same way interiorized Jesus. The humanity of Christ remains with him rather in the background. The great novelty of the Middle Ages, their incomparable religious merit, was the understanding and love (18791), or rather one may say, the passion of the humanity of
Christ (18797). The Incarnate Word, homo Christus Jesus, is no longer only the model to be imitated, the guide to be followed (18789-90), and on the other hand, the uncreated light that enlightens the interior of the soul (18803-04); he is interior, even in respect of His Humanity (18809-12); Jesus is the spouse of the soul, who acts with it and in it (18813); He is the friend (18814-16)." (Christus, ed. V. Huby (1916), pp. 1119-20, as quoted in Medieval Essays, by Christopher Dawson, Image Books, Doubleday & Co. Inc., Garden City, N.Y., pp. 99-100).

18805-06. When Christ stood before the high priest He foretold that He would sit at the right hand of the power of God, Matth. 26:64. Peter mentions the same in his sermons, Act. 2:33-36; 5:31. Cf. Marc. 16:19: "Assumptus est in coelum et sedet a dextris Dei". Rom. 8:34: "Qui est ad dexteram Dei, qui etiam interpellat pro nobis." Cf. also Eph. 1:20-22; Heb. 10:12; I Pet. 3:22; Apoc. 3:21, 22:1. Besides these, there are several passages that speak of Christ's reigning as King: Rom. 14:9; I Cor. 15:24-28; Heb. 2:7-8.
18813-16 Cf. Gen. 33:10: "... Si inveni gratiam in oculis tuis, accipe munusculum de manibus meis: sic enim vidi faciem tuam, quasi viderim vultum Dei: esto mihi propitious."

The CM poet speaks of a book describing Christ's physical features, as well as the "Verony". Ernst Dobschütz in Christusbilder (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1899), chapter VIII: "Zur Prosopographie Christi", speaking of "eine reiche Litteratur", says that time and time again there are three texts that come to the fore: John of Damascus in his letter to Emperor Theophilus (S. Ioan. Damascenus, PG XCV, 343-86), Nicephoras Kallistos (cf. Anne Jippe Visser, Nekephoros und der Bilderstreit, Den Haag: M. Nijhoff, 1952), and in brackets he adds: "recently also the paintersbook from Athos, and the Latin letter of Lentulus" (cf. Dobschütz, op. cit. p. 319**).

Ian Wilson, in The Shroud of Turin (New York: Doubleday and Co. Inc., 1978) gives rather convincing arguments as to different aspects that underlie the tradition of Christ's physical features, the ones that the CM poet found in "pe boke" (l. 18831) and some of
which he described in II. 18817-862.

Bede speaks of a shroud (De locis sanctis, ex relatione Arculfi Episcopi Galli, X and XI Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Benedicti, IV, p. 456 ff.), which Giulio Ricci (L'uomo della Sindone, Roma: Coletti Editore, 1965, p. 212) describes as "Linteum majus con ipsius Domini image figurata, which Wilson (op. cit. p. 75), considers unlikely, since Arculf never mentions an image. However, Wilson mentions one other episode (op. cit. p. 76) which makes reference to the figure or features of Christ as seen on a "sydione" in August, 1203, in Constantinople (Robert de Clari, The Conquest of Constantinople, trans. from O.F. by E.H. McNeal, New York: Columbia University Press, 1936). Wilson traces the Christ features back in art and writing, and comes to the very persuasive conclusion that in ancient times there was a shroud which the early artistic reproduction followed minutely, even to the extent of showing some (about fifteen) peculiarities that were found on the Mandylion (the early name for the later-named Shroud of Turin), as one finds mentioned by the CM poet in l. 18843: The point here is, of
course, to show that certain features of Christ were copied in painting as well as in writing, and that the 
CM poet had access to this tradition.

Even though in the eleventh century Anselm of Can-
terbury (cf. F.W. Farrar, The Life of Christ repre-
sented in Art: London, 1901, p. 84) shows that the 
letter, allegedly written by one Publius Lentulus 
(purportedly Pilate's predecessor as governor of Ju-
dea) to the Senate in Rome, was a late composition, 
it precedes the CM's composition and is definitely a 
source of his physical description of Christ. The 
letter of John of Damascus shows very little physical 
description of Christ. Archbishop Nicephorus' work, 
I have as yet been unable to consult, but it seems 
that his is a defense of iconography rather than a 
delineation of Christ's features.

18817 The CM poet clearly alludes to the glorified 
Christ, just as he was in his transfiguration: "... et 
resplenduit facies ejus sicut sol..." (Matth. 17:2).
18817-18 The poet says that it would not be right to 
describe the face of Christ in his glory. There is, 
in fact, no mention of what Christ looked like in the
Gospels. Of course, the making of images was strictly forbidden by the second commandment: "Non facies tibi sculptile, neque omnem similitudinem quae est in coelo desuper, et quae in terra deorsum" (Exod. 20:4). The Church, in the earliest years of its development, appears to have followed Jewish thinking. There was a somewhat heated correspondence between Empress Augusta and Eusebius of Caesarea on this point in the fourth century, Epist. Caes., Epistolae, PG XX, 1546.


18823-26 The material that was found by the CM poet in his book was found throughout tradition, in the East as well as in the West, as Ian Wilson so cogently argues (op. cit. esp. pp. 81-86).

18827-29 Lentulus letter (in Ernst Dobschütz, Christusbildner, op. cit. p. 319**): "Jesus Christus,... homo quidem statura procerus mediocris et spectabilis."

18830 Lentulus letter (ibid): "vultum habens venerabilem." Cf. also Ps. 44:3: "Speciosus forma prae filiis hominum."
18831-32 The CM follows literally the Lentulus letter (ibid): "vultum..., quem possent intuenteres diligere et formidare."

18833-34 The Lentulus letter not only mentions CM's descriptive features but also in the very same order: "capillos habens coloris nucis avellane premature" (ibid), as CM has "ripe".

18835-36 The poet simplified the letter's description "(et) planos fere usque ad aures, ab auribus (vero) circinos crispos aliquantulum ceruliores et fulgentiores, ab humeris ventilantes," (ibid).

18837-38 "discrimen habens in medio capitis ixu. xta morem Nazareorum" (ibid).

18839-41 "frontem planam et serenissimam cum facie sine ruga et macula (aliqua), quam rubor (moderatus) venu-stat; (ibid).

18842 "nasi et oris nulla prorsus (est) reprehensis" (ibid). Cf. "diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis" (Ps. 44:3).

18843-47 "barbam habens copiosam (et impuberem) capilis concolorum, non longam sed in mento (medio) (parum) bifurcatam" (ibid). The last feature is one of the
peculiarities mentioned by I. Wilson as pertaining
to many iconographic representations of the Christ
figure, as well as to the Shroud of Turin.

C, F, and G have the same wording in l. 18848
again referring to the "bifurcation" of the beard. T
and H, however, changed the line, which seems now to
go with the following line instead of the preceding
one.

18849-50 "aspectum habens simplicem et maturum, ocu-
lis glaucis variis et claris existentibus" (ibid).

Cf. Chaucer, The Canterbury Tales, (ed. F.N. Robinson,
Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1961, p. 18), "The
General Prologue", l. 152: "Her eyen greye as glas."
Robinson says the meaning of "greye" is disputed, but
it probably included blue (sky-blue) as well as shades
verging on green or yellow (ibid. p. 655, no. 152).

18851-52 This is not in the Lentulus letter.

18853-54 "in increpatione terribilis, in admonitione
blandus et amabilis" (Lentulus letter, op. cit. p.
319**). The CM poet did not add the translation of
"hilaris servata gravitate." (ibid).
18853 There are several places in the NT which can be referred to: 

\text{Marc.} 12:38-40.

18855-56 "aliquando flevit, sed numquam risit (qui num-
quam visus est ridere )" (ibid). Cf. \text{Ioan.} 11:35.

18857-58 The Lentulus letter does not speak of Mary. However, in \text{Epistola ad Theophilum Imperatorem}, S. \text{Ioan. Damascenus}, PG XCV, 350, writes: "qui cum impollutis manus formaverit hominem, homo ipse ex sancta Vir-
gine ac Dei Genitrice Maria sine mutatione aut vari-
tione factus, carni communicavit et sanguine, animal rationale, intelligentiae et scientiae capax, trium forte cubitorum magnitudine, carnis crassitie 
circumscriptus, nostraesimiliforma conspectum esse ac maternae similitudinis proprietates exacte retu-
lisse, Adam formam exhibuisse. Quocirca depingi eum curavit, quali forma veteres historici descripsere; 
praestanti statura, confertis superciliis, venustis oculis, justo naso, crispa caesarie, subcurvum, ele-
ganti colore, nigra barba, triticei coloris vultu pro materna similitudine..."
Reference to the picture of Mary immediately follows: "Enimvero divinus Lucas apostolus et evangelista divinam ac venerabilem castissimae Deimatriae Hierosolymis adhuc in carne viventis, et in sancta Sion morantis imaginem, temperatis coloribus in tabella expressit, posterisque velut in speculo contuendum reliquit" (ibid).

18859 In respect to the "Veronica" or the "Vera Efficacies", it should be noted that "the original veil venerated by medieval pilgrims is no longer in existence". (Wilson, op. cit. p. 87b). There once was a cloth image of Christ; however, "that pilgrims had trampled upon each other to see in papal Jubilee Years such as 1300 and 1350" (ibid, pp. 87-88). Cf. "Sainte Veronique", Grand Larousse Enc. vol. 4, pp. 448-53: "A Rome une image du Christ sur étoffe dite voile de Véronique était vénérée au haut Moyen Age." Artists, such as Robert Campin, and illustrators of French and English MSS of the fourteenth century showed a disembodied head, without the crown of thorns, or any sign of suffering, while illuminators of thirteenth century MSS, such as Matthew Paris's Chronica majora and
the Westminster Psalter show the Veronica likeness with neck and indeed body. (Cf. Wilson, ibid). The likeness is again that of the Shroud image, which is the same as the Mandylion, finally completing the traditional presentation of Christ's image throughout the centuries.

18863-64 Ref. to Jesus' Ascension.


Later the number and names of the apostles are frequently less precise.

"nisi ubi venit de coelo Spiritus sanctus, et implevit uno loco sedentes centum viri?" In ep. Joanni ad Parthos, PL XXXV, 1991. It should be noted that St. Augustine holds that the hundred and twenty disciples received the gift of the spirit ("Duodenarius ille numerus decuplatus erat", ibid.), whereas in fact it was only granted to the twelve gathered in the upper room, and probably to Mary (Cf. the note in the Jerusalem Bible on this passage in the Acts). However, Gregorius Nazianzenus, in Liturgia S. Gregorii Alexandrina, says in the final prayer after Communion:

"Qui ... divinum, sanctum, consubstantiale aequalis potestatis et gloriae, et coaeternum Spiritum misisti super sanctos tuos discipulos et apostolos, PG XXXVI, 2, 731.

18911-19214 This section covering Pentecost and the beginning of Christ's Church is based upon Act. 2:1-4:37.
18913-14 Until the 4th c. Christians usually referred to the whole 50 day period after Easter as Pentecost.
(Cf. Aelfric's Homilies I, op. cit.: "pas fiftig daga fram sam easterlican daege sind ealle gehalgode to anre maersunge" (p. 312). Baptism was administered at a vigil service at both the beginning and end of the season. In North. Europe, however, Pentecost became a more favoured time for baptism than Easter (because of the weather). Hence the popular name "Whit -Sunday" (Massey Hamilton Shepherd Jr., in Enc. Brit. 23:49a). St. John Chrysostom says that the Jews had only three public festivities. The first was the Passover, the second, the 7th week after, was called Pentecost (He does not name the third, the Feast of Tabernacles here). As the Holy Spirit descended in fiery tongues, many witnessed the dead rise from the grave, heard the sound of thunder, and witnessed the fire from heaven "et virtus divina Spiritus adventum". Then he continues: "Sic itaque olim in monte Sina flamma commovebatur, et Moyses in medio ignis ad legem ferendum instituebatur... qua propter veterum miraculorum memoria novis admixta fuit", Sermo III, PG LII, 810-11.

18915-20 Act. 2:22. The Divine Office of Pentecost has the "Veni Creator" sung at Terce, because at the third
hour the Holy Spirit descended, "Non enim, sicut vos estimatis, hi ebrii sunt, cum sit hora diei tertia."
This is 9.00 A.M. Cf. St. John Chrysostom, Sermo III (op. cit.) p. 810: "Spiritus descensus fuit... Sed tonitruum quasi tuba de coelo insonabat, sonitu tanto auditum superans."

18919 CM mentions "wynd". Cf. Ioan. 3:8. In Rom. 8:9, 23, 26, and 15:19, St. Paul's word for wind, breath, or (divine) spiration is the Greek "pneuma" which meaning the CM poet would not know, not being acquainted with Greek. However, Ioan. 3:8 says: Spiritus ubi vult spirat" and "the wind" here is taken analogously, or as a parable. St. Augustine, according to Cath. Comm. 783b, supposes that the Holy Spirit is the subject here. If so, there may be a reference to the phenomenon of Pentecost.

18920 The place of the last Supper, the Coenaculum, became the birthplace of the Christian Church, Act. 1:8; cf. also St. Augustine's Sermon on the Holy Spirit being the soul of the Church, Sermo 270, PL XXXVIII, 1237-45.


18935-36 Act. 2:4. All were filled with the Holy Spirit, although the Apostles had already received him, as Ioan. 20:22 says: "Haec cum dixisset insufflavit: et dixit eis: Accipite Spiritum sanctum". Cf. Aelfric's Homilies I, op. cit.: "In Die sancto Pentecosten", p. 324.

18939-42 The Spirit Jaweh in the OT bestowed of His
gifts of the Holy Spirit. (Isa. 11:2). Here the Holy Spirit bestows His gifts of wisdom and understanding (OM calls this "wittes" here). What the poet alludes to really is the gift of tongues, which actually was often referred to as one of the charismata (Rom. 12: 6 ff.), although St. Paul does not restrict the charisma of tongues to the speaking of many languages, granted to the Apostles here (Cf. Cath. Comm. 639e). Cf. St. John Chrysostom, Homilia (ibid).

18943-48 Act. 2:5. Many Jews from the dispersion were in Jerusalem for the feast, known as "Solemnitatem hebdomadatun" (Ex. 32:22; Deut. 16:10), "Solemnitatem messis" (Ex. 23:16) and "Dies primitivorum" (Num. 28: 26). The Biblical text, however, seems to suggest that those present were permanent dwellers there, but the word "habitantes" may have been used in a temporary sense. It says in the Biblical text: "nos audivimus unusquisque linguam nostram" (Act. 2:8). This information is found in C and G, although C has:

Of al maner of nacioun, 
Man redis of in ani tun,

while G has changed "tun" to "rune" (OM 18945-46).
In T. and H., these lines have been omitted or lost.
Cf. St. Augustine's discussion on the Gift of Tongues, PL XXXVIII, Sermo 268; Aelfric's Homilies I (op. cit.) p. 314.


18967-68 Act. 2:13. St. Augustine says the people laughed at the apostles, and continues to interpret these lines in a spiritual sense. Cf. St. Augustine Sermo 267, PL XXXVIII, 1229-34.


19013-44 Act. 2:37-47. The first line, 19013, shows a difference among the CÌ texts. C has "pir wordes
herd, pair here gum turn"; G has "(p)ir wordis' herd, pair hert gan' tru"; T, L, and H have approximately identical lines: "pese wordis' herde many one" (H). C's meaning clearly refers to one of the oriental demonstrations of great sorrow, as eg. Esdr. 9:2; Lev. 10:6; Jos. 7:6; Job. 2:13 ff. G has altered this idea into a change of heart from unbelief to belief. While the other MSS of GM have lost the idea expressed in the Northern MSS altogether.

19045-114 This section follows one whole chapter of the Acts (Act. 3:1-26). Cf. Act. 13, where the same theme is found.

19050 The "story" is, of course, Luke's Actus Apostolorum.

19061-64 These lines are only found in C, and E, but they are all based on Act. 3:4-6.

19079-81 This OT reference is from Isa. 35:6, while the Acts show its fulfilment.

19083-84 C and G add a little colour to the Biblical account of Act. 3:10, having some of the people swoon because of the miraculous cure of the lame beggar. The other GM texts omit this.

19094 C and G differ substantially in the rendering of this line from T, H, and L (which replaces F here). C reads: "and demed als yee-seluen wate", which is probably closest to the original northern MS. G is closest to C, and reads basically the same. The readings of the others concur with H.

19100 Act. 3:17; cf. Luc. 23:34.

19111 Cf. Marc. 14:62; Matth. 24:30-31, 26:34; also Dan. 7:26.

19115-204 This section, describing Peter and John's imprisonment and release, is directly taken from Act. 4:1-21.

19116-21 Act. 4:2-10. The GM poet expresses the same, but in tone somewhat simpler than Luke's, who seems to stress the haughtiness of the Jews: "Et statuentes
eos in medio, interrogabant: In qua virtute, aut in quo nomine fecistis hoc vos?" (Act. 4:7).

