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LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
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An Edition of the New Testament of the Cursor Mundi
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.



P.H.J. Mous, Ottawa, Canada, 1980



UNIVERSITÉ D'OTTAWA
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA

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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 C'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 speke 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 Péter 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^V-130^F of the College of Herald's.

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 Herald's bearing the inscription:

SIGILLVM: COMVNE: 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 . D.
N57

This book belongs to
the
College of Arms, London

There is an inserted letter which reads:

Mrs Lamb

18 November 1966

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 Lichfeld¹ 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 Sequence² 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 1^r- 132^v. The handwriting has been termed a clear "lettre bâtarde", 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. 88^r-100^v), which has single columns.

The MS contains, moreover, a partial copy of the Prick of Conscience (fols. 133^r- 175^v). Five leaves are missing between fols. 132 and 133 (originally the first 801 lines of the poem). The last line of fol. 175^v 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.

² H. Hupé, "Cursor Mundi Essay on the Manuscripts and Dialect" in Morris, ed., CM, VII, EETS OS 101, p. 68*.

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 Aiii, fols. 2^r-163^v).⁴

¹ Horrall, The Southern Version, p. 14.

² T.C. Skeat, "The Catalogues of the British Museum: 2 Manuscripts", Journal of Documentation, VII (1951) 25-26.

³ William Henry Black, Catalogue of the Arundel Manuscript in the Library of the College of Arms (London, 1829), p. (99).

⁴ MS C is described in A Catalogue of the MSS in the Cottonian Library, Deposited in the British Museum (London, 1802); Hupe, CM, pp. 63*-65*.

- a) date: 1375-1400
- b) The most complete study is by Lamberts.¹
- c) copied: in or near Durham
- d) edited in full by Morris
- e) dialect, Northern²

F (Bodl. 3894 Fairfax 14, fols. 4^r-123^v)³

- a) date: the MED places this MS between 1375-1400.
- b) There is a note on the history of this MS in
The Southern Version of "CM", Vol. I, p. 19.
- c) copied in Lancaster⁴
- d) edited in full by Morris
- e) dialect, Northwest Midland

¹ J.J. Lamberts, The Dialect of Cursor Mundi (Cotton MS Vespasian A iii), Diss. Michigan, 1953, p. 7.

² A map of Middle English dialect areas is found in Morton W. Bloomfield and Leonard Newmark, A Linguistic Introduction to the History of English (New York, 1963), p. 208.

³ The description of this MS is found in Falconer Madan and H.H.E. Graster, A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (Oxford 1937), II ii, pp. 777-8, and in Hupe, CM pp. 66*-67*.

⁴ S. Moore, Meech and Whitehall, ME Dialect Characteristics, p. 2.

x

G (Göttingen Univ. theol. 107 fols. 1^v-169^v)

- a) date: 1375-1400 (MED)
- b) studies: Die Handschriften¹; Hupé²
- c) copied near Worcester (Hupé, CM p. 132*), east of ^{the} ancient-diocese of Lichfield and Coventry.
- d) edited in full by Morris.

T (Trin. Camb. 588 (R.3.8) fols. 1^x-142^v)

- a) date: 1375-1400 (MED)
- b) 2 studies, one by M.R. James³, and the other one by Angus McIntosh⁴; near Lichfield⁵

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

² Hupé, CM, pp. 65*-66*.

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

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).

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 (Hupé, p. 135*)

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

- a) date: 1459 (a date recorded in the MS itself)
- b) described in Summary Catalogue¹ and Hupé²
- c) A note indicating that the MS owner was one "syster Ann Colville" 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.

¹ Falconer Madan, Summary Catalogue, II (Oxford, 1922), p. 63.

² Hupé, CM pp. 68*-69*.

³ N.R. Ker, Medieval Libraries of Great Britain, 2nd ed. (London, 1964), p. 186.

B (BM Addit. 36983, fols. 1^F-117^V; 127^V-158^V)

- a) date: later MS, dated 1442 (cf. fol. 215^V)
- 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 MDCCC-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. 37^v-50^v; 16^r-36^v)
 - a) date: 1375-1400 (MED)
 - b) description Hupé, CM 62*-63*; Willy Hörning¹
 - c) In Scottish-English area
 - d) Morris printed this MS
 - e) dialect, "Northumbrian (or Scotch)", Hupé p. 130*
2. Add. (BM Addit. 31042, fols. 3^r-32^v)
 - 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.

² Karl Brunner, "Hs Brit. Mus. Additional 31042", Archiv. CXXXII (1914), 316-27. The MS contains ll. 10630-14933 and ll. 17111-17188 of the CM.

³ Karen Stern, "The London 'Thornton' Miscellany", Scriptorium XXX (1976), pp. 26-37, 201-218.

⁴ S. Horrall, The Southern Version, pp. 20-21, and p. 428: "The London Thornton Manuscript".

- d) It has not been edited
- e) dialect, Yorkshire (Northern)

Two MSS, MS Camb. Univ.

1. Gg 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 ll. 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.

² See Seymour de Ricci and W.J. Wilson, Census of the Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada, II (New York, 1937), p. 2218.

³ Michael G. Sargent, "The McGill University Fragment of the 'Southern Assumption'" Medieval Studies, XXXVI (1974), 186-98.

The Poem's Form

Morris¹ 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 Division¹

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.

¹ 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
14. An Exposition of the Lord's Prayer: 25103-25402
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
19. Cato's Morals (in MS F only), Morris, CM pp. 1669-74.

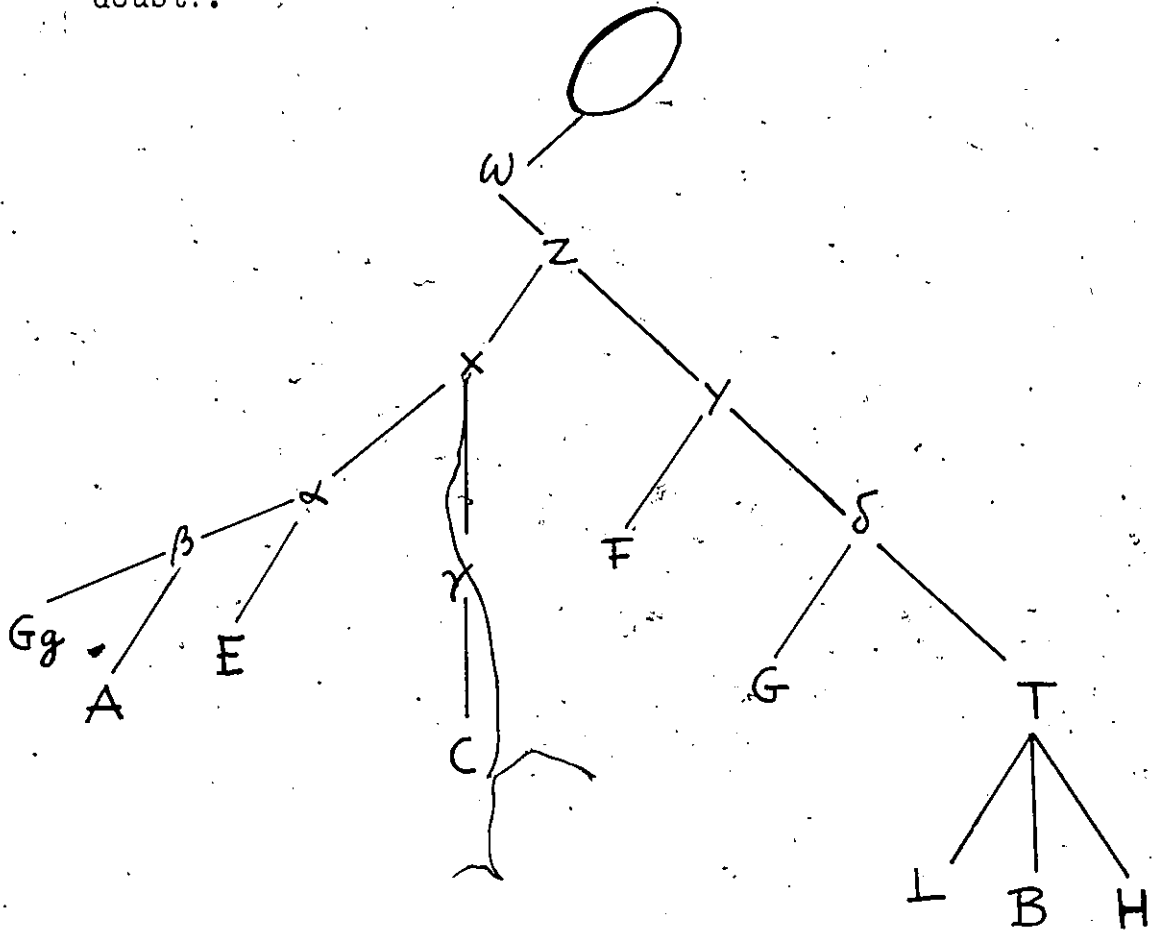
Dr. Horrall¹ mentions that CM exists in three different forms:

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".²
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 Horrall, CM pp. xi-xii.

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

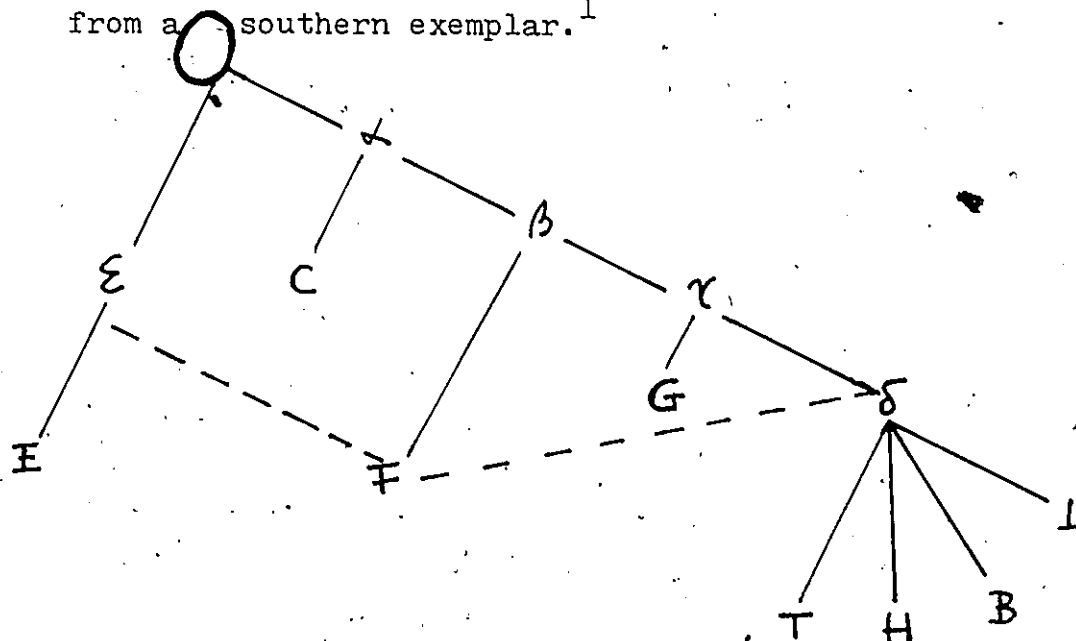
stemma, although expressing "that it is not beyond doubt".¹



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

¹ Max Kaluza, "Zum Handschriftenverhältniss und zur Textkritik des Cursor Mundi," Englische Studien, XI (1888) 259. Consult also Kaluza's "Zu den Quellen und dem Handschriftenverhältniss des Cursor Mundi," Englische Studien, XII (1889), 451-58.

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 Hupé¹, 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.²

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".³ 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.

² "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.

³ See, e.g. ll. 17291 "wraþe/ wrope", 17569 "mare/more", 17692 "stane/stone", 17738 "ga/go", 18883 "ane/ one", 1884 "slane/slone", 19851 "sare/sore".

northern "es".⁴ Sometimes one finds an occasional northern form as well.⁵

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).

⁴ See, e.g. ll. 17408 "lyues/ lyueþ", 17416 zeldes/ zeldeþ", 17450 "lettes/ letteþ", 17460 "holdes/ holdeþ", 18487 "leues/ leueþ", 18048 "makes/ makeþ", 18050 "stondes/ stondeþ", 18088 "byndes/ byndeþ", 18089 "enforses/ enforseþ", 18240 "brekes/ brekeþ", 18464 "spekes/ spekeþ", 18702 "loues/ loueþ".

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.

Date

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

¹ Bruce Dickens and R.M. Wilson, Early Middle English Texts (London, 1951), p. 114.

² Renwick and Orton, The Beginnings of English Literature to Skelton 1509 (London, 1966), pp. 3-5.

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 Authorship¹

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."² 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.³

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

² J.A.W. Bennett and G.V. Smithers, Early Middle English Verse and Prose (Oxford, 1966), p. 367.

³ C.A. Previté-Orton and Z.N. Brooke, eds. The Cambridge Medieval History, Volume of Maps (Cambridge, 1936), Map. 36.

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 "þis ilk book is [sic], es translate/ In to Inglis 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.

¹ Max Kaluza, "Zu den Quellen", p. 453.

² Otto Strandberg, The Rime-Vowels of Cursor Mundi (Uppsala, 1919), pp. xiv-xv.

³ Kaiser, Zur Geographie des mittelenglischen Wortschatzes (1937; rpt. New York, 1970), pp. 5-14.

Lamberts and Mardon accepted Kaiser's views,¹ 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.² Besides, English Kings tended to exaggerate feudal relationships between the two countries,³ while there was a growing self-realization in Scotland of the thirteenth century, manifested in the growing interest in its own past.⁴

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- ¹ Lamberts, Dialect, p. 4; Ernest G. Mardon, The Narrative Unity of the Cursor Mundi (Glasgow, 1970), p. 13. Later, however, Lamberts showed that he did not believe any longer that the poem was composed in Scotland. See J.J. Lamberts, "The Noah Story in Cursor Mundi (vv. 1625-1916)", Medieval Studies, XXIV (1962), p. 218.
 - ² G.W.S. Barrow "The Anglo-Scottish Border", Northern History, I (1966), pp. 21-42.
 - ³ E.L.G. Stones, Anglo-Scottish Relations 1174-1328 (1965; rpt. with corrections Oxford, 1970), pp. xviii ff.
 - ⁴ G.W.S. Barrow, Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland (London, 1965), p. 7.

In short, ideally 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 "Inglist 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

¹ G.W.S. Barrow, Feudal Britain (London, 1956), pp. 237, 240.

² Rolf Kaiser, Zur Geographie, p. 6.

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.¹ 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.²

¹ R.M. Wilson, "The Contents of the Mediaeval Library." in Francis Wormald and C.E. Wright, eds., The English Library before 1700 (London, 1958).

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-

¹ James Westfall Thompson, The Medieval Library (1939; rpt. New York, 1967), pp. 293-99. In The Rites of Durham, Publications of the Surtees Society, CVII (1902; rpt. 1964), xli, p. 83. J. Strank, Durham Cathedral (London, 1960), p. 23 is cited by Mardon (Narrative Unity, p. 209, n.3) as the source for his statement that "In the 14th century Durham boasted the largest library in the British Isles."

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 "caitif clerk" (l. 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

For-þi quen þou o scrift has nede,
o þi pariche preist þou þe bede,
(ll. 26172-73, MSS C and F)

¹ Laurel Nichols Braswell, The South English Legendary Collection: A Study in Middle English Religious Literature of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, Diss. (Toronto, 1964), pp. 252-5.

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 Clairveaux 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

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.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.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, 1292.³ 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.⁴

¹ Francis Wormald and C.E. Wright, The English Library before 1700 (London, 1958), p. 5.

² Margaret Deanesly, The Lollard Bible (Cambridge, 1920), p. 186.

³ James Wilson, ed., Victoria History of the County of Cumberland, II (London, 1905), p. 31.

⁴ Cf. David Knowles and R. Nevill Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales (London, 1953) under Banburgh, Bolton, Carham, Hexham, Lanercost, Marton; VCH Cumberland, p. 157; William Farrer and J. Brownhill, ed., Victoria History of the County of Lancaster, II (London, 1908), pp. 141, 145; Easson, Med. Rel. Houses under Holyrood, Jedburgh, Restennet, Scone.

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.

² Rites of Durham, Publications of the Surtees Society, CVII (1902; rpt. 1964), xli p. 83.

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. Smithers¹ 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.²

¹ Early Middle English Verse and Prose, ed. J.A.W. Bennett and G.V. Smithers (Oxford, 1966), p. 184.

² The Didascalicon of Hugh of St. Victor, trans. Jerome Taylor (New York, 1961), VI vi, p. 145.

Because it was organized, he saw it as "an articulated continuity, whose themes made sense."¹ 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,² 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

¹ M.D. Chenu, Nature, Man and Society in the Twelfth Century, trans. Jerome Taylor and Lester K. Little (Chicago, 1968), p. 168. This chronological patterning of events is also characteristic of Petrus Comestor's Historia Scholastica, which remained a prime source of material for vernacular paraphrases for centuries to come.

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

¹ John Edwin Wells, A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1400 (New Haven, 1916), pp. 338 ff.

² See Samuel Berger, La Bible française au moyen âge (Paris, 1884) and Jean Bonnard, Les Traductions de la Bible au vers français au moyen âge (Paris, 1884). For the paraphrases in other languages, see G.W.H. Lampe, ed., Cambridge History of the Bible, II (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 338-491. Cf. also Roger d'Ardenne, Bible en français, ed. Rhyllis Moe. MET (Heidelberg, 1977).

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 Beryl Smalley,

English Friars and Antiquity in the Early Fourteenth Century (1960) p. 24, cf. W.S. Schofield in English Literature from Norman Conquest to Chaucer (London, 1925), p. 26.

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

¹ Horrall, CM, p. xxi, 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 writt
I tell nu wit bi leue of itt.

In Evangelia Apocrypha¹ Tischendorf presents a text

"adhibit is 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. Nic. 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

1. Constantinus de Tischendorf, Evangelia Apocrypha, Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung (Hildesheim, 1966).

2. This text is an edition based upon the Codex Einsiedlensis, Einsiedeln Stiftsbibliothek, 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)

4. Historia Scholastica³ Petrus Comestor (ll. 19419, 19457-60, 19491-96, 19502-24, 19553-56, 19737-48, 19945-92).

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

Three MSS: Assumpcioun 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

¹ The Middle-English Harrowing of Hell and Gospel of Nicodemus, ed. William Henry Hulme (London, 1907), EETS ES 100.

² Le Chateau d'amour de Robert Grosseteste, ed. J. Murray (Paris, 1918). See also Kari Sajavaara's The Middle English Translation of Robert Grosseteste's Chateau d'Amour (Helsinki, 1967), p. 33.

³ See PL CXCVIII, 1663 gg.

⁴ Edition EETS... Joseph Lumby, ed., Horn King: King Horn; Floriz and Blauncheflur; The Assumption of our Lady (1886; re-ed. Oxford, 1901, 1963), EETS OS 14.

The poet intermittently uses the following sources:

1. Acta Apostolorum.
2. Herman: 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, MDCCCVLII).
5. La vie de la Vierge Marie de maître Wace (Tours, MDCCCLIX)¹, abbreviated to VM here.
6. Isidori Hispalensis (ll. 20849-21346).
 - 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 manuscrit inconnu aux premiers éditeurs, Imprimerie de J. Bouserez.

C) "Appendix CC", Liber de Ortu et Obitu Patrum¹,
PL LXXXI, cols. 1285-94.

7. Legenda Aurea, Jacobi a Voragine, recensuit Dr. Th. Gräesse, editio secunda, Impensis libraeriae Arnoldianae, Lipsiae, MDCCCL (ll. 20895-96, 20901-2, 20996-98, 21001-8, 21041-47, 20053-54, 20023-46, 21222, 21225-36, 21249-50, 21253-58).
8. De quatuor evangelistarum proprietatibus et significationibus, Petrus Riga (ll. 21263-342), PL CLXXI, cols. 1389-90.²

¹ Paul E. Beichner writes in "The Cursor Mundi and Petrus Riga", Speculum, Vol. 24 (1949), p. 247, that Haenisch had overlooked Appendix XX of the same volume of Migne in which the lives of the apostles are generally expanded.

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 underline. 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:¹ 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 part² 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:

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

² Stauffenberg, CM, p. xxviii.

Of Joseph of Arimathy

fol. 100 v col.1

To speke now spede wole I

Of Joseph whenne pe iewis knew

Pat he had buryed swete ihesu

17290

Wrope were they to him & wode

And al mengid in her mood

Pei sent seriauntis penne to nym

Bope nychodeme & him

And opere twelue pat for him spake

17295

Whenne pei souzte ihesu wip wrake

Alle pei hem hid take zeme

But forþ coom sir nychodeme

For he was ouer þo iewis þan

As her prince an hyze man

17300

He coom to hem wipoute spare

As in her synagogue pei ware

3e men murpereres he seide so crous

How dar 3e come in goddis hous

Pei seide what Merin dostow

17305

Pat so hast spoken for ihesu now

þi part mot euer wip him be

Amen, amen, amen, seide he

The first two lines are a heading.
17289

The initial O is a large decorated capital.

Also Joseph of aramathye

Coom forþ þo & asked whye

17310

Þat 3e me wyte for I wel did

With ihesu body þat I haue hid

In a toumbe was myn owen

Euel haue 3e don wolde 3e beknowen

Of þat riȝtful þat 3e dud honge

17315

And wrouȝt him mychel wo wiþ wronȝe

fol. 100 v col. 2

At þese wordis forþ þei 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 haþ vs done despite & shame

Perfore loke þat his licame

Vndir erþe not be graue

17325

But taken wilde beestis to haue

Þenne seide joseph of aramathie

Me þinke 3e speke as dud golye

Dat vndirtoke to stryue & fist

Wip dauid azeyn goddes myzt

17330

God hab seid gone ful longe

My self shal suffere þe iewis wronge

Pilat was þere but he was blende

Whenne he wasshen had his hende

He seide of þis man trewe & gode

17335

I wol be sakles of his blode

And 3e him 3af to vnswere

Let vs & ouris þe blame bere

Now hit shal as I ful wene

On 3ou & 3ouris be al sene

17340

Pei ladde Joseph as I haue tolde

To prisoun in to a stronge holde

Pere he of no mon shulde haue sizt

Ny no leme of dayes list

Fro mete & drynke for to fast

17345

And shutte þe doris at þe last

fol. 101 r col. 1

Wipinne & wipoute loken so

þe lokes aseled wip lokes two

pei sent aspyes also aboute

pat he shulde not passe oute

17350

Aftir her sabat so to gider

Alle wolde pei come pider

For to loke alle wip o rede

For to do Joseph to dede

Aftir pat sabat day was gone

17355

pidir coom pei euerychone

Undide pe lokes wip pe key

And als pe seelis dude away

But Joseph pat pei laste pere

Was away pei ne wiste where

17360

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 pis selcoupe

17365

Anewe tiping hem coom to moupe

Oon of pe knyztis pat were sent

For to kepe pe monument

17366

The scribe probably wrote "mouth".