19136 Act. 4:5-6. Although Annas is not mentioned in GM, he is the one mentioned in this chapter of the Acts. He had been deposed in AD 15, but St. Luke (Luc. 3:2: "sub principibus sacerdotum Anna et Caipha") regards him as associated with his son-in-law Caiphas, who was high priest, AD 18-36 (Luc. 3:2). He ruled through his son-in-law and later through his sons (Act. 4:5-6). Cf. Ioan. 8:13: "et adduxerunt eum (Jesum) ad Annam primum". Act. 4:6: "Et Annas princi- ceps sacerdotum". Cf. Lexikon für Theologie und Kir- che, Band I (Freiburg: Verlag Herder, 1957); Kirchen- lexicon, Band I, Wetzer und Welte's, Zweite Auflage, Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder'sche Verlagbuchhandlung, 1882, 861-62.

19137-38 Only F has these lines. They are found nei- ther in the Acts, nor in any other source available to me.

19145 C and G have "als wit dede"; T and H change this
to "in his dede", while F reads "ham be-forne".

19146 Stratmann's *MED* defines "sothed" (G) as "folly", indicating that "sothed" has the same meaning (cf. *Owl* and *Nightingale*, p. 1375, in ed. by F. H. Stratmann, Krefeld: 1868). F's reading, "wass all in skorne", is entirely different, and "søphede" must be a scribal error, since it reverses the meaning from "folly" to "truth".


19156 The "two folkis" whom the cornerstone, Christ, would make one could refer to the Jews and the Gentiles.


19163-72 These lines are found only in F. The source of these lines is yet unknown. The *Acts* do not have Peter answer in these words.

19193 C and G have this line, which is not found in the Acts.

19199 C, F, and G read: "If we ne did we war to wite". This reading is likely closer to the original (Northern) version than T's and H's "Servantis elles be we sory", which is a totally different reading.


19273 Many sick were brought to them. The Cotton text of CH tells that Peter's shadow healed many sick (cf. 19277: ... scaudu...). Act. 5:5. The other texts including H, do not have this. However, Aelfric in his homily for the Holy Day of Pentecost mentions it as well: "Swa þaet hi gelogodon ða untruman be þære stræt þæer Petrus forð eode, and swa hraðe swa his sceadu hi hreodpode, hi wurdon gehaeledæ fræm eallum untrumnyssum." (Aelfric's Homilies I, op. cit., p. 316).

19282-83 The poet says that Peter's miracles were even greater than those of Christ, as it says somewhere. Act. 19:11 says: "And God wrought by the hand of Paul
more than common miracles." The Acts and apocryphal writings record a great number of miracles by Peter. The poet seems to forget, however, Ioan. 31:25: "Sunt autem et alia multa, quae fecit Jesus: quae si scribantur per singula, nec ipsum arbitror mundum capere posse eos, qui scribendi sunt, libros", or, Ioan. 20: 30: "Multa quidem, et alia signa fecit Jesus in conspectu discipulorum suorum, quae non sunt scripta in libro hoc." The poet's statement simply meant to emphasize the fact of Peter's miracles in a somewhat hyperbolic fashion.

19289-363 Act. 5:16-41.

19291 H and T have changed the line fundamentally. The Northern C and F, as well as G have "Thoru consail of a nacium". However, H, and T follow Act. 5:17.

19301-02 Note that these lines are only found in H, L, and T, i.e. only in the Southern MSS. The lines are not found in the Acts, however; they seem to be original.

19035-37 Act. 5:23-28. That was to strengthen their faith in (its) foundation, i.e. that was to establish the ground of their faith. For he in T read her=
19343-44 Act. 5:30.
19343 "vr eldrin god", the god of our forefathers (Morris, ibid).
19345 "lithed"- lifted, exalted as in C, F; sett in T, set in H (Morris, ibid).
19348-50 Cf. Ioan. 15:26-27; Rom. 8:16.
19351-62 Act. 5:31-41.
19357-58 "per bad hem fle, as pe wolde dêde". This agrees with T, T's and H's "mange", to mention, is a translation of "neuen" in C, F, G (Morris, ibid).
19381-19500 Act. 6:1- 8:3: This part seems to refer to some time after Christ's Death. Based on the Acts the section describes the advance made by the Hellenist
Christians.

19382 **cristen-men** in C, and F is right; see l. 19385. G's **cristen dame** = cristendome, as in T. l. 19385 (Morris, ibid).

19389-91 Act. 6:5. All names are Greek, and Nicholas was not born a Jew. Probably all were Hellenists. These seven men mainly looked after the poor and the common "agape", and had been ordained by the apostles because of the rapidly growing number of believers and complaints that the poor widows of Hellenistic Jews were neglected. (Cath. Com. XIII, 741). Cf. Lipsius, Apokryphe Apostelgeschichte und Apostel-legenden, I (Brunswick, 1883) 355 ff.; Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. I, xxxvi, 3; III, xi, l, PG VII-I, 686-87 and 879-81.


19396 T and H have changed the line from the Northern version. C, F, and G have "C ἐπὶ παρ- of ἁί τοκ (be lade,).

19399-402 Act. 6:7. Both the Acts and CM imply that the increase of conversions among the priests was due to the preaching of deacons, such as Stéphen.
19401-02 The reading of C may be *lieude*, though G's points to *worthede* (Morris, CM, Vol. VI, p. 11).


19418 *Act. 6:15*: "... *viderunt faciem ejus tanquam faciem Angeli*.

19419 Petrus Comestor's *Hist. Schol.*, *PL* XXXVIII, 1663: 

"... et *surrexerunt duo falsi testes.*" The Vulgate, however, as in *Act. 6:13*, does not mention any specific number. Bede does not comment on the number in *Super Acta Apostolorum Expositio*, *PL* XCII, 957.

19439, 19443-444 *Act. 7:55*. Everywhere else in the NT it says about Jesus, "*Sede a dextris meis*", as in *Ps. 109:1* or *Matth. 22:44*, but now he "*stonde*", ready to aid. Cf. Bede, *Act. Ap. Exp.*, *PL* XCII, 960: "*Unde quia stare pugnantis vel adjuvantis est, recte a dextris Dei stantem vidit quem inter homines persequentes adjutorem habuit. Nec discordare videtur quod Marcus eum a dextris Dei sedere describit*. "*Mannes sone*". Our Lord calls himself the Son of Man, only before his resurrection. The CM poet refers to St. Stephen using the title in the sense our Lord did at his trial, claiming that he was the Messiah of *Dan. 7:13*. 
1944-47 F's lines are different from the other MSS.
1944-45 Act. 7:57.
1945-60 Hist. Schol., PL XXXVIII, 1668: "Et testes, duo scilicet falsi, qui primi secundum legem tenebantur lapides projicere, quia in lege dictum est de blasphemo: Prima manus testium lapidabit eum".
1946-62 F is the only MS that has these lines:

be forste stane for to caste.
& pen sulde alle to him prast.

All texts mention that a witness or witnesses should begin the stoning (Act. 7:57). The ones who started the stoning are named in Act. 6:9. The witnesses join later.

1946-65 As Haenisch says in Inquiry into the Sources of the "Cursar Mundi", pp. 10* and 11*, "to the account of the Bible, that the clothes of the persons stoning Stephen were laid down at the feet of Saul, the poet adds the remark that Saul was afterwards called Paul". From the same wording in Hist. Schol. and that in CM, Haenisch concludes that the CM poet probably used Hist. Schol. for some passages.

19480 unwraste T, H. We also have the M.E. form unwreste, O.E. un-wraest. The other texts have alther-mast or aldermast (Cf. Morris, CM. Vol. VI, p. 11).


19491-96 Hist. Schol. (ibid).

19497-500 Act. 8:1-3, 12:5.

19502-04 Hist. Schol., Cap. XXXIX, PL XXXVIII, 1668:

"Neminem tamen occidebat, Domino custodiente manus ejus, ne sanguine innocentium polluerentur".

19505-592 Philip the Deacon. Act. 8:4-22.

(This is where H stops, but the Acts actually continue till 8:40).

19505-20 Philip preaches in Samaria. While the Apostles remain in Jerusalem, the deacons evangelize. Act. 8: 1,5: "Facta est autem... persecutio magna in Ecclesia, quae erat Jerosolymis, et omnes dispersi sunt... praeter Apostolos. ... Philippus autem descendens in civitatem Samariae, praedicabit illis Christum". Cf. Bede, Act. Ap. Exp., PL XCI, 960, where in referring
to Matth. 10, he paraphrases verse 13.

19509-10 Hist. Schol., PL XXXVIII, 1668. C is apparently a misreading, since none of the other CM MSS has "pe neiest fra steuen was slam", but "pe neist to telle fra seint stephan" (F), or the line of H here.

19511 MED: "bi", n. Also "by" and "bij". MED does not list "aby" or "abij" as common nouns. The indefinite article must have joined the noun "bi" or "by", which means a dwelling, farm, village, or town. OE = by, ON= by-r. C and G have "bi", F "abij", T "aby", and H "aby". C and F are Northern MSS and, therefore, closer to the original Northern version of CM. However, C and G have the right reading here.


19517-36 Act. 8:9-13. Gnostic legend gave Simon Magus great importance, but this chapter of the Acts is all the NT has on him, and H does not elaborate more on him than is in these lines. This was the first encoun-

19530-36 Act. 8:13. Cf. Ioan. 4:48, 20:20 and 14:12 for comment on faith and miracles, which in the case of the magician here are mentioned as a temptation.

19534-38 Act. 8:18.

19539-48 Act. 8:14-17.

19543-48 As in Luc. 3:16, they were baptized with the Holy Spirit, as at Pentecost, with all the signs and manifestations.

19523 "Hic est virtus Dei" (Act. 8:10).
19526  F "blere baire eye" gives the sense of H here.
19543  C, F, and G read "in hast", which rhymes with "hali gast". T and H have "whouten boost", which is obviously a change because it must rhyme with "holi goost". This is a typical example of the vowel change, i.e. the Northern (a:) to the Southern (ɔ:). Cf. Morton W. Bloomfield and Leonard Newmark, A Linguistic Introduction to the History of English (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963), p. 212.

19549-52 The rite of confirmation is within the bishop's jurisdiction. Hist. Schol., PL XXXVIII, 1669. Cf. Act. 8:14-17. In the Eastern Church, however, confirmation is normally administered by the parish priest concurrent with Baptism, which is also the case in the Western Church in danger of death. One of the oldest ordines in England is found in the Pontifical of Egbert, Archbishop of York (†766). The rite is practically the same as used at present. A number of synods specified certain conditions as to age, minister (bishop only), sponsors, frequency, etc. Cf. for example, the Synod of Worcester (1240), the Synod of Exeter (1287), and the Synod of Durham (1217?). Cf. Wilkins,
Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae, London, 1734, as referred to in Cath. Enc. IV, 221. The Gorman poet, who probably wrote around the end of the 13th or the beginning of the 14th, and who— as has been argued in the preliminary notes—in all likelihood was a monk of the monastery at Durham, must have been well acquainted with these synods and their rulings.


19566 T and H's change from the Northern C and G: "Mught do sli vertu and sa strang": F shows already a divergent wording: "Must do suche vertu & squa strange." OED, under "slike", "sli", chiefly north (O.N. sli-kr). It means "such". So it was not commonly used in the southern English dialects.

19571. Simony comes from Simon Magus, and means the buying and selling of a church office. Consequently C, F, and G reading "gives" is scripturally incorrect, and T and H with "selle" have the correct wording.

19573-74 The F MS's reading of these lines totally differs from that of the other MSS, which all have the same lines. F has:

\[ \text{hat he be hale flesshe & bone} \\
& \text{raise he dede as 3e haue done.} \]


19581 \text{Will C, G, il wille F, euel wille T. H. Will is right, and means desire, wish.}

19585-92 \text{Act. 8:21-22.}

19597-600 \text{Act. 8:25. CM does not mention explicitly that the Apostles preached in Samaria, as the Acts do.}

19601-02 CM skips to Act. 9.

19603 The history is carried on from 19500 (Act. 8:3).  
19605 Act. 22:5. It is clear that the Sanhedrin as well as the high priest authorized Paul. The Sanhedrin theoretically had jurisdiction over the Jews in the Diaspora, Deut. 17:8 ff., and Josephus mentions that the empire had acknowledged this right, cf. Josephus, Antiquities, XIV: 10 and De Bello Judaico I, 24,2. The first Christians there were in all likelihood converts since Pentecost, still attending the synagogue, Act. 9:2. Cf. Bede, Act. Ap. Exp., PL XCI1, 963.

19609-10 Note the change in T and H from C and G: "Christen man, he suld pam lede"; F's transcription sounds far fetched, but could refer to the Holy Eucharist: "christen man pat euer ete brede." The second line in each case has to fit the rhyme-scheme, but does so without too much strain.
19611-12  **Act. 9:3.**
19613-14  Even though it was noon (**Act. 22:6**), the light flashed, **H, G, and T** read, calling it a "fuyl of helle" while **Act. 9:3** speaks of "lux de coelo." This is what **C** and **F** have. The **Acts of Paul**, covering the episode from Damascus to Jerusalem, has not survived. However, the **Acts** give three accounts of the conversion of **St. Paul** (**Act. 9:1-19; 22:3-21; 26:9-23**). **Act. 22:6** speaks also of the light coming from heaven: "... subito de coelo circumfulsit me lux copiosa", and **Act. 26:13**: "... media in via, vidi,..., de coelo supra splendorem solis circumfulsisse me lumen...". Why **G, T** and **H** say that the light came from "helle" is not clear.

19615  **Saul** is described as having been "blyndefold". **MED** defines "blindfeld", (ppl) of "blind-fellen, as struck blind," specifically referring to this line in **CM**.

19617-20  **Morris** leaves blanks in **C** and **G** for lines 19617-18. This apparently is a mistake since lines 19619-20 have the same meaning. Only **F** leaves no blanks for 19617-20, but 19618 and 19619 in **F** are
parallel in meaning, and 19620 is not found in the Acts.

19618 Act. 9:4: "Saule, Saule, quid me persequeris?"

Christ identifies Himself with the persecuted Church, i.e. the Christians, "Caput pro membris clamabat," cf. Matth. 10:25; Luc. 10:16; Bede, op. cit. PL XCII, 963: "quia ipse in corpore suo, quod est Ecclesia, adhuc patitur iniquos".


19626-37 The F MS causes confusion here, since it has lines the others do not have. Moreover F's 19625-26 have no parallel in the other eds. There should have been blanks next to these lines in the other MSS, since F's 19627-28 have parallels (19625-26) in the other texts. Morris has been somewhat less than accurate here in lining up the different MSS, although F's 19626 is unique in Morris and based on Act. 9:5; 11. 19629-32 and 19635-36 are unique with F and have no Biblical source.

19627-35 Act. 9:4-5.

19639-40 as well as 19622-23; these lines (Act. 9:5,7) are not found in the Greek MSS, nor in many of the Vulgate (Sixtine-Clementine Edition), cf. Cath. Com.
831c. However, *Biblia Sacra* (Vulgate editionis, Sixti V Pontificis Maximi jussu recognita, et Clementis VIII auctoritate edita, Apud E. Plon et Socios' Bibliopolas, Parisiis, 1883), has the lines in question.


*PL* XCII, 963: "Nequaquam potuisset bene rursus videre, nisi prius excaecatus fuisset".

19652. The *Nort* C and G agree here, but F, T, and H have changed the lines considerably. F has "squa shope be grace of god of mi₃t." T and H have kept the idea, however.

19657-94 *Act. 9:10-19a.*

19657-58 'Ananias was a Christian, but also "vir secundum legem", *Act. 22:12.*

19668 C & F have "saintes", but G, T, and H read "servantis". H, T, and G depart here from their source, which uses "saints" the name the church in Jerusalem had obtained, and exclusive in the *NT*, owing to the impact of the Spirit at Pentecost and thereafter.
The obvious answer as to how the error came about is, of course, that the copyist wrongly expanded a textual abbreviation, or simply misread the word. However, only 14 lines further C, T, and H have the same words, while F has "men", and C again "saintes", (1. 19682).

19669-70 Act. 9:14. As much is implied by invoking his name, i.e. in the language of the NT, adoring Jesus, Act. 9:21. Cf. also Act. 4:9; 5:28.

19671-76 Act. 9:15. Our reading comes from the Vulgate, and has "vas electionis", CM omits the mention of "gentiles", although Paul was their apostle. CM's "King" refers to Herod and "caisere" to Nero. Petrus Comestor explains: "vas electum, et in foriscale tribulationis probatum" (Hist. Schol., PL XXXVIII, 1672). Cf. Aelric's Homilies I, p. 386: "Drihten cwaeg, Far swa ic ðe saede, forðan ðe he is me ðecore ðaetels..."

19678-80 Act. 9:16. Cf. II Cor. 11:23-33, where Paul gives a summary of some of the sufferings he had to endure.

19691-93 Act. 8:18. "Shales" means scales, and translates "squamae" of the Vulgate. A crust had evidently formed over Saul's eyes. The way Luke describes the miracles rules out the idea that "as it were scales" should perhaps be taken metaphorically. Cf. Aelfric's Homilies I, p. 386: "pa, mit quisum wordum, seollon swylce fylmena of his eagum..." Hist Schol, PL XXXVIII, 1672; Bede (ibid).

19695-720 St. Luke's tells us that Saul stayed only a few days at Damascus (Act. 9:19) and yet later (Act. 9:23) "cum autem implerentur dies multi", he is there again, implying that there has been an absence. CM, by passing over the aforementioned lines of the Acts, suggests that Saul had never left at all. Cf. Petrus Comestor, Hist. Schol. PL XXXVIII, 1673, where Comestor refers to the Acts when Jews want to kill Paul:

Ex eo quod dictum est: "Cum implerentur dies multi," potest videri, hoc non fuisse factum, in hoc primo adventu Damasci, sed in secundo, qui forte transiit in Syria, et Ciliciam, et ibi praedicavit, et multos convertit.

19695 Act. 9:20. Paul taught the Jews in their syna-gogue. CM has "christen men", which is rather unlikely.

19711-12 Act. 9:23. This plot to kill Saul because he was an apostate from Judaism took place three years after his conversion. Gal. 1:18. This date is confirmed by the mention of the Ethnarch of Aretas, II Cor. 2:32, who apparently ruled in Damascus c. A.D. 38-40. Cf. Hist. Schol., PL XXXVIII, 1673.

19715-18 Act. 9:24. Cf. also II Cor. 2:32.

19719-20 Act. 9:25. The disciples Luke refers to are already Paul's following.


19727 Barnabas, who is also called Matthias. Cf. Hennecke, II, 37. He is called an apostle by Clement of Alexandria (Strom. II, 31.2, cf. 116.3) and already in Act. 14:14 (cf. also 14:4). Barnabas, Petrus Comestor implies, must have had the confidence of the apostles to serve as intermediary: "Tunc Barnabas Cyprius Levites genere qui, ut supra dictum est, pretium agri venditi posuit ad pedes apostolorum Domini, apprehensum illum (i.e. Paul) duxit ad apostolos, narravitque quomodo in via..." Hist. Schol., PL XXXVIII, 1673. Cf. I Cor. 9:6; Col. 4:10; Act. 6:6.

19735-36 CM mentions the change of name from Saul to Paul at this point. The Acts, however, simply mention the alias for Saul in 13:9. But this is the last use of Saul's Jewish name at this point in the Acts, i.e. when Barnabas and Saul are in Cyprus. Saul had a Roman name as well, viz. Paul. He was Saulus Paulus. Cf. however, Aelfric's Homilies I, p. 390. Referring to Ananias baptizing Saul he says: "He gefullode ðone wulf and geworhte to lambe. He awende his naman mid ðeawum;"


19743-46 These lines are found only in MS F.

19747-48 Hist. Schol., PL XXXVIII, 1673: "Postea redit
historia ad Petrum, de Actibus apostolorum agens,
quasimodo intercalari."

19749-99 Act. 9:32-11:18. CM, however, departs from
its source at Act. 11:1.


19752 The man, T and H read, had been afflicted with
"palesye" for "seuen 3ere", while the Act. 9:33 had
"eight years", as does Hist. Schol., PL XXXVIII, 1674.
MSS C and G probably have the original CM reading,
with "mare pan seuen 3ere".


19760-800 Act. 9:36-43. Tabitha was raised to life in
Joppa (Japho, Yafa, a coastal town) 10m. from Lydda.
Peter must have gone there from Lydda. Cf. Hist.
Schol., 1674: "Erat autem in Joppæ discipula quaedam
Christiana, quae Hebraice dicitur "Tabita", graece
"Dorcas", Latine autem "Damula" vel "Caprea", Super.
Marcum tamen habemus, quia Tabita interpretatum est
"puella". Unde "Tabitacumi", interpretatum est
"Puella surge", et secundum hoc sunt diversae inter-
pretationes hujus nominis." Cf. also Bede Act. AP.
Exp., PL XCII, 965.
19781-86 Act. 9:40. Cf. Marc. 5:40, where the Lord had no need to pray.

19787-800 Act. 9:40-43: Simon, called "the gracious one" in CM, and "a tanner" in the Acts.


19804 Act. 10:1. The Church in the Middle Ages was certainly aware of the fact (cf. Hist. Schol. PL XXXVIII, 1674-79) that Peter's important decision here made possible the developments at Antioch, Act. 11:20, especially the work of St. Paul. Peter was the link between the "saints in Jerusalem" and the new church of the Gentiles. Jerusalem accepted his decision, and its bishop, St. James, reaffirmed later, at the first Apostolic Council, that God had chosen Simon to receive the Gentiles. This, of course, by extension included the people of the Poet's time. Our Lord had taught Peter that the Jewish Law had been abrogated, Marc. 7:2-5:15; 2:21 ff. Luc. 5:30. This was clear already before the story of Cornelius, when Paul, in Gal. 2:11-21, appealed to Peter; he was
disobeying "veritatem evangeli", Act. 2:30; 4:12; 9:43. Still Peter needed to overcome an instilled repugnance, and had actually to draw the consequences of his faith. For this, the divine interventions, as in Peter's vision, were needed. These are found in lines 19827-19902.

19805-06 Act. 10:1


19830. The shifting designation of "Vndirtide" here is determined by its source to mean "hora diei nona".


19841-49 and 19859-61 Act. 10:11-12. Cf. Lev. 11 which covers God's command to Moses for the Jewish people in respect to clean and unclean animals.

19845 Cf. Morris, CM, Vol. VI, p. lli: "nokes", nooks, corners; the "listes". These words mean "bordering strips, bands, or lines". Cf. MED.

19854-58 Haenisch (p,12*) notes that the command from Heaven, "Peter kill and eat", is followed in CM by
an explanation which quite agrees with Hist. Schol.
In Act. Apóst. cap. 47, PL XXXVII, 1676: "Ac si
diceretur ei in spiritu: Transi ad gentes, et ooccide
in eis vitia, et sic Ecclesiae incorpora".

words in Marc. 7:15: "Nihil est extra hominem in-
trofins in eum quod possit eum coquinare, sed quae
de homine procedunt, nulla sunt quae comminican homi-
nem." Cf. Hist. Schol., PL XXXVIII, 1676: "... et
maxime timebat reprehensionem Judaeorum..."

1868-72 Act. 10:15. The "voys" only spoke of food,
but the application went well beyond that, as is
evident from Act. 10:28 and 11:3 ff.

1877-78 Act. 10:16.

1879-90 Cui refers to Ambrose's description of the Bap-
tismal rite: "Triplicis interrogationis et immersionis
exemplum in trina responsione Petri extitisse...
Interrogatus es: Credis in Deum Patrem omnipotentem;
Dixisti. Credo, et mersisti, hoc est, sepultus es.
Iterum interrogatus es: Credis in Dominum nostrum,
Jesus Christum, et in crucem ejus? Dixisti: Credo, et
mersisti; ideo et Christo es consequltus; qui enim Christo conseqelitur cum Christo resurgit. Tertio interrogatus es: 'Credis et in Spiritum sanctum?

Dixisti: 'Credo, tertiò mersisti, ut multiplicem lapsum superioris ætatis absolverit trina confessio'.

De Sacramentis Lib. II, cap. vii, PL XVI, 429.

1981-88 The reference to some of the details in the rite of Baptism found in Hist. Schol. PL XXXVIII, 1676, has clearly influenced CM, as is evident in the following lines: "Nam, ut dicit Ambròsius, in catechismo fit trina interrogação, scilicet, credis in Déum? abrenuntias Satanæ? vis baptizari? Similiter trina unctio, in vertice, sive, fronte; in scapulis, in pec-tore; in baptismo quoque fit trina immersio." Since CM uses Hist. Schol., as one of its major sources, the reference to Ambrose here is really indirect.

1988 This refers to the baptism by immersion. In An Introduction to the Study of English Fonts, by A. Katharine Walker (Messrs. Woodford Fawcett and Co., London, 1908) we find the oldest fonts were used for immersion, cf. pp. 3, 5, 7, etc. In the Eastern rites.
however, immersion has been retained, though not always in the sense of plunging the candidate's entire body below the water (Cath. Enc. II, 262). It is possible, then, that CM refers to total immersion here.

19891-19913 Act. 10: 17-23a. There are "pre men" mentioned in CM, as in Act. 10:7: "vocavit duos domesticos suos, et militem..." and Act. 10:19: "viri tres". The number "three" has been mentioned many times in this section.

19919-20 Luc. 7:1-10.

19929-32 Act. 10:28; cf. Ioan. 4:9; 18:28 et al.
19941-68 Act. 10: 34-43.
19941-48 The principle is laid down, cf. Deut. 10:17; Rom. 2:11; I Tim. 4:10, and the Creed: "qui propter nos homines,... crucifixus etiam pro nobis"; Hist. Schol. PL XXXVIII, 1677.

19943 The idea of ransom is not found in the Acts.

19944 The meaning of "prisoun" does not fit the context. The Acts have "person". CM's rendering is a misreading through a faulty expansion by the scribe.

19945-46 Haenisch sees another example of Hist. Schol.'s influence on CM: "nec discernit inter Judaeos et gentes", PL XXXVIII, 1677. The Vulgate (Act. Apost. ch. 10, 1.34) contains this exclamation of Peter too, but it does not directly oppose Jews and heathens, as is done by Comestor (p. 13*).

19949 Cf. Luc. 9:25.

19950 "laste" The word's meaning does not seem to fit the context of the rhyming lines. The rhyme words were probably changed to avoid "for-hu" (C, G).

19951-52 Act. 10:37.

19958 Act. 10:39.

19951-52 and 19958 The Acts start with verse 36, which CM
omits, and for a very good reason: the text is uncertain and obscure. Apparently God sent the Gospel message to the Jews first. Cornelius and his company are told what, according to the Acts, they must have known, namely the story of Christ, starting with John the Baptist, his baptism of penance, Christ's suffering, his own baptism to give example, and how, finally Jews hanged him on a tree.

19959-64 Act. 10:40-42.
19959-60 Cornelius may be ignorant of the Resurrection, since Christ appeared only to pre-ordained witnesses, but these were qualified; cf. Act. 1:3.
19962-64 Peter only mentions the command seemingly directed to the Jewish people only, but the whole tenor of his speech (esp. 19966-68) shows that the Gentiles were included, as in Act. 1:8. Cf. also I Pet. 4:5.
19966-68 Cf. Isa. 49:6; Mal. 1:11; Jonas speaks of the remission of sins for all men; cf. Ioan. 3:10, 4:11;
so do many Psalms as 77:38; 84:3; 85 (esp. verse 9: "Omnes gentes quascumque fecisti, venient, et adorabunt coram te, Domine: et glorificabunt nomen tuum", connected to verse 3 of the same Psalm). Faith in Jesus alone is required, Act. 4:12; Rom. 3:2.

19973-74 The joy of the audience is well reflected in these lines by the poet.

19969-80 This section is really the Pentecost of the Gentiles, Act. 10:44-48.

19969-79 The Descent took place while Peter was speaking. He points out the parallel with the first Pentecost (19977), Act. 11:15; 15:8. Circumcision and the Mosaic law were clearly superseded if Gentiles received the Spirit. "Dilatatumque est ubique, et delatum usque ad fratres, qui erant in Judaea, quia gentes receperant verbum Dei." Hist. Schol. PL XXXVIII, 1678.

19973-74 Evidently only the gentiles received the charismatic gifts (which were not only extraordinary gifts, as can be seen in Rom. 12:6 ff.) of healing, counseling, etc. without the gift of tongues, since they were speaking to their own people. Cf. Act. 19:6 and I Cor. 14. However, Act. 10:46 and Hist.
Schol., 1678 mention the gift of tongues, and CM speaks of different languages.

19979-80 Cf. I Cor. 1:14.

19989-90 Act. 10:48b.

19990-92 Hist. Schol.: "Et hic fuit primus transitus particularis apostolorum ad gentes"; PL XXXVIII, 1678.

19993-20010 In these lines the poet unfolds his plan, telling how he is going to proceed from here.

20011-20048 Of the Assumption of Our Lady. This belief, along with Mary’s Coronation as Queen of Heaven, has been consecrated in Catholic tradition, and was declared a dogma by Pope Pius XII in November, 1950. There is no reference in Scripture to either of these events, whose historicity is a corollary of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, which is in turn based on the Motherhood of Mary as proclaimed in Scripture and Tradition, and of her position as the Second Eve. But it is significant that in the last book of the NT St. John, who had cared for our Lady during the remainder of her earthly life, describes a vision: "Mulier amicta sole, et luna sub peditus ejus, et in capite ejus corona stellarum duodecim" (Apoc. 12:1).
"Et peperit filium masculum, qui raptus est filius ejus ad Deum, et thronum ejus" (Apoc. 12:5). "Et postquam vidit draco quod projectus esset in terram, persecutus est mulierem" (Apoc. 12:13). "Et iratus est draco in mulierem: et abiit facere praelium cum reliquis de semine ejus"... (Apoc. 12:17). The name of the feastday celebrating this event was originally "Dormitio", the day of death or birthday (natale) of the eternal life in heaven. Originally this feast was celebrated January 18, but was transferred by emperor Mauritius (802–32) to the present day, August 15. It is interesting to note that on this day the herbs were blessed. In her grave were found flowers instead of her body (l. 20787). (Pius Parsch, Het Jaar des Heren, pp. 528-29). Haenisch assures the reader that, as the poet himself says, the Assumption of Our Lady is a translation from a Southern-English poem by Edmund of Pontenay, an anonymous poem of the Assumption in the South-English dialect edited in 1886 in the EETS, by Rev. J.R. Lumby. This is clearly the main source used by the CM poet. Re.name of poet see notes to l. 20057 ff.
The Southern Assumption version of this story is preserved in six MSS:

1. Cambr. Univ. MS. Gg. 4. 27. 2 (indicated as "Cambr." in this thesis)
2. Chetham MS 8009.
4. Cambr. Univ. MS Pf. 2. 38.
5. Harl. MS 2332, (indicated as "Harl.").
6. Brit. Mus. Add. MS 10036 (shortened to "BM")
7. McGill Univ. MS 142, (shortened to "MG")

In general, the compilers of legend went diligently to work and produced a comprehensive description of the "Assumption of the Virgin Mary" which has survived in Greek, Latin, Syriac, Coptic, and Arabic, is probably of Egyptian origin and hardly older than 400. The oldest versions of the Transitus Mariae A and B are probably the texts which Tischendorf edited (in Apa 124-236 -Ps. Melito). Another "Transitus Mariae" was edited by Monika Haibach-Reinisch, Ein Neuer "Transitus Mariae" des Pseudo-Milêto, Romae: Pontificia Academia Mariana Internationalis, 1962. Cf. B. Capelle, "Vestiges grecs et latins d'un antique

20011-60 This section is found in all GM MSS. The lines form the introduction to the Assumption of Mary.

20058 The number of days of pardon from St. Edmund of Pontenay are given to be "fourty" in H, as in F, G, and T. Only C has "tuenti" days. In The Southern Assumption neither Cambr. nor BM includes any reference to a pardon.

20013 Luc. 2:7; also I Tim. 1:15, I Cor. 15:3; Matth. 9:15; Ioan. 2:19; Matth. 16:61; 12:39, 16:4; Luc. 12:50; Matth. 20:22; Ioan. 3:14; Luc. 13:31 ff.

20056 This line lacks sense, as does the same line in C, G, and T. F has "paire benisoun has laid ham on".
which seems to fit in the context.

20057 "Edmund of Ponteney", or St. Edmund of Pontenay, or Saint Edmund Rich, Archbishop of Canterbury, b. 20 November, ca. 1180 at Abingdon, six miles from Oxford; d. 16 Nov. 1240, at Soissy, France. He taught at Oxford University, and in Paris. He was commissioned to preach the Sixth Crusade in various parts of England. In 1240 he retired to the Cistercian Abbey of Pontigny. The Martyrologium Romanum says of him on November 16: "Cantuariae, in Anglia, sancti Edmundi, Episcopi et confessoris; qui, pro Ecclesiae suae juribus tuendis in exsilium actus, apud Provinum, Senonum oppidum, sanctissime obiit; et Sanctorum canoni ab Innocentio Papa Q urto adscriptus est." Cf. C.H. Lawrence, St. Edmund of Abingdon, Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1960.

20057-60 Haenisch, p. 46*, believes that the poet's attributing his original to Edmund of Pontigny was caused by a misunderstanding of lines 893-96 of the Southern-English Assumption:

And pe archbishop seynt Edmund
Hap graunted xl daies to pardoun
To alle hat his vie wol here,
Or with good wil he wol lere.
20061-64 These numbers are found neither in H nor T. C, F and G, have four lines here which mention that the poem was taken from a Southern dialect and translated into a Northern dialect. H, T, and L omit these lines, apparently because they are Southern dialect versions of the CM, and this information would be of no concern to Southern readers.

In the following section, which treats the Assumption of Mary up to the point where flowers are found in her grave (i.e. ll. 20065-2078), the poet had several MSS to draw from. Sometimes BM is closer to H, while at other times Harl., or another source, presents a closer rendition. Most of the time the texts noted resemble one another very closely. However, the one which resembles H most closely is given as the main source. (Notes 11. 20061-64). Cf. also Ludus Coventriae, ed. K.S. Block, EETS ES 120, pp. 354-73.

20065-71 Ioan. 19:26. Jesus entrusts "discipulum... quem diligebat" to his Mother, and, vice versa, his Mother to John; Ioan 19:27, 11.20101-102. Cambr. 11-19. BM 13-17. Cf. La vie de la Vierge, de Maître
Nace (= VM), p. 61.