Tolde hem pat of aungels one
 Had lifte away pe graue stone
Pat cloped was as snowe shyre
 And his semblaunt like to fyre
 Dis aungel sett him on pe stoone
 For drede we fel doun dede vchone
 To po wymmen pat ihesu souzt.
 He bad pei shulde drede nouzt
 3e seke pe body of ihesu dere
 Risen is he: he is not here
 His wordis wel we vndirstonde
Ihesu pat on cros dud honge
 Is risen as he bifore seide
 Lo here pe stide he was in leide
 But to his disciplis seye 3e
 From dep to lyf vp risen is he
 Bidde hem to galile go ful riht
 To se him pere as hem hiht
 Dis knyht seide leve hit wele
 pat I haue tolde euerydele

17370

17375

/ 17380

 17385
 fol. 101 r col.2

// Penne þei bad biforn hem calle

Þat kep^te þe graue þe kny3tis alle

17390

What were þo wymm^en þat hⁱm sou3t

Why nadde 3e hem wiþ 3ou brou3t

We knewe hem not þo seide þai

As we were deed alle doun we lay

Whenne we were so out of my3t

17395

How shulde þei for vs be ki3t

Penne swore þo iewis þat were wroop

Bi lyuynge god þat was her oop

We leue 3ou not wite hit wel

3oure sawes ben false euerydel

17400

Þo kny3tis vnswered alle in greue

3e are euere in mys bileue

Whenne 3e him say before 3oure si3t

So mony maistries made of my3t

Boþe herde & sene of him now

17405

No merueile þou3e 3e vs not trow

þei seide wel we hit vnderstoode

þe lord lyueþ 3e dide on rode

17406

The t in "not" is written above the line

Also we haue of men herde seide

Joseph pat in toumbe him leide

17410

3e diden him vndir lok & sele

Pat he away shulde not stele

But 3e him misten aftir soone

And noone of 3oore doris vndone

Pus if 3e ri3twisly wole deme

17415

3elde3 Joseph 3e hadde to 3eme

And we shul 3elde ihesu soone

In to oure kepyng pat was done

Pe iewis seide ihesus 3elde 3e

And we shul Joseph 3e shul se

17420

We woot where Joseph is al boun

In aramathy his owne toun

Pe kny3tis seide if Joseph be

In aramathy his owne cite

Penne dar we saye of ihesu pat he

17425

Is redy now in galile

fol. 101 v col. 1

Of þis soop sawe are we bolde

Pe aungel so to þo wymmen tolde

Of pese wordis drad þe iewis
 To blake þo bigon her brewis 17430
 To counsel soone were þei brouȝt
 Now is vs nede of redy þouȝt
 But we wiȝstonde bityme now
 Ihesus shal make to him bow
 If we lete þis tiping sprede 17435
 Alle be we shent þat may we drede
 Þes knyȝtis anoon we ȝiftis bede
 Þat we may stoppe her moup wiȝ mede
 A somme of pens gedered þai
 And ȝaf þo knyȝtis for to say 17440
 To alle þat wolde tipynge frayn
 To vnswere hem þus aȝayn
 Whil we by nyȝt in slepe lay
 Ihesus meyne coom & him stale away
 Þei seide if any man ȝou wite 17445
 Þis may ȝou saue & make quyte
 Allas þat tyme of couetise
 So mony men hit makeþ vnwyse

Hit reueþ ri3twisnes his wey

And letteþ men þe soþe to sey

17450

Ri3t may come to noon ende

Þen cōuetise mon hap blende

Whenne 3iftis haue fordone þe si3t

How may men folwe þe reule of ri3t

But ihesu crist þat ry3twis is

17455

And al him self soopfastnys

pouze hit lette neuer so longe

Alwey to wreche he doþ þe wronge

And soþfast-whenne fals is fledde

Holdeþ forþ his owne sted

17460

Þenne shal falshede be falled in felde

Wip alle þo þat wip him helde

So dude þese kny3tis þat I of mele

3iftis made hem þe soþe to hele

As mede hem bad so þenne þei dud

17465

Þat þei herde & say þei hid

fol. 101 v col.2

þei seide as hem was beden sey

Þat ihesus cors was stolen away

But aftir pat berwip pei won
 Shenshepe & shame of mony mon
 Men seide hem aftir myche shame
 And of her troupe left pe name
 Alle fals shul fare on pat wyse
 And euer shal ri3twisnesse vpryse

17470

Wo was hem po wrecches wick
 Whenne his tiping bigon to quyk
 In pat tyme out of Iude

17475

Of walkynge men were comen pre
 To pat folke tolde pei al bidene

Pat pei hadde wip her y3en sene

17480

Ihesus pei seide to depe 3e didde
 Sittyng his disciplis amydde

We say on mounte of olyuete

He seide to hem breper swete

3e shal wende ouer al his werd

17485

And preche pat 3e haue seen & herd

Alle pat hit leueþ & bapteme take

Shul saued be of al her sake

Whenne he had pis tale hem teld

To heuen he stoy we alle biheld

17490

De prestis & pese opere olde

Seide to hem pat pis tale tolde

Dar ze swere be sope I wis

pat ze herde & say al pis

Pei seide certeyn be sope hit es

17495

We take god fully to witnes

But we soop seide what shulde we wynne

For sope no þing but open synne

Wip pis be maistris þo wþ stert

Pis word hem sat sore at hert

17500

To counsel þo þre men þei ledde

On goddis halue þei hem forbedde

Pei coniured hem bi goddis awe

Pese wordis no more to shawe

Pat neuer of ihesu more spoken be

17505

Perfore þei 3af hem myche mone

fol. 102 r col.1

Pei 3af hem 3iftis grete to spende

And þre men þei wip hem sende

12.

To her londe hem for to lede
For hit shulde no furber sprede 17510
Pe iewes drouge to gider pon
And sory sorwynghe bei bigon
Pei seide what tokene may pis be
In israel in oure cuntre
But Anna & cayphas pese two 17515
Pat moost souzte ihesu to slo
To coumforte hem pat were in care
Dowey bei seide let be zoure fare
We shul not bo knyztis trowe
Pat keppe be graue of ihesu nowe 17520
Pei vs tolde of aungels one
Had lifted of his graue be stone
His disciplis wel may falle
Seide so to bo knyztis alle
And gaf hem giftis so to sey 17525
Whil bei his body bar away
Pei lyed pat bei say him ryse
For soobe hit is noon oper wyse

For 3iftis grete of vs pei toke

And nou3t of ouris pei forsoke

17530

As we hem bad or wolde bidde

Wel 3e woot pat so pei didde

But raper shulde pei to vs take

pen to ihesu for oure sake

// penne stood vp & seide nichodeme

17535

Godemen for goddis loue take 3eme

What 3e sey & seip but ri3t

And dredep sumwhat god of my3t

Herde 3e not what pese pre men seide

And on 3oure lawe her honde pei leide

17540

pei swoor pat pei & opere fele

Say ihesu wip his meyne mele

And stey3e vs fro faire & swete

From pe mount of olyuete

And holy story tellep & sayes

pat hely bi olde dayes

Was taken vp as in to heuen

Miche haue 3e herde perof neuen

17545
fol. 102 r col. 2

His sone men asked where he was bicomen

And he hem seide was him binomen

17550

Raft away forsoþe is he

How þei seide may þis be

May be sum goost away him ledde

And so to wildernesse is fledde

In israel ben grete fellis

17555

Þere is he soþ & nowhere ellis

But chese we dougty men & lele

To seche þo fellis of israele

Þei went forþ him to seke

His sone & oþere men eke

17560

Whenne þei þre dayes had him sougt

No tiping hoom of him þei brougt

Þerfore seide nychodeme þo

My reed is now if ȝe wole so

ȝe seke þo fellis al to gider

17565

Þat ihesu be not rauysshed þider

And ȝif we fynde him þere bi chaunce

We may do for oure synne penaunce

Alle þe iewis lasse & more
 Of þis counceill apayed þei wore 17570
 And chees men þat þo were myȝty
 And lele to leue in: ful trewely
 Boþe souȝte þei do^unne & dale
 But of ihesu herd þei no tale
 Weileway þat þei were blynde 17575
 Whenne þei wende ihesu 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 17580
 Miȝtyly at al his nede
 To siche he wol his body bede
 For þouȝe he sitte in heuen halle
 ȝitt is he in erþe ouer alle
 Miȝty boþe fer & neere 17585
 And nouþer myst in heuen ne here
 þei þat trewely in him lyue
 His blessyng he wol hem ȝyue

17585
 fol. 102 v col. 1

17572

Note the colon after in.

17585

The M in Miȝty 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 17590

To fynde ihesu if he were reft

Wip any goost & pere bileft

He pat alle goostis gode & ylle

Hap to welde at his wille

pus were þo iewis al mysled 17595

Her sondis coom ageyn vnsped

Pat hadde him souzte vp & doun

But Ioseph in his owne toun

Pei seide þei sey in aramathy

And pere þei lefte him sikerly 17600

Prynces & prestis of þe lay

Of þis tiping wondride þay

And þonked god of israele

Pat so coupe his dedes dele

Pat he shulde be founden þus 17605

Pat was in prisoun & not ihesus

// Pei made a gederynge greet & derne

And seiden gode men loke we zerne

How we myȝte do þat douȝty gome

Ioseph of aramathi to vs to come

17610

To telle his state vche grot

And opere þingis þat he wel woot

Penne dude þei soone to write a writ

Þis was þe tenure of hit

Þees hit seide Joseph & grip

17615

Haue þou & al þat is þe wiþ

Wel we woot we haue done mys

Aȝeyn þe & þi lord þat is

And god him self haþ þe brouȝt

Fro wicked wronge we on þe souȝt

17620

Hit shal be but to queme

Leue frend woldes þou þe seme

To come wiþ vs to speke & mele

Þees to make wiþ vs & hele

Þei senden seuen men ful dere

17625
fol. 102 v col. 2

Þat Josephs moost frendis were

And bad whenne þei wiþ him mett

Wiþ þees & loue he shulde be grett

Soone in his hond pei lettre sett

Wel shulde pei seide his mys be bett 17630

Ioseph pei fond pe story seys

Redy at home in his paleys

Pei heilsed him wipouten wyte

And raugt him to rede pat scrite

Soone whenne he had rad pat dede 17635

Towarde heuen his heed he bede

I blesse pe lord me kepte hast 3itt

And saaf vndir pi wyngis set

He cust pe messangeris alle

And hendely gestened hem in halle 17640

Wel ferde pei wip him pat nygt

pe morwe his asse dude he to digt

To ierusalem he toke pe strete

Pe iewis him coom for to mete

To Ioseph seide pei alle to gider 17645

Peseful be pi comyng hider

Joseph soone his vnsware zaue

Goddes pees mut 3e haue

He kust hem alle wipouten blyn

Wip nichodeme toke he is In 17650

Wel was he gestened wip good feip

Pe toper morn pe story seip

Coom cayphas anna nychodemus

And Joseph bei asked bus

Joseph to grete god of israele 17655

Shryue pe & telle vs lele

Of ping pat we wol at pe freyne

Pe soop we prey pe not pou leyne

Alle we coude pe myche grame

For pou buryedest ihesu licame 17660

In an hous perfore we loket pe

But whenne we come pe to se

No tokene of pe fonde we pere

Wherfore we for wondride were

And for pe drad we alle in care 17665

Til now pou telle vs of pi fare fol. 103 r col. 1

To god & vs telle now soone

What of pe pen was done

Joseph he seide I shal 3ow say

3e sperde me In on o friday

17670

At eventide in to þat stede

And as I stode seyinge my bede

Þe satirday soone at mydnyȝt

Þat I say þis was þe siȝt

By nokes foure þe house vp honge

17675

And soone aftir was hit nouȝt longe

I say comyng ihesu so briȝt

As hit were a lemyng liȝt

In þat hous þere I was stad

And I fel doun al for drad

17680

Vp he me toke wiþouten let

And wiþ a dewemy face he wet

Soone wiped he my face

And blessed me þenne wiþ his grace

He seide Joseph be not ferdy

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 þat þou in graue leide

17690

He lad me to þat stide anoone

Pere I had him spered in a stone

His sudary his wyndyng cloþe

Pere were þei laft I say hem boþe

þat he was Ihesus þo wiste I wele

17695

Couþely bifore him gon I knele

Lord I seide blessed þou be

þat here is comen in nome of þe

Bi þe hond þo he me hynt

And brouȝte me forþ wiþouten stynt

17700

Riȝt to myn owne hous at home

And to me whenne I þidir coome

Pees mot þou haue he seide Joseph

Go not out of þi hous a step

Til fourty dayes be comen to ende

17705

Now to my disciplis wole I wende

fol. 103 r col.2

Whenne Joseph had tolde þis tale

þei fel as þei had dronken dwale

Grouelynge doun on erbe plat
 Were þei neuer mate er þat
 Vchone to oper þus gon sey
 What signe wol þis be quod þei

17710

In ierusalem we here now myn
 We knew boþe ihesus & his kyn
 // Vp roos þo & stode hem by

17715

A dougty man þat het leuy
 I knowe he seide of hem bred
 Dougty men þat god dred

Bisily to god preyonde

Wip sacrificise & wip offronde

17720

Whenne Symeon þe mychel prest
 þat bare þe holy goost in brest
 Ihesus bitwene his armes fong

He seide lord lyued haue I long
 Bidynge þe þe sizte of hele

17725

þat þou hast diȝt to israele
 Now haue I seen hit wip myn eȝe
 Lete me in pes þi seruaunt deȝe

Pat ilke symeon þo was boun

And 3af mary his benesoun

17730

To hir he seide I wol þe warn

Pat 3it sumtyme þis ilke barn

Shal be to summen vprysyng

And to summe doun fallyng

Mony shal he fynde vnbeýne

17735

Mony shul seye him a3eyne

Þe swerd of sorwe & of wo

Shal þour3e þin hert for him go

Of monnes hert þe þou3tis hid

Shal for him be knowen & kid

17740

Þenne seide þo iewis now sende we

Aftir þo ilke prestis þre

Pat tolde þei say ihesus sete

On þe mounte of olyuete

Þei sent for hem whenne þis was done

17745
fol. 103 v col. 1

And hem þei dide to resoun soone

Þei vnswered bi god of my3t

We say him þere wiþ open si3t

We say hym & herde his steuen

And openly he stey to heuen

17750

Of 3ou bei seide vs pinkep wondir

And dide þo þre men in sondir

And bi hem self asked hem sere

If bei wolde lyze for to here

If any fro opere wolde saye ou3t

17755

But al her fondyng was for nou3t

Alle seide ri3te as bei sey

Ihesus on hei3te to heuen stey

Penne seide Anna & cayphas

Oure lawe wol boþe þat is & was

17760

Þat in þe mouþ of two or þre

Shulde al þe soþe stonde & be

What more shal we say 3ou þan

I trowe hit was a ri3tful man

And payed so wel god in his state

17765

Þat wiþ his word was he transolate

Of þe prophete sir moyses

Þat noon woot where he doluen es

But Ihesus in honde was lauzt

And to sir pilate soone bi tauzt

17770

Bope biscourgid & bispit

For he of mony gilt was wit

Woundid wip spere nailed on tre

Wip bornes crouned also was he

Dis menskeful Ioseph dud him delue

17775

In a toumbe made to him selue

And pre men als now witnes here

Pei seyze bifore her yzen clere

Dis ilke ihesus speke wip his

And sipen styze to heuen blis

17780

Ioseph of aramathye roos in plas

And seide to Anna & cayphas

3ow pinke wondir her of I wis

Of ihesus vprist & soop hit is

3e wolde hit neuer leue nor nowe,

17785
fol. 103 v col. 2

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 þis ilke kip

Ben risen vp forsoþe him wip

17790

þat seyn was in ierusalem

Of olde symeons barnetem

Two sones had he longe is hit gone

Sip þei were dede & leide vndir stone

Alle were we at her endinge day

17795

And halp hem in erþe to lay

Goop seep now for þe holy dome

And 3e shul fynde her graues tome

In my cite of aramathy

Pere ar þei walkyng witturly

17800

Pere men seen hem in þat toun

In knelyng state & orisoun

Euer amonge men here hem cry

Wip no mon speke þei hem by

Go we wip a wille þidir

17805

And fonde we to bryng hem hidir

And we shul hem wip coniuryng

Make to telle of þis vp risyng

Soone when þes wordis were out past

þei hyged hem þidir wondir fast 17810

Caiphas & anna also

Ioseph nychodemē & mo

And oon þat het gamaliel

Of him is not but troupe to tel

þei say þe tūmbes toom þat day 17815

To aramathie þo wenten þay

Wip þese breþer þei met in hyze

þei fonde hem in her bedes lyze

þei heiled hem wip myche fare

And worshiped hem & wip hem bare 17820

To ierusalem wip mychel drede

To her chirche þei gon hem lede

Whenne þei were in þe temple wrouzt

Moyses lawe in honde was hem brouzt

And þourze þat lawe of moys 17825

And bi her grete god adonay

fol. 104 r col. 1

Her mychel god of israele

þei coniured hem no soþe to hele

Pei seide he pat hap 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 coniuured of pese iewis bus

Wip ~~al~~ her flesshe bei quook a none

17835

And wip her hertis 3af a grone

To heuen bei lift her y3en glade

And on her tongis ponkyng made

Wip her signes of pe croys

And soone spak wip monnes voys

17840

Worshiped bei seide lord be pou & byne

Anoon bei called aftir parchemyne

We wol 3ou writte wipouten lye

Pat we herde & say wip y3e

A twyn bei set hem to pat note

17845

And eiber bi him seluen wrote

And pou3e bei sundry sittynge were

Was no ping in her sawe's sere

Lord ihesu cryst seide. pay

God pat alle myztis may

17850

Pat is vp risen from dep. to lyf

And hast vs kud pi rízt so ryf

Lete vs lord by leue of pe

Telle of pyn owne priuete

Pourze vertu of pi swete croys

17855

Coniured are we to telle wíþ voys

pou bad. vs we shulde no mon telle

pi dedes derne pou didezt in helle

po dedis of pi maieste

But pourze pi self coniured are we

17860

Síþ hit is so now most we nede

pe myztis telle of pi godhede

As we were stad in merkful stalle

We & als oure elders alle

To us per brast a goldein leme

17865

Brízter penne pe sonnes beme

fol. 104 r col. 2

So rízt purpur hwe is noone

pat ilke líz vpon vs shone

17863

The initial A is a large decorated capital.

Adam pat was man formast

Bigon penne to glade in hast

17870

Wip patriarkes and prophete

In merke ~~setes~~ pere bei sete

Bei seide for glad wip gretyng gle

Pis ilke list forsope is he

Pat maker ~~is of~~ lastyng list

17875

Now hap he sent vs pat he list

Penne bigon seynt ysaye

Pe holy prophete for to cnye

Pis ilke liste is goddis sone

Pat I in erpe telle of was wone

17880

po folk in dedly derkenes stad

Pis greet list made hem glad

17882

And as pis briztenes gon vs bolde

17885

Oure fadir Symeon pe olde

Seide wip blipeful chere vs to

Ponke we god now comeþ oure ro

To oure lord ihesu crist ze blisse

Al myzty god his fadir isse

17890

In temple was he me bitau3t
 3onge 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 di3t

17895

Of israel wiþ blisful li3t
 Do seyntis alle þere þenne stad
 Wiþ þat bigan to be more glad
 Þenne coom a mon wiþouten lite
 Þat semed wel to haue ben eremyte

17900

Vche oþer asked what he was þon
 And he vnswered I am Ion

Ion is my name voys & prophete
 Biddyng make redy þe strete

Pe weye bifore goddis face
 Þat to his folk haþ granted grace

17905

Pat ihesus I biheld & size

fol. 104 v col. 1

Whenne he to me was comyng ny3e

Pour3e þe holy goost I spake

And seide þe lomb wiþouten sake

17910

He is here & I seide lo
Pat shal be worldis synne vndo
 Do I heef pat sackeles of plizt
 I sawe vp on his licam li3t
 In shap of doufe be holy goost 17915
 And herde a voys fro heuen coost
 Hit seide pis is my loued son dere
 In whom I am wel payed 3e here
 Comen am I Ion bifore pat kyng
 Bodeworde of him for to bryng 17920
 Make 3e redy wipouten wite
 Goddes sone comeþ 3ou to visite
 He pat shal louse 3ou out of bond
 Comeþ to se pis lodly lond
 þe olde Adam had vndirstonde 17925
 In flum iordan him houen of honde
 On seep his sone bigon he cal
 He seide sone telle vs now al
 þe soþfastenes & no þing hele
pat þou herdest of seynt mycchele 17930

 17925

 The initial p is a large decorated capital.

De aungel whenne I gan þe wyse

To þo ʒatis of paradise

To pray oure lord god so dere

To sende me wiþ his messangere

De oyle of his merciful tre 17935

þat I seke myȝt anoynt wiþ be

// þenne coom seeth & stode nere honde

And spak þat alle myȝte vndirstonde

I coom he seide to paradis ʒate

And ʒerne bisouȝte I þer ate 17940

þenne I wiþ 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 þe I say 17945

Pou bisy þe not from þis day

Wiþ wepynge preyere for to wyne fol. 104 v col. 2

þe oile þat was bihet for synne

To anoynte þi fadir adame

For his lymmes þat ʒit are lame 17950

17947

The initial W is a medium-size capital.

3it may he gete hit no wayes

Bitwene pis & þe laste dayes

Perfore we calle hit dayes last

Whenne fyue þousonde 3eer are past

Fyue þousonde 3eer fyue skore bi skille 17955

Penne shal god his graunte fulfille

His owne sone shal he sende doun

In erþe to monnes saluatioun

Pi fadir cors he shal vp reise

And mony opere bi þo weyse 17960

So holy as he shal be noon

Hofen shal he be in flum iurdon

Whenne he shal styge vp of þat stronde

Þe oyle he shal brynge in honde

Of his mercy to anoynt alle wiþ 17965

Þat seken troupe wiþ grace or grip

And to alle þo þat ben baptist

To lastyng lif in name of cryst

Þat goddes sone so mychel of myȝt

Among monkynde shal he liȝt 17970

Pi fadir shal he brynge & his

Fro helle to paradys pat blis

po patriarkes pat his herde

Wip myche io^e po pei ferde

Mournynge among hem po was gone

17975

Wip cry pei io^eeden euerychone

Whenne sathan say po seyntes dere

Make al pat myry chere

pe duke of deep & pryⁿce of helle

To helle bigon he pus to spelle

17980

Helle he seide make pe redy

To receyue ihesu hastily

Pat boost him goddes sone to be

And zit pe deep ful sore drad he

He seide for deep pat he shulde dye

17985

His flesshe was seke & dreurye

Harde hap he werred me azayn

fol. 105 r col. 1

And myche marred of my mayn

Whom I made blynde halt or mesele

Wip his word he gaf hem hele

17990

I brouzte pe dede men as pyne awen

17977

The initial W is a medium-size, decorated capital.

17987

The initial H is a medium-size capital.

Whiche he hap helle fro þe drawen

// þenne vnswered helle to prynce saton

What is he þat so myȝty oon

So myȝty & of deep so ferd

17995

Sip alle þe men of þe werd

Vndir þe ben in watir & londe

And þou hast brouȝte hem to myn honde

If þou be so myȝty þus

What maner mon is þat ihesus

18000

Þat werreb on þe euerywhore

And sipen dredeþ deep so sore

Sip his monhede is of siche myȝt

Who may aȝeyn his godhede fiȝt

I saye sip he is al weldonde

18005

Is no þing may his wille wiȝstonde

Why dredde he deep wost þou not no

Not for to bigyle þe so

He wolde þe take to wo to wende

To be þer in wiȝouten ende

18010

Sathan þenne to helle vnswerde

He seide why art pou aferde

Receyue ihesu pou liper hyne

Oure werreour bope myne & byne

I haue oure iewis made in stryue

18015

Wip bittur peyne him brynge of lyue

I made hem ryse azeynes 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 hyngre

And nayles pourze feet & hondis styngre

Pe tyme comyng is now ful nere

Pat dep shal brynge him to vs here

Helle gaf to satan vnsware

18025

Ar pis tyme pou hast tolde me here

Pat pis same man was he

fol 105 r col. 2

Pat dede men dide drawe fro me

For mony haue I holden here

Whil pat bei in worde were

18030

Han rafte dede men fro me euen

18020

The MS has "furst", which is an obvious scribal error for "purst".

Not wip her myzte but his of heuen

He þat is of heuen kynge

He gaf þe dede to hem preyinge

What is þis ihesus wip his lawis

18035

Pat þus þe dede from vs drawis

Not wip preyere as opere did

But o word þat he wolde bid

Hit may be þis is þat ihesus

Pat stynkyng lazarus toke from vs

18040

Of his graue þe ferþe day

He him toke and lad away

Pat dede from deþ to lyue he diȝt

His word wipstonde had he no myȝt

// Þenne vnswered þat false of rede

18045

Prynce of helle & duk of dede

Þis ilke ihesus sobely is he

Pat makeþ vs ofte greued to be

// Whenne helle had herde satan sawe

Of him he seide me stondeþ awe

18050

Pourȝe oure myȝtis boþe to gidir

I be forbede þou brynge him hidir

For whenne in erþe a word he bad

I quook for him so was I drad

And alle my wicked werkis eke

18055

Fordone were þourze him so meke

Als of lazar had we noon holde

But souner þen of tonge is tolde

From vs he leep selcoup list

Was neuer eern so fresshe to flight

18060

Til he coom þere his licam lay

And so went forþ boþe her way

Wel woot I now & wene hit nouzt

He þat siche myztis wrouzt

Is stalworþe god weldynge in wille

18065

And monhede myzty to fulfille

And is saueour of monnes sede

fol. 105 v col. 1

And if þou him hidir lede

Alle þat here are of men wiþ meyne

In prisoun of my cruelte

18070

Done bi doom to deþ so dym

To lyf he wole hem lede wip him
 Whil pat helle & prince satone
 Made togidir bis mornyng mone
 Der coom a steuen as pondir blast 18075
 A goostly voys cryng fast
 3e princis of helle yndop zoure zate
 De kyng of blis wol haue in late
 Whenne helle bis herde hit seide anoon
 Do now go hepen fro me saton 18080
 A feynt figtere me pinke art bou
 How wolt bou figte wip ihesu now
 Wip pat zaf helle hit self abreyde
 And cast out po satan & seyde
 To his wicked werkis samen 18085
 Spere zoure zatis bis is no gamen
 Zoure brasen zatis spere ze wele
 And byndep hem wip barres of stele
 Enforsep zow wip myzte & mayn
 Stalworpely to stonde azayn 18090
 Ar ze wip alle po pat we ne wolde

 18073

The initial W is a medium-size, decorated capital.

Be take in opere mennes holde

Pis herde þo seyntis alle & seide

To helle wiþ wordis of vmbreide

Open vp þi ȝatis helle wyde

18095

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

Pat I seide bi olden dawes

18100

His mercy is knowen þat lord kyng

And his selcouþis to oure ospryng

Penne brast þo brasen ȝatis strong

And stelen lokis þat þeron hong

Penne seide ysay þe prophete

18105

Pis is þat I sumtyme bihete

Vp shulde þe dede ryse I seide

fol. 105 v col. 2

Out of þe graue he was inleide

Penne þei shulde be mery & glad

Þe folke þat in wo were stad

18110

For fro þat lord shal come in dole

A dew of redde to make hem hole

On hem to sprede bi his myȝt

As he in adames tyme hiȝt

18114

Whenne þei herde þis of Isay

18117

þo seyntis alle ȝaf a cry

To helle vndo þi ȝatis faste

Now art þow wrecche doun cast

18120

Helle þei seide ouercome art þou

And euer wiþouten myȝte fro now

And efte þer coom a mychel steuen

As hit were a þondir of heuen

Open ȝoure ȝatis ȝe princis wyde

18125

To blisful kyng wiþouten abyde

He wol come in þat kyng of blis

Whenne þat helle had herde þis

þat þis steuen twyes had souȝt

Allas he seide þat I was wrouȝt

18130

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 higt

18135

Be þe holy goostis myzt

þat I tolde bifore of þan

I say 3ou now wel I hit kan

þat lord þat is wipouten wrong

And euer in myzte I liche strong

18140

þis blisful kyng hit is þat iche

For þere may be noon oþer siche

He þat bihelde fro heuen doun

To here þe pleynt of his prisoun

How þei in synful sikyng ware

18145

He þougt to louse hem out of care

Now þou helle foul of stynke

Vndo let In þi blisful kyng

Whil dauid seide þus to helle

Suche wordis as 3e herde me telle

fol. 106 r col. 1
18150

þe kyng þat alle þinge haþ in welde

He coom in wip a blisful belde

þe lorde him self in his godhede

18149

The initial W is a medium-size capital.

Coom perfor to do þat dede
 Ðo woful were so dedly dym 18155
 Al liȝted þe leem þat coom of him
 He brast þe bondes of oure synne
 And made vs aȝeyn to wyne
 Fro þat derkenes þere we lay
 Þere euere is nyȝt & neuere day 18160
 Ðo helle & deþ say hit be so
 Ðei & her werkis ful of wo
 Ðei were for wondride of þat liȝt
 In her cuntre þei sey so briȝt
 Whenne þei ihesu openly sawe 18165
 Among her setis þere doun so lawe
 Of her pride þouȝte hem no prow
 Ðei ȝaf a cry loude I now
 What art þou þus hidir comen
 Þou hast vs wiþ þi pouste nomen 18170
 What art þou þat art so wiȝt
 Oure shenshepe to shewe in siȝt
 So prisful what art þou of pip

 18161

The initial p is a large decorated capital.

Pe lastynge signe þat berest þe wip

Þat þourȝe wreche of þi maieste

18175

Condempnest þou al oure pouste

What art þou so greet & smal

þat 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 croys were þow sloon

Deed lay þou loken vndir stoon

In þi dyȝynge alle þinge dradde

18185

Pe sterres in her myȝtis madde

Of þat deep fre art þou now

Oure legiouns alle distourbest þow

What art þou þat lousest so

Þat formast synne bonde to wo

fol. 106^r col. 2

18190

þo 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 pi derkenes of synne 18195

To myche list pou bringest Inne

Pus seide alle po legiouns pere

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 pou so selcoupe man

So my3ty a man & so shene

And penne of alle synnes clene

For al pis world hit hap ben ay 18205

Oure vndirloute til now pis day

To brynge vs rente of zonge & olde

But neuer siche rent as pou hit zolde

A ded man siche as pou art one

To vs er sent hit neuer none 18210

What art pou pat art so bold

To come pis wyse in to oure hold

Pat art not for oure pynes drad

But lousest þe in hem ben stad
 What maner maystry makest þou on vs 18215
 May falle þou art þat ilke Ihesus
 Þat satan oure prince vs of tolde
 And of þi dep on rode so bolde
 Þat þourge þi dep vp on þat tre
 Al þis world shulde bowe to þe 18220
 Wip þat ihesus wrappe bi gan
 Soone was hit sene of satan þan
 Satan þat pyneful prince he lauȝt
 And vndir myȝte of helle bitauȝt
 And adam towarde him he drouȝe 18225
 Þere blisse of briȝtenes was Inouȝe
 Helle hent þenne þat gerard grym
 And wondir sharply snybbed him
 Þow prince of los he seide & duk
 Of wasteful werke sir belsabuk 18230
 Out cast þou art of goddis aunȝele
 Despite of alle riȝtwis & lele
 Þe kyng of blis why doost þou hongre

To do vs lese pat we had longe

But now bi foly wel is kid

18235

Litil wist pou what pou did

Lo now how his ihesus here

Pourze list of his godhede clere

Pis merkenes dryueþ down

fol. 106 v col. 1

And bondeþ brekeþ of his prisoun

18240

His bounden hap he raft vs fro

And alle pat wepen wipinne oure wo

Pei serue vs so pat oure biddying

Is al fordone wip her preying

Now is oure kyngdome fordone al

18245

Of monkynde gete we ful smal

18246

Satan fadir of wickedhede

18251

Why hastou done siche a dede

þo pat han longe vndir vs bene

Wipouten hope in tray & tene

Non is pat wol him deyne

18255

A teer of his ygen 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

Pourȝe Adam & þe tre wiþ swyke

18260

Pou madest hem lese paradyse

Hem hastou lost now oper wyse

Pou hast hem lost bi his rode tre

And now shul þei go from þe

Wiþ kyng of blis hastou werrayed

18265

And so þi self foule bitrayed

Fro now vndirstonde hit wele

Ful mony peynes shalt þou fele

Ful fele lastynge & ful hard

Pou shalt dryȝe wiþinne my ward

18270

Haue prince sathan duke of dede

Hede of pride why ȝaf þou rede

Pat ilke ihesus to crucifye

fol. 106 v col. 2

Wipouten skil vn riȝtwislye

Why was þou þerto so bolde

18275

To bringe þat riȝtwis in oure holde

Pat sacles hidir so to lede

Euel hastou done þi self to spede
 For mony wicked & mys dedy
 Hastou lost here for þi 18280
 Whil þat helle & foule satone
 Maden þus her mōurnyng mone
 Þe kyng of blis as was his wille
 Helle he seide þis maner tille
 Prynce satan shal dwelle in pyne 18285
 Euer vndir pouste pyne
 In stide of adam & his brode
 And alle riȝtwis men & gode
 To me fro ȝou shal I drawe
 Þat of ȝou shul þei stonde noon awe 18290
 Wiþ þat he strauȝt forþ his honde
 And seide to his þat he þere fonde
 Comeþ to me my seyntis now
 Alle þat my likenes haþ on ȝow
 Comeþ now hidur alle to me 18295
 Þat þourȝe þe fend & a tre
 Alle dampned were now shal ȝe seen

A tre hap done him dampned ben

To deep he demed 3ou so dym

Now shal pat doom falle on hym

18300

, // Anoon was al pat feir gederynge

Lopen vndir oure lordis wynges

By þe riȝt hond he adam chees

He seide Adam I ȝyue þe pees

To þe & to alle childre þyne

18305

And to alle riȝtwis myne

// Adam fel doun to his fete

And spak to him wordis swete

Lorde he seide I þonke þe

pat þi pees hast brouȝte me

18310

Pere I was wiþ my foos mysferde

I calde on þe þou hast me herde

þou hast delyuered me fro pat wrake fol. 107 r col. 1

Of hem pat lepen in to þe lake

Alle his seyntis now ȝe synge

18315

In his worshepe pat is oure kynge

For him to greue is ful grille

Lastyng lyf is in his wille
 Alle þo seyntis kneled doun
 And seide alle wiþ a soun
 Comen art þou god & mon of myzt
 Our raumsonere as þou vs hiȝt
 Al þat þou seidest bi prophecie
 Pou hast fulfilled myztilye
 Pourȝe þi cros þou hast vs bouȝt
 And for vs also hidir souȝt
 From deþ of helle to lousen vs
 Al hap þi deþ vs saued þus
 Lord þei seide al wiþ a steuen
 As þou hast sete þi mark in heuen
 Of þi blis lord god so gode
 And ~~kast~~ be token of rode
 Reised in erþe of oure raunsoun
 Pou sett hit lord in helle þer doun
 To knowe þe þi crois victory
 Þat deþ haue here no maistry
 Oure lord toke vs his hond ful glade

18320

18325

18330

18335

And on Adam a crois he made
 And on alle his pat þo pere were
 He leide his blessyng ihesu dere
Pat lord anoon wiþouten stynt
 Adam bi þe riȝt hond hynt
 His owne seyntis pat he souȝt
 He hem out of prisoun brouȝt
 Þenne cryed dauid wiþ steuen strong
 Synge we þis lord an vncoupe song
 Þenne vnswered al pat clene couent
 To blis he haþ his seyntis sent
 Synge we to him wiþouten pere
 Amen and alleluya here

18340

18345

18350

// In pat place þo peré was
 A prophete het mechias
 Who may be lord he seide as þow
 Al þing is worþi þe to bow
Pat þou þi wreche so swetly slakest
 And fro þi folk her synnes takest
 Þi wille is merciful wiþ inne

 18355
 fol.107 r col. 2

And so þou dost away oure synne 18360
 Þo seyntis seiden alle þore 18363
 Þis is oure god for euermore
 Lord & god he shal be aue 18365
 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 18370
 Al þi pepul þus to brynge
 Out of þraldome to þi gederynge
 Þo seyntis songen euer a mong
 Amen alleluya in song
 And so dud vche gode prophete 18375
 Folwyng þat blessed lordis fete
 Amen alleluya song þei
 And honoured him euer bi þe wey
 Oure lord bi þe hond adam caugt
 And to seynt mychael him bitauzt 18380
 Into paradis sikerly

18367

is, scribal error, should be it

Was lad pat blessed company
 Soone whenne pei were comen In so
 Of olde men met pei two

Pat pei were olde was eeth to se
 Do seyntis seide what are ze
Pat were not dede in helle wip vs
 But in paradys to bide pus.

18385

Pe ton vnswered to pat floke
 He seide my name is cald enoke
 Pis mon he seide pat is my fere
 Hely het wipouten were

18390

In to pis blisse were we brougt
 But neuer of deþ wist we zit nougt

Here shal we be in lyf lastonde

18395

Til antecrist be come to londe

To fi3te azeyn pat cursed fende

fol. 107 v col. 1

Wip signes of oure lord hende

In ierusalem we shul be slayn

Pe þridde day to rise azayn

18400

Bifore pat ilke fend so proude

We shul styze vp to þe cloude

Whil þei þus spak coom hem by

A wretched man ful wondirly

On his shulder a croys he bare

18405

Of him alle a wondride ware

þei seide what art þou þat art here

And hast to þeof so like a chere

How coom þou to þat gode

þat on þi shulder berest a rode

18410

// Sop he seide to hem a noon

A strong þeof þenne was I oon

Miche harm dud I in londe

þerfore was I hent in honde

Iewes me honged ihesu bi syde

18415

Me & my felowe ful of pride

I say bi ihesu douzty dede

þat he was god men auzte to drede

I preied him he shulde on me rewe

To me he seide I het þe trewe

18420

þat þou þis ilke day shalt be

In blis of paradys wip me
 Dis token he tauzte me of pris
 Go forþ he seide to paradys
 If þe gatewarde þe wibstonde 18425
 Sey him þou hast good waronde
 Ihesus goddis sone sey þou
 Þat on rode was nayled now
 Sende þe þidir & þus I wrouzt
 And soone þe aungel in me brouzt 18430
 In paradys on þis riȝt syde
 Here he seide a whyle þou byde
 Til adam fadir of al mon kyn
 Be comen wip his folk her In
 Wip alle his children þat ben gode 18435
 In crist þat done was on þe rode
 Do prophetis & patriarkis fol. 107 v col. 2
 Whenne þei had herd þis þeoff sey þus
 Alle þei cryed wip a steuen
 Blessed be þou lord of heuen 18440
 Fadir of mercy wipouten mys

Pat siche grace hap sent to his
 Synful men for to pus lede
 In paradys & hem to fede
 In to his pasture endeles riche
Pere lȳf is lastynge euere yliche
 To pat pasture he vs brynge
Pat is oure maker heuen kynge
 Dis ilke pasture is heuen blis
Perto vs brynge ihesus wiþ his
 Þese were þe priuetees we sawe
 Icarius & my felawe
 We breþer two but not dar we
 Telle more of pat priuete
 Seynt michaele forbode on vs leide
 Goop to zoure breþer forþ he seide
 To ierusalem & pere shul 3e
 Cryinge in zoure orisouns be
 In orisouns myche knelyng
 Preisyng cristis vp risyng
pat wiþ him hap 3ou reised so
 He wol pat 3e where 3e go

18445

18450

18455

18460

18451

The initial p is a medium-size, decorated capital.

Be dounbe of speche to vche man

Pat to zou spekep til pat pan

Pat he haue lent leue zou to

18465

His derne priuetees to vndo

Aftir he bad vs soone anoone

Wendeþ ouer þe flum iordone

Feres shul 3e fynde þere mo

Pat vp be risen wiþ zou two

18470

Witnes for to shewe in sigt

Pat he is risen vp as he hiȝt

He haþ vs graunted for oure prow

þis tyme to holde oure paske now

Oure frendis to do to witnessynge

18475

Of his holy vp rysynge

To þe holy flum iurdane fol. 108 r col. 1
 Oure baptizyng now haue we tane
 A cloþing is comen vs vp on
 So whit in world was neuer noon 18480
 Whenne we shul haue holden þo
 pre dayes of paske wipouten mo
 We shul be rauysshed forþ away
 Shal no mon se vs fro þat day
 We haue 3ou tolde þe soþe sawe 18485
 Of al þat we haue leue to shawe
 Worshipe 3e euer god of my3t
 And shryue 3ou of 3oure synnes ri3t
 And doþ penaunce whil 3e may
 His pees be wip 3ou haue good day 18490
 Whenne writen was þat þei wolde write
 Carius þenne toke his scryte
 A3eyn to anna & caiphe
 And to gamaliel þese þre
 But lentheus þo 3af vp his teme 18495
 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 siȝen siȝe

18500

Do writtis þat þei lafte þore

Nouþer was þenne oþere more

Not a lettre more ny les

But as þe ton þat oþer wes

Þis turned þe iewis in to bale

18505

Whenne þei herde þis wondur tale

For soþe þei seide þis ilke dede

Was done bi myȝtis of godhede

Fro þe temple went þei oute

Wiþ mychel bisynes & doute

18510

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

18515

As hit bifel in þat stide

18505

The initial p is a medium-size, decorated capital.

In þe temple wiþouten lite fol. 108 r col. 2

Pilate dud þis story to wryte

In comune bookis of ðer lay

Boþe þat he sawe & herde say 18520

Of ihesu and þese iewis dede

Lettris to rome he wroot good spede

Of whiche þus was þe bigynnynge

Ponce pilate gret claude þe kyng

Litil is goon siþ hit bitidde 18525

Bifore myne yȝen hit was kidde

Þat iewis wiþ enuye & hete

Han sleyn her owne god so grete

Þat was þe god of her osprynge

Kenely þei him demed to hyngre 18530

To her eldres had he hiȝt

Þat to hem wolde he of his myȝt

His aungel fro heuen sende

Fro her foos hem to defende

Þis heste among hem shulde bene 18535

Thourȝe 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 þo iewis sawe

18540

pis ilke mon do miraclis sere

Blynde to se & doumbe to here

To palesye & to mesele

And als to wode he gaf her hele

Redy to reise þe dede to honde

18545

And to his wille þe wynd to stonde

Vpon þe se wipouten wete

Goynge as vp on a strete

And opere tokenes fele vnteld

þat þei for goddes sone him held

18550

þo princis of prestis his fulle foos

Wip wrappe & enuye on him roos

As prisoun þei him toke for þi

And him bitauzte to my baily

Of many wrongis þei him wryed

18555

And many lesyngis on him lyed

pei seide he wrougte bi wicchecraft fol. 108 v col. 1

And wiþ þe deuēl was bi laft

A leued al þat þei me tolde

And so to hem I him vp zolde 18560

pei him henge siche was her reed

And grauen he was whenne he was ded

And of mony knyztis 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 knyztis

For þei seide as þei say wiþ siztis 18570

Greete ziftis toke þei for þat prisen

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 knyztis to whom þei ziftis 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 18580
 þus were þe iewis false & wik
 þei wered on ihesu deed & quyke
 Maugrey þe iewis his false foos
 þus he heryed helle & roos
 Whenne he for vs was bouȝt & solde 18585
 Two & þritty ȝeer 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 18590
 Þe skil þerof was for þi
 Þat he hem boþe coom to by
 Þat ilke day dyed he
 Þat his modir was grett wip aue
 Two nyȝt he in sepulcre lay 18595
 But not but one hol day

Whil his licam lay vndirstone

18601
fol. 108 v col. 2

His goost was to helle gone

His body here his goost pere

His godhede wantide nowhere

Into helle pat lord list

18605

On paske day as at mydnyzt

For wite we wel & vndirtake

pat ilke tyme he sent wrake

Vp on þe egipcians vnlele

pat he let sle wiþ his aungele

18610

pat ilke tyme on nyztir tale

He brouzte his frendis out of bale

pat was fro helle to paradise

And whenne his wille was to ryse

To his licam he went rzt

18615

And roos vp bi his owne myzt

Þe bridde day in certeyn tyde

He roos erly wiþouten abyde

Boþe god & mon as he was ore

Vndynge for euermore

18620

For wiþ þe myȝte of his godhede
 Ouercomen he haþ þe lastyng dede
 þus coom þat oyle in place
 þat god het adam of grace
 Long myȝt adam þink 18625
 From þe sizt of þat kyng
 Foure þousande foure hundride & foure bi tale
 Was adam bidyng in his bale 18628
 His lif was in þis world here 18631
 Nyne hundride & þritty zere
 Blessed be þat kyng & clerk
 þat so con saue his honde werk
 Blessed be she þat him bare 18635
 Suche a saluyng to oure kare
 þat ilke lady sende vs grace
 Of hispreisyng to speke sum space
 þe leoun of riȝtwisnes þus reised
 His dedis made his godhede preysed 18640
 Leoun men may him clepe wiþ riȝt
 For may no beest be more of myȝt

 18641

The initial p is a medium-size, decorated capital.

Also per is anoper resoun fol.^o 109 r col. 1

Why he is tokened to a leoun

Pe leouns whelpe whenne hit is born 18645

Lip deed til pe bridde morn

Wipouten lif of any lym

His fadir penne comep to him

And wip his cry pat is so gryse

He zyuep his whelp lyf to ryse 18650

So dude ihesus oure shampeoun

Do he lay deed for oure raunsoun

Whenne his fadir wolde he made

Him vp to ryse vs alle to glade

Of leoun also pe kynde is hyze 18655

Slepyng loukep he neuer his yze

Nor ihesus pouze he his goost zalde

His godhede pat hap al in walde

Mizt neuer dyze ny neuer shal.

Ny slepe pat hap to wake vs al 18660

Pat kyng po he was risen to lyf

Shewed him to his disciplis ryf

18643

The initial A is a medium-size capital.

18644

The "a" before "leoun" was inserted later with a caret.