20072. Is. 15:13; Stabat Mater, Lib. Usualis, p. 1424;
"Pro peccatis suae gentis, vidit Jesum in tormentis."

20073-80 Cambr. 19-26; BM 22-30.

20076 Act. 8:32; Isai. 53:7: "wiputen' gil" is right
because of the reference to the lamb, the symbol of
innocence in the two scriptural texts, and, of course,
because it is in the source, Cambr. and BM.

20077-78 F has these lines in reverse order, compared to
the other CM MSS, and leaves out the idea of "louen"
as well:

"for quam I. am commen doun.
þã lær myne awen bi resoun."

20081-87 Cambr. 29-35; BM 31-37. The lines are reminis-
cent of the first one of the two companion hymns Stabat
Mater Dolorosa, and Stabat Mater Speciosa, celebrating
the emotions of Our Lady at the cross and at the manger.
The "Dolorosa" was well-known in the Middle
English period. Georgius Stella, Chancellor of Genoa
(d. 1420) in his Annales Genuenses, speaks of it as
in use by the Flagellants in 1388. In Provence about
1399, the "Ablati" or Bianchi", sang it during their
nine days' procession. "The Church did not receive the hymn from the heretics, but the heretics despoiled the Church of the Sequence" (Daniel, *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, II, 140). The hymn has been ascribed to St. Gregory the Great (d. 604), St. Bernard of Clairvaux (d. 1153), Innocent III (d. 1216), St. Bonaventure (d. 1274), Jacopone da Todi (d. 1306), Pope John XXII (d. 1334), Gregory XI (d. 1378). Of these ascriptions, the only probable ones are those of Innocent III and Jacopone. The arguments for the latter are not satisfactory (Cath. Enc. Vol. xiv, p. 239).


20085-87 Cf. ibid.: "Dum pendebat filius."

20086. Cambr. 34: "Also his suete wille was"; the CM poet apparently used Cambr. here, as this line is found in this MS of the Southern Assumption only.

20088-92 Mary utters a triple "alas". Cambr. 34; BM 38-42. The threefold "alas" is reminiscent of Christ's twofold "Eloi" (*Matth.*, 27:48; *Luc.*, 15:34).
There exists an extensive "planctus Mariae" tradition in the contemporary lyric. The CM poet himself has written some 700 lines on "De lamentacione Marie" (cf. Morris CM, Vol. V, p. 1368), which lines are not in our MS H, but are found, with some omissions in MS C, F, and E (CM Vol. V, ll. 23945-24658). For more information on this tradition, see Robert Bos-suat, Manuel bibliographique de la littérature française du Moyen Age, Melun: Librairie d’argences, 1951, p. 290: PLAINTE ES DE LA VIERGE.

20093-94 Cambr. 41-42; BM 43-44. Cf. Ps. 21:1a.
20101-104 Cambr. 49-52; BM 51-53; Cf. Ioan. 19:27. Also Herman, "De L'Assomption Nostre Dame von Herman de Valenciennes", p. 1:5-6 as well as p. VII:2. for a comparison with Wace, L'établissement de la fête de la conception Notre-Dame, or La vie de la vierge Marie. These MSS are referred to here as ND and VM respectively.

20105-08 Ioan. 19:27b: "Et ex illa hora acceptit eam discipulis in sua". The spiritual meaning (which
attaches a declaration of the universal spiritual maternity of Mary to these words) is barely suggested by Origen in the 3rd cent.; St. Augustine, however, states: "Plane mater membrorum ejus, quod nos sumus, quia cooperata est caritate ut fideles in Ecclesia nascen tur, quae illius capitis membra sunt, corpore vero ipsius capitis mater" (De Sancta Virginitate, c. vi. c.6). George of Nicodemia, rhetorically refers to it, but the theologian Rupert of Deutz (1070-1129) clearly sets it down that Mary is the spiritual mother of men, although St. Bernard, Rupert's illustrious contemporary, does not enumerate this privilege among Mary's numerous titles. Cf. Sermo dom. infr. oct. Assumpt., PL CLXXXIII, 438; for Rupert Deutz, cf. De Div. Offic. VII, 25, PL CLXX, 306. Cf. also BM 55-56.


20108 C makes sense, since it builds on the verb of the last line:

He servid hir bath day an night;
And hir will wit all his might;

F has a minor change " & kepeth hir wele", and the
effect is also satisfactory: "And kept hir wid all
his night"; T exchanges "day and night", as does H, and
consequently the second line has to change because of
the rhymeword "pay".

20113-38 Cambr. 57-81; BM 63-88; Herman pp. 2-4; 15b-40.
20120-314 MG 186-198.
20139-74 Cambr. 83-114; BM 89-112; Herman pp. 5-6; 41-
53a.; ND, p. 60, 23-p. 62, 13; VM p. 65, 11-p. 67.3;
MG 13-44.
20141-47 Cf. Sancti Melitonis Episcopi Sardensis de
Transitu Virginis Mariae Liber (shortened in these
notes to Trans. M), an "appendice" (Part V) to Wace's
ND, p. 121 ff. The analogue is on pp. 122-23.
20158 T and H have changed the line substantially from
G and C, which read:

Maria leuedi, godd wit þe be

F has:

marie lauedi blessed þou be

MG has:

Marie leuedi wel þe be.
20161 Cf. Trans. M. p. 123. The legend here follows a whole tradition that attaches great importance to the symbolism of the palm.

20162 Cf. Trans. M. p. 123; MG 32: "It is heuene kingges sond".

20166 H and T end the line with "bone". C reads "Ne sal tu nawght lang her hon". F has one more minor change, "wone" instead of "hone". The same change is found in MG 34: "Ne schalt pou here no len-gere wone".

20173-74 C misses two lines here. Morris comments that these two lines are erased. All other C texts are substantially the same, and mention three days; MG does not mention three days, neither do Cambr. and BM.

20176-204 Cambr. 115-142; BM 123-150; Herman pp. 6-7: 53b-72; MG 46-68 (but omits the last 4 lines). MS E misses four leaves here.

20182 Cf. Trans. M. p. 123; MG: "Ant mi leue nime of mi kin".

20195 St. John the Evangelist, in the Greek Narrative in the Apocr. NT of M.R. James says, "The archangel Gabriel came down" (p. 201).

20205-212 Cf. MG 69-76.


20215 Cf. MG 77.

20216-40 Cambr. 154-177; BM 160-183; Herman pp. 8-10; 81b-103. Cf. MG 78-102. The following lines of ND lead up to the prayer of Mary:

Puis est de la maison tournée
Et el mont d'Olivete alée
Le raïm porta, craison fist;

(ND p. 63: 3-5); cf. VM p. 67: 17-20. The prayer in ND and in VM is about the same length as in CM, but except for a few parallel lines (20219, 20222-23), the prayers differ widely in content. The wording of MG, however, is very close, except for a few changes in words and structure, and l. 86, which does not correspond to CM 20224. Lines 20227-38 are missing in T and H.

Mary's great concern with her body is a clear expression of the Medieval cult of the Mother of God, the ideal "lady" of every true knight.
Mary's concern over her earthly remains is documented in various apocryphal writings. See M.R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 209, 123, 126, 196, 197, 199, 205. Cf. also notes to l. 20462.

20241-49 Cf. also Herman p. 11: 104-112.
20242 C and F have the original reading "frendis"; G and Ñ have "sibmen", as does H.
20259-84 Cambr. 197-222; BM 201-226; MG 121-148, except for couplet 143-144, which is not found in CM.
20275-77 Herman p. 14: 134-35.
20285-98 Cambr. 223-34; BM 227-40; Herman p. 14: 140.
Cf. MG 149-162, except for ll. 154, 159, and 160, which have no parallels in CM.
20285-87 Cf. VM p. 70: 5-7; ND p. 65: 6-8.
20293-94 These lines are found only in C and G

pan i saghe sli semblant mak,
For i saI neuer sli leuedi tak.


It should be noted that Cambr. ends here. Continued from Harl. MS 2382.

20305-363 Harl. MS 2382: 241-99 (Harl. will be the abbreviated form); BM 247-303.
20305-06 Cf. MG 169-178.
20311-13 These lines in H and T are in reverse order compared to the other GM MSS.
20323-24 Herman p. 15: 150-51.
20333 Herman p. 15:154.
20285-20333 Herman p. IX no 7: 65.8-.66.13.
20349 Herman p. 17: 177.
20351-60 Herman pp. 18-19; 186-192, i.e. 20351-20352: p. 186; 20353: p. 188; 20355: p. 189; 20359: p. 190; 20360 pp.190,192.
20362 Morris notes in CM, Vol. VI, p. iii: The reading conforth in the later texts shows that C's clad is a blunder for gladden. See Glossary, s.v. clad. Comparison with the source confirms this.


20367-76 BM 307-316.


20375 C and G's lines have a different second half: "pat. mikel be luuen". However, Trans. M, pp. 124-125 reads: "Apostoli... mirabantur... ob quam Dominus nos hic in unum congregavit?" This is closer to the rendition of F, T, and H.

20377-88 BM 317-328; Herman pp. 20-21; 204-212.

20377 F, T, and H add "peter".


20390 Herman p. 21: 216.

20392 Herman p. 21: 213.

20399 H has "lereþ", T reads "hereþ". L and T are alike, but C and G read "Listes all i bi-seke i wise".

L, T, and H are closer to the source.

20412 BM 350.
20413-14 BM 367-68.

20430 Herman p. 24: 247.

20445 C and G are alike: "leuedi, fild of god thoght".

F stands alone with: "Lauedi bi sone wate we no3t",

while T and H are similar.

20449 BM 369 Harl. 308.
20450 BM 370; Harl. 307; Herman p. 25:254.
20451 Harl. 309.

20452 C and G read: "I am ful fain yee ar me mid", F
stands alone with "his loue to me was neuer hid",
while T parallels H.
20453-56 Harl. 311-14; BM 371-74.
20457 BM 375.
20459-60 BM 377-78
20461-69 Harl. 315-23; BM 379-87.
20462 Taking into consideration the concern of Mary
regarding her physical remains, expressed in apocry-
phal medieval writings mentioned before (cf. notes on
11. 20216-40), G, T, and H seem to have the most plau-
sible readings with "my licame", instead of C and F's
"mi name". However, the source (both Harl. and BM)
has "my name".
20466-69 Herman p. 26: 265-68.
20470 C, F, and G read "Bot ihesus, for pin hal nam",
which reading has been changed in T and H.
20471 Harl. 325; BM 389.
20472 BM 390.
20437-74 Harl. 327-28; BM 391-92.
20475 BM 393; Herman p. 26: 272.
20476-96 Harl. 330-44; BM 394-408.
20477 Herman p. 26: 273.
20478-79 Herman p. 27: 276-77.
20484-89 Herman p. 27: 283-85.

20489 CM has "Ion", while Herman reads "Sains Pierres sist lés li et sor li s'apoia (p. 27: 285). However, Harl. has "Iohan" (343), and BM as well has "Iohan".

20492-96 Herman p. 28: 287-88.
20496 Cf. ND p. 70:2; VM p. 75:11.

20491-97 Harl. 345-51.

20492 Herman p. 28: 286: "Del ciel vint une odors"...

Harl. p. 123:346: "a swete smell cam fro paradys";
CM has " a song of paradis". However, in The Discourse of Theodosius (James, op. cit., p. 208) there is mention made of both song and sweet fragrance:

> And the Lord turned and said to Peter: The time is come to begin the song of praise. And when Peter began the song of praise, all the powers of the heavens answered Alleluia... And at the going forth of her spotless soul the place was filled with sweet odour and light unspeakable... And lo, an odour of sweet savour came out of the holy sepulchre of our lady the mother of God.

20499 Harl. 354-56 The Southern Assumption (Harl. 354) has "thondres", which C, F, and G call "erthdin" and which is corrupted in T and H into "erbequake".
20501-508 Harl. 357-64.
20511-17 Cf. Trans. M. p. 126. VM p. 75; ND p. 70:3.
20520 The poet composes another line for the sake of
the rhyme. BM 421-22: "blode" and "rode"; H 20519-20:
"blood" and "good".
20521-38 BM 423-40.
20539-40 T and H passed over these lines which are found
in C, F, and G, as well as in the source, BM 441-42:

They 'token me and bette me sore
And atte pe last pei dide wel more,

20541-42 BM 443. CM expands the thought of the source
to two lines:
20547-48 C, F, and G all have the same reading fitting
the contexts: "pis scham i thold al for noght"; T and
H, however, are changed to the point that their meaning
is obscure. First "Ion" is a corruption of "I on".
Then "sought" should be "nouȝt". This would make the
readings parallel to the other CM texts.
20554  Herman p. 36: 371.

20555-56  F has these lines, lacking in the other CM
texts:

    moder allane durst I. no3t say.  
    for ferde hir hert sulde brast in-twai.

20557-58  I have not been able to trace the source of
these lines.

20559-80  BM 455-76.

20561  Herman p. 36: 373.

20562-65  Herman p. 36: 375-76.

20567  Herman p. 36: 377.

20565  H expresses the fact that Christ says that he had
overcome the evil folk in hell while in BM he says that
he took Adam from the evil beings in hell.

20568  H has "doun", as does G, but all other editions
have "done".

20570  Herman p. 36: 378.

20574  CM's wording is slightly different from BM 471:
    "Non wol I forbe in ryst".

20574-75  ND p. 70: 16-17; VM p. 76: 5-6.

20577-78  Herman p. 28: 294-95a.

20579  Herman p. 28: 296.
20581 Harl. 367; BM 477.

20582 Of the five MSS H's rendition stands alone.
   Since T repeats "her boure" and G has "ban pai thoght"
   G comes closest to H. The source does not have this
   line, and the meaning of the line is not clear.

20583-97 Harl. 369-83; BM 479-93.
20599-600 Harl. 387-88; BM 497-98.
20601 BM 499.
20602 Harl. 391; BM 500.
   76:17.
20607 Herman p. 37: 384.
20608 BM 506.
20607-10 Cf. Trans. M. p. 126. @
20609 Harl. 399; BM .507.
20610 BM 508.
20611-18 Harl. 401-408; BM 509-16. H & T have "dere" for
   "drede".
20613-14 BM 511-12 are closer to H than Harl. 403-404.
20617-21 Herman p. 37:386.
20621-22 Harl. 411-12.
20623-24 Harl. 413-16; BM 520-22.
20627 Harl. 417.
20629 Herman p. 37: 390-91.
20631-32 These lines in GM are in reverse order compared with Harl. 420-21.
20633-34 BM 529-30.
20633 BM 529 has "I schal hem reles sone anon".
20635-45 Harl. 423-33; BM 521-41.
20635-40 Except for line 535 BM 531-36 is closer to GM than Harl. 423-28.
20640 The poet ranks confession to a priest first, and then suggests telling one's sins to another person near him, if no priest can be reached, to help the sinner achieve "rewen sore".
20643-46 Herman p. 37: 390-91
20647-52 Harl. 435-40; BM 543-48.
20650-52 BM 547-48 are closer to H than Harl. 438-39.
20650 F has "do bus as I. sall say".
20653 BM 549.
20654-55 Harl. 442-43; BM 550-51.
20656-67 BM 552-53.
20658 Harl. 446.
20655-60 Herman p. 38: 392-97.
20659-60 These lines are not found in Harl. or BM.
20661-65 BM 557-61.
20665 The Northern MSS and G have: "Sua aght i, moder witouten wand", which T and H altered.
20667-68 These lines, relative to Mary's death, are not found in Harl. or in BM and are inserted by the poet from another source.
20669 Herman p. 39: 407.
20669-75 Harl. 449-55; Herman pp. XI, XII, no. 14: 71, 22; BM 565-69.
20673 CM repeats the statement that Mary's soul left her body (l. 20668). Harl. 452 states it only once, but adds a sidenote: Ihesus assumpsit animam matris.
20675-78 Herman p. 39: 407a, 407b, 408, and p. XII no. 15: 72.2-72.4.
20676-77 BM 570-71.
20678-79 BM 572-73; Harl. 458 and 457 [sic].
20680 BM 574.
20681-82 Harl. 459-60; BM 575-76; Herman p. 37: 388.
20681 Cf. ND p. 71:3; VM p. 76:16.
20683-84 Sidenote in Harl. at this point: "nota modum assumptionis anime Marie per ihesum". BM 577-78.
20685-86 Harl. 463-64; Bm 579-80.
20686 Herman p. 39:409.
20687 BM 581; Herman p. 40:410.
20688-89 Harl. 466-67; BM 582 and 585.
20690 H equals T here. Harl. 468 has: "of this body flesh y name", and BM 586: "Off hure bodi flesche I nam".