Coom & zeode ofte hem among
 And also eet wip wip hem & dronk
 Wip hem he dwelt fourty dayes 18665
 And preched as þe story sayes
 Of heuen blis þat is so hy
 And whenne his wille was vp to sty
 To gadir alle his to gidir he bad
 Soone þei were to gider lad 18670
 Ihesus kud him to hem newe
 To wite if þei in troupe be trewe
 Her mys bileue for to mys preyse
 And out of wanhope hem to reyse
 For summe were of þat gederyng 18675
 þat leued not 3itt his vp rysyng
 But her mystroupe soop to say
 Is strengþinge of oure troupe to day
 Greet sikernes to vs hit was
 þe mys trowyng of seynt thomas 18680
 For he nolde trowe on no wyse
 Oure lord ihesu shulde so ryse

Of his vp rist he was in were

fol. 109 r col. 2

And seide for þing þat I may here

I may not leue vp risen he es

18685

Til I se & fele his flesshe

Þe þirlis boþe of honde & fete

And of his syde þe wounde wete

Whenne I haue groped þo wiþ honde

Þe soþe þenne wol I vndirstonde

18690

But ihesus 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

18695

Wheþer I my self now be he

Stonde stidfaste now herfore

And mysbileue þou nomore

Whenne thomas þat to crist was coupe

Herd þis of ihesu mouþe

18700

Þou art he seide lord god myne

Þat for me hast suffred pyne

For þou seide crist hast hit sene

þou leuest hit wiþouten wene

Blessed shal alle þo men be

18705

þat hit shal leue & not se

For þenne wolde ihesu in his dedis

Conferme þe treuþe to alle ledis

He bad his disciplis teche

Ouer al þe world þe gospel preche

18710

þat 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 wiþouten boost

18715

In name of fadir sone & hóly goost

And who þat wolde no bapteme take

At doom þei shulde falle to wrake

þe leuer & þe baptized boþe

Shulde be saued from al loþe

18720

þus haþ he vs ensaumple left

þat we most nede be born eft

First in flesshe & sipen in cryst fol. 109 v col. 1

Of modir wombe & penne baptist

Fadir & modir vs get & beer

18725

But crist hap vs geten here

In þe holy goost geten vs hap he

perfore his soþfaste sones be we

Ful wo may him be & owe

pat wol not siche a fadir knowe

18730

For þat is he wel we woot

pat neuer of þe appel boot

By him we may wipouten let

Aske oure eritage of det

þe lawe he held wondir wel

18735

Vnholden lafte he neuer adel

Neuer was hit holden þer biforn

For þat he coom to be born

Of erþe he coom þe firste mon

pat al oure baret bigon

18740

þe toþer coom from heuen tour

pat brougt vs sauynge & socour

þe formast man was flesshely wrouzt

þat al þe world in bale brouzt

He was put out of paradys

18745

And his osprynge as for vnwys

But ihesu oure fadir made al pleyn

And gat oure eritage azeyn

þat list in erþe from heuen hyze

And þidir wol vs do to stize

18750

// 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

18755

I baptize ȝow in watir oon

In haste ȝe shal wiþouten boost

Be baptised of þe holy goost

Whenne ihesus had fulfilde his spel

And tauȝte hem as he coude wel

18760

Forþ he ladde þe meyne swete

Vpon þe mounte of olyuete

In likenes of a processioun

fol..109 v col. 2

And 3af hem alle his benesoun

And wiþ his owne propur myzt

18765

He stey vp in her aller sizt

A cloude þat doun azeyn him coom

Bitauzte him to his aungels þon

Whenne þei sizt of him had tynt

3it loked þei wiþouten stynt.

18770

Whil þei bihelde so in delite

Bisyde hem stood two in white

And seiden gode men of galile

Wher vp on merueile 3e

3e merueile vp on ihesu now

18775

But ri3t as he is take fro 3ow

He shal come at anoþer tide

Par 3ou not him now abyde

But þat coome shal be wondir kene

Whenne he come shal al to deme

18780

Vpon þe holy þurseday

Went ihesus 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

18785

If we wol folwe þe riȝt wey

His kyn wole he not forsake

But we vs fouly mystake

But god forbede hit so to wende

Pat we oure foo make of oure frende

18790

Wel owe we to loue him þon

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

18795

Pat of good dede wol not be knawen

Oure monhede bowe we þenne him to

In al þe gode pat we may do

For firste in erþe he here hit fet

And now in heuen he haþ hit set

18800

Ful hyȝe aboue alle creaturis

What herte may þenke of siche honuris

Pat vs hap done þe kyng of blis fol. 110 r col. 1

Pat coupled þus oure kynde to his

And set hit on his fadir riȝt honde 18805

Pat myȝty god al welldonde

Pat is a selcoupe þing to neuen.

For þus is erþe hiȝer þen heuen

þer ihesus god & mon wiþ alle

So hiȝe is set in heuen stalle 18810

Monhede but erþe what is hit

Pat now wiþ þe godhede is knyht

He sende vs now þat iȝke grace

Pat we may se his blissed face

More blisse & ioye may neuer be 18815

þen 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 18820

To se him þere he sitteþ now

In heuen as may alle avow

18817

The initial Q is a medium-size, decorated capital.

But of his liknes pat he bar

Whil he preched here & par

We may sey as hit is red

18825

In oure bokis in dyuerse sted

Of heȝte he was a metely mon

Aftir pat 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 seiþ þe boke

His heer like to þe note broun

Whenne hit for rype falleþ doun

Vpon his shuldres liggyng wele

18835

By his eres slydyng sum dele

In heed he had a shede biforn

As nazarenes han þere þei are born

His forhede feire wemles in siȝt

Wipouten wrynkel hit was sliȝt

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

18845

Note broun as I tolde 3ou ere

Metely heer was on his chyn

Louely & blessed vs to wyn

Stidfaste his loke & symple ay

His y3en clere & sumdel gray

18850

Clerely spake he what he wolde

And alle his skiles wisely tolde

In his snybbynge awful was he

In techynge my3te noon soþer be

Teres he wepte we fynde ynowe

18855

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

18860

þe toon is þe toþer liche

Stad in heuen blisse ryche

Whenne ihesus vp went to heuen

As 3e me herde bifore neuen

To ierusalem þo went þei sone

18865

As hem was beden for to done

Alle þo breþer were comen þider

And in an hous þo weren to gider

Stille þei bar hem þo & euen

þo apostlis þo were but elleuen

18870

Peter. Ion. Iame. & Andrew

Philipp Thomas. & barthelmew

Mathe. Iacob. Iudas. Symeoun

Alle þese lay in orisoun

Mary his modir & opere also

18875

þat were wont wiþ ihesu to go

þere was nyge six skore men to telle

Peter roos & bigon to spelle

Breþer he seide þe writen mot nede

Be fulfilde þat we rede

18880

þe holy goost seide þourge dauy

Of Iudas & of his tricchery

Pat in oure tale was tolde for one fol. 110 v col. 1

And dude oure lord ihesu to slone

Wip tresour of pat felonye 18885

A feld he dide him for to bye

He brast in two as he hong

His guttis at his womb out wrong

Pe salmes seip bi good taast

His wonyng shulde wylde & waast 18890

And for his tresoun & his swiche

Anoper shulde haue his bisshopriche

Of þis gederyng bihouep vs þon

In witnessyng to chese a mon

To goddis seruyse him to take 18895

And also a hool noumbre to make

Alle seide let hit be so

And of hem alle chees þei two

Pe ton het Ioseph barabas

And þe toper mathias 18900

þei seide & þus god bisou3t

pou lord pat seest al monnes pou3t

Shewe vs wheper of pese here
 Pat pou wolt haue to pi mistere
 In stide of Iudas pat is losen 18905
 Whiche of pese pou wolt haue chosen
 Penne cast bei lottis for to telle
 And soone vp on mathi hit felle
 On him it was oure lordis wille
 De noumbre of twelue to fulfille 18910
 Ten dayes from be ascencioun
 De apostlis lay in orisoun
 And as bei so to gider lay
 Vp on be holy witsonday
 At vndren tyde per coom a soun 18915
 Fro be eir brestyng e doun
 As hit were a ponder blast
 Brodly on pat house hit brast
 Wip a wynd pat coom wip alle
 And bei sitting fulde pat halle 18920
 De holy goost po lizte pon
 Bope on wommon & mon

 18911

The initial I is a medium-size, decorated capital.

Vnto her hedes alle bidene fol. 110 v col. 2

Were firen tongis sittynge sene

A firen tonge on vchone list 18925

But not hit brent bei hit were bri3t

And whi hit coom in firen sigt

For to strengþe & 3yue my3t

For wel we woot wipouten gyle

Fire is good to strengþe þe tile 18930

Tongis bitokenen alle langage

þat bei shulde haue ful knowlage

To stonde stifly for þe fay

And trewely preche cristis lay

Of þe holy goost filde were bei þan 18935

And for to telle bei alle bigan

þe miraclis grete of ihesu coupe

For alle langagis bei coupe wip moupe

þe holy goost 3af hem at þat blast

Of alle wittis to touche & tast 18940

Euery langage þat þenne was

Kyndely coupe bei hit bi gras

Pat tyme was pere in pat toun

18945

Sere men of alle religioun

To pat feest coom penne pore

Of vche cuntre lasse & more

Wherfore were pei drad & gast

For heryng of pat mychel blast

18950

For pat blast pat pei pere herde

To be apostlis hous pei ran for ferde

Spekyng of pat grisly crak

Her owne langage vchone spak

Of vche ping pat pei coude freyn

18955

Redy pei 3af vnsware a3eyn

Pat ilke tonge what so pei were

To vche lede 3af 3o vnsware

Of al wisdome pat men knowe

pei coude resoun redy showe

18960

Alle merueiled how hit myzte be

And seide pese men of galile

Born in pat cuntre to seen

How pei seide may pis ben

Pat oure langage speke bei bus

18965
fol. lll r col. 1

Greet wondir her of pinke vs

Some bad opere penne do wey

And seiden dronken of must were bei

Vp stood peter in pat prong

And seide gode men ze haue wrong

18970

We are not dronken as ze say

Hit is but vndren tide of day

We be not wont pat tyme to ete

Ny not to drynke bifore oure mete

But I shal telle zou hit wel bettur

18975

If ze con rede zoure owne lettur

per was a prophete trewe & lele

Bi olde dayes pat het loele

I shal sende in be laste dayes

Of my spirit bus he sayes

18980

Bope on mon & wommon eke

Of prophecie shul bei speke meke

Zoure sones & zoure dou3tris fre

And zoure zonge men shul si3tis se

3oure eldre men shal dremes dreme 18985

And of my goost I shal a streme

To mon & wommon 3yue also

To come bi prophecie and go

In heuen on hy3e shal I showe

Signes & on erpe lowe 18990

He tolde hem mony tokenes sere

Pat is no nede to reken here

Breþer he seide wel may I

Telle 3ou of þe prophete dauy

He wiste þat god had to him sworn 18995

Pat oon shulde of his seed be born

To sitte in sete þat were his

But he þat say so fer þis

Of his vprist he tolde in helle

Hit shal not be laft to dwelle 19000

Neuer shal rote his flesshe so bri3t

But reised is he bi his my3t

From deep to lyf now risen is he

And þerof witnesse alle are we

Reised so wiþouten let

19005

And made sikir pat his fadir het

fol. 111 r col. 2

pe giftis of pe holy ~~g~~st sere

He hap vs 3yuen as 3e se here

To heuen he stey pat is wel sene

And I say to 3pw folk bidene

19010

Pat ihesus is pat lord of my3t

3e dude on rode wiþ vnri3t

Pese wordis herde monyone

And rewed soore in hert anoone

To petre & opere apostlis to

19015

Gode men bei seide what shal we do

But baptize 3ou & dop penaunce

In ihesu name for his sufferaunce

3e shul for3yuen be 3oure sake

pe holy goostis zifte to take

19020

For whi to 3ou & to 3oure sede

pe childre pat of 3ou shal brede

pe mede is het of alle & alle

Pat cristen ben ihesu wol calle

But for 3oure bote I 3ou forbede

19025

To leuen on bis wicked lede

Petur peyned him ful 3erne

In goddis name pat folk to lerne

Do pat toke bis word to herte

Her soulis turned hit to querte

19030

Pere was pat ilke day in lyues

Baptized pre hundride men & wyues

Pat bisily ful ofte pere

Entendaunt to be apostlis were

And ete breed wip hem to fare

19035

Whenne pei had nou3t ellis whare

Do pat hous hadde or o3er good

Solde hit & wip be apostlis 3ood

Bifore be apostlis feet hit brou3te

To do 3erof what hem good 3ou3te

19040

Erly be apostelis vche day

To be temple wenten to pray

At her 3eyn coom be mete pei 3aue

To vche as pei say mistere haue

Petur & Ion a day at none fol. 19045
 Wenten to chirche to make her bone fol. III v col. 1
 Bisyde þe wey sai þei þere by
 A mon croked in þe palesy
 And had ben moost part of his dayes
 As þe story telleþ and sayes 19050
 Vche day men þidir him bere
 For to bide his almes þere
 Petur & Ion þei by him 3ode
 And he bad of hem sum gode
 Petur & Ion vnswered him þon 19055
 And seide biholde on vs þou mon
 Biholde on vs now and se
 And vndirstonde oure pouerte
 Þou maist wel se now oure wone
 3iftis haue we to þe none 19060
 For Petrus gode was hit nou3t 19065
 Þat opere men to him had brou3t
 For to kepe to her nede
 And for þo pore men to fede

 19045

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

19070

Pat I may 3yue 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

19075

Greet pase to be temple he gos

Bifore myzte he not goon a fote

Louyng oure lord he lepte for bote

Pus prophecye fulfilled was bo

Pat seide be halt shulde skippe as ro

19080

Pe folk bo bei pis mon had sene

Wondride on him al by dene

Petur anoon bigan to mele

19085

And seide 3e folke of israele

Why wondir 3e so wiþ vnri3t

As pis were done wiþ oure myzt

But myzty god wiþouten make

Of abraham and of Isaake

19090

And of oure eldres pat han bene o fol.111 v col. 2

His derworpe sone hap blessed so

Pat stood bifore prince pilate

And sufferde dep bi zoure debate

pe calling on his holy name 19095

Hap sent hele into bis lame

Wip pe troupe pat fel perto

For hit may wondir myche do

But my breper I vndirstonde

Pat ze hit dud vnwitone 19100

Repentep zou & bep aknowen

To saue zoure soulis vchone his owen

Azeyn pe grete comune assise

Where alle shul come bifore iustise

Wipstonde zoure synne pat ze may rise 19105

Wip pat parti pat is ri3twise

Forzyuenes penne shal be of plizt

Penne forp whenne pourze pe myzt

Of risyng on pe laste day

pe lastyngge dep shal worpe away 19110

Bi his fadir sitte he shalle

To his recorde haue vs alle

Pat he spake firste wip prophecies

Ay to þe tyme pat alle shulde ryse

Þe apostlis spak þis & more

19115

Þe prest coom pat tyme þore

Þe temple maistris wip hem boun

Alle were þei of o comoun

Hem tened sore at þis talkyng

And seiden how dar ze do þis þing

19120

So preciouse wordis of him to say

Pat we dude deme þis ender day

Þe saduces namely pat lede

For þe vprysyng wolde þei wede

For þei wolde neuer for no þing

19125

Pat knowen were þe vp risyng

Þe apostlis dude þei take soone

And so in prisoun were þei done

Þei set men þere hem to zeme

For late hit was þenne hem to deme

19130

But mony leued on her lore fol. 112 r col. 1

And to bapteme went perfore

So pat of men & als of wyue

Were pere conuertide pousandis fyue

Pat oper day pat folwed nest 19135

Gedered out bope prince & prest

And sett hem in pat court amydde

And bad hem of be dede pei didde 19140

Pei shulde telle faste & soone

In whoos name hit was done

But petur pat alle opere past

His vnswere he 3af in haast

But firste he shewed in his dede 19145

Pat her askyng was but sophede

He seide hit is resoun pat we

For oure gode dede chalanged be

Vnskillfully 3e con vs blame

For wite 3e wel pat in be name 19150

Of ihesu pat 3e diden on rode

Pat euer 3e mys vndirstode

God his fadir him reised to lyue

19135

The initial p is a medium-size, decorated capital.

As woot mony mon & wyue

pat is made as a corner ston

19155

For to make two folkis oon

On in him for to be fest

pat ilke pat fro oure werk ze keſt

In him is hele of monkynde al

As noon opere name on to cal

19160

pat of hele may 3yue hem blis

But if mon fully penke on þis

19162

þe maistris whenne þei vndirzode

19173

How stidfastly þe apostlis stode

þei bad þei shulde hem wiþdrawe

19175

Whil þei speke to gidir a þrawe

þei seide ȝe ze not þese men

Who con vs councel of hem ken

þe merueile say ze pat þei did

We may not nay hit so is hit kid

19180

But þefore ſhal we þrete hem hard

pat þei shulde neuer more forward

Dis name to mon nor wommon neuene fol. 112 r col. 2

Of ihesus goddis sone of heuene

Glad were pei penne & beden pore

19185

Pat pei shulde neuere more

Of pe name of ihesu spelle

Ny no ping perof to telle

pei vnswered soone anone

Bope petur & seynt Ione

19190

Wheper owe more pei seide bow

To god al weldyng or ellis to 3ow

19192

3e to bidys to wip stonde

19195

Goddis bidyng al weldonde

pe ping pat we han herd and seen

Whi may hit knowen not ben

Seruauntis ellis be we sory

Sopra stenes is not to deny

19200

Do iewis pat euer were so curst

Wolde efte haue prisounde hem if pei durst

For pepul durst pei not do hit pon

And pei went hoom vnto syon

Whenne pei coom to her breper pere 19205

Pei tolde how pei hondeled were

Pei helde vp hondis wip o steuen

And ponked i^hesu hyze in heuen

Whenne pei had alle seide her bede

Anoon bigon to stire pat stede 19210

And in pat erpe dene pat shoke

Pe holy goost eftsone pei toke

Out of her holy hertis horde

Spedily spelled pei goddis worde

Of pat folke a mon per was 19215

Called by name ananyas

I wole he seide my godis zyue

Wip pese ri3twis men to lyue

Wip hem I may of mete & drynke

My lyuere haue wipouten swynke 19220

To his wyf seide he I & þow

Herto shul we make a vow

Pe vow he made his londe he solde

Pe penyes fully taken & tolde

19215

The initial Q is a medium-size, decorated capital.

He hem brougt at pe last 19225
 Bifore pe apostlis feet doun cast fol. 112 v col. 1
 But haluendel of pat stal he
 And seide pat was pe hool mone
 His wyf assentide wel per tille
 Was neuer pe fruyt of siche but ille 19230
 For alle siche hem self biswike
 And lopen ~~moost~~ pat shulde hem like
 Petur hit say in holy sigt
 For filde he was of grace & myzt 19234
 Say me he seide ananyas 19237
 Whi hastou temptide sathanas
 Of pi sale to make lesyng
 And zelden vp but half pi ping 19240
 Al pat pou wende perwip to wynne
 Shal turne pe but to sake & synne
 Siker art pou now of synne & sake
Perof pou hast in honde pe wrake
 Has seynt petur seide no more 19245
pe mon fel doun ded riht pore

 19225

 The initial H is a medium-size capital.

3onge men hent þe careyn þere

And faste for to bury hit bere

Pre houris aftir more ny myn

His wif vnwityng þus coom In

19250

Wommon seide petur solde 3e þus

3oure lond sir she seide 3us

Dou lvest he seide & shuldes wonde

Wip falshede þe holy goost to fonde

To where at þe dore þei stonde

19255

Dat rist now dalf þi dede husbonde

So shal þei þe do now anone

Wip þat she fel doun dede as stone

Wondir no mon of þis here spoken

Dou3e wrongis þo so soone were wroken

19260

For cristen chirche þo hit elgan

3it was hit not al stabul þan

For custum is among alle trewe

Whenne lawe is made bitwene men newe

At þe bigynnyng to be redde

19265

Dat drede may do lawe be dredde

To do þe folke drede & awe

fol. 112 v col. 2

Þat wolde not ellis holde þe lawe

Þe gode & trewe for loue & mede

Þe wicke holde þe lawe for drede

19270

For þenne durst no mon wiþ hem menge

But he wolde trewely wiþ hem lenge

Mony seke to hem sougt

And mony signe þei on hem wrougt

Boþe in weyes & in strete

19275

Þe seke were born hem to mete

Mony þat petur wolde ryne

Of him to ken her medicyne

19278

// Petur was prince of þo twelve

19281

Gretter of signe þen crist him selue

He wrougte as hit is seide sumwhere

Priuelage of signe he bere

Crist him self het him þat

19285

Whenne he for him dide mony what

Fro þo her folk wex more & more

Fast þe folk fel to her lore

But 3it þo iewis þat were feloun

Þei dide þe apostlis in prisoun

19290

Bi þo saduces fals envye

Þat loued no resurexioun triȝe

Shulde be of mon at domes day

Aȝeyn þe apostlis þei seide nay

Þese were þo saducis. I tolde

19295

Þat wiþ þe phariseus euer dide holde

// But soone aftir on þe nyȝt

Sende hem was an aungel briȝt

Þat brouȝt hem out of prisoun strong

And bad hem to þe temple gong

19300

Soone þei wente wiþ wille glad

And dude as þe aungel hem bad

For to spelle þe word of lyf

Þat alle myȝte here knowe mon & wif

Þe prisoun dores laft þei as þei fond

19305

Nouþer brast þei barre ny bond

Þat was to make her troupe agrounde

And iewis falshede to confounde

Whenne þo iayleris on þis wise fol. 113 r col. 1

Shulde hem brynge bifore iustise 19310

Lordyngis here is selcoupe seide þei

We fynde oure priones alle away

þe doris stoke þe wallis hale

So god me helpe soþ is þis tale

Noon out goyng of hem fonde we 19315

Bipenke 3ow hou þis may be

þo maistris fast hem bipouzt

Wip þat a mon tipinge brouzt

þo þat were he seide in prisoun

In þe temple now þei sermoun 19320

To þe temple anoon þei zede

þe apostlis to prisoun to lede

But no strengþe did þei hem tille

þei went wip hem at her wille

þei durst no hardnes hem do 19325

For þe folk helde wip hem so

Amydde þe court as þei were sett

þe bisshop forbode hem þrett

19309

The initial W is a medium-size capital.

We bidde he seide & als forbede.

Pourze þe myȝt of bisshophede

19330

Þat ȝe in ihesu name þat is

Be not so bolde to preche fro þis

For al ierusalem & more

Haue ȝe fulfild wip ȝoure lore

Wol ȝe dryue on vs þe blame

19335

Of any wrekyng of þis name

Þat we haue slayn him wip wronge

Þat ȝe prechyng so þroly gonge

Alle anoon ȝaf þo vnswere

Miȝt noon for opere þo forbere

19340

To leue hit were more nede to ȝow

To god þen any man to bow

Oure fadir god dud ihesu to rise

Þat ȝe honged wip fals assise

And hap him set on his riȝthonde

19345

Þis woot we wel may not wipstonde

Ofte to ȝou hit hap ben tolde

Witnes þerof are we bolde

De holy goost he hap vs sent fol. 113 r col. 2

And trewely to him wole we tent 19350

Repente 3ow whil 3e haue space

And 3e may haue his 3ifte of grace

Denne bigan pei waxe al mate

And wip her teep to grisbate.

Wip swappes soore pei hem swong 19355

And scourgid so pei let hem gong

pei bad hem fle as pei wolde dede

To munge ihesu more we rede

Pei wente forþ ioyefullere þen ore

And noþing greued hem ore sore 19360

But þonked ihesu cristis name

Þat pei for him hadde þat grame

De stidfaste troupe in hem so

Lo what strengþe falleþ þerto

Nouþer for word ny for dynt 19365

Of stabul troupe wolde pei stynt

Hem þou3te no þing so swete in lyf

As for ihesu to suffere greet strif

Euer þe more men dud hem mys

Þe sikerere þei were of blis

19370

Cristis blis þei loued so wele

Þat þei myȝte of no turment fele

As bifore hem wrouȝt he þe wey

So aftir him faste folwede þey

For he had hem so dere bouȝt

19375

Of al þis world ȝaf þei nouȝt

Þe maistris þat coom aftirward

Þei lerned at hem to suffere hard

Þat neuer forsoke for no wrake

Þe cristen troupe þat þei had take

19380

// In tyme of þese apostlis dere

Þe cristen lawe wex faste here

Þese apostlis token kepe

And herdis were of cristis shepe

To cristen doom so faste men felle

19385

Þei myȝte not kepen al welle

Þei ordeyned vndir hem opere seuen

Whiche þei were I shal hem neuen

Steuē on philip & thamor fol. 113 v col. 1

Tymon menian & nichomor 19390

Nicolas als þese seuen were

Set bifore þe apostlis sere

Ouer hem þei helde her holy honde

And a while were preyonde

Oþes þenne to hem þei made 19395

To do hit were þei wondir glade

Þe burþen vndir hem to bere

Of þat folke whenne was mistere

Goddis word wex fast & grew

And also dude þe troupe trew 19400

And of þo prestis þere was fele

Þat lafte her hastis & lyued lele

Steuē of strengþe & goddis grace

Was fulfilled in euery place

Mony miraclis grete of myȝt 19405

Dude he bifore folkes siȝt

Vp þer roos a stryf 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 bei wende steuen haue feld

19410

But al her stryf was in veyn

Had bei no myst him azeyn

Wip speche ofte bei spake him to

But noon myst not at him do

Pe holy goost in him spake

19415

In word myzte bei not him take

Alle po. men pat say his chere

Pouzte he was an aungel clere

Twey witnes had bei hem purueide

To telle of god he had myssaide

19420

Azeyn moyses & her lawe

So fayn wolde bei him do of dawe

He fyned neuer hem to myssay

Bei tolde pe bisshop of her lay

Steuken made him redy boun

19425

And penne bigan a greet sarmoun

Pere he proued wipouten awe

Pat fals was her owne sawe

For firste to loue god pei bigon fol. 113 v col. 2

In moyses tyme pat good mon 19430

Sipen he tolde hem of her lawe

Pat pei coupe not hem self knawe

Whenne he had hem tolde pe sope

Pei bigonne to grynde wip tope

Hem pouzte her hertis brak for tene 19435

Eth was to kyndel pat was kene

Steuen lift vp yzen his

I se he seide pe kyng of blis

Mannes sone pere se I stonde

Ihesus god on his ri3t honde 19440

In fourme of mon he say him in

His fadir & he sundel in twyn

He say him stonde & helpe him bede

For helpe oweþ to come at nede

He say him croised in manere þo 19445

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

19450

Denne wex þo wrecches out of witt

And gon her eren for to ditt

Hem harmed no þing more in hert

Perfore on steuen alle þei stert

Þei drouge him out of toun allone

19455

And þere demed him to stone

Þe fals witnes him stone bigan

Þat seide he herde him greet god ban

Þei held hit lawe wipouten synne

Þat þe witnes shulde bigynne

19460

A childe het saul of her lede

19463

To tent þe while to her wede

Þat ilke þat þo was cleped saul

19465

Sipen 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 derworbely god he gret

19470

Ihesu he seide to þe I bow

fol. 114 r col. 1

I zelde my goost resceyue hit now

And lord forgyue þese men her plizt

For of þe soþe haue þei no siȝt

þus his holy soule he ȝolde

19475

To ihesu þat for him was solde

Fre þat steuen was done of dawe

Fast þei roos wiþouten awe

Aȝeyn holy chirche hit to waste

In ierusalem most vnwraste

19480

Whenne þis steuen þus was slone

þat of seuē dekenes was one

þe disciplis folwede þei harde

þat þei hem droof out of her warde

Saue þe apostlis þat hem ledde

19485

þei stood but alle opere fledde

Alle opere fledde but ȝit þei stode

So done þe herdis þat ben gode

þe apostlis say hit was nede

To turne in to anoper lede

19490

19471

The initial F is a medium-size, decorated capital.

Alphe sone pat het Iacob
 Of Ierusalem bei made bisshop
 Bei leide hondis him vp on
 Petur & iacob & seynt Ion
Perfore of fewer ben of pre
 May no bisshop sacred be
 In pat tyme saul alle past
Pat cristis chirche bigon to wast
 Fro hous to hous sekande he ran
 And out he drouge wif & man
 Bei he hem pursuew so wip wow
 As god wolde none he slow
 For god him kepte pat euer is goode
 His hondis vnfoulid of monnes blode
Bei pat scatered were for nede
 Fro stide to stide walkynge bei zede
 Stidfaster ben ben ere
 For bei to skared were
 Philip was of dekenes one
 Next aftir steuen was gone

19495

19500

19505

19510

To preche he coom into a by fol. 114 r col. 2

Pat men cleped samary

Pere be folke wip hool assent

To his wordis 3af entent

Miraclis dud he for hem fele

19515

Mony seke 3af he hele

Per was a mon symon magus

As oure story telleþ vs

He ladde be folke wip myche swike

For signes were his werkis like

19520

To folk wrou3t he greet ferly

And Al was by nygromauncy

Goddess vertu or greet prophe

Or ellis aungeþ bei him lete

Or goddis sone bei him held

19525

For he made be folk al dweld

Whenne be folk in þat toun

Trewely leued phelippis sarmoun

And to baptizing hem bowed

Symound let þenne as he trowed

19530

19523

Read "prophete" for "prophe".

111.

He baptized him to holy chirche

For tokenes he say philip wirche

Opere þen he myzte do

For he wende to come þerto

Perfore toke he bapteme feynt

19535

To be wiþ philipp so aqueynt

He wolde be to him sumwhat nere

Pat he myzte of signes lere

Whenne þe apostlis herden say

Samaritanes had taken her lay

19540

Fro ierusalem þei sent anone

Boþe seynt petur & seynt Ione

þei preyed for hem wiþouten boost

þei shulde receyue þe holy goost

Pat is to sey wiþ tokenes sene

19545

Büt þar no mon þerfore wene

Pat hit resceyued had þo

Vnsene whenne þei toke bapteme so

Here may we se on þis wise

Pouze mony mon 3yue baptise

19550

May no man pat is in londe fol. 114 v col. 1

Conferme but bisshopis honde

Dis nedefulnesse phelip wiste

perfore alle þo pat he baptiste

He sende hem to þe apostlis ay 19555

Pat þei shulde hondis on hem lay

As we se now bisshops do

Pat þis pouste is 3yuen to

þe bisshopis hool conferment

Of strengþe hit is þe sacrament 19560

Stably to stonde in stryf

In lastyng cristen mennes lyf

Whenne symon magus vndirstood

þe holy goost þenne was so good

pat þo men pat hit vndirfong 19565

Mi3te do grete dedis strong

He wende hit were but a queyntise

Pat my3te be bou3t for sum prise

As hit is in þe storius red

To þe apostlis 3ifte he bed 19570

Selle me þis maistrie he seide
 Þat on what mon my hon be leyde
 He haue þe holy goost in hyze
 To wyne þer wip he wolde hit byze

Petur vnswered to þat queed

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 3af her malisoun

19580

þei 3af hit noon bi euel wille

Ny for wrappe þei bar hem tille

But þe ri3twisnes to do

On hem þat worþi were þerto

þou hast no part seide petre here

19585

Wip falshede hastou made þe fere

Bi þi hond shaltou haue no my3t

To do þe holy goostdoun list

But do penaunce nede hastou

For god hastou sou3t wip wowe

19590

He wole forzyue so may hit falle fol. 114 v col. 2

Pe falshede þou him fondide wiþ alle

Hit fel seynt petre as for rent

To calle men to amendement

So auzte alle prestis more & les 19595

In as myche as in hem es

Petur & Ion went azeyn

And preched boþe wiþ myzte & mayn

Laft þei for no blenche nor shome

Til þei to ierusalem coom home 19600

Let we now þese prechouris stonde

And speke we of oon werronde

Saul souzte faste aboute & pret

Alle þe cristen þat he wiþ met

Of prince of prestis gat he leue 19605

And þerfore purchased him abreue

For to seke vp and doun

If he myzte fynde in any toun

Cristen men to lede wiþ wronge

To ierusalem to prisoun stronge 19610

19591

The initial H is a medium-size capital.

19601

The initial L is a medium-size decorated capital.

As he þus went to quere & aske
 Towarde a toun þat het damaske
 Þe fuyr of helle him smoot þat stounde
 And bremely caste him to þe grounde
 Blyndefold he was as he þere lay 19615
 He herd a steuen þus to him say
 Saul saul say me now
 Wherefore me þus pursewest þou 19618
 What art þou lord he seide vnsene 19621
 I am ihesus nazarene
 Þat þou pursewest al þat þou may
 But vndirstonde þat I þe say
 Hit is to þe myche vnriȝt 19625
 Aȝeyn trouþe wiþ wronge to fiȝt 19626
 Saul quook so was he draȝ 19633
 For ferd in his mood al mad 19634
 Seye me lord what shal I 19637
 Þi wille to do I am redy
 Riȝ vp & go þe toun is nere
 What þou shalt do þere shalt þou here 19640

pe folk were ferd pat wip him ferde fol. 115 r col. 1

No man pei sey what so pei herde

Of saul here pei wel pe steuen

But nouzt pei say pat coom fro heuen

Blynde he was his wey he souzt

19645

pat bifore was blynde in pouzt

His yze liddes open had he

And zit myzt he no þing se

Al blynd to toun men him led

Pre dayes lyued he þere vnfed

19650

Nouzt he eet þo pre dayes

Ny sikt say he noon wayes

In þo pre dayes & pre nyzt

Miche he lerned men telle rikt

Of spellyng pat he siþen spake

19655

For of prechyng had he no make

In damask toun pat tyme was

A cristen man het ananyas

To whom oure lord seide in sikt

Go to a strete pat þus higt

19660

In sicke a hous shaltou fynde

Saul of thars liggyng blynde

He lip liggyng his heed doun

Fast preying 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 þe go þou go

Go now to him he is me lele

Of my chesying he is vessele

My name to knowe & als to bere

19675

Bifore kyng & eke caysere

Baptizyng þat þou 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 pyne fol. 115 r col. 2

Dat he dud er to seruauntis myne

Ananias souzt pat in swiþe

And soone poul he fond pere vnblife

Soone his hond on him he leide

19685

He me sende saul he seide

Ihesus him hap kud to þe

Bi wey for to do þe se

Wip inne & oute to haue þi sizt

To take þe holy goostis myzt

19690

Shales fel fro his yzen a way

He had his sizt from pat day

Whenne he had bapteme vndirgone

He eet & dronk & keuered anone

To cristen men as I 3ou telle

19695

In synagog bigon he to spelle

Pus soone þenne wex þei coup

Goddes wordis in his moup

Alle pat him dred wondride on

And seiden is not þis pat mon

19700

Pat we say þis 3ondir day

Azeyn ihesu name werray

Also he coom to þis toun

Cristen to fette to prisoun

Saul couered in a stounde

19705

Þe iewis faste he gan confounde

He bad hem alle leue & lift

Pat was no god but ihesu crist

So fast þe iewis he wiþ stood

Pat soore he mengid her mood

19710

Wherfore þei took her rede

Dernely to do him to dede

Of þat reed bigonne þei rowne

Wiþ alle þe ledéres of þat towne

Nigt or day whenne þei myzt spie

19715

By murþerment to do him dye

Ofte þe toun for him þei set

And saul wiste þat he was þret

In a leep men let him doun

Ouer þe walles of þat toun

19720

Wipouten any wounde or wem fol. 115 v col. 1

He wente þo to ierusalem

To þe apostlis he him bedde

But þei were of him sum deel dredde

Þei wende not zitt þon 19725

Þat he had ben cristen mon

But barnabas hem tiping tolde

And made hem of his cristenyng bolde

He tolde how ihesu him gon mete

And to him spake walkyng bi strete 19730

And how he blenched for no blame

To preche in damaske goddes name

Apostel was he siþen one

Þat make in prechyng had he none

And fro þat tyme men cald him ay. 19735

Conuers poule in goddes lay

Poul went forþ here & þare

And spelled faste wipouten spare

Boþe to heþen folk & to iewis

And faste disputed wip þe grewis 19740

19721

The initial W is a medium-size capital.

As iewis fond he none so pro

For ofte bei souzte him to slo

19742

To petur turne we now azeyn

19747

For to make oure story pleyn

Petur fast be troupe vndid

& preched in a toun het lid

19750

Pere he fonde a mon vn fere

Had hade be palesye seuen zere

To him seide petur enea po

Cryst zyue be hele of pi wo

Rise he seide pi bed pou dizt

19755

To stire bifore pat had no myzt

Soone he roos wipouten more

Had he nouper greef ny sore

penne fel po folk to crist bi dene

In toun of 3op 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 opere ping:

19765
fol. 115 v. col. 2.

To sewe þe pores cloping

þis mayden died whil petur did

þis miracle 3e herd at lid

petur was but litil hem fro

Of cristen men sende þei two

19770

And preyed þat he wolde him hy

But þei tolde hym not why

Petur seide not þerof nay

But to þis licam coom þat lay

Wip pore wedis aboute bisset

19775

Full tenderly þere for hir gret

Wip wepyng showed þei in dede

þat dorca 3af hem ofte in nede

þat petur shulde wite what she were

Her preyere gladliere to here

19780

He bad do out þo mon arewe

þat in þat hous were left but fewe

For þere were somme so may be

Were not worþi miracle to se

Toward pat cors he turned his face 19785

Knelyng bisouzt ihesu of grace

Thabita he seide rise vp I bidde

She lift vp soone hir yzen lidde

Whenne she of peter had a sⁱzt

Bi hir self she sat vp ri^gt 19790

To seynt petur she took hir honde

And he hir reised for to stonde

Do pat were out in bad he calle

And zalde hir quyk biforn hem alle

Do bicoom cristen al pat toun 19795

Pat petur souzt wip his sarmoun

Of sarmoun wolde he no wey blyn

Longe bei lenged at an In

per he fonde a feipful frende

His name was symon pe hende 19800

Many made he pere to cryst bowe

Pat toun is called acres now

// But whil pat petur lenged pare

In a toun pat het cesare

19804 + 1

Note at the bottom of the folio " per was".

Pere was a man heldyng to riȝt

Cornelius to name he hiȝt

A myȝty mon of greet honour

Was set vnder þe emperour

To suffere pere no wrong be done

Vp on a day at tymes of none

An aungel com & stood him by

And seide drede þe not cornely

þin orisoun & þin almos

Is knowen hiȝe in goddis hous

Pou shal purueye þe soone sum men

For to sende vnto ȝopen

And do þat petur come to þe

At symoundis hous þe hende is he

Fet him to þe he shal þe lere

Al þi lyf how pou shalt stere

Cornelius aftir þat siȝt

Called to him two men & a knyȝt

To ȝopen sone he hem sende

As þe aungel had him kende

19805
fol. 116 r. col. 1

19810

19815

19816

19819

19820

19825

Pei wente forþ & diden so

Pe toþer day þei say hem fro

Pe Innes þere seynt petur lay

þenne was hit vndir tyde of day

19830

þat is pulke tyme to mene

þat petur went to preye clene

First to preye & siþen to ete

For þat tyme had he hongur grete

Whil þei digte his lif lode

19835

In orisoun he lay & bode

þerwip he fel in a swyme

þat ihesus him ~~self~~ sende on hyme

Of monnes wit not þenne he wist

As wille was of ihesu crist

19840

His þouzte he loket to þe lift

And say þerinne a mychil clift

A lynnen cloop foure sware

Let a doun him þouzte was þare

At nokes foure foure listis longe

19845

Out of þe eyr þerwip hit honge

Whenne hit on erpe was leten doun fol. 116 r col. 2

Alle foure fotid beestis say he boun

And al maner crepyng best.

Of þo þat are not tolde honest 19850

Petur hongride þo ful sore

A voys seide þenne to him þore

Petur rise & sle and ete

As who sey go & þou shalt gete

Þe iewen folke among þou go 19855

And heþen lede for þou shalt slo

Her lastis þat ben not to preyse

And holly holy chirche vp reyse

Whenne petur þo beestis sawe

Of hem þouzte him mychel awe 19860

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 19865

Þat is to heþen men comoun

As petur pouzte what was to done

Pat coom anoper voys soone

Petur he seide sle & ete

Pat to do par pe not lete

19870

Cal not comoun hit is vnri3t

Pat clen3ed hap god of my3t

Pat is pe hepen as who sey

Clen3ynge in goddis for si3t in fey

Par pe not wonde wip hem to mence

19875

To lerne hem shal pou wip hem lence

Doun and vp on pis wise

Pis ilke cloop was laten prise

Pries pis ilke steuen him tolde

To make petur perof so bolde

19880

Ambrose seip pat we say pre

Rehersingis whenne a childe shal baptized be

Leuest pou in god. 3e pis is one

pe toper forsake3tou satone

pe bridde is wolt pou baptized be

19885

Al anoyntingis ben per pre

On brest in shulderes & in frount fol. 116 v col. 1

Pries is he þenne put in fount

Whenne þis cloop was pries shawen

Azeyn hit was to heuen drawen 19890

Whil þat petur him bipouzt,

What þis cloop bitokene mouzt

þo þre men coom him nyȝe honde

þat coomen on cornely eronde

First coom þei to symoundis In 19895

Askynge if petur were þer In

Petur perwip was warnyst

þourȝe goostly myzt of ihesu crist

Petur hit seide lo ȝondur þre

Men are sende to seke þe 19900

Rise go wip hem haue no drede

I þe sende and shal þe lede

Petur met hem soone in hy

þe mon ȝe seke he seide is I

What is þe enchesoun of ȝoure wey 19905

Gladly þei seide we wol þe sey

A centener sir cornelius

To seke þe sende he vs

He dredeþ god no mon more

And of him haþ he had vnsware

19910

To his hous þe to brynge

For to here þi sarmonyng

Her sopere petur dud þo diȝt

And wip him gestened þei þat nyȝt

On þe morwe þei went her wey

19915

And to cesar soone coom þey

Longe aftir hem þouȝte cornely

He dude his frendis calle for þi

Whenne he his comyng vndirstoode

Soone he roos aȝeyn him ȝode

19920

And whenne he met him in þe strete

Cornelius him fel to fete

Wip al his herte him honouronde

Petur him take vp bi þe honde

To him he seide ryse vp broþer

19925

I am a mon as þou anoper

Cornelius þere had frendis fele fol. 116 v col. 2

Petur to hem þus gon mele

3e woot he seide oure lord forbedes

Vs to minge wiþ oure ledes 19930

But now wiþ siȝt I haue hit sene

Þat of monkynde is noon vnclene

Þerfore bileue I am ȝou lent

And comen to ȝou as aftir sent

What ȝe wolde wiþ me wite I wolde 19935

Cornelius þe soþe him tolde

First al of þe aungels siȝt

And siþen of bodeword brouȝt riȝt

For þis metyng þat I wiþ met

I dude he seide þe for to fet 19940

Petur opened vp his mouþ

I se he seide þat hit is coup

Þat god þat made for vs raunȝoun

Biholdeþ not monnes prisoun

Ne he biholdeþ not wheþer he be 19945

Iewe or sarazene bonde or fre

But alle folke pat him dredes

Wip loue to his lawe he ledes

Noon wole he away caste

Pat trouply wole him loue & laste

19950

Petur him seide a spellyng pon

Of baptizynge pat Ion bigon

Pat was of penaunce & baptime

And how crist sufferide

How he him self pat ilke wyse

19955

To oure 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 pay

19960

He spak wip vs in flesshe & felle

And bad vs wende his worde to spelle

His fadir pat al hap for to zeme

He toke him quyke & dede to deme

Not we allone his folweres

19965

But vche prophete him witnes beres

Alle to be saf of synne & shame fol. 117 r. col. 1

Pat wele leue in his holy name

Whil pat petur spak þis spelle

De holy goost doun on hem felle 19970

On alle pat herde pat spel in place

De holy goost þenne coom wip grace

þonkyng al worþi dere

From þenne þei spake wip speches sere

Petur seide þenne who may forbede 19975

Watir or baptem in þis lede

De holy goost is comen to se

Now is tyme baptized to be

He dude hem baptize eueruchone

In ihesu name þo allone 19980

De forme pat him tauȝte was ere

Of baptizing he helde hit þere

For þis skil him þouȝt nede

Cristis name þerwip to sprede 19984

þere dwelled petur a litil stage 19989

And þis was þe firste passage 19990

19967

The initial A is a medium-size capital.

Pat þe apostlis in party
 Made among folk þat were paeny
 Fro now forþ I am in wille
 Of þe apostlis to holde me stille
 Of hem now speke I no more

19995

For þenne þei sondride wide whore
 Vchone in to cuntrees sere
 Þe cristen lawe folke to lere
 Her owne lord wel hem ledde

In her spellyng wel þei spedde

20000

Pouze þei wel spedde soþ to sey
 Mony turment suffered þei

Laste þei for no greef ny shame

But werrayed in her lordis name

Þei dud al þe soþe to proue

20005

To brynge her worþi lord in loue

What cuntre vchone toke to preche

Aftirwarde I shal 3ou teche

What endyng vchone had & whore

Þenne may I telle of hem nomore

20010

19993

The initial F is a medium-size, decorated capital.

First wole I telle of hir endyng fol. 117 r col. 2

Of alle kyngis þat bar þe kyng

How she þat bar him þat vs bouzt

Vnto þat mychel blisse was brouzt

pouze I be vnworþi mon

20015

Hirem am I al þat I kon

Wip fel flesshe & soule wip al

I am and euer shal ben hir þral

For I may neuer be so fre

As to þat lady þralled be

20020

Hir worshepe þerwip to wyne

To telle noot I where bigynne

For pouze my tunge were of steele

And þat I loued no þing so wale

And I bigon hir worshepe speken

20025

A þousande zeer myzt I not reken

pouze I dude noon opere þinge

þe tenþe part of hir lovuyng

For euer þe more I þouzte to say

þe widder shulde I fynde way

20030

Perfore lady I wol not fyne
 Euer to be in preysynge byne
 Wel I woot so kynde art þow
 Þou wolt me my wille alow
 For ofte menskest þou mon with mede
 For his good wille wipouten dede
 In þi worshepe do me to lende
 Lady to my lyues ende

20035

// Wherfore I shal a litil sty
 Rede 3ou now of þat lady
 For þat hir sone oure lord ihesus
 Dy3ed on rode al for vs
 Witeþ hit wele out of were
 Alle þat wole hit hertly here
 Ouþer hereþ or ellis redes
 Hir blessing shul þei haue to medes
 And cristis owne benysoun
 And of synnes remissioun
 Womman shal not perisshe of barn
 Ny bi mys tyme be forfarn

20040

20045.