The translation of the source is found in C and F, but G's line is missing. This suggests that the Southern revisor had to make up a new line, and explains the great divergency of content between the southern and
northern renditions here.
20691-98 Harl. 469-76; BM 587-94.
20691 Cf. Herman p. 40: 413.
20697-98 These lines are in reverse order in Harl., namely 476, 475.
20699-702 This reference to bells and candles is not found in Harl. but is in BM 595-98.
20703 Cf. Herman p. 41: 429.
20703-14 Harl. 477-90; BM 599-610. As has been noted before (cf. notes for ll. 20061-64), the poet switches from one source to another. BM seems to be closer to CM in many lines, as, for example, in ll. 20703, 20704, 20712, although sometimes Harl. presents a rendition closer to CM. Either text at times presents the only source for CM, as in ll. 20699-702.
20715-30 Harl. 491-506; BM 689-702. This section where the hostile Jews want to desecrate Mary's body is found in another part of BM (see numbering). Cf. also McGill
Univ. Fragment of the "Southern Assumption", p. 197.

The "plot" to defile Mary's body has an extensive tradition in apocryphal lore. This tradition is evident in the Blickling Homilies (ed. R. Morris, EETS OS 58, 63, and 73), pp. 147-48, where Mary's concern for the safekeeping of her body is expressed.

The text continues near the end of p. 149, telling of the actual attempt by the Jews and the devil to defile Mary's body: "& pa rape eode Satanas paet deofol & para ludea ealdormen & heora organ pa aelo cwepan to obrum. Uton we nu arisan & acwellan pa apostolas & Marian lichoman geniman & hre ponne mid fyreforbaernon, forpon be heo gebaer pone biswican."

The Ludus Conventriae play of "The Assumption of the Virgin" (ed. K.S. Block, EETS ES 120), p. 357, presents the same nefarious plot. One actor proposes to kill Mary, or better to hang her, but an "Episcopus" answers:

Nay seris nowth so. youre better a-vyse haue in synth before. what after may tide yif we slewe hem. it wolde cause the comowyns to ryse and rather the devyl sle hym. than we schulde that abide

But be that senstere ded mary that fise
We shal brenne here body. and the aschis hide
and don here all the dispith. we can here devise and than sle tho discipulis. that walkyn so wyde and here bodyes devyde halde ye not this beste as is sayde.

Cf. also Oratio V, in Dornitionem Deiparae S. Theodori Studitae (9th cent.), where Mary expresses her concern for the safety of her body: "Manibus disicipulorum tuorum, intactum Deique receptaculum corpus meum, ex quo tu qui es ipsa immortalitas prodiisti, efferatur", PG XCIX, 723.


20716-17 In Wace (p. XII) no. 17 (Introduction to Hermans Assumption) Peter carries Our Lady's body, while in Herm Harl. and BM, 4 apostles carry her body. In W de Maître Wace (Tours, 1859), p. 80, St. John will go before the bier at the request of Peter, who adds: "Nos autres le cors porterum", giving no specific number.

20721-24 Cf. Wace's ND, p. 75.

20727 Cf. Herman p. 43:443: "Or as armes trestout, pas ne soit enterée, ..."

20728-32 ND p. 75.

20731-36 BM 703-705.
20737-40 Harl. 512 & 516-18; BM 707-710; Herman p. 43:
449- p. 44: 452. Herman has the heavenly host descend
from heaven, blinding the Jews, so that none of them
can see anything.
20738-46 ND p. 76. Wace has "ses deux mains mist dessus
la biere", while Ců has "one" hand.
20741-56 The account of a priest touching the bier and
having his hand stick to it, echoes II Reg. 6:6-7,
where Oza was struck dead because he touched the ark
of the covenant.
20741-43 BM 611-14.
20741-45 Herman p. 44: 453-58.
20747 BM 664; Harl. 555.
20745-46 BM 615-16.
20748-56 Cf. ND p. 77.
20751-56 Harl. 531, 533, 535, 545, 554; BM 641, 643,
645, 655, 664.
20751-52 Herman p. 45: 472.
20751 Note "quod", in MS "qd", without expansion mark.
20756 Herman, p. 46:480.
20757-71 Cf. ND p. 78.
20757-58 Harl. 571-74; BM 681-84.
20763-64 Herman p. 48:503: "Plus furent de vint mil bap-
tizié et levé"; Harl. 576-77: "He turned into goddes fay xx thousand, and somdel mo". Note marginal foot-
note: "Iudeus conversus predicabat ita christum"; BM 686-87 "That he turned to godes lay Twenty pousand and sommedel mo".

H, G, F, C and T have "four thousand", while the aforementioned texts, Harl., BM, and Thomas all have "twenty thousand" baptized. Wace has no specific number but simply says that some were made healthy, while the rest remained blind.

20765-66 The lines are original with CM.
20771-73 Harl. 580-82; BM 690 (H. 20716), 754-59.
(This section is much more elaborate and parallels the burial of Christ). Aelfric's Hom. Vol. I, p. 441: "Seo dene is betwux þære dune Sion and þam munte Oiueti." Cf. also ND p. 79.

20774 This line, as found in CM, is original in its wording, although BM 761-62 express the idea of ritual associated with the burial, as CM does.

20776-79 Herman p. 49: 512, 513, 520, 522.

20778 Harl. 601-602. At this point Harl., BM and Herman all have more than 200 lines on a miracle involving the apostle Thomas, who had been absent when Mary departed from this life. However, the CM poet did not insert this apocryphal section into his work, except for the following lines:

20785-86 Harl. 672-74; BM 840-42.

20775-88 Cf. ND pp. 80-83.

20787-88 Herman 661-62: "La fosse ont aouverte, N'ont pas le cors trouvé, Mais la manne del ciel que dex i ot posé." There is a difference from CM, which has "floure". Aelfric also refers to flowers and their fragrancy in regard to Mary's Assumption. In his sermon "De Assumptione Beatae Mariae" (Aelfric's Hom-
lies, Vol. I), p. 444, he describes the Spirit of God saying "Ic geseh 8a whitegan "wilce culfran asti-
genende ofer streamlicum ri8um, and unasecgendlic braed stemde of hire gyrlum; and, swa swa on lengstenlicere tide, rosena blostman and lilian hi ymtrymedon."

Cf. also Hennecke, Vol. II, p. 258, where at the end of the Acts of John in some MSS an expansion is found relating how St. John's body could not be found the day after his burial, or three days later, with one MS adding that it was removed by the power of Jesus Christ. Hennecke refers to Ephraim of Antioch, who combines two conflicting traditions, both derived from Ioan. 21:22. One of these is that John had not died but had been transported, while another reported by St. Augustine in Ioan. Tract. 124.2, PL XXXV, 1970, "dormire eum potius quam mortuum jacere contendat."

Wace (p. XVII) no. 27 (Introduct. to Herman) has "manna", as does Herman. However, CM like Harl. 766-78, and BM 845-46, has "flower". Cf. Legenda Aurea pp. 521-22, which refers to the Historia Euthymiata.
in which St. Germanus tells of Empress Pulcheria's summoning of Juvenal, the archbishop of Jerusalem, after she had built a beautiful church at Constantinople. She wanted the body of the holy Virgin, which had been buried in the garden of Gethsemane, transferred to this new church. Juvenal answered, that as he had read in the ancient stories, the body of the Virgin had been assumed into glory, and only the garments and winding sheet had remained in the tomb. 


20789-800 The CM poet here refers to St. Jerome, who does not vouch for these things. There are two treatises, one attributed to St. Jerome, and the other to St. Augustine, which had a decisive influence on the development of the doctrine of the Assumption.

The one attributed to St. Jerome is a forgery, for it pretended to be addressed to the saint's friends Paula and Eustachium in answer to their question on the subject. Jerome's own opposition to the assumption is reflected in the treatise which vigorously
attacks the apocryphal story De Transitu, and in which the author warns not to accept doubtful things as certain, adding that nothing is certain except that the Blessed Virgin left the body and that her tomb was found empty; but how the body was removed and whither is unknown. This work is now generally attributed to Paschasius Radbert (ca. 860), abbot of Corbie near Soissons, who used Jerome's name to give it greater authority, PL CLXXVIII, 123. Cf. M. Jugie, La mort et l'assomption de la Sainte Vierge, pp. 278-81. Jerome's treatise retarded belief in the bodily assumption in the West for about two and a half centuries, until its authority was challenged and then superseded by that of another work, which was not a forgery, but soon came to be attributed to St. Augustine, De Assumptione Beatae Mariae Virginis, PL VI, 1141-48. Its date is uncertain, but in the view of R. Laurentin it belongs to the end of the eleventh century or the beginning of the twelfth and emanated from the circle of St. Augustine. Cf. Hilda Graef, Devotion to the Blessed Virgin, p. 42. Cf. also Jugie (op. cit) pp. 282-83.

20803-18 BM 892 and 905. Mary: "the mediatrix of grace", is already considered thus by the fathers, such as St. Ephraim Orat. ad sanctiss. Dei Matrem: "Post Mediatrix totius mundi... tu creaturam replesti omni genere beneficii, caelestibus laetitiam attulisti, terrestria salvasti". See Opera Omnia, ed. J.S. Assemani, St. Germanus in Orat. 9: "Nullus enim nisi per te, o immaculatissima, qui a malis liberetur... Nullus nisi per te, o honoratissima, cui gratiae minus miracordia praestetur", FC XCVIII, 379. St. Bernard: "Sic est voluntas ejus qui totum nos habere voluit per Mariam" (Sermo de aquaeductu, n. 6). "Nota: Tres illi textus allegantur in lect. IV, V, et VI officii B.M.V. omnium gratiarum mediaticis." See Ad. Tanguerey, Synopsis Theologiae Dogmaticae, II, no. 1279 B. Cf. also Jugie, p. 361, note 1.
The southern reviser apparently omitted these lines, as he had omitted 20797-98, and again leaves out 11. 20819-20, because he did not judge it effective or proper to break away from the tone and subject of the narrative here with repeated moralizations.

There is no theological significance in the change of "through" (C, F, G) to "bi" (T, H). The Latin Creed in the Mass has: "et concepit de Spiritu Sancto".

The Protevangelium of James: "And Mary was sixteen years old when all these mysterious things happened". The Legenda Aurea, cap. CXIC, pp. 504 ff., speaks of an apocryphal book attributed to John the Evangelist, in which the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin is related. The Virgin dwelt in a house close to Mount Sion. According to Epiphanius, the Legend refers to the aforementioned apocryphal book saying Mary was 14 when she conceived Christ, and 15 when she bore Him.

20827 The poet uses "three" and multiples of three.
20829 The use of 40, numbering the days of Christ's preparation for his public life, is repeated in the number of days he stayed on earth after his Resurrection. Cf. also *Legenda Aurea* (p. 510) which says that in the *Revelations* of St. Elizabeth the Blessed Virgin was assumed in the body forty days after her passing.

20832 Mary lived, presumably, seven and nine (both "holy" numbers), i.e. sixteen years after Christ's Ascension.

20832-33 Mary's age, according to H, is sixty-three at her death. The age arrived at here does coincide with the number of years attained when added. If one carefully computes the ages (ll. 20824-20832) one comes to the conclusion that at her assumption Mary was 63 years old.

20834 Hérmann 774-75. Hérmann gives the month of Mary's burial "Es kalendas d'aost fut la dame enterree. Sacez que a cel jur fu mainte alme salvé!" Hérmann's dating is probably based on the Feastday (Aug. 15).
20835-36 The scribe has finished the section on Mary's Assumption, and closes with an invocation to the Blessed Virgin. C, F, and G have a section (of 5 lines) following these lines, in which the scribe asks a "boon" of Mary's Son, that he may always love her, whether he sits, stands, or goes, alive or dead.

20843-44 These lines in F, C, G, and T are similar to H, directly expressing the connection between the service of Mary and its reward, Paradise. F continues with two more lines praying that all hearing this "sermon" will truly be pardoned of their sins.

20847-48 Herman 804-06. Herman 806 mentions his name "Hermans", while H, and T simply ask Mary's intercession at the time of death. Herman goes on to ask Mary's help for priests, benefactors, his parents, for his readers, and others.

20849 The CM has partially the same sequence as that of the Acts, except for Paul, Philip, Thomas Didymus, Bartholemew, Matthew, and James the Less.

The following section, ll. 20849-21346, deals, as Haenisch (p. 56*) says with the "Works and Death of each of the Apostles". CM's sources are The Vulgate

20849-54 Transition to next topic. Note the textual indication, namely, the large capital "S" of line 20849, starting this new section of the apostles. C, F, G, T express the very same idea in these lines.

This section, from 20849-21344 relates the action of the apostles, those whom Christ chose at first (except Judas Iscariot) and those who were chosen later. The total number here is fifteen.

After line 20982 four pages have been torn from manuscript H. The missing lines have been replaced by those of T, the text closest to H.

20857-58 T follows H, while C, F, and G first express that they will give only a summary of each apostle. 20859-922 These lines, giving a summary of St. Peter's life, are based on Isidore, De Ortu et Obitu Patrum.
PL LXXXIII, 149. Cf. Matth. 4:18; Marc. 1:16.


20863-64 Cf. Matth. 16:16-20. The "ground wall" is the foundation, the "Rock" or "stone", or the "kepha" of the original Aramaic text. Christ here at last explains the name (apparently of his own invention) promised to Simon at the first encounter, Ioan. 1:42, and confirmed on the occasion of Simon's call, Matth. 4:18.

20865-68 Matth. 16:19.

20867 Matth. 16:16; Ioan. 6:69.

20868 Ioan. 21:15-17.

20871 Marc. 14:67-72.

20872 Cf. Ioan. 21:18-19. Mart. Petri. (pp. 7-8) has the well-known lines "Domine quo uadis: Respondit ei Christus; Romam uenio iterum crucifi... Petrus autem dixit: Domine, reuertar et sequar te." Cf. also p. 2, which speaks of the apostle's crown or reward: "Sed cum iam tempus appropinquaret quo fides beati apostoli et labores remunerari deberent,..."
20863-64 Isidore (ibid), ch. lxviii (not lxiv, as Hennisch says): "Petrus in Christo Ecolesiae firmamentum est", PL LXXXI, 149.

20866-74 Isidore (ibid), ch. lxix, PL LXXXI, 150.

20873-74 These lines apparently want to express the fact that Peter was given a name and title to perform great deeds and to speak with authority. H has "dede" ending each of the lines, which probably is a scribal error, since C, F, G, and T all have "made" in the latter. Matth. 16:18-19.

20875-80 In five countries Peter's sermons were heard.

20877 Cappadocia, a region of central Asia Minor, a Roman Province; Galatia, also in Asia Minor, adjoining Cappadocia named for warlike Gauls who lived there; Bethany must be Bithynia, and not one of the two Bethanys, nor the little suburb of Jerusalem or Bethany beyond the Jordan, also called Bethabara, where John did baptize. Bithynia is a Roman province, in N. Asia Minor, bordering on Mysia, in N.W. Asia Minor, which is the only name that fits "masye"; I Peter 1:1 is addressed to "the strangers dispersed through Pontus, Galaria, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia".
20878  Act. 16:7: "Cum venissent autem in Mysiam; tentab-
bant ire in Bithyniam..." This refers to St. Paul,
who also visited Mysia. Mysia, however, is possibly
a scribal corruption of "in asie" (iii asie), but it
is also possible that the scribe knew the reference to
Mysia.

20879  Isidore (ibid), ch. lxviii: "atque (in) Italia

20880  This line is probably to be attributed to the
poet himself, Haenisch suggests(p. 43*).

20882  Matth. 14:29. This took place the evening after
the miracle of the loaves, which had apparently greatly
excited the people. Ioan. 6:14 ff. Peter's walk on
the waters is related by Matth. only.

Skalkand, C, F, boiling, seething (cf. skald, boiled,
l. 15983); flouand G, flowyng T. Cf. Morris, Vol. VI,
p. liii.

20883  Act. 5:15. Act. 5:12 speaks of many wonders
wrought by the Apostles, as our Lord had promised, as
an answer to prayer. Ioan. 14:12 says: "Amen, amen,
dico, vobis, qui credit in me, opera, quae ego facio, et ipse faciet, et majora horum faciet".

20885-86 Act. 3:6-7; Isidore (ibid), col. 149, ch. lxviii no. 115; Legenda Aurea p. 369; Hennecke, Acts of Peter, p. 276; Matth. 11:5.

20887-88 Act. 5:10; Isidore (ibid), no 116. This is not found in the Acts of Peter.

20889-90 Act. 5:11.

20891-94 Isidore (ibid); Legenda Aurea p. 374; Simon is described in Act. 8:9-24; Hennecke II, Acts of Peter, p. 315, 32(3).

20895-96 Legenda Aurea, p. 374, which gives in direct speech the alleged prayer of Peter and his fall. Isidore (ibid) only mentions his fall to earth. Cf. Hennecke II, Acts of Peter, p. 316, which gives a more detailed account.

20901-02 Isidore (ibid). Legenda Aurea, cap. XLIV, pp. 178-83; in the liturgy, February 22 is the feastday on which is celebrated the Chair of Saint Peter at Antioch.

20907-08 Isidore (ibid), no. 116-117. H gives Peter only five years as bishop of Rome, while Isidore relates "Roman pergit, ibique praedicans Evangelium vigintiquinque annis, ejusdem urbis tenuit pontificatum". However, Isidore also has "sexto autem et tricesimo anno", as H. Legenda Aurea, pp. 337-38, refers to Isidore's Life and Death of the Saints in ref. to these numbers.


20912-14 Isidore (ibid); Legenda Aurea p. 375; Hennecke II, Acts of Peter p. 319; Legenda Aurea p. 381 mentions the fourteenth year of the reign of Nero as the year of the martyrdom of Peter and Paul.