20050

Ny falle in to no dedly plizt fol. 117 v. col. 1

Whenne ~~he~~ hit here day or nyzt

More perof I say 3ou 3it

Who wel herep or redep hit

Of oure lady & als seynt Ion

20055

Her benesoun bep not to hem woon

Edmounde of pounteney sikerly

3af dayes of perdoun perto fourty

Writen pis same ping I fonde

Him self hit wroot I vndirstonde

20060

WHO SO DESIREp GREET PARDOUN

HERE OF OURE LADY ASSUMPTI OUN

Whenne ihesu crist was don on rode

20065

& suffered deep for oure gode

Soone he cald to him seynt Ion

pat was his sibbe kynnesmon

And his owne modir bo two

Calde he to him no mo

20070

Wommon he seide lo here some pine

For monnes loue suffere pis pyne

20051 The initial N 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 bis tre
 For soþe I woot hit rewep þe
 My feet & honde of blood are reed
 Wipouten gilt I þole bis deed
 Myne þat owe me to louen

20075

For whom I coom doun fro abouen
 Þei me do þis mychel shame
 Serued I neuer to bere her blame

20080

His modir stode & sore she grete
 Þe teres fel doun to hir fete
 No wondir of hir wepyng sore
 Hir sorwe myȝte be no more

He þat she in body bere

20085

As his wille was so dere
 Heng þere a tre nayled to
 Alas alas alas seide sho

How may I lyue how may I be

How may I on þis sorwe se

20090

Coude I eer of sorwe nouȝt

Dere sone what hastou þouȝt

How shal I lyuen wipouten þe

fol. 117 v col. 2

Leue sone saye to me

þenne. spak ihesu wordis gode

20095

As he honged on þat rode

He seide to his modir dere

I shal biteche þe a fere

þat trewely shal kepe to þe

Whil þou shalt in erþe be

20100

Soone he seide to seynt Ion

For my loue kepe wel þis wommon

Kepe & serue hir wip þi myȝt

þat no þing do þir noon unriȝt

At þat same word so saide

20105

In to his kepyng he toke þat mayde

He serued hir nyȝte & day

And bisyed him hir to pay

To temple wip him hir he nam

And soone as he þider cam

20110

Among þo nonnes of þat stide

God to serue þere he hir dide

20093

The initial H is a medium-size capital.

Pere she laste al hir lyue
 Loued she nouper fiȝt ny stryue

Alle þo ladyes þat þere were

20115

In al her wille hir forbere

Whil she was wiþ hem þore

Þei serued hir lasse & more

To hool & seke dud she bote

And serued hem to honde & fote

20120

Naked & hongry she cladde & fedde

Þe seke brouȝte she to bedde

Was þer nouper hool ny fere

But þei had of hir greet mistere

Þei hir loued wiþ al her myȝt

20125

She hit deserued so wolde riȝt

She wook more þen she slept

Hir sone to serue toke she kepe

To him she calde wiþ reuþful steuen

And he hir sent an aungel fro heuen

20130

Himself coom als þat she bare

To coumforte his modir care

Seynt Ion hir kept & helde dere

fol. 118 r col. 1

For he was to hir trewe fere

Wolde he neuer fro hir gone

20135

Boþe her willes was in one

Al þat she bad gladly he dide

Whil she lenged in þat stide

Whenne she had þere longe bene

Þe lady þat is heuen quene

20140

Hir longed sore hir sone to

And soone, whenne she was meued so-

An aungel sent he hir fro heuen

Þat grett hir wiþ a mylde steuen

In þe temple wiþ hir he met

20145

Honourynge hir soone he hir gret

He seide lady ful of grace

Wel þe be in euery place

Be not for me ferde here

I am þi sones messangere

20150

Fro him now to þe I come

Þe greteþ wel þi dere sone

Flour of erþe of heuen quene
 Blessed mot þou euer bene
 Wel be þe tyme þou were born 20155
 Ellis þe world had ben lorn
 If þou nere & þe fruyt of þe
 Wipouten ende had mon loste be
 Lady best of alle þinge
 Bliþe 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 bliþe ben 20170
 Al heuen court þinkeþ longe
 Til þou be comen hem amonge

pou shalt be here but dayes pre fol. 118 r col. 2

Lady dere araye now þe

þen vnswered oure lady

20175

And seide to þat aungel in hy

Art þou my sones messangere

þat bringest me þis tīping here

Hap he set me suche a day

þat I me make redy may

20180

Gladly wole I wite when

To take leue of my kynnesmen

At frendis þat me han fed & clad

And holpen me as my sone hem bad

þe aungel seide I say hit þe

20185

pou shal be here but dayes pre

þis þridde day shal we come doun

Wit aungels fele make þe boun

And fecche þe wiþ mery song

For aftir þe vs þinkeþ long

20190

þenne saide soone oure lady

To þe aungel þat stood hir by

20133

The initial S is a small capital.

20181

Note that "I" is written above the line, and is apparently a later insertion.

What is þi name þou swete amy

Gladly wite þerof wolde I

My name now say I þe nouȝt

20195

But haue þis palme I haue þe brouȝt...

Kepe hit now pray I þe .

And lete hit neuer from þe be

I may not longe leuen here

For I am sent as messangere

20200

To þe apostlis I mot a noone

And telle hem sondred oon & one

þat þei be here þis bridde day

Lenger dwellen I not may

// Whenne he haȝ his eronde done

20205

He went his weye also soone

Oure lady toke þe palme hir brouȝt

þat to kepe forȝat she nouȝt

Into hir chaumber she hit bare

And soone whenne þat she coom þare

20210

Of dude she hir cloþes neuer þe latir

And wesshe hir swete body in watir

Whenne she had so done in pat stide fol. 118 v col. 1

A newe smok on she dide

Whenne she was shed & wel clad 20215

To ihesu crist aboue she bad

She seide sone I ponke hit pe

pat pou woldis pinke on me

My sone pou art & heuen kyng

I pe biseche of pi blessing 20220

Swete sone for pi holy name

Kepe me fro pyne & shame

pat pe deuel haue no myzt

To dere me hit were vnriht

Sone pi helpe for now is nede 20225

pat I haue of pe deuel no drede

For wiþ his wyles pat he con

He bigileþ mony mon

Leue sone leef him nougt

Of monkynde pat pou dere bougt 20230

Sone pou art ful of pite

For synful mon biseche I pe

20213

The initial W is a medium-size capital.

Pat þou sonè for þi holy grace

3yue hem boþe myzte & space

Hem to amende er þei be dede

20235

Pat þei haue of þe deuel no drede

Sone kepe hem from her fo

For whom þou þoledest mychel wo

20240

Whenne she had preyed pat she walde

His sibbemen to hir she calde

Hir kyn & hir sibbe men

Wiþ reuþful steuen spak she þen

Frendis she seide my dere sone

20245

Wole I here no lengir wone

He wol I come & wiþ him be

Wherfore I preye for charite

If I haue any þing mys wrouzt

Say hit me & heleþ nouzt

20250

I wol hit mende & pat is riht

pat my soule haue no plizt

Þe good pat ze haue done to me

Mi sone pat done was on þe tre

 20242

Read "Hir" for "His"

146.

Mon to bye fro pyne & drede
Zelde hit 3ou at tyme of mede
And bringe 3ou to pulke blis
pere I shal be & he now is
Alle pat euer were hir by
Of pis tiping were sory

20255
fol. 118 v col. 2

20260

pei seide lady how may pis be
How shul we lyue to misse pe
Lady pat hast vs serued so
Allas how shul we parte pe fro
Lady dere what hastou pouzt
Rewe on vs & parte nouzt
In myche sorwe & myche wo
Shul we lyue to parte in two
penne vnswered pat good lady
To po pat were penne hir by
Let be wepyng hit helpeþ nouzt.
Heldeþ ioye into 3oure pouzt
Whil I am here wakeþ me
Hit dop me good pat I 3ou se

20265

20270

Hauē 3e no drede witeþ hit wele 20275
 Of pyne I shal þole no dele
 To me shal come no pyne ny wo
 My sone wol þat hit be so
 For my licam his bōdy bare
 He wol þat hit suffere no care 20280
 He þat I bare þat blisful birþ
 Wol me sende of heuen myrþ
 Ion & þe apostlis where þei be
 Alle shul þei come to me
 Whil she þus spake þat wommon 20285
 Her of wist not seynt Ion
 He coom to speke wip oure lady
 Wondir him þouȝte þei were sory
 Lady he seide what is þe
 And þese ladyes þat I here se 20290
 Lady why makestou siche chere
 Deed now were me leuer I were 20292
 Hastou ouȝte herde þat I not can 20295
 Of me or any oþer man

 20289

The initial L is a medium-size, decorated capital.

Shal I neuermore haue blis fol. 119 r col. 1

Til I wite what hit is

Oure lady wepte & Ion also

Trewe loue was bitwene hem two 20300

Lady he seide what is þe

For my seruyse telle hit me

Mary vnswered wip reupful steuen

Me coom tiping er from heuen

Mi sone me sent his messengere 20305

He wole not longe þat I be here

Wite hit for soþe hit rewep me

þat I so soone shal parte fro þe

For þi loue & þi good seruyse

pou hast me kid in many wyse 20310

Boþe wel me fed & clad

And done as my sone þe bad

My sone shal wel zelde hit þe

I shal him saye whenne I him se

penne vnswered hir seynt Ion 20315

For he was þo a sory mon

20297

The initial S is a medium-size capital.

Lady he seide how shal þis bene

Whenne I þe shal nomore sene

My ioeye is done euery dele

Shal I neuer fro now be wele

20320

Sip we shul now parte in two

A Ion why seistou she seide so

pouze I be not here þe biforn

þi seruyse hastou not lorn

I shal munge my swete sone

20325

þat shal do þe to him to come

Whenne tyme is þat he wol haue me

Swete Ion biseke I þe

Let þou no iewis come me to

Despite fayn wolde þei me do

20330

My body wolde þei do som shame

þei hate myche to here my name

My body þou helpe fro hem I sey

pouze we be sibbe I and þei

þei hate no þing more þen me

20335

My sone þei honge on a tre

150.

I woot wele þei loue me nouȝt

fol. 119 r col. 2

þerfore þeronne haue þou þi þouȝt

Whenne I am parted Ion fro þe

þat þei me do no vilene

20340

Now sone þat wonest in heuen liȝt

Let hem þerto haue no myȝt

// Sey me lady siþ hit is so

þat we so soone shul parte in two

Say me how longe hit is to þon

20345

Certeynly þenne seide she Ion

Bitwene þis & þe bridde day

Lenger dwelle here I ne may

Whenne he þis herde he was sory

Wepȝng he seide lady mercy

20350

How shal I lyue how shal I fare

How shal I couere of my kare

First was my lord done to dede

pourȝe þe iewis false rede

And now wolt þou lady me fro

20355

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 þe to 20360
 To kepe þe wel in al þi state
 And coumforte þe erly & late
 As she spak þis to seynt Ion
 Coom þe apostlis euerychoon
 To gider but þei wist hit nouȝt 20365
 How þei were to gider brouȝt
 Of operes come wist þer noon
 But of her coome bliþe was Ion
 Alle he hem kiste so feyn he was
 And seide to hem deo gracias 20370
 Blessed be ay ihesu þi myȝt
 For at oure nede hit doþ vs riȝt
 Siþ þi modir shal come to þe
 þat she may faire waked be
 Of þyne apostlis now to gider 20375
 I noot how þei ben comen 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

20380

I shal pe sey pe resoun why

pat pou me seest now sory

But do me first to vndirstonde

How 3e are gedered here to honde

pat 3e so wyd were spred

20385

Say me what hap 3ou hider led

Herke now Ion a meruel ping

I was fer hennes at a prechyng

Fer out in anoper land

I helde my book in my hand

20390

I delyuered 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

20395

pis is merueile mon to bere

20377

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

20387

The MS has a mark over the "i" in "ping".

Of vs is noon woot for whom

Ny what wyse we hidur coom

Listeneþ quod Ion & hereþ þis

I shal 3ou telle what hit is

20400

Into þat hous comeþ þus

Oure lady is þerē & bideþ vs

And ordeyneþ hir to fare vs fro

For hir sone wole þat hit be so

Hir sone haþ sent his messangere

20405

He wole no lenger she be here

Hidur he haþ 3ou alle sende

To speke wiþ hir ar she ende

Comeþ alle In here wiþ me

Bifore hir faire kne 3e

20410

And seiþ hir lady wel mot 3e ben

Oure lord haþ sende vs þe to seen

To visite þe & to be þe by

perfore are we comen in hy

But o þing þen seide Ion

20415

To petur & þe apostlis vchon

20406

Note strange mark over "lenger".

20410

Read "knele 3e" for "kne 3e". There is a mark after "3e" in the form of an apostrophe.

But loke whenne ze come per In fol. 119 v col. 2

pere is mony of hir kyn

Pat noon of vs alle in fere

Bifore hir make no lodly chere 20420

But fair semblaunde to make hir glade

Do now alle as I zou bade

Forþ zeode þe apostlis twelue

Ri3t bifore oure lady selue

Into þe chaumbur pat she was In 20425

Wiþ miche folke of hir kyn

On knees þei set hem euerychon

As hem had beden seynt Ion

Lady þei seide heuen queene

Blessed mot þou euermore bene 20430

Of alle wymmen best þou be

Oure lord haþ now us sent to þe

For to serue & do þi wille

As hit is resoun & skille

Heuen & erþe boweþ þe to 20435

þi sone wol þat hit be so

He hap in kepyng al þing
 And is þi sone heuen kyng
 Þen roos vp soone oure lady
 And kist þe apostlis by & by 20440
 Of her coome she was ful glad
 Doun þei seten as she bad
 She asked hem how þei coom þere
 For þei were spred so wide where
 Lady þei seide þi sone vs souzt 20445
 Bi hym be we hidur brouzt
 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 20450
 I am his modir he kid hit me
 Wel is me now 3ow to se
 Sip hit is my sones wille
 þat I come to him hit is skille
 My body I prey 3ou kepeþ so 20455
 þat noon hit touche þat is my fo

Wakeþ now for my licam

fol. 120 r col. 1

Wel I woot & trusty I am

þe iewes are ful of felonye

Mi sone þei slowe for enuye

20460

Feyn wol þei be to do me shame

Miche hate þei my licame

perfore I pray þar charite

And for þe loue 3e haue to me

Whenne I am faren to heuen blis

20465

Wakeþ o nyzte þere my body is

Kepeþ hit wel nyzte and day

þe iewis stele hit not away

þei wolde hit brenne or shame done

But sone þou graunte me my bone

20470

Let hem þerto haue no myzt

For sikerly hit were vnrist

She seide al shal ben I wis

As þi worpi wille hit is

Whil oure lady spak so

20475

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 pou lady

And alle pat are here wip þe

Loke now pou redy be

20480

pou shal to heuen þere to be quene

Bliþe maistou þere euer bene

To þe shal serue þe court of heuen

Whenne oure lady herde þat steuen

þat þe aungel seide hir to

20485

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

20490

Amonges hem soone aftir þis

A song of paradis coom I wis

So swete was hit þo to here

pat alle þo þat bi hir were

3onge & olde & euerychone

20495

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 fol. 120 r col. 2

To þis merueile take 3e now kepe

And erþe quake coom þat shoke

Alle þinge as seiþ þe boke 20500

þenne spake þat lady to seynt Ion

And to þe apostlis euerychon

And to maydenes þat were þeryn

And eke to opere of hir kyn

Wakeþ she seide & sitteþ vp riȝt 20505

I shal fare þere my sone hap tiȝt

Now is þe tyme þat I shal fare

þere I shal neuer wite of care

Sitteþ alle stille more & les

And hereþ nōw þis merynes 20510

þenne coom ihesus in his myȝt

Kyng of heuen he dud ful riȝt

As sone to modir him to shewe

He called his aungels were not fewe

And al þe felowshipe of heuen 20515

He seide to hem wiþ mylde steuen

Comeþ wiþ me now in hy

My modir is she hir sone am I

I took of hir flesshe & blood

Riȝt is hit I do hir good

20520

I þat euer was and ay shal be

In al þis blisse þat ȝe here se

I ȝaf raunsoum for al mon kyn

Fro helle to take þat were þer In

I had hem made to serue me

20525

And þourȝe þe appel of þat tre

He eet aȝeyn my forbedyng

He was lost & his ospryng

Hit rewed me wondir sore

I wolde hit suffere so no more

20530

I liȝt doun and mon bicam

Of þis mayden flesshe I nam

Bifore alle opere I hir chees

And I was born of hir flesshe

pritty wyntur & somdel more

20535

I lyued to wisse mon in lore

Myche dide þei me of vilete	fol. 120 v col. 1
pat myne owne shulde haue be	20538
Wipouten gult þei dide me wronge	20541
Bitwene two þeofis þei me honge	
Nayled faste þourȝe honde & fete	
My body of blood was al wete	
My hert þei stang wip a spere	20545
pat alle say þat were þere	
þis shame þoled I on me souȝt	
Dere haue I monkynde bouȝt	
As I honged on rode tre	
My modir was ful wo for me	20550
And so was oure cosyn Ion	
I called him to me soone anoon	
I seide to him leue cosyn	
Kepe wel þis wommon modir myn	20554
For þe loue þou hast to me	20557
Kepe hir whil she bi þe be	
We parted þenne as I seide er	
Allone I heng on rode þer	20560

Fro my body my soule I nam
 And soone penne to helle I cam
 Alle my frendis þat I þere fond
 I took hem out on my riȝt hond
 Adam eue & mony one

20565

I dud hem out of pyne to gone
 Whenne I had þus heryed helle
 And al doun as I ȝou telle
 I hadde ouercomen þe folke quede
 Þe þridde day I roos fro dede
 From erþe I stey to heuen þon
 For I am boþe god and mon

20570

I am now here wiþ my myȝt
 So is my wille þat is riȝt
 þat my modir be wiþ me

20575

Hit is tyme þat hit so be
 Comeþ now on wiþ mery song

And do hir come vs alle among

// penne coom ihesus wiþ his meyne

Aungels archaungels greet plente

20580

Vnto hir boure wip myry song
 Hem pouzte po to hir ful long
 pis boure was ful of myche blis
 And so is euer perē iheſus is
 Alle po pat were pere

20585

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
 pynē apostlis sendestou me

20590

20595

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

20600

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 ioyful modir maystou bene

Sone she seide lord & kyng

20605

I þe biseche of a þing

Shal I haue of þe fend a sizt

Or any of his þo malediȝt

I loue him not he is my fo

Leue sone let me se noon of þo

20610

Swete modir dere þe nouȝt

Coom hit neuer in my þouȝt

I wol not þole hem sikurlye

Noon to come bifore þin yȝe

þou shalt no þing se ne here

20615

But me & aungels in fere

Swete modir wite þou wele

Of pyne shaltou no þing fele

Al heuen court shal serue to þe

And make þe modir fre

20620

Modir þis gifte I wole þe 3yue fol. 121 r col. 1

Euer in heuen wip me to lyue

I shal haue mercy modir dere

Of al monkynde for þi preyere

Þat were forlorn if þou ne ware 20625

For of þi body þou me bare

Alle þat menske þe lady

And alle þat serue þe trewely

And þei þat wole þrye crie mercy to þe

And hertly saye mary help me 20630

For loue of þe modir þat stounde

In what synne so þei be founde

I shal hem helpe I hete þe soone

For þi loue hit shal be done

If any haue bene al his lyue 20635

In hede 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 þat is him neest 20640

If he may telle ny do no more

But his synne to rewe sore

Of what synne pat euer hit be

Modir for pe loue of pe

I shal of him haue good mercy

20645

If he wole pus do for why

pouze a mon him self had wrouzt

Alle pe synnes pat may be pouzt

And he wol at his laste day

If he noon opere tyme ne may

20650

Repenten him & calle to pe

Of what synne so hit be

Soone shal I here his preyere

For pi loue my modir dere

And what pou wolt biseche me fore

20655

Be hit lasse ouper more

Hit shal be modir at pi wille

My graunt shal pou haue per tille

Hit were vnriht I shulde wipstonde

pe of ouzt of pyn eronde

20660

Oure lady loutid him biforn fol. 121 r col. 2

& seide sone þe tyme þat þou were born

Ouer alle opere blessed þou be

For al my wille þou grauntest me

So auzt I modir vndirstonde

20665

And blessed hir wiþ hir riȝt honde

To hir sone she loued moost

þenne she zalde hir holy goost

He called to him seynt michael

And seide kepe me þis soule wel

20670

þou and also þi fere

þer is no þing to me so dere

þenne had she hir soule out sent

And hit was from þe body went

Alle þo aungels þat coom from heuen

20675

Songen þo wiþ a mery steuen

Hit was wel sene on her song

Miche ioye was hem among

In þis myrþe to heuen she wan

Soone whenne she þider cam

20680

She was made þere queen ful mylde

Blessed euer be suche a childe

I shal þou telle for hit is fors

Where þenne bicoom his cors

Whenne þe soule so was nome

20685

God bad petur to him come

Petur he seide I bidde þe

My modir body wol kept be

Whenne I firste into world cam

For þe sauynge of man

20690

Of hir body was I born

Petur þerfore go þou biforn

Alle þi felowes shul go wip þe

In to Iosephat vale so fre

Bere hir þider soone anoon

20695

Þoure foos shal lete þou bi hem goon

Goop alle wip feir processioun

To ierusalem þourge þe toun

Dop þo bellis alle to ryng

And swiþe faire also 3e syng

20700

20684

Read "hir" for "his".