20916 This line seems somewhat confused in H, as well as in G, F, and T. F has changed the line considerably.

20921-22 Isidore (ibid), col. 149-150; Legenda Aurea p. 375.

20925-94 Isidore (ibid), lxix, col. 150.

20925 Isidore (ibid), no. 118; The Fates of the Apostles mentions only eleven of the original apos-
tles. Paul is not one of them; he is only mentioned
in the opening paragraph in connection with Peter,
with whom he was martyred under Nero.

20926 Act. 9:1.
20927 Isidore (ibid).
20928 Act. 9:15.
20932 chesing / f etil G, vesul of chesing G, T, a chosen
20929-38 Isidore (ibid). CM follows Isidore quite
closely, in wording as well as in progression of nar-
native.
20939-43 Isidore (ibid), no. 119. Noteworthy is the
great similarity: "hic secundo post Ascensionem Domini
anno baptizatus, dignitatem meruit apostolatus, atque
plus omnibus laborans, multo latius inter caeteros
20944 This line seems to be original with CM. It is
found in H, C, F, G, and T, but not in Isidore.
20945 Probably original with poet.
20946-49 Isidore (ibid), no. 120.
20947 CM again uses "lumbardye" for Italy. Cf. 1.
20880, above.
20950-54 Isidore (ibid), no. 121.
20957-62 Isidore (ibid), no. 121.
20957 Act. 13:6-11. The Acts mention a magician (Isidore has "magum"), a false prophet, a Jew named Bar-jesu. This miracle took place at Antioch.
20958 "F has "pat euer-mare halt he was of state", which
makes this line the result of the line before. C, F, G, T and E have a clear rendering, "To halte of ganging gae he state", Morris, Vol. V, p. 1605. Cf. l. 20885. However, in the Acts the two miracles are clearly separated (Act. 14:7-9) and this miracle took place not in Antioch but in Iconium.

20959-62 Act. 28:2-5. CM does not mention Paul being thought a murderer, but is only interested in the miracle. The Acts gives the place Melita, the Legenda Aurea Mitylene, p. 381.

20959 With "be nedder o venum" compare "a gast o gile", a lying spirit, 1. 20953, Morris, Vol. VI, p. l iii.

20963-64 Act. 28:8 mentions the father of Publius, as does Isidore (ibid) no. 121; CM and both sources mention that Paul first prayed. Cf. also Act. 19:11-12.

20965-68 Isidore (ibid), no. 122.

20966 Isidore explicitly mentions Christ by name, as does II Cor. 11:23.

20967 Isidore (ibid) has "corpqris" while CM has "fleshe and blood".

20968 Isidore (ibid) "In primis Judaicas persecutiones". II Cor. 11:24.
20969-70 II Cor. 11:26 has "in false fratribus" and "ex gentibus"; Isidore (ibid) "et gentium miseras".

20971-79 Isidore presents a more detailed list of Paul's suffering, but CM's items follow the same sequence. The ultimate source is II Cor. 11:23-33.

20971-72 II Cor. 11:27.

20972 The word "first" is probably a scribal error in H, since C, F, G, T have "throst", and II Cor. 11:27 has "in fame et siti".

20973-76 These lines have dropped out of the Southern version. The sources for C, G, F (except 11. 20975-76) are II Cor. 11:25-26, and Isidore (ibid), no. 121.

20977-78 CM does not follow the previous lines in II Cor. 11, but retreats a few verses to line 23, which says: "in carceribus abundantibus", while "periculis" is mentioned seven times in II Cor. 11:26. Isidore (ibid) has "carcerales tenebras", combining prison and darkness ("Merkenes"). Darkness is mentioned in connection with Paul in Col. 1:13, and I Th. 5:5. "Bondis" cf. Col. 4:3, 18; II Tim. 2:9; Phm. 10:13, Heb. 10:34, 11:36, 13:3. Isidore, De Ortu et Orbitu

20979-80 Isidore (ibid) no. 123: "inter haec ligatur a Judaeis, traditur gentibus".

20983 At this point MS T continues, since H has lost four leaves. II Cor. 11:33.

20984-86 Act. 16:24-26; Isidore (ibid) : "in carcere vinctus terraemotu facto resolvitur".

20981-86 F differs from G, E, and T. In fact, F has nothing parallel to C, G, and T's lines 20983-86, although Morris has inserted two lines from MS L. There is no equivalent in Isidore or in the Actae to lines 20981-82. The poet combines Act. 16:23-24 with the boasting epistle of Paul, namely II Cor. 11:23-33. The sequence of Paul's hardships, however, has not been preserved, which does not basically alter the factual account, except for 11. 20983-84, which do not belong to F, and do break the continuity of the thought expressed in 20981-82 and 20985-86, namely, that they were thrown into a ditch because they were assumed
dead (20985–86). The source of the two inserted lines in F is Isidore, *De Ortu et Obitu Patrum*, Cap. i:ix, *PL* LXXXIII, 150.

20987 Nero is not mentioned in the NT but was the "Caesar" to whom Paul appealed at Caesarea, *Act. 25:11*, after being tried by Nero. Palestinian procurators, Felix (AD 52–60), referred to in *Act. 21:27* and 24:27, and Porcius Festus (AD 60–62) mentioned in *Act. 1:12* implied that Paul's Roman imprisonment fell within Nero's reign, and he received his death sentence (ca. 54) from deputies of this emperor. The great fire at Rome, for which the Christians were blamed and tortured by Nero, occurred in July AD 64. Nero was the "Caesar" from whose household its Christian members sent greetings in Paul's epistle to the Philippians (Phil. 4:22). The second epistle to Timothy, ordained by the first bishop of the Church of the Ephesians, was written from Rome, when Paul was brought before Nero the second time.

20988-94 Origen, quoted by Eusebius in *H.E.*III, *PG* XX, 194–95, writes that Peter and Paul suffered martyrdom in Rome under Nero (54–68). Tertullian of Car-
tháce (ca. 198-200) declares that Paul was beheaded in Rome, cf. De Praesocr. Haer. 36, PL II,49. The magnificent basilica of San Paolo fuori le mura (St. Paul Without-the-Walls) in Rome near the Ostian Way, replacing small ones built as early as Constantine’s, is a monument to the well-authenticated tradition that the apostle was buried close to this site. The martyrdom took place toward the end of the reign of Nero, in the twelfth (S. Ephiphanios), the thirteenth (Euthalius), or the fourteenth year (St. Jerome). According to the most common opinion, Paul suffered in the same year and on the same day as St. Peter; several Latin Fathers contend that it was on the same day but not in the same year; the oldest witness, St. Dionysius the Corinthian, says only (in translation) "at (or"about") the same time." Cf. also Apostolorum prædicatio et cæsta, PL VI, 516 (attesting to the fact that Peter and Paul preached in Rome). Cf. Andreas and The Fates of the Apostles (ed. Kenneth R. Brooks)p. 56, 11-14. Cf. Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha, Vol. 1, "Passio sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli", 59, p. 171: "It deducti sunt Petrus et Paulus

20995-21006 This section on Andrew has the same sequence as Isidore (ibid), no. 124, col. 151. Cf. St. Jerome op. cit., PL XXIII, 719-21. The following chapters present each of the apostles of T. in the same order.

20995 Andrew was one among the first called (Ioan. 1:40, Matth. 4:18). He was a disciple of John the Baptist, whose testimony led him and John the Evangelist to follow Jesus. In the various lists of Apostles given in the NT, he is always numbered among the first four; cf. Matth. 10:2-3; Marc. 3:16-19; Luc. 6:14-16; Act. 1:13, which mentions: "... Petrus et Joannes, Jacobus et Andreas..."
Isidore (ibid): "Andreas... secundum Joannem primus, juxta Mattheum a primo secundus".

20996-98 His name comes from the Greek "manhood" or "valour" ("androß" is man), or "responsive" (acc. to the Legenda Aurea p. 12). As far as "rede" is concerned, cf. Marc. 12:3, where, with Peter, James and John, he asks Christ for an "explanation", and put the question that led to Christ's great eschatological discourse. Philip, later, when asked by certain Greeks to see Jesus, referred the matter to Andrew, as one of the greater authority (Ioan. 12:20-22).


\phaer se halga wer in Achaia, Andreas, waes.

The notes on p. xvii of this work refer to the Recensio Vaticanus in which Mermodonia ("Marmedonia", p. 9, 264) is placed in Scythia.

21001-08 Legenda Aurea p. 17.

New Testament Apocrypha, "Acts of Andrew", Reconstructed Text of the Martyrdom: "And they came and bound his hands and his feet and did not nail him, for they had been so instructed by Aegeates. He wished in this way to torture him as he hung in that he would be eaten alive by dogs. And they left him hanging and departed from him." (pp. 419-22); Acta Apost. Apocrypha, Vol. II, "Passio Andreae", 10, pp. 23-24; Legenda Aurea pp. 17-19; Isidore (ibid) : "... in quae etiam civitate Patris cruce suspensus occubuit." The cross on which Andrew suffered is commonly held to have been the decussate cross, now known as St. Andrew's, though evidence for this view seems to be no older than the fourteenth century. See Cath. Enc. Vol. I, p. 471.

F continues for another two lines, mentioning Andrew's death, but these lines are not found in C, G, E, and T.

This section on James the Greater is basically found in Isidore, 151.

The NT mentions James the son of Zebedee, a fisherman of Galilee (Marc. 1:19 ff.). James' vocation
Luc 5:10; Matth. 4:21ff.; Marc. 1:19ff. In the list of the Apostles his name is always paired with John (Matth. 10:2; Marc. 3:17; Luc. 6:14). James suffered martyrdom (Act. 12:2) in the early days of the Apostolic Church.


21012 New Testament Apocrypha, Vol. I, "Epistola Apostolorum", p. 192.2: "(Je) John and Thomas and Peter and Andrew and James... we have written to the churches of the East and the West, towards North and South, recounting..."

not known before the 7th century, that St. James had formerly evangelized Spain. During the Middle Ages, Compostella was, of course, one of the most famous places of pilgrimage in the world, which certainly reinforced the tradition of James's evangelizing. Cf. A. Lopez Ferreiro, *Historia de la iglesia de Santiago de Compostella*, 10 vols. (1898-1902). The *Legenda Aurea* (ibid) relates that James was not too successful in Spain, and that he returned to Judea.


21019-78 This section is proportionately longer than all the others except the one on St. Paul, which has three more lines. The poet clearly shows the great importance he attaches to St. John, as expressed also in line 21021.
21019-38 Isidore (ibid), no. 126, 127, col. 151.


21022 *Ioan.* 13:23; Isidore (ibid): "qui etiam super pectoris magistri recumbens."

21023 Isidore (ibid): "et Evangelii fluenta de ipso sacro dominici pectoris fonte potavit."

21029-30 These numbers are not in T and G but in C, F, and E.

Juliani Episcopi Toletani, Comment. in Naham Prophe-
tam, PL XCVI, 746; Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. III, xiii:1,  
PG XX, 247.

21038 Cf. Le@enda Aurea, p. 57: "Eodem anno"; cf.  
575, which states that it has recorded the doings of  
John, especially when in Patmos.

21039-40 These lines are not found in T, but in C, F,  
and G, which all mention that John wrote the Book of  
Revelation on the isle. The first few words of each  
line of E, of which folios 44 and 45 were damaged,  
resemble C, F, and G.

21041-46 This section is found neither in Isidore nor  
in The Acts of John. However, Le@enda Aurea, p. 56  
has: "Domitianus igitur imperator ejus intelligens  
flammam accersitum eum in dolium ferventis olei ante  
portam latinam mitti jussit, ille autem inde exiit  
illaesus, sicut a corruptione carnis extiterat alien-
us". Cf. Tertullian, De praecr ipt.xxxvi, PL II, 49.

21042 Cf. Fistis Sophia c.96 and Schmidt-Till 148,  
25-33, Hennecke Vol II, pp. 256-57; Acts of John,  

Isidore (ibid); *Legenda Aurea* pp. 61-62, summarizes "Isidore".

The name of the widow is found in *Legenda Aurea* p. 57. The story of Drusiana is also found in *Acts of John*, Hennecke, Vol. II, pp. 245-54, esp. 251.

Cf. remark by Hennecke Vol. II, p. 196: "to prove the truth of his preaching he then drinks a cup of poison without suffering harm, allows the effectiveness of the poison to be demonstrated on a condemned man, and when he dies of poison proceeds to revive him, but is nevertheless exiled to Patmos, having ... meanwhile restored to life one of the chambermaids".

Bonnet himself (Aa II. L. p. xxviii) following Lipsius (I, p. 482) pointed out that this narrative of journeys to Rome and Patmos in both its recensions shows too evident signs of a later date to be ascribed to the ancient *Acts of John*. 
21059-69 Isidore (ibid) nos. 129-130.


21073-78 Cf. note in Hennecke, Vol. II, p. 258, where in an expansion of the Acts of John, the Apostle is described dismissing the brethren, who on their return the next day find only his sandals and see the earth pouring out. They remember Jesus' words in Ioan. 21: 22: "Dicit ei Jesus: Sic eum volo manere donec veniam, quid ad te? tu me sequere."

21075-76 T, C, and G are similar, but F replaces the lines with a scribal comment:

be landis folk his will noث nik,
lese it be atte Goddis wille.

E (judging by the few words that are visible on the folio), follows T, C, and G.

21079-88 The section on Philip is basically the same as Isidore (ibid) cap. lxxiii, col. 152; Acts of Philip

21079-80. Ioan. 1:44.

21081 Cf. St. Isidore Prolegomena, PL LXXXI, 394; "Philippus Gallias"; Flavii Lucii Dextri Chronicon, PL XXXI, 87, which ascribes "Scythia et Gallia" to Philip; St. Juliani Episcopi Toletani Comment. in Nahum Prophetam, PL XCVI, 746.


21084 Phrygia.

21089-104 This section on Thomas Didymus is taken almost exactly from Isidore (ibid), no. 132. Cf. St. Jerome Liber de Viris Illustribus, PG XXIII, 721.

21089 "Thomas" cf. Matth. 10:3; Marc. 3:18; Luc. 6:15; Act. 1:13; "Didymus" cf. Ioan. 11:16; 20:24; 21:2.
21090-92 Ioan. 20:25-29.


21102-104 Cf. Acta Thomaee, Hennecke Vol. II, p. 530:

And when he had prayed, he said to the soldiers: 'Come and fulfil (the command) of him who sent you! And at once the four smote him and slew him. And wrapping him in fine robes and many fine linen clothes they laid him in the tomb in which the kings of old (were buried)."

The Acta Thomaee belong to Gnostic literature, and, as Hennecke says, Vol. II, p. 426: "Thomas... ranks in the ATH (Acta Thomaee) as a twin brother of Jesus, like him both in appearance, (c. 11) and also in his destiny and redeeming work (cc. 31, 39). "As in other Gnostic literature (Epist. Apost. 42 f; Pistis Sophia 42 f; Introduction and Logion 33 of the new-found Gospel of Thomas, see Piech., Vol. I p. 287), Thomas appears in the ATH (Acta Thomaee) as the recipient and mediator of special
secret revelations..., but the interpretation of the name "twin" in the sense of the Gnostic fusion of Redeemer and Apostle is first complete in the Ath.
21105-12 This section on Bartholemew closely follows Isidore, cap. lxxv, cols. 152-53, and col. 1291 of Append. XX (PL-LXXIII).
21105 Bartholemew is mentioned in all four of the lists. Matth. 10:3; Marc. 3:18; Luc. 6:14; Act. 1:13. He was the Nathanael of the Fourth Gospel; Ioan. 1:45; 21:2. Cf. Cath. Enó. II, 313 d., which says that many scholars identify Bartholemew with Nathanael. Cf. The Gospel of Jesus Christ according to St. Matthew, A. Jones, in Cath. Com. 692e. The reasons for this identification are: 1. Bartholemew (Bar-Tolmai) is not the proper name of the apostle; 2. the name never occurs in the Fourth Gospel, while Nathaniel is not mentioned in the synoptists; 3. Bartholemew's name is coupled with Philip's in the lists of Matth. and Luc., and found next to it in Marc., which agrees well with what Ioan. says, namely, that Philip was an old friend of Nathaniel's and brought him to Jesus. 4. His call
is mentioned together with that of several Apostles;

5. Nathaniel was of Galilee, where were found most, if not all, of the Apostles. Evangelium iuxta Bartho-
lomaeum, cf. St. Jerome, Comment. in Ev. Matth., PL
XXVI, 17, and note b, provide no source material for
Jerome, Epist.cxxii, PL XXII, 1038 and Comment. in Isai.
PL XXIV, 649; St. Augustine Tract VII, PL XXXV, 1445,
and Serm. PL XXVIII, 557, 630, 631; Ven. Bede, In S.
Ioan. Ev., PL XCI, 654, 655. Otto Hopman, The Apos-
tles, p. 155 ff., entitles chapter six of his book:
Nathanael Bartholemew. "St. Augustine and Gregory the
Great did not believe Bartholemew and Nathaniel to be
the same apostle. But today their reasons for such a
decision are not recognized as valid" (p. 156). This
book also refers to a legend recorded by Peter de Nata-
libus (ca. 1372) which corroborates this (p. 157).
Cf. also Ronald Brownrigg, The Twelve Apostles, p.
132, where the name is "Nathaniel Bar-Tolmai". "Suly"
Morris Vol. VI, p. 813 asks whether this might not be
Syria. "Sulie" is a corruption of "Surie" (Syria, as


21113-16 These lines are only found in F, in which Bartholemew is said to have been skinned, and his hide sold in town. Although these lines do not appear authentic, it is interesting to note that in art (e.g.
Michelangelo's Last Judgment) he is often presented as flayed and holding, in his hand his own skin, because of a legend in which he is said to have been flayed alive and crucified head downwards (Cf. S. Dorotheus and S. Theodorus in *Legenda Aurea*, pp. 453, and 544-548).

21117-26 Except for lines 21120, 21123 and 21124, this section on Matthew the Evangelist is taken line for line from Isidore (ibid.), cap. LX:VI, col. 153, and col. 1291; Cf. *Legenda Aurea*, p. 623 ff.

21117 Matthew's name is given in all four of the official lists: *Marc.* 3:18, *Act.* 1:13; *Matth.* 10:3, and *Luc.* 6:15. Outside of the foregoing references, he is mentioned only when Christ called him (*Matth.* 9:9; *Marc.* 2:13 f., *Luc.* 5:27). The CM poet lists Matthew here in the ninth place. Mark lists his name in seventh place, but naturally does not mention Paul as one of the original twelve; neither does Luke, whose listing finds Matthew in the same spot. Matthew himself lists the apostles in pairs, and adds his own name to that of Thomas in the fourth pair. The order of the *Act.* 1:13, however, is somewhat different. Cf.
note on 1. 20349.

21113 Mark. 2:14; Matth. 9:9; Luke. 5:27. Matthew sometimes takes a prominent place in apocryphal writings, as in the sentence in the First Book of Jeâ (c. 3; see Vol. I, p. 262): "All the apostles answered with one voice, Matthew and John, Philip and Bartholomew and James, saying..." (Hennecke, Vol. II, p. 37). In A Manichaean Psalm-book, ed. C.R.C. Alberry, II, we find two somewhat diverging catalogues, the second of which has no Matthew the tax collector, but a Levi without any indication of his profession. Cf. Hennecke (ibid). T, F, G, and H have that Matthew is "a cousin" of Christ, but C's "chosen" is correct and translates "electus", and, therefore, H, T, F, and G's "cosin" is a corruption of this. Isidore with C has "ex publicano a Christo electus" (ibid). Nevertheless C's line is corrupt in other ways, because it is too long and repetitious: "O leui cald & chosin & cald o crist."


21120 Cf. Origen "In Matth." quoted by Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. III, xxiv, 5; xxv, 1, PL XXV, 4; St. Jerome, Comment. in Ev. Matth., PL XXVI, 18. According to the Book of Thomas the Athlete, Matthew heard and wrote down the words of Christ that were made known to Thomas; cf. Hennecke, Vol. II, p. 61.

21121-23 Isidore (ibid), cap. XLVIII, col. 1291; St. Irenaeus tells us that Matthew preached the Gospel among the Hebrews, PG VII, in Lib. III, col. 1601, and Eusebius, in Hist. Eccl. III, 39, PG XX, 299, maintains that, before going into other countries, he gave them his gospel in his mother tongue ("Hebraico sermone divina scripsit oracula").


21124 The Fates of the Apostles (op. cit.), p. 58: 58-59:

ponge het Irtacus burh yrne hyge,
waelreow cyning waephnum asweban;

says that Matthew died a peaceful death. Another apocryphal writing, "Martyrium S. Matthaei in Ponto", *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, Vol. II, pp. 217-262, has Matthew subjected to a series of attempts to kill him. Then he prays in Hebrew for his brothers and dies. Later he rises from his deathbed and is raised up to heaven.

21125-26 This contradicts the apocryphal writing referred to above. The *Mart. Rom.* mentions the place of this martyrdom, "In Aethiopia...", and indicates his entrance into eternal happiness in the word "natalis" (*Mart. Rom.* p. 289).

21127-44 This section on James the Less follows its immediate source Isidore (ibid) Cap. LXXVII, col. 453, very closely, except for lines 21132, 21137, 21142, 21144-45. Append. XX of Isidore, PL XXXIII, 1290, supplies basically the same information, but adds the sources of ll. 21137 and 21144. James is called an apostle by Paul in *Gal.* 1:19: "Alium autem apostolorum vidi neminem, nisi Jacobum fratrem Domini."

21118 Cf. *Act.* 15:3; 21:18. It should be noted that
the title of "bishop" is not used in the NT. However, he was a distinguished leader in the Jerusalem church (Gal. 1:13-19), where his significance increased after the death of James the Great (Act. 12:1-17). He was the chief spokesman for the Jerusalem church during the "council" (Act. 15:13), and Paul's final visit to Jerusalem (Act. 21:18 ff.). The following references refer to him explicitly as bishop of Jerusalem. The Aurora, p. 639, Actus Apostolorum, 1. 315: "Iacobus Alphei sancte fit episcopus urbis." Busebius, Hist. Eccl. VII, 19, PG XXI, 582, relates that in his time the seat of St. James was as yet extant in Jerusalem; Précult., Chronicon, PL CVI, 1122; Haymo, Hist. Sacrae Ep., PL CXXVIII, 823; S. do Vinnens, Chronicon, PL CXXIII, 76.


James' mother was called Mary, Matth. 27:56; Marc. 15:40. From the obvious parallel account in Ioan. 19:25 she is to be identified with Mary, the wife of Cleophas, who might be the same as Alphaeus (cf. 1. 21127): The NT refers to the "brethren" of Our Lord, as in Matth. 12:46; Marc. 6:3; Ioan 7:3; Act. 1:14; I Cor. 9:5. The question as to the meaning of brethren has been extensively argued by St. Jerome vs. Helvidius in De Perpetua Virginitate B. Mariae, PL XXIII, 183-206. He concludes that Mary was an "espoused" virgin who conceived Jesus, without having had marital relations, and who gave birth to her first- (and only) born. In regard to the term "brothers and sisters" of Christ (cf. Luc. 3:20), Jerome distinguishes among four ways in which Scripture uses the term: natura (e.g. Andrew and Peter), gente (e.g. all
Jews), cognatione (one family or fatherland), and affectu (spiritually, or emotionally). He concludes saying: "Restat igitur, ut juxta superiorem expositionem fratres eos intelligas appellatos, cognationes, non affecti; non genti privilegio, non natura," Cf. col. 201 in which Jerome applies the same to the "fratres Evangelistae"; calling up Ignatius, Polycarp, Irenaeus, Justin Martyr "multosque alios apostolicos et eloquentes viros" whom he describes as all "haec eadem sentientes". Cf. also S. Clemens of Alex. Strom. PG IX, cols. 1135-36; St. Ambrose Exp. Ev. Lib. II, PL XV, no. 57, col. 1573; St. Ambrose De Inst. Vir. cap. VI, no. 42, col. 316; cap. X, no. 63, PL XVI, col. 521.

There is some controversy as to the identity of Alphaeus and Cleophas, since James' mother, Mary, was married to both. Matth. 10:3: "...Jacobus Alphaei..."; James' mother was named Mary (Matth. 27:56; Marc. 15:20). It would appear from the obvious parallel account in Joan. 19:25 that she is to be identified with Mary (the wife) of Cleophas. She either married twice, or
the two names refer to the same person, as was the
case in a number of instances recorded at the time,
namely with Saul and Paul, Simon and Peter.
The following tables will try to shed some light on
the question of James' mother, while she is the wife
of both Alphacus and of Cleophas. The names of Mary's
parents come from the Protevangelium of James (AD 150),
Hennecke, Vol. i, pp. 374 ff., the Gospel of the Nati-

vity of Mary, or Pseudo-Matthew.

Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Joachim</th>
<th>Anne</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Joseph</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mary</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mary</td>
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<td>Jesus</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mary</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>James</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|         | Cleophas

Note: This table is based on the supposition made by
pp. 344 ff.), that John 19:25 identifies our Lady's
sister with Mary of Cleophas. Some find it strange,
if not impossible, however, for two children of the
same parents to possess the same name, Mary.
Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Joachim</th>
<th>Anne</th>
<th>Jacob</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mary</td>
<td>Joseph</td>
<td>Cleophas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus</td>
<td>James</td>
<td>Joseph Simon Jude</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both tables could possibly be correct: two sisters, Mary (Jesus' mother) and Mary (James' mother) could have married two brothers, Joseph and Cleophas. There is, of course, the tradition that Mary and Joseph were related before their marriage (Cath. Com., p. 345). Hegesippus, the 2nd century historian, apparently traces a relationship between our Lord and James through Cleophas. This is claimed by Eusebius, writing in the 4th cent., Hist. Eccl. IV, 22:4, PG XX, 373-79; III, 11:1, PG XX, 216. This would make James the nephew of Joseph and cousin of Jesus. Cf. St. Jerome, PL LXXXIII, 219. For the fact that James was the son of Alphaeus, cf. Ordo. Vitalis, PL CLXXXVIII, 64-65; Petrus Comestor Hist. Schol. in Ev., PL CXCIII, 1631.

There existed in the Middle Ages an opinion that Anne had had three husbands, namely Joachim, Cleophas,
and Salomais. Of the first husband she begot one daughter, namely Mary, the mother of Our Lord. Of the second one (the brother of Joseph) she had another daughter, also called Mary, who later became the wife of Alphaeus and the mother of James the Less, Joseph the Just (or Barnabas), Simon, and Jude. Of the third one she had another daughter, called again Mary, and gave her in marriage to Zebedee. This Mary bore two sons to Zebedee, namely James the Greater, and John the Evangelist. This spurious legend is found in writings of Gerson (Opp. III, 59) and a number of others.

James is one of "four brethren" explicitly named in the Gospels: James, Joseph, Simon and Jude (Matt. 13:55; Mark. 6:3; Gal. 1:19).

21135-36 Cf. Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. II, 23:4-8, PG XX, 192, in which James is said to have been called "Oblias", which was supposed to mean "protection of the people". He was also holy (i.e. ritually pure) from birth, and lived as an ascetic, which gave him a prestige of holiness with the people. Cf. The Gospel of Thomas, Logion 12, pl. 82, 25-30, which shows the high esteem
James enjoyed in the early period: "The disciples said to Jesus: We know that thou wilt go away from us. Who is it who shall be great over us? Jesus said to them: Whenever you have come, you will go to James the righteous, for whose sake heaven and earth came into being."


21137-46 Original source: Isidore, PL LXXIII, col. 1290. Eusebius, (ibid) relates that James was probably hurled down (outwards) into the Kidron valley, and that they then began stoning him, but stopped when "the Just" started to pray for them, and that then a fuller struck him on the head with a cudgel. James' execution was also reported by Josephus, Ant. XX, 9:1, Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. II, 23:21-24, PG XX


21143-46 Lekenda Aurea p. 292.

21147-54 Isidore, col. 153, gives the same information in the same order, except for line 21153.

21147-48 Ep. B. Judae: "Judás... frater autem Jacobi..."

Luc. 6:16; Ioan. 14:22; Act. 1:13; Orderic Vitalis Hist. Ecclesiastica, PL CLXXXVIII, 64-65; Petrus Comestor, Hist. Schol. in Ev. PL CXXXVIII, 1631; Judas is also called Thaddæus, or Lebbæus, Ecclesiastical History; cf. Lekenda Aurea pp. 705-706, 702.

21149-52 Cf. Freculf, Chronicon, PL CVI, 1132, 1147; Orderic Vitalis, Hist. Ecol., PL CLXXXVIII, 115, 116; Mart. Rom. p. 329; Jude's Epistle inveighs against the heresies and wicked practices of the Simonians, Nicolaites, Gnostics, and others. He exhorts the faithful to stand up for the faith first delivered to them.

21153-54 Cf. Isidore (ibid) cap. LXXVIII, col. 153:
"Sepultus est Berytho Armeniae urbe". In a footnote to Isidore, Migne has "Beritho. Sic Dorotheus, alii Herito." Cf. Venantii Hon. Clem. Fortunati Operum, miscellania, PL LXXVIII, 270; The Fates of the Apostles, p. 53, 75-34; Passio Simonis et Judae, J.A. Fabricius, Codex apocryphus novi Testamenti, 1703, ii, pp. 603 ff. Note the differences between the G texts in regard to the place mentioned in l. 21153; G has "abi", F "Abye", G "a by" and T "aby". F has mistakenly formed a proper noun; the others understand it well enough. The names of the next line also present interesting parallels, and seem to suggest words which sounded closely alike. G, H, and T's Carmen is a corruption of C and F's armeni, Lat. Armeniae. The city of Jericho is in Palestine, and must, therefore, be a scribal error. The original reading was clearly "nerito", as in Latin. "c" and "t" are easily
confused by scribes, which accounts for "nerico". The
scribe dropped one stroke off the beginning of the
word to produce "ierico" (which was familiar to him).
II and I both have "ierico", so this was the southern.
translator's interpretation of the word. Morris only
indicates the different readings in his index of names,
without any discussion.

21155-65 This section, referring to Matthias except
for the last two lines, which are a comment by the
poet, are directly based on Isidore (ibid), col. 153.
Sacr., PL CXXV, 323; Regino Prumiens, Chronicon, PL
CXXXII, 17.

21158 Cf. Orderic. Vitalis, Hist. Eccl. PL CLXXXVIII,
665, 177; Petrus Comestor, Hist. Schol. in Ev., PL
CXCVIII, 1631; Peculf. Chronicon, PL CVI, 1148.

21160 Three and a half score and two makes seventy-two.

21163-64 The CH poet did not find Matthias' death in
Isidore, nor in the Legenda Aurea. The Wart. Rom.,
p. 61, says: "In Judaea natalis sancti Matthiae Apost-
toli, qui, post Ascensionem Domini ab Apostolis in Ju-
daæ proditoris locum sorte electus, pro Evangelii praë-
21165-76. This section on Simon Zelotes closely follows Isidore (ibid), col. 153.

21165. Matth. 10:4; Marc. 3:18; Luc. 6:15; Act. 1:13.


21172. Cf. St. Isidore (ibid); St. Jerome (ibid);
Legenda Aurea p. 711, says that there are actually two Simons: one who was crucified, and another who had been the bishop of Jerusalem. The Legenda Aurea here refers to Eusebius, Isidore, and Bede, who all reaffirm the statement. However, they all had at first mistakenly thought that there was only one Simon, and corrected their views later. The conclusion in respect to the CM poet is clear: he either did not see these "corrections" or "assertions", or he was not convinced by their arguments. This, obviously, contradicts Haenisch, who says in his Inquiry into the Sources of the "Cursor Mundi", p. 47, that besides Isidore, the Legenda Aurea is the other source of CM here. The fact, however, that CM does not include everything in the Legenda Aurea does not prove that the poet was not using the Legenda Aurea selectively.

21173 Trajan (Marcus Ulpius Nerva Trajanus), born AD 53?, became emperor AD 98, an office which he held until his death AD 117. His policy was not to hunt out Christians for persecution, but to execute them if legally prosecuted and convicted. This policy probably had been passed down by Vespasian, and might even
have originated with some other Flavian emperor, who
had ruled that Christian worship was a crime against
the Empire. Cf. St. Jerome, Liber de Viris Illustri-
bus, PL XXIII, no. 958, VI.

21174 Venantii Hon. Clem. Fortunati Operum, Miscellae-
nea, PL LXXXVIII, 270, B: "Hinc Simonem ac Judam lumen
Persida gemellum, Laeta relaxata mittit ad sinu"; The
Fates of the Apostles, p. 58: 75-84; "Apud Antiocham
praedicando martyrii coronam receptit (an. 107)", Fre-
culph., Chronicon, PL CVI, 1158.

21175 According to Morris, CM, Vol. VI, p. 1798, the
name of the place where Simon the apostle is buried,
with its different spellings in C, F, G, and T, is the
Bosporus, and this is what Isidore (ibid) says: "Jacet
in Bosphoro." The letters "f" and "s" are easily con-
fused in these MSS.

21177-82 This short summary in CM has its source in
Isidore, col. 154.

21183-94 This is not found in Isidore (ibid), who con-
tinues to repeat the names of the twelve apostles
(whose histories he gave before) and the respective
territories they missionized. CM, however, elaborates
here on the marital status of Peter and Philip, the martyrdom of Peter's wife, his daughter Petronella, and finally on the fact that Holy Mass in Peter's time simply consisted of the pater noster. The source for this I have not been able to trace as yet.

21183-84 re. Peter: Matth. 8:14-15; Marc. 1:29-31; Luc. 4:38-39. re, Philip: Act. 11:8-9; Legenda Aurea p. 292, where Jacobus de Voragine distinguishes between two persons named Philip: Philip the apostle and Philip the deacon. The apostle, according to Legenda Aurea, had two saintly daughters, who were buried next to him after his martyrdom. Isidore says in his book Ortu et Obitu Patrum, PL LXXXIII, 1290:

"Deinde Philippus Gallis praedicavit, ubi crucifixus, et lapidatus obiit, ubique cum filiabus suis quiescit."