Wip sergis & als wip candels bri3t fol. 121 v col. 1

Pat 3e haue no defaute of li3t

Foure apostlis shul bere þe bere

pat lye on shal my modir dere

Haue 3e no drede þerof now

20705

For I my self shal be wip 3ow

Whenne ihesus hadde þus I seide

And þe body was on bere leide

Alle he 3af hem his blessyng

And stey to heuen þere he is kyng

20710

Þenne seide þe apostle Ion

Breþer go we soone anoon

And do we þis processioun

And synge we feire þour3e þe toun

Foure of þe apostlis pat þere wern

20715

pat holy body forþ þei bern

Feire þei song as hit was ri3t

And mony sergis þere was li3t

Þe iewis pat were goddes enemy

Of þis þei herde soone in hy

20720

20701

The initial W is a mdeium-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

20725

Skape she vs we shal haue blame

Arme we vs to be strong

We shul hem take or ougt long

pat ilke body take we hit

To caste hit in sum foul pit

20730

Or brenne we hit or do sum where

For she pulke traytour bare

pat we sumtyme heng on rode

For vs pougt he was not gode

pei went to do pat forward

20735

piderwarde pei hyzed hem hard

But ihesus wolde not pole pat shame

He made hem alle blynde & lame

pat of hem alle was per noon

pat myzte a fote furper goon

20740

Per was a prest was to bolde

fol. 121 v col. 2

As hit is in þe story tolde

On hir bere leyde his hond

Vnhele þere soone he fond

His hond claf to þe bere so fast

20745

Mercy he cryed at þe last

His feet were al clongen dry

Petur he seide haue now mercy

And preye for me þat haue þis sore

For iewe wole I be no more

20750

Leuestou quod petur in him þon

pat is boþe god and mon

And born was of þis mary

He seide I leue hit Inwardly

þenne partid his hond fro þe bere

20755

And soone he wex hool & fere

Seynt petur þo him toke a palm

To go to men þat leyn in qualm

He seide & touche hem wip hit

And þei shul boþe haue hele & wit

20760

And so he dide bi grace & my³t
 þei couered alle to hele & sigt
 Þenne bicoom þei cristen þore
 Foure þousande men & more .
 Him is worþi to alowe 20765
 Þat doþ his foos him þuþ to bowe 20766
 Þe body to þat vale þei bare 20771
 Of Iosephat whenne he coom þare
 Þere þei dud hit þenne bury
 Wiþ feire, seruyse & song ful mury
 Soone þeraftir summe bokis seyes 20775
 Oure lord list of his paleyes
 And wiþ his holy court he coome
 To fette his modir body hoome
 In flesshe & blood vp to be take
 For in erþe she had no make 20780
 For she him bar of hir body
 Hir priuelage most be þe more for þi
 Þat hit so shulde be men say 20785
 For in þe toumbe þat she in lay

Men fynde no þing but floure fol. 122 r col. 1
 Spryngynge euer wiþ swete sauoure
 But herto seiþ Ieronym
 He wole not take þat book on him 20790
 Wheþer hit be so or nay
 Þei þe body be myst away
 Dispute he seiðe is no mistere
 Bitwene wise in suche a were
 But take hit to himmoost of myzt 20795
 Lete him þerof þe resoun riȝt 20796
 Wel we woot wiþouten wene 20799
 Of heuen & erþe she is queene 20800
 Of heuen emperise and lady
 Set in trone hir dere sone by
 She restep nouþer day ny nyȝt
 To preye for synful mennes plizt
 Þer is noon þat to folȝ falles 20805
 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 "restep".

20808

Read "hir" for "his".

Azeyn oure fo she be oure sheld

And namely at oure doun held 20818

pis lady pat I mene of moost 20821

Conceyued bi þe holy goost

pat blessed childe pat she vs beere

At hir elde of fourtene zere

And pritti zeer was ihesu crist 20825

Whenne he dud him to baptist

pre zeer he preched & moneþes pryn

He dyed & roos for al mon kyn

Fourty dayes in erþe he boode

Ar he vp to his fadir glode 20830

Aftir his vprist and pyne

She lyued zeere but seuen & nyne

Sixty zeer & þre bi tale

Foure moneþes & two wikes al hale

pat I bihet now haue I done 20835

Lady bi þi sone in trone 20836

Let me so longe in þi seruyse 20843

pat I may come to paradise 20844

At myn endyng I preye to þe

20847
fol. 122 r col.2

In tyme of nede my helpe þou be

Speke of þo spellers bolde

Sip we han of þis lady tolde

20850

þe apostlis þenne wyde were spred

þat to þe lawes newe vs led

Aftir þat we fynde in boke

What endyng vchone of hem toke

20854

In short maner I shal 3ou sey

20857

For tyme passeþ faste away

// Petur was seynt andrew broþer

þe ton was blessed & þat oþer

20860

In bethsaida was he born

Of galile was tolde biforn

Of holy chirche is he ground wal

Bi crist him self þat ledeþ al

Formast chosen þefore as heued

20865

Ouer alle his feres was he leued

Of goddis sone þe confessour

Of al monkynde herde of pastour

20868

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.

175.

Denyinge he fel wepyng he roos

20871

Corowned in passioun he was

His name is 3yuen to him of dede

And titil of my3te & of dede

He preched whil he was in lyue

20875

Namely in pese londis fyue

Capados and Galathie

Bethany and masye

And in a lond het Italye

Pat now men callen lumbardye

20880

Of his dedis shortly to rede

On þe flowing see he 3ede

A deed mon quyked bi his shade

As þat he bi him þen glade

To þe crepeles 3af he fote

20885

And of þe palesy mony bote

But ananias and his wyf

For þis he dampned hem of lyf

Oper to haue ensauple hem by

To do no more tricchery

20890

Symon magus þat iogelour 122 v col. 1
 Þat ladde folk wiþ greet errour
 Þat in him self was so proud
 He wende to fle ouer þe cloud
 But þourȝe petres orisoun 20895
 Sorwefuly he fel a doun 20896
 Whenne he antioche had founde 20901
 Þe chirche & holy set þe grounde
 Aȝeyn þis ilke symon he ȝede
 To rome & turned mys lyuynges lede
 He spak of troupe wiþouten spare 20905
 Fyue wyntur was he bisshop þare
 Six & þritty wyntur euen
 Fro þat ihesu stey to heuen
 In rome bi oon þat nero hiȝt
 Was emperour þere malediȝt 20910
 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

 20891

 The initial S is a small capital.

Maistir was he to hem of rome 20915
 Wherfore him owed to haue no dome
 He was not worpi per tille
Perfore bei demed him at his wille 20918
 Buryed his body was pat tyde 20921
 Wipouten pe toun on pe est syde 20922
 Poul pat saul had first to name 20925
 Whil he dud pe cristen shame
 Firste was he iewis avocate
 And siben at pe apostlis astate
 Calde of ihesu crist of heuen
pere he doun was cast herd his steuen 20930
 Blynde he fel seyng he ras
 Vessel of chesyng wrougte he was
 To whom he first was werreour
 Aftir bicoom he good prechour
 Sheep of wolf meke of felle 20935
 In chesyng last formast in spelle
 His lond was thars pat he bred In
 Comen of pe kyng beniamyn

20925

The initial P is a medium-size, decorated capital.

De toper zeer aftir þe ascencioun fol. 122 v col. 2

Toke he bapteme & gon sarmoun. 20940

For he as apostle stood in stide

Was noon so mychel trauail dide

Goddes word to spelle & sprede

Amonges alle lyuynges lede

Mony folke to troupe he won 20945

At Ierusalem he firste bigon

pourze illerike & lumbardye

Rizt til he coom to hispanye

Of his miraclis shal we neuén

Rauysshed was he to bridde heuen 20950

A day & a nyzte in þat stounde

Hē 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 20955

He 3af hit lyf & heled azayn

A Iogelour wiþ blyndenes he smate-

To halte goyng 3af he state

þe venym nedder þat was strong

Not he shoned for hir stong

20960

But of his hond þere hit was fest

He shook & in þe fire hit kest

Mony seke & eke vnfare

He heled soone bi his preyere

Mony was þe harde shour

20965

þat he dreyze for his saueour

Vpon his owne flesshe & blood

Firste þe iewis þat were wode

On him þei werred euer wip wo

And alle þe heþene folke also

20970

Miche he poled as I 3ou tolde

Of hongur first trauail & colde

20972

In prisoun lay he ofte in woþe

20977

In merkenes & in bondis boþe

Whil þe iewis fast him bond

And tauzte him heþen men in hond

20980

He was so stad mony a day

Vnneþe he bare þe lyf a way

20982

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

20965 Read "stour" for "shour".
20972 Read "pirst" for "first"

In a lep ouer a wal was he let doun fol. 127 v col. 2
(1.33)

Harde in prees & in prisoun

Pourge an erpe 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 cristen men was he

pe bridde apostle het Andrew

20995

A mon of mekenes & of vertu

His name bitokenep for to rede

As feir or mon of gode monhede

Bope pourge sithi and achay

He went prechyng 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 preched of þe rode 21006
 Seint Ion & Iacob þe more 21009
 Zebedei sones þei wore 21010
 þis Iacob preched wide where
 And sende lettre here & þere
 þe londe of speyne in feiþ he fest
 And mony opere of þe west
 At þe laste wipouten wite 21015
 Heroude dide his heed of smyte
 To his bodi dud men gone
 And leide hit in a marbul stone
 Ion þe mayden Iames broþere
 More loued wip crist þen any opere 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 þe welle of witt he dronke

pat of resoun is so ronke

In prechyng he bicoom so wis

21025

As þouze a flum of paradis

þe grace of goddes word he spred

To hem pat he to lawe had led

21027

His maistir modir pere he lauzt

21031

She was to pat disciple bitauzt

Maiden to kepe mayden clene

As he hir oper son had bene

In asy preched þis seynt Ion

21035

An emperour domycion

fol. 128 r col. 2

Dud him to fleme to an Ile

pere he was a twelmoneþ while

21038

þe emperoure hoped him to mate

21041

In a toune wellynge hate

Ful of oyle he dud him shote

Hit harmed him nouper honde ny fote

As he vntamed was of lechery

21045

As was vnwemmed his body

He dude miracles as he wel mouzt

Of treen 3erdes golde he wrouzt

Of grauel bi þe see side

Stones precious of greet pride

21050

And aftirwarde bi cristis meyn

Turned hem to her kynde ageyn

He reised þe widewe drausyan

Þat deed was & als a 3ong man

Venym he dronk wipouten wo

21055

Poysende men he rered two

Þat dede were bi þat drynke

And whenne he longe had lyued in swynk

Aftir six 3eer & seven

Fro oure lord stey to heuen

21060

Fulfilde of elde whenne he seze

His endyng day hit coom neze

Furst he dud his graue to delue

And sipen leide þer In him selue

Whenne he had seide his orisoun

21065

In pat graue he leide him doun

As hit is in þe story tolde

To ihesu crist his soule he zolde

In þe cite of ephesim

Men wene þefore þere of him

21070

He is not deed as mony seis

But preching lip he alweis

pat erþe men saye zit bi stounde

Men seen risyng fro þe grounde

And as slepyng ondep ofte

21075

Hit beþe þe poudir vpon lofte

As a þing pat were zit quyke

fol. 128 v col. 1

þe londes folke wol hit not nyke

Phelip was of betsaida þo

Born as Petur was also

21080

To þe frenshe preched he

Wonyng biside þe mekel see

In herpolie & frigie þe fre

Done he was on rode tre

Not nailed as oure lord allone

21085

21079

The initial P is a medium-size capital.

But pere men stoned him with stone

Pouze his licam deed pere were

His soule is wip god ful dere

Thomas didimus þat hiȝt

Longe he doutet in þe riȝt

21090

þat he wolde not leue bi ere

Wip eȝe siȝt aftir he hit bere

He preched wide aboute & ȝede

To peres & parthi þe folk of mede

And to þe folke of irtane

21095

To hem of Inde & batriane

Fast he souȝte þe eftren þede

And went into heȝen lede

pere he ȝode wip sermoun

Til tyme of his passioun

21100

In a cite hett calamyne

Of Inde pere his ende toke he

Smyten þourȝe was he wip a spere

And his body is buryed pere

Barthulmew born was in suly

21105

21089

The initial T is a medium-size capital.

21105

The initial B is a medium-size capital.

21097

Read "estrin" for "eftren"

He preched in lichaony

And witenes of Methew fynde we

Gospel he turned in to tonge of Inde

Sipen at a toun het albane

Of muchel hermony he was tane

21110

And pyned wip ful harde payne

Al quyke was his body flayne

21112

Matheu apostle & euangelist

21117

Leuy calde & cosyn of crist

Furste was he publicane bon

And sipen of gossellours on

21120

He preched furst in iudea

fol. 128 v col. 2

And aftir in macedonea

For sarmonyng of goddes word

Men seye he stiked was wip sword

He lip on be mount parth to se

21125

Of blis his soule hap greet plente

Jacob alpheu barnteme

Bisshop was of ierusalem

Ri3twis to calle him men were wone

21127

The initial I is a medium-size capital.

He was oure lady sistur sone 21130
 Men calde him perfore oure lordis broper
 pei were likely eiper to oper
 Mon of sobfastenes & rigt
 So muche holynes & ligt
 pe folke wolde vchone opere stem 21135
 Who mygte furste touche his hem
 In ierusalem he preched fast
 pe iewes set him at pe last
 Abouen on pe temple on hyze
 For he in prechinge wolde not lize 21140
 Doun 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 21145
 Cristen men him buryed panne
 Anoper apostle het Iudas
pat pis Iacob broper was
 He preched in mesopotany
 And in pe cuntre of pounty 21150

21147

The initial A is a medium-size capital.

Pere 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

21155

Mathias in his stude was chosen

As pe lot on him fel

In Iuda he toke to spel

pis Matheu was oon of po

Of half foure score & two

21160

pat ihesus sent his word to sprede fol. 129-r col. 1

Whil he him self prechinge zede

Of his endynghe fynde I nougt

How he out of his lif was brougt

Symon zelote. & chananew

21165

Al was a name he loued trew

His lord alto serue he tent

As he in his loue had brent

Aftir pis rihtwis Iacob

Of ierusalem was bisshop

21170

21155

The initial W is a medium-size capital.

21165

The initial S is a medium-size capital.

þe londe of egipte he toke to lere
 And whenne he was of six score 3ere
 Vndir emperour traian
 Nailed he was on rode & slan
 Buried he was in borffora þo 21175
 In story writen is hit so
 þese were þe apostlis twelue
 þat folewed ihesu crist him selue
 Precheres of troupe techeres of lede
 pouze þei alle be oon in mede 21180
 Vchone toke hem sondry sted
 To preche as hit bifore is red
 Petur & phelip þese two
 We fynde hadde wyues & no mo
 Witnes is seint petur wif 21185
 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 21190

 21177

The initial p is a medium-size capital.

But pater noster as men sayes

Lenger was hit not þo dayes

But sip men þat aftir wore

Þerto eched more and more

Lucas was cristis gspellere

21195

And of þe apostlis dedes writere

Leche of crafte lered of gru

Of lore coude he nougt in ebru

Deciple of poule & folewyng fere

In wele & wo out of were

21200

As he was born in chastite

fol. 129r col. 2

Pere was no mon myzte chastere be

þe mis leuyng he toke to teche

Boþe of lif & soule leche

þerfore made he bokes twyn

21205

þat medicyne of soule is In

Of gspellyng þe ton is kid

þat oper what þe apostlis did

þe seuenti & ferþe zere

Aftir he had lyued here

21210

 21195

The initial L is a medium-size capital.

penne he deȝed in bethany.

pere was he buryed for to ly

But in þe toun of costantyn

pat wel was loued wip god fyn

þei dude seint Andreu relikes & him

21215

Bringe to constantine apolym

Barnabas was of nacioun

A cite ciprioun hett þat toun

Wip poul among. þo heþen lede.

He wan to apostle hede

21220

In lawe he was wondir lele

In vertues folewyng ful fele

Mony opere men in strif

Fondede for to folwe his lif

In alle þo studes pat he ȝede

21225

Of goddes word he sew þe sede

Of seint Matheu þe gospel book

Whodirwarde so euer he tok

Wipouten 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
 Whenne he had suffrede peynes strong
 For cristen troupe & stryuen long
 Drawen he was & brent wip fire
 His soule went to heuen shire
 Marke þe gossellere in wone
 In bapteme was petres sone
 Son & desciple was he lele
 To teche þe folke of israele
 Aftir pat he was leuyte
 Cristis gospel dude he write
 Þe 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 bisshophede
 Þe wordis pat petur preched ȝerne
 Marke men seyn wrote in derne

21235

21240

fol. 129 v col. 1

21245

21250

21237

The initial M is a medium-size capital.

Pe furste pat chirche made in abie
Pat men clepen alexandrie
 On paske day masse whenne he song
 Coom pe hepen folke wip wrong
Pat cristen men to pyne were prest 21255
 Aboute his necke acorde pei fest
 Towarde pe prisoun pei drowge him snelle
 pe flesshe of him in peces felle
 And siben af tir pat prisonyng
 His soule he zalde to heuen kyng 21260
 Him self lord vs bidur bringe
 For of pi blisse is noon endyng
 // Foure are pei tolde pe euaungelistes
pat drawe pe weyn pat is cristes
 Of hem to telle forsake we au3t 21265
 What pei bitoken and her drau3t
 What pe 3ok & wheel may be
 What bridel & pe axeltre
 Whiche mon whiche calf leoun & brid
 pe cause shal to 3ou be kid 21270

Foure streemes are in paradise

And wayn with foure wheles men wise

Matheu takeþ þe furst whele

Marke þe toþer takeþ wele

Luke þe bridde wip resoun rist

21275

þe ferþe Ion foule of myzt

þe wheles are drawen dyuerselie

þe furste goop þe secounde dop hize

þe bridde wheel is wont to ryn

þe ferþe fleep wipouten blyn

21280

Gode axeltrees be þer two

fol. 129 v col. 2

A nobel bridel þer is al so

Wis & war is her ledere

And softe is her 3ok to bere

Two axeltrees be two lawes hit is

21285

þe bridel is wisdom hem to wis

þe charietere is ihesu crist

His body þe 3ok he hap stablist

Grace hap 3yuen hir 3iftis 3ore

To vche dyuerse of þese bifore

21290

Matheu wroot al in ebru

pese opere pre al in gru

pe stile of Matheu watir was

And wyne pe lettre of lucas

Marcus pagyn was like mylke

21295

And Iones hony swete as silke

// pe furste to wax hap sauour

pe toper to mirre pe bridde to flour

pe ferpe like to Aromate

Good among alle spice state

21300

// pe firste tilep on felde to fede

pe toper soweþ aftir pe sede

pe bridde hareweþ hit truly

pe ferpe watereþ hit in hy

Vchone of hem her lore þei lere

21305

Oon ringeþ to þe world to here

Dyneþ pe toper sowneþ pe bridde

pe ferpe singeþ wiþ soun vnhidde

// pe furste hap belle pe toper tympane

pe bridde harpe pe ferpe organe

21310

// De furste of hem as laumpe is bri3t

Whil bei 3yue to opere list

De toper as serge þe þridde as stern

De ferþe as day þat is þe ern

De furstes gle of men was

21315

De toþeres was made of bras

De þridde of siluer þe ferþe of golde

Þerfore were her werkes holde

// Matheu of mon hap facioun

Luk as ox euer lokeþ doun

21320

Ion like ern þe skil is sere

fol. 130 r col. 1

Takeþ tent whi & 3e shul here

Matheu is like to monnes state

For he of cristis monhede wrate

Luke to ox for þis resoun

21325

He spake moost of his passioun

Marke of leoun bereþ tokenyng

He spelled moost of his vp risyng

Ion like ern he3est of fli3t

Spak of his godhede he3est of my3t

21330

be state of vche euaungelist
Berup in him oure 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 migt
As ern he toke to heuen his fligt
And vche mon bat wel wol fle
Wip rigt may pese foure be
Mon whil he: mohlik him ledes
Ox to sle his flesshely dedes
Leoun risyng from synne so hard
Fould wip pougte to heuen ward.

21335

21340

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 wrought 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).

Among other editions of The Gospel of Nicodemus are: The Gospel of Nicodemus by S.J. Crawford, in Old English, and L'évangile de Nicodème, la tradition A, texte du MS A (Bib. Nat. Fr. 19525), and la tradition B, texte du MS I (Bib. Nat. Fr. 6447) (ed. Alvin E. Ford, Genève: Librairie Droz, 1973, for the Publications romanes et françaises, CXXV).

There are, moreover, 9 different MSS with ME prose versions of this apocryphal gospel, cf. W.H.Hulme, The Middle English Harrowing of Hell and Gospel of Nicodemus. EETS ES 100 (1907), pp. xxxii-lvii. In Notes and Queries, February, 1978, pp. 5-7, Kathleen H. Power speaks of a newly identified prose version, The Winchester MS.33, a previously unrecorded English version of the Gospel of Nicodemus.

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). Ephiphanius (Adversus Haereses, PG XLI, 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 Glastoniensis ecclesiae (mid. 13th. cent.) is the text in question, as mentioned in Geoffrey Ashe's King Arthur's

Avalon: The Story of Glastonbury, pp. 42-43;

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'Arimatee, also entitled Le Roman de l'estoire dou

Graail probably of c. 1200. Cf. The History of the Holy Graail, EETS, ES 20,24, Vol. I, and ES 28,30, Vol. II (translated c. 1450 from the French prose "Grand Saint Graäl"), and Joseph of Arimathie: the Romance of the Seint Graal (1871), ed. W.W.Skeat, EETS, OS 44, pp. 1-23, and another version pp. 37-51. 17289-363 These lines are mainly based on Gesta Salv. XII: 1-8, p. 26, XII, p. 28, XII:8. Cf. Gosp. Nic. 741-91 and Evang. Nic. p. 365, XII - p. 368, XIII (excl.).

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.

17290 Cf. Matth. 27:57-61, Marc. 15:42-47, Luc. 28:50-56, Ioan. 19:38-42.

17291 "wrope... and wode". Gosp. Nic. 741:
" ... 3e were þan 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 "zeme" found in G, T, and H, considering the meaning and context ("queme= to please, delight; "zeme"= 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 3e 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 pou negh...". Nicodemus speaks first in Gesta Salv. XII, 1:7-8 and Evang. Nic. p. 365.

17305-307 The answer of the Jews here is evidently based on Gesta Salv. XII, 1:9-11. Cf. Evang. Nic. XII, 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. "oncnawan", 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

Palinurus, swept from the pilot's deck at night. Cf. II Reg. 21:10-14; III Reg. 14:11; IV Reg. 9:34-37; Gosp. Nic. 778b-780; Evang. Nic. p. 366; Gesta Salv. p. 27:23-24. Leaving a body to dogs and vultures was regarded as a disgrace.

17326 Only C and G add "tame".

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

17331-32 The lines closely follow the Evang. Nic. pp. 366-67 and Gesta Salv. XIII, p. 27:26-27: "Dixit autem Deus per prophetam, Mihi uindicta, ego retribuam"; cf. Rom. 17:19; Deut. 23:35.

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 dore but one."

17346-48 Gosp. Nic. 775-76: "On þe dore þai set þaire seles ilk ane with lokkes þat wele wald last." Gesta Salv. p. 27: 36-37: "Signauerunt ostium cubiculi super clauē Annas et Cayfas." Only Gosp. Nic. comes closest to CM's "lokkes two".

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

17353 Cf. Evang. Nic. pp. 367-68: "consiliati sunt."

17355-56 Cf. Gosp. Nic. 781, 785. Only H, T, and L have these lines. The Latin sources, however, did not repeat what actually had been expressed in ll. 17351-52.

17357-60 Gesta Salv. p. 28, 12:5. Cf. Gosp. Nic. 786-88; Gesta Pilati p. 368, XII.

17357 L, G, and T agree with H, but C is definitely in error with "þai 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.

17363-64 Gesta Salv. p. 28: 8-9. Cf. Evang. Nic. p. 368, XII.