The Hist. Ecol. of Eusebius indicates that the apostle had four daughters, but adds that St. Jerome deserves more credence on this point. Cf. Clement of Alexandria, Strom., PG VIII, 1158: "Petrus enim et Philippus filios procrearunt: Philippus autem filias quoque suas viris locavit." The second Philip, one of the first
seven deacons, St. Jerome says, died at Caesarea,
"Juxta quem tres filiae ejus tumulatae sunt, nam
quarta apud Ephesum requiescit" (Legenda Aurea, p. 293).
21185-86 Cath. Enc. Vol. XI, pp. 744-45, Simon was
married and according to Clement of Alexandria in
Strom. III, vi, ed. Dindorf II, 276, PG VIII, 1158:
"Petrus enim et Philippus filios procreaurunt." The
same writer relates the tradition that Peter's wife
suffered martyrdom (ibid), VII, xi, ed. cit. III,
306. These data were adopted by Eusebius, Hist. Eccl.
II, p. 260 mentions Clement's Strom. III, 652, and
Strom. VII, 11.63, the latter reference relating Peter
encouraging his wife on the way to martyrdom: "When
the blessed Peter was obliged to see how his own wife
was led to death, he rejoiced because she partook of
her call and returned home, and shouted to her the
name of the Lord, that he might truly encourage and
comfort her, and said to her: Think, beloved, on the
Lord!" (Hennecke, Vol. II, p. 50). Hennecke insinuates
that this information must have come from oral
tradition known to Clement (Hennecke, Vol. II, p. 269).


21189-94 Of the first period of the liturgy, there is no complete description. Without doubt, at first the liturgy of the Mass was simple. Justin Martyr alone gives a fairly complete outline of the rite he knew. In the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (end of the first century), there is still the free "prophesying"
(x,7), the Eucharist is still joined to the Agape (x,1), and the "Our Father" is a recognized formula: it is to be said three times every day (viii.2-3).

21195-216 In this section on Luke, the poet uses two sources; he closely follows Isidore, cap. LXXXIII, 143-44, PL LXXXIII, col. 154, except for lines 21203-206 where his reading is that of Isidore, PL LXXXIII, cols. 1292-93.

21195-96 Cf. Col. 4:14; Phil. 2:4; II Tim. 4:11. The author of the third book of the NT is considered the same author as the writer of the Acts, but is nowhere mentioned by name in either one of these writings. However, indirectly there are several clear statements in which Luke implies his authorship, namely, in some "we" sections of the Acts, in which he indicates that he was present (16:10-17; 20:5-15; 21:1-17; 27:1; 28:16). Besides, "about the author of the Acts of the Apostles there prevails a perfect unanimity". (The Holy Bible, the Douay-Rheims version, p. 141).


21198 This contradicts Clement of Alex.'s view in the last line (cf. note to l. 21197).

21200 The meaning of this line is clearest in F, while C and G have "ser" and "sere" which can mean several, sore, sorrow, or grief, but make the meaning secondary to the need for a rhyme word. T has "werē", and its meaning is "doubt".

21201-202 Isidore, PL LXXXIII, col. 1292; Legenda Aurea p. 645: "... ipse nec uxorem unquam habuit nec filios."

21203-06 Cf. Beichner, Speculum 24 (1949), p. 248. He shows the source of these lines is Isidore, PL LXXXIII, col. 1292.

21209-16 This is word for word Isidore, PL LXXXIII, col. 1293; cf. St. Jerome, De Vir. III, PL XXIII; Mart. Rom, p. 318.

21217-36 This section on Barnabas has a variety of sources, Isidore only gives the gist of his life, his association and split with Paul.

21217-19 Isidore, PL LXXXIII, col. 1293; Isidore, cap. LXXXIV, col. 155; Mart. Rom, p. 173; Legenda Aurea, p. 346. The Acts mention that his first name was Joseph and that he was a Levite.

21219-20 Act. 9:27; 13:1; 15:39, which covers the first

21225-32 *Legenda Aurea*, p. 349.

21233-36 Legenda Aurea p. 349; cf. Acts of Barnabas
Lipsius, Apostelgeschichten II, 2 pp. 270-320;
21237-63 This section on Mark is based mainly on Isi-
dore (ibid) col. 154. From 21237-53, however, it fol-
lows Isidore; PL LXXXIII, cap. LXXXIII, col. 1292.
Isidore has Mark and Barnabas in reverse order.
21237 Isidore (op. cit.) the name "Joannes cognomi-
natus Marcus", is found in Act. 12:12, 25; 15:37;
Ioan. 5:13; Marc. 15:39; Col. 4:10; II Tim. 4:11;
Phil. 24; I Pet. 5:13; Mart. Rom. p. 120.
21238 In calling Mark his "son" Peter, as understood
by the CM poet, implied that he baptized him, although
the Greek, "teknon" might be expected rather than
"huios", I Cor. 4:17; I Tim. 1:2, 18; II Tim. 2:1;
Tit. 1:4; Phil. 10; I Pet. 5:13; Legenda Aurea p.
238.
21241 Act. 4:36; Mark according to the Prologue to the
Gospel of Mark (KLT I, p. 15), was a Levite, being
the cousin of the Levite Barnabas. Cf. Legenda Aurea
p. 265.

21242-43 Isidore (ibid); Legenda Aurea, p. 265; S. Ado
Viennens, Chronicon, PL CXXIII, 77; Col. 4:10; II Tim.
4:11; I Pet. 5:13; Prologue to Mark; text in de
Bruyne, Rev. Bén. 40, 1928, pp. 193 ff. Huck-Lietz-
mann, Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien, 10, 1950,
p. VIII (Hennecke, Vol. II, p. 68): "He wrote his
Gospel in Italy."

21243 MSS C and F are right and translate Isidore
(ibid), col. 1292, but G, H and T are corrupt (in a
tale= in itali).

21242-43 Isidore (ibid); Legenda Aurea, p. 266, gives
as the reason his great humility: "Tantae autem humi-
litas dicitur fuisse, ut, pollicem sibi amputaverit,
ne ad ordinem sacerdotii posset humano judicio pro-
moveri." Hippolitus Philosophumena, VIII, xxx, PG
VI, 334. In Canon 984 of the Codex Iuris Canonici
it states: "Sunt irregulares ex defectu:...Corpor
vitiati qui secure propter debilitatem, vel decenter
propter deformitatem, altaris ministerii defungi non
valeant." T.L. Bouscaren and A.C. Ellis, Canon Law,
A Text and Commentary, p. 43, referring to this point
in the canon comment: "Mutilation... those who have lost a thumb, especially the thumb of the right hand."

Cf. also Abbé Gilbert Guaydier, Les Irregularités "Ex Defectu Corporis", p. 132.

The reason for irregularity seems to be that a person who had lost a thumb would not be ordained if he would not be able safely to hold and break the Sacred Host. (Bouscaren, ibid).


21249-50 Legenda Aurea, p. 265.

21257-60 Mart. Rom. p. 120; Jerome, De Vir. Ill. viii PL XXIII, 622, mentions the year of his death, but this could be merely an inference from a statement of Eusebius, Hist. Ecc. II, xxiv, PG XX, 205, who refers to the year Anianus succeeded St. Mark in the See of Alexandria. The same with Isidore (ibid). As to the manner of his death, the Acts of Mark say the saint achieved martyrdom while being dragged through the streets of Alexandria; see also, the Paschal Chronicle (Cath. Enc. Vol. IX, p. 674 b).

21263-343 This section, which speaks allegorically of the four evangelists, has its Biblical source in the heavenly liturgy described in the Book of Revelation: "Et animal primum simile leoni, et secundum animal simile vitulo, et tertium animal habens faciem quasi hominis, et quartum animal simile aquilae volanti. Et quatuor animalia singula eorum habebant alas, senas: et in circuitu et intus plena sunt oculis: et requiem non habebant die ac nocte, dicentia: "Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus omnipotens, qui erat, et qui est, et qui venturus est." (Apoc. 4:7-8). The last part,
from "Sanctus..." is from Is. 6:3, while the first part is based on the vision of Ezech. (1:4-28); St. August., In Joannis Evangelium, Tract. XXXVI, Caput VIII, PL XXXV, 1665.

This whole section is an almost literal translation of Carmina Miscellaea, wrongly ascribed to Hildebertus, Genoman. Epis., PL CLXXI, col. 1389-90. However, Beichner Speculum (1949) shows it is by Petrus Riga. The CM poet follows the sequence of symbols almost to the letter, except for two or three small points, cf. 11. 21288, 21297, and 21315.

Ezechiel, one of the four great prophets, was taken into Babylonian captivity (II Reg. 24:11-16). Ezechiel apparently derived his plastic imagery from the composite Babylonian figures (originally astronomical figures), and equipped each Being with all four faces, human, lion, bull, eagle. John simplifies Ezechiel's Cherubs but joins to them the six-winged Seraphs of Isaias (ch. 6), also their triple Sanctus, and possibly the "watchers" (the eyes) of Apocryphal tradition. Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. PG VII-I, 885-88, is the
first one known to have applied these Beings to the four Evangelists, simply because they are 4 (Cath. Enc. p. 1199, no. 966b).

Ezech. 1:15-21.


Grace gaue Piers a tême. foure grete oxen; pat on was Luke, a large beste. and a lowe-chered, And marke, & mathew þe ðrydde. myghty beste bothe. And ioigned to hem one Iohan. most gentil of alle" Piers was to plow the field of truth. Cf. The Ormulum Vol. I, Preface, II, l-106, in which the author explains the name of the book, the fact that it is made up of the four Gospels, written by four. Christ is Salomon, the peacemaker (ll. 59-60). The four evangelists are the four wheels of Christ's wagon:

Forr þat iwt waȝneþ Crist till menn purrh fowwre Godspellwrihtess, Rinhæt alls iwf þæt wære þatt waȝn þæt gæþ ðæt fowwre wheless. (ll. 77-80)

The reference to "Off quaðprigan Amminadab" (I.5) has
the note: "Or ever I was aware, my soul made me as
the chariots of Amminadib" or, as in the margin of our
Bibles, "set me on the chariots of my willing people."

Song of Solomon 6:12. The Ormulum (1. 25)

Godspell iss Jesuesseract waʒʒn
patt gaḥ o fowwre wheles

cf. St. August. De Consensu Evangelistarum, I, c.7,
PL XXXIV, 1047-48; Bede, Bedae Comment. in Cant. Cant.
c.6, PL XCI, 1082.


21270 C and G are substantially the same but differ
from T in form. However, F differs from C, G, and T
in essence, and has "pe quelis ar ioyned with mani a
dowle."

21271 Cf. Gen. 2:10-14, which moreover names the
streams; S. Max. Taur. Sermo XIV, PL LVIII, 551; Isi-
dore, PL LXXXIII, 216.


21277 The image of the carriage originated with Ezechiel,
and the meaning here is that the cart could be drawn
into the four directions of the compass without tur-
ning.
21283 "Wis & war" is a common formula; the same expression is still current in Dutch, "wis en waarachtig"; both words are originally Old Saxon. Cf. Lagamon's Brut, 26000.
21288 Beichner, Speculum (Vol. 24, p. 243), refers to this line and says that it is clarified by "iugum sunt tua iussa" (De quatuor evangelistarum proprietatibus et significacionibus of Petrus Riga). Morris and Hensch both understood "bodi" to mean the modern English "body", rather than "command" or "message", and thus gave the reader a distorted conception of the allegory. The preceding line pictures Christ as the charioteer, and to turn immediately to His body as the yoke does violence to one's imagination. The poet probably wrote "bode" as a translation of "iussa" and to explain 1. 21284.
21293-96 Cf. Pī XXX, 533-34.

21297 Cf. Beichner, Speculum (ibid). The source (Petrus Riga's poem, l. 27) has "Iste quasi terram sapit". Either the poet found "ceram" in his Latin MS or he read "ceram" for "terram". Frequently "terram" is abbreviated, and t often looks like c.

21301-30 These lines give seven different activities or attributes to each of the four Evangelists, all in allegorical form. The first one (ll. 21301-304) is reminiscent of the metaphor of the sower and reaper. Cf. Matthew 13: 31ff. The second one (ll. 21305-308) compares the teaching of wisdom by the four Evangelists. St. John receives the highest accolade, as he does in the next group, in which he is the royal organ among the bell, tympan, and harp (ll. 21309-310). The allegory now turns to different lights, with John crowning the series with day itself (ll. 21311-314). The order of importance is maintained in the metals, ending with silver and gold (ll. 21315-317). The facial features are the content of the next three lines (ll. 21317-321). The source of this is

21315. H and T omit to mention "iron", while C, F, and G follow the source, Petrus Riga, op. cit. l. 315: "Consule scripturas: hic ferreus, ereus ille", and mention "irin."

21323-30 For reasons why the four Evangelists were pictured this way, cf. Alcuin, PL CI, 1129; Jerome Comment in Ev. Matth., PL XXVI, 18; St. August. Tract PL XXXV, 1666; S. Max. Taur. Serm. PL LVII, 561.


21377. Ibid, pp. 7, 256.

21338. Ibid. p. 105 ff.

21339-44 The CM poet draws a clear moral from the allegorical discussion by slightly rewording some of the lines of his source.
List of Abbreviations

Biblical and linguistic abbreviations are standard as are those of scholarly journals (cf. Biblia Sacra, and Volume I of MLA International Bibliography).

Most of the other abbreviations are presented in forms which are easily recognizable to avoid the need for frequent consultation of this list.

In the following list, the abbreviation used is followed, where necessary, by the complete title of the work, and the first word or words of the entry in the Bibliography.

Works which are cited infrequently, or do not appear in the Bibliography are fully described here.


* Aelfric's Homilies, The Sermones Catholici or Homilies of Aelfric*. Thorpe, Benjamin, ed.


* BM—Assumptio Beate Marie*, Lumby, J.R., ed.

* Cambr.—Assumptioun de Notre Dame*, Lumby, J.R. ed.


CM--Cursor Mundi. Morris, Richard, ed.

Dobschütz--Christusbilder; Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende. Dobschütz Ernst von, ed.

EETS--The Early English Text Society.


Haenisch--"Inquiry into the Sources of the Cursor Mundi." Morris, Richard, ed.

Harl.--Assumptio de Notre Dame, Lumby, J.R., ed.


Herman--De L'assomption Notre Dame von Herman de Valenciennes. Herman de Valenciennes.


Hist. Schol. Evang.--Historia Scholastica--In Evangelia. PL CXCVIII.

Legenda Aurea.--Jacobus a Voragine.

L'évangile de Nicodème.--Alvin E., ed.


Mandeville's Travels.--Hamelius, P., ed.

Mart. Rom.--MartYROLOGIUM ROMANUM, editio sexta Taurinensis.


ND--L'établissement de la fête de la Conception Notre-Dame. Wace, ed.

NT--Novum Testamentum, or New Testament.


Piers Plowman--Skeat, Walter W., ed.


The Apostle's Creed.--Swete, H.B.

The Blickling Homilies.--Morris, R. ed.


VM--La Vie de la Vierge Marie, de Maître Wace, ed.
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Amedeus Lausannensis. *Homiliae*. PL CLXXXVIII.

Ambrose. De *Sacramentis*. PL XVI (2-1).

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Augustine. De *Civitate Dei*. PL XLI.

--------. De *Consensus Evangelistarum*. PL XXXIV.

--------. De *Doctrina Christiana*. PL XXXIV.

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----. *Expositio in Evangelium S. Marci*. PL XCII.

----. *Expositio in Evangelium S. Matthaei*. PL XCII.

----. *Liber Retractionis in Actus Apostolorum*. PL XCII.

----. *Super Acta Apostolorum Expositio*. PL XCII.


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--------. *Demonstratio Evangelica*. PG XXII.

--------. *Historia Ecclesiastica*. PG XX.


Flodoardus. *Opuscula Metrica*. PL CXXXV.

Germanus. *In Dormitionem B. Mariae*. PG XCIII.

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--------. *Moralium Libri: Expositio in Librum B. Job*. PL LXXV.

--------. *Moralium*. PL LXXVI.


Hildebertus. *Carmina Miscellanea*. PL CLXXI.

-----------. *Physiologus*. PL CLXXI.

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Abstract

This dissertation is an edition of ll. 17289-21346 of the Cursor Mundi, which is a Middle English metrical account of Salvation history, from Genesis through the Old and New Testament into the early years of the Church. The work is especially dedicated to Our Lady. The MS, the hitherto not published in full Arundel LVII, lodged in the College of Heralds, has been partially made available in Dr. S.M. Horrall's The Southern Version of "Cursor Mundi". This study deals with folios 100V-122V of this MS, hereafter referred to as H. Some versions, including H, are almost 24,000 lines long; although some folios have been lost, as fols. 123R-127V of MS H, which were replaced by the parallel text from MS T.

The introduction describes MS H, discusses other MSS of the Cursor Mundi, their affiliation, the dialect of the MS H, the poem's date, principal sources, provenance, authorship, and genre.

The text itself, which covers the NT part from the
time immediately following Christ's burial by Joseph of Arimathea to the end of the Acts of the Apostles, attempts to present a true and accurate reproduction of the MS, with emendations and descriptive annotations in footnotes.

The explanatory notes have a variety of purposes: they attempt to present and show sources, and explore the traditional exegesis and apocryphal writings in relationship to the genesis of the Cursor Mundi.