17365-68 Gesta Salv. p. 28 13:1-2: "quidam de militibus". 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 "vnouth", whereas L and T agree with H and have "moup".

17368 Only G has "zeme"; 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 pareon him sett".

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

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 :

Et aspectus eius erat sicut fulgor
et vestimenta eius sicut nix.

Matth. 28:3:

erat autem aspectus ejus sicut fulgur
et vestimentum ejus sicut nix.

Cf. Evang. Nic. p. 369.

17375-86 Matth. 28:5-7; Marc. 16: 6-7; Luc. 24:5-6;

Ioan. 20:13. See also Gosp. Nic. 805-812; Evang. Nic.
p. 369; Gesta Salv. p. 28, 13:8-14.

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

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 "cruci-
fixus est", G adds the word "hy", while L, T, and H
are alike and use the active voice.

17388-92 Gesta Salv. p. 28, 13:1-4; Evang. Nic. p. 369.

17393-96 Gesta Salv. p. 28, 13:5-7; Evang. Nic. pp.
369-370.

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

17396 "Ki3t" (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 "ki3t" 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

"laght", which means to catch or take.

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

Cf. Gosp. Nic. p. 74, 813-16; Evang. Nic. p. 370.

17401-408 Gesta Salv. p. 28, XIII, 2:9-13. Jesus rebuked scribes and Pharisees; Cf. Matth. 12:38; 16:1; Ioan. 4:48. The judgment of the soldiers is similar to that of Christ, Matth. 21:39: "Generatio mala, et adultera signum quaerit: et signum non dabitur ei, nisi signum Jonae prophetae". Cf. Evang. Nic. p. 370; Gosp. Nic. p. 74, 817-28; Luc. 11:29; Ioan. 2:1.

17401. C and G follow the Latin text more closely:

"to pa iuus" ("Iudaeis").

17409-18 Gesta Salv. p. 29, XIII, 2:13-17; Cf. Evang. Nic. p. 462; Gosp. Nic. p. 74, 829-37.

17419-28 Gesta Salv. p. 29, XIII, 2:18-22; Evang. Nic. pp. 370-71; Matth. 28:10.

17429-46 Gesta Salv. p. 29, XIII, 3:1-8 is the immediate source of CM, while the original source of all MSS is Matth. 28:12-14. Cf. Gosp. Nic. p. 76: 847-64 and Evang. Nic. p. 371.

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 "pai", 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:

"Finees autem quidam sacerdos et Addas didascalus et Egias Levita...", Evang. Nic. (ibid.). The basic Biblical source of ll. 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.

17511-74 The apocryphal source is Gesta Salv. p. 30, XIV, 3:1-p. 31, XV, 1:19. Cf. Evang. Nic. pp. 374-76; Gosp. Nic. 909-964.

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 "wildernes".

17575-97 This moral reflection on spiritual blindness echoes Gregor. 31, Moral (cap. 17.a., ed.); cf. also Summa Theol. 2-2, 15,2,0; 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 l. 17634, while the Evang. Nic. resumes at l. 17631.
- 17632 "paleys" seems an extravagant word for Joseph's abode. The Latin does not have this line, but has "domum suam", for "halle", l. 17640.
- 17638 Cf. Christ's own words, using the same simile in Matth. 28:37, and Luc. 13:34 "quoties volui congregare filios tuos quemadmodum avis nidum suum sub pennis..."
- 17652-68 Gesta Salv. p. 32, XV:5. Cf. Gosp. Nic. p. 86: 1025--p. 88: 1032; Evang. Nic. pp. 379-81.
- 17653 The Latin sources and all CM MSS have Nicodemus form part of the common questioning body together with Annas and Caiphas.
- 17669-706 CM is remarkably similar to Gesta Salv. p. 33, XV:6. Cf. Gosp. Nic., p. 88: 1033-72; Evang. Nic. pp. 381-82.
- 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 CM texts and in the Gesta Salv., 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.

17707-40 Gesta Salv. p. 33, XVI: 1-p. 34. Cf. Evang. Nic. pp. 382-384; Luc. 2:29-35.

17716 Levi in the NT; the only one mentioned by that name is the son of Alphaeus, cf. Marc. 2:14 " Et cum praeteriret, vidit Levi Alphaei sedentem ad telonium, 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.

17741-871 This section's main source is Gesta Salv. p. 34, XVI, 2:1-p. 36, XVIII, 1:19. Cf. Evang. Nic. pp. 384-92; Gosp. Nic. 11. 1081-1200.

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 Cappadocea, 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 (ll. 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. Hennecke 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 Hennecke 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 resurrectionem ejus, venerunt in sanctam civitatem, et apparuerunt multis."

17792 The Evang. Nic. p. 389 (XVII), mention that this is the Simeon of the Gospel, and so do Gesta Salv. p. 35, XVII. Cf. Luc. 2:25-28.

17793 Cf. CM 17833.

17798 MSS H and L have "her", C and G have "pair" while T has "joure". 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". C has "lufsumli", which is "lovingly". It is probably an attempt to translate the Latin. G's "fulsumli" 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, Nico demus, 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.).

17822 "her chirche" of MS H parallels "be temple" Gosp. Nic. 1133, and the Latin "synagogam" of Gesta Salv. p. 35, XVII, 2:7, which MSS C and G translate literally.

17826 Adonai, the perpetual substitute for the ineffable OT name "Y^hweh", to which it lends its vowel signs. Cf. Exod. 6:3; Iud. 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, maintains that it goes back to the ninth and tenth centuries, and that a work by Martine (c. xxiii) "De antiqua ecclesiae disciplina" gives fragments of Ordines, some of which go back as far as 600 AD. Cf. Introduction aux sources de l'histoire du culte chrétien au moyen âge, p. 146 which refers to "Ordo XXII". The description of the "triduum sacrum" 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 descendentibus illis de monte, praecepit illis ne cuiquam quae vidissent, narrarent: nisi cum Filius hominis a mortuis resurrexerit." Cf. Matth. 17:9.

17858 "helle". Cf. Ps. 15:10; I Pet. 3:18-19.

17863-68 Gesta Salv. p. 36, XVIII:1 . Cf. Gosp. Nic.

p. 97: 1168-1176; Evang. Nic. p. 391. In these texts

the light source is Christ. The Latin source and

Gesta Pilati both have : "subito factus est aureus solis

calor purpureaque regalis lux inlustrans (Evang. Nic.:

illustrans) super nos." Gosp. Nic.:

al Adams kind we war in hell,
ful many a waful night,
of sun we had a sight,
when we in mirkness ware
a light gan on vs leme,
till vs it semid pare
like a bright suns beme.

17863-18512 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. xiii 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 ecclesiae Romanae symbolo 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 Aquilae (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 Priminus" (+758), "Creed of Aquileia", 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; I 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 I Pet. 3:19: "In quo et his, qui in carcere erant, spiritibus veniens praedicavit," again strengthens the mediæval 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; Ose. 3:14; Hos. 6:1-3; Mic. 7:18 ff.; Zech. 9:11. Still other references (of NT) are : I Pet. 3; Act. 2:24-3;; Matth. 12-40; Col. 2:15.

Among other medieval writing concurring with CM'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 Haelend Crist tobraec hellegatu." Cf. also "In Dominica Palmarum" (ibid., p. 217) : "pa getimode sam reotam deofle swa swa deð pam graedigan fisce..."); also "Decollatio S. Johannis Baptistae" (ibid. I, 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. Augustine, De Civitate Dei, PL XLI, 541.

17869-71 CM mentions our first father Adam, and patriarchs and prophets, as the Gosp. Nic. 1. 1177 and Gesta Salv. 18:9-10. The Evang. Nic. omits explicit mention of Adam but clearly refers to him in "omnis generis humanis pater." Hennecke mistakenly translates "father Abraham", p. 471: II: XVII. The Gosp. Nic. speaks of "Adam and Eve his wife" (1. 1178).

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.

17876 Cf. Ignatius Antiochenus: Epistola ad Magnesios, PG V, c.9, 670, and Epistola ad Philadelphienses, PG V, c.5, 699-702.

17879-82 Only MS G 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.

17882-97 Gesta Salv. pp. 36-37, 2:1-10. Evang. Nic. p. 392; Gosp. Nic. 1203-12; Luc. 2:25-32; Simeon's well-known Nunc dimittis echoes Is. 49:6.

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 "pan". while H has "pon". The words "pan" and "pon" 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 Towneley, 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 Horrall, 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 Conventriae (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 bénédiction du cierge pascal est, dès le ive siècle, en usage en Haute Italie et, dès le ve, dans les églises suburbicaires de Rome."

17930 Michael the Archangel was placed at the gate of Paradise "ad custodiendam viam ligni vitae". Gen 3:24. Cf. Ap. 12:7. In the Apocalypse of Paul (Hennecke Vol. II, p. 787) Michael says "It is I who stand in the presence of God every hour," cf. Dan. 12:1.

17935 The Oil of Mercy is certainly reminiscent of the "oleum infirmorum". St. James 5:14-15 says: "Infirmitur quis in vobis? Inducat presbyteros Ecclesiae, et orent super eum, ingentes eum oleo in nomine Domini; et oratio fidei salvabit infirmum, et alleviabit eum Dominus; et si in peccatis sit, remittentur ei." Cf. Tertullianus, De Resurrectione Carnis, PL II, 806; St. Ambrose, De Poenitentia, PL XVI, 447; St. Jerome, Comm. in Is. Proph., PL XXIV, 258; St. Augustine, In Ep. Ioan. ad Parthos, PL XXXV, 2004; St. Isidore Hispal., Etymologiarum, PL LXXXII, 270-71; Hugo de S. Victore, De Sacramentis, PL CLXXVI, 577.

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.

17973-76 Gesta Salv. XIX, 2:31-32. Gosp. Nic. 1281-82; Evang. Nic. p. 394 (XIX and XX).

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.

17989 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.

18013 "liþer hyne" cf. Matth. 24:48.

18014 "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 decertarent ut non traderer Judaeis..."

18015-22 Cf. Matth. 26:27; Marc. 14:15; Luc. 22:23; Ioan. 18:19, and CM including H, 11. 14776-17082.

18024 "deþ", 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.

18026-44 Hell accuses Satan of contradicting himself.

18033 Cf. Ioan. 17:21; Act. 17:7.

18040 "stynkyng lazarus", cf. Ioan. 11:39; "jam foetet."

18041 "pe ferpe 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 insolutis uinculis peccatorum constricti, soluet."

18073-78 Gesta Salv. XXI, 1:1-4; cf. Gosp. Nic. 1345-49; Evang. Nic. p. 397 (XXI); St. Ambrose, Liber de Virginitate, PL XVI, 315-16: "Et elevamini, portae aeternales, et introibit rex gloriae." Cf. Ps. 23:7.

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 "Attolite 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."

18077-78 Cf. Acts of Callistratus; F.C. Conybeare: The Apology and Acts of Appolonius and Other Monuments

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 Vol. I, p. 489, col. 2, no. 15.

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 praeliator, 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 captiueumur tenentes captiuitatem." Gosp. Nic. 1356: "or we forever be thrald." Cf. also homily ascribed to Eusebius of Alexandria, Homily in Sancta et Magna Parasceve, et in Sanctam Passionem Domini, PL LXII, 722: "Vae mihi misero, 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 virtutis') praecurrebant. Et ecce portae clausae erant: et vociferatae sunt Virtutes dicentes: 'Attollite portas, principes, vestras, et elevamini, portae aeternales, et, introbit Rex gloriae' (Ps. 23:9-10). The Gosp. Nic. mentions one voice crying. There are, however, more angels present, since Christ delivers Satan to be bound. The earlier tradition has Christ descend alone. Eus. of Caesarea in De Demonstratione Evangelica says on Ps. 21: "id sane fuit, ne faventium 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.

18098-18102 Cf. Ps. 43:26: "Exsurge, Domine, adjuva nos: et redime nos propter nomen tuum"; Ps. 23:27 and Ps.

118:24; also St. Cyril of Jerusalem, Catech. Lect. iv,

11, xiv, 18-19, PG XXXIII, 470, 862; Act. 2:24-31.

18103-4 Cf. Isa. 45:2, Ps. 106:15-16; Christ and Satan,

The Junius Manuscript (ASPR I), ll. 379-80; Eusebius

Acta Thaddei in Hist. Eccl. i. 13.19: "claustrumque

ab omni aevo intactum disruperit", PG XX, 130; Gosp.

Nic. 1363.

18105-14 Gesta Salv. XXI, 2:8-12: "quoniam ros qui es a Domino sanitas est illis" (11-12). Notice the great similarity between this line and CM 18112. Cf. Isa. 26:19: "Vivent mortui tui, interfecti mei resurgent: expurgiscimini, et laudate qui habitatis in pulvere"; also Isa. 25:8: "Praecipitabit mortem in sempiternum: et auferet Dominus lachrymam ab omni facie." Cf. Isa. 35:10, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, Catech. Lect. iv, 11, xiv, 18-19, PG XXXIII, 470, 862; Evang. Nic. p. 398.

18108 H, T. and L have "he", while C, and G use the plural "pai". 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 infirmus et inpotens eris."

18123-27 Gesta Salv. XXI, 3:3-5: "... Et facta est vox magna ut tonitruum..."; cf. also Evang. Nic. p. 398: "Et facta est vox magna ut tonitruum dicens: Tollite portas principes vestras." See also Christ and Satan, Junius MS (ASPR I) p. 148, 11, 385 and 392.

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.

18128 Cf. St. Greg. Thaumaturgos, Sermo in Sancta Theophania, PG X, 851-62.

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

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

et umbra mortis peccatorum (19-20). Cf. S. Hippolytus, a fragment " Ex homilia Dominica Paschae", PG, X, 863; Aphraates, G. Bert, Aphraat's Des Perzischen Weisen Homilien (TU iii 3-4), p. 351; Synesius, Hymn ix, PG LXVI, 1614-15.

18152 Legenda Aurea, Cap. LIV, p. 235 Evang. Nic. p. 398; Gosp. Nic. 1405.

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.

18168-72 Cf. Evang. Nic. p. 399: "... inferus et mors... exclamaverunt dicentes: Victi sumus a te. Quis es tu qui ad dominum dirigis confusionem nostram?"

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 sight". There is no known Latin source for either reading.

18177-88 Cf. Evang. Nic. p. 399 except for CM 18181, 18185, 18186. The devils accuses Christ. "legiones nostras perturbas."

18177-78 The infernal legions wondering about Christ's dual nature question him. Cf. Gosp. Nic. 1429-30: "Sen þou was man, on what manere was godhede in þe hid?"

18189-92 Gesta Salv. XXII, 1:16-18; Gosp. Nic. 1437-40:

þe sawles þat vs war sent
has þou won heþin 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, 1:22-34, rephrasing the same speech.

18216-220 Cf. Tertullian, Adv. Judaeos, c.13, PL II, 633 f.; Origen, contra Celsum, vi, 34, PG XI, 1317; John of Damascus, de Orth. Fide, iv II, PG XCIV, 1127-1130. Cf. Liturgical antiphons of Good Friday: "Ecce lignum", "Crucem tuam", "Adoramus te", and others, see notes CM 11. 18325-28. Hippolytus, Upon the Great Ode, ends one of the fragments of this early hymn by stating that Christ proved Himself conqueror by the tree. (In Danielelem, PG X, 638 f.).

18221 Cf. Hab. 3:13.

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, Hom. 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".

18227-32 Cf. Gasp. Nic. 1445-55; "hething of goddes angels" (1454).

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 Beelzēbub principe daemoniorum..." (Matth. 12:24). It was a common belief of Jews and Christians that heathen deities were demons.

18237-41 Cf. Ep. Apostolorum, Hennecke, p. 218; Ioan. 12:36.

18245 Cf. Christ I, The Exeter Book, p. 18:55-59, (ASPR III).

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.

18291 Cf. C. Smidt, Gesprache Jesu mit Seiner Jüngern nach der Auferstehung, (in TU xliii, 1919), 86-87.

18293 Cf. Pet. 3:18-19; S. Athanasius, de Pass. et Cruce Domini, 25 f., PG XXVIII, 230 f.; Acta Thomae, Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha, ed. R.A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet Leipzig, 1891-1903, ii, 2, 265.

18293-95 S. Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. iii, 22.4, PG VII,I, 959.

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).

18306-18 Cf. The Blickling Easter Homily (Dominica Pascha): "Drihten Haeland þa waes miltsigende Adame, & raþe his bendas waeron onlȳsde" (R. Morris, The Blickling Homilies, p. 87).

18319-36 Cf. The Blickling Easter Homily (op. cit.) p. 89.

18319 Cf. Phil. 2:10.

18325-28 Liber Usualis 1961, p. 746-47, and 741, Liturgy of Good Friday: Antiphon 1: Adoramus te Chrīste, et benedicimus 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).

18339-340 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 sperabunt 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...ðreata maestne to heofonum ahof, ða he from helle astag", The Exeter Book, p. 80, 1100-1104 (ASPR III).

18345-52 David invites all to sing to the Lord. The saints answer "Amen" and "Alleluia", Gesta Salv. XXIV, 2:4-11.

18353-512 Gesta Salv. XXIV, 3:6- XXVII, 4:7. Cf. Evang. Nic. p. 404.

18368-512 Cf. Gosp. Nic. 1539-1656.

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.

18363-68 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".

18368 Cf. Hippolytus, De Christo et Antichristo cap 26, 45, PG X, 747, 763.

18369-72 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 egredietur diabolus ante pedes ejus." Hab. 3:4-5.

18373-78 ll. 18374 and 18377 resemble l. 18368.

18378 R.H. Charles, The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, "Test. of Levi", p. 35 f.

18379 Cf. Ephraim Syrus (op. cit.)p. 306.

18379 Homilies ascribed to Eusebius of Alexandria, PG LXII, 721 f.: The saints run to Paradise and enter.

18381-82 Cf. The Dream of the Rood, ll. 151-156:

Wa he mid manigeo com,
gasta weorode on Godes rice,
An wealda aelmihtig englum to blisse,

& eallum ðam halgum, þam þe on heofonum aer
wunedon on wuldre, þa heora Wealdend cwom,
almihtig God, þær his eðel wæs.

- 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, Cathaemeri-
non, 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 know-
ledge, 1925, 1917, p. 102 f.; The Apocrypha and Pseud-
epigrapha 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.
- 18386-96 Cf. Aphraates, G. Bert (op. cit.), p. 351 f.
- 18386-90 The questions of St. Bartholemew (thought to
be the lost Gospel of Bartholemew) Hennecke, Vol. I,
p. 490.

18390 Legenda Aurea, p. 244.

18390-92 "Ambulavitque (=Henoch) cum Deo, et non apparuit: quia tulit eum Deus" (Gen. 5:24). "Fide Henoch translatus est ne videret mortem, et non inveniebatur: quia transtulit illum Deus: ante translationem enim testimonium habuit placuisse Deo" (Hebr. 11:5). "Henoch placuit Deo, et translatus est in paradisum, ut det gentibus poenitentiam" (Eccl. 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 Galgalis." (2:1)... "Cumque pergerent, et incedentes sermocinarentur, ecce currus igneus, et equi ignei diviserunt utrumque; et accendit Elias per turbinem 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 millennial view, which is expressed in the Latin source, Gesta Salv. XXV, 11b-12: "non gustavimus mortem sed in adventum Antichristi reservati sumus."; cf. Gosp. Nic. 1561.

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.

18405-30 Cf. Legenda Aurea, Cap. LIV, p. 244, and Cap. LII (51), p. 233.

18421-30 Luc. 23:43; Eusebius of Alexandria, In Sancta et Magna Parasceve, PG LXII, 724: "Et dedit mihi signum crucis dicens: Hoc accipiens ito in Paradisum, et si tibi ingressum prohibeat flammeus gladius, ostende illi regium signum, et portas tibi aperiet."

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".

18471-76 Gesta Salv. p. 48, XXVII, 1:13-16: "... ubi sunt multi qui nobiscum resurrexerunt in testimonium resurrectionis..." (13-14). Cf. Act. 4:33.

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: "Filioli, 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.

Hildephonsus of Toledo (+ 669) incorporates it in his treatise De Cognitione Baptismi, PL XCVI, 171-72. Quoting Rom. 3:12-13 he applies St. Paul : "induite vos arma lucis", and Galat. 3:27-28: "ergo in Christo baptizati estis, Christum induistis"; cf. also St. Augustine's Sermo 223: "Infantes... qui candore vestium splendorem mentium praefigurant", PL XXXVIII, 1092.

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 Salv. p. 48, XXVII, 2:1-4: "Haec sunt quanta nobis iussit Dominus referre nobis".

18488-9 Gosp. Nic. 1631: "pat 3e may 3ou 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 principaliter agebatur ut de cordibus discipulorum scandalum crucis tolleretur." (Catena in Marc., PL LIV, 310).

18499-500 Cf. Evang. Nic. p. 407: XI (XXVII): "Et amplius a nemine visi sunt."

18502-03 Cf. Gosp. Nic. p. 126: 1639-40: "and þat one wrate noght a letter note" (1839).

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".

18513-80 Gesta Salv. XXVII, 5:1- XXVIII, 1:36. Cf. Evang. Nic. p. 412, XXIX, p. 416; Gosp. Nic. p. 126: 1657.

Cf. also Evang. Apocr., Tischendorf, Epistola Pontii Pilati pp. 433-34. This is the end of the Gesta Salv.

and also of the two analogues, Evang. Nic. and Gosp. Nic.

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

18517-18 Pilate had the story written in the temple.

Gosp. Nic. p. 126: 1661 : "Vnto þe temple he toke þe 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 Cláudius 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.

18537 Cf. Gosp. Nic. p. 133: 1733 (Additional) :

"Was sent amonges vs forto bide."

18541 Cf. Gosp. Nic. p. 133: 1735-36: "And all for he wrought wondres wyde."

18542-56 Cf. Evang. Nic. pp. 413-14: 7 different miracles are mentioned here, while CM lists 8.

18551-56 Cf. Gosp. Nic. p. 133: 1750: "þe Iuwes sone þaim bethought/And plened þaim for envye."

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 Salv. nor the two analogues here mention Pilate ordering the watch at the grave.

18571-73 Cf. Gosp. Nic. p. 135: 1777: "And gaue siluer to ilka knyght"; 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.

18618 Cf. Gosp. Nic. p. 135: 1808.

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.

18630 Cf. note in Morris Vol. VI, p. li.

18639-18860 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 bridde lage haveþ be leun; þanne he liep
 to slepen Sal he nevre luken þe lides of hise egen
 (ll. 12-13, stanza 1)

18657-60 A Middle-English Bestiary

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

18661 The source for the lines 18661-18750 is the Old
 French Le Chateau d'Amour 1396-1468, as noted by Kari
 Sajavaara, in The Use of Robert Grosseteste's "Chateau
 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 Chateau d'Amour from l. 9516: "sent Robert
 bok." Line 1396 reads: "Desk Jhesu fu resuscitez".

18662 Cf. Ioan. 20: esp. 14, 19-26; Marc. 16:14; Luc.
 24:36; I Cor. 15:5; Act. 1:3 and line 1397 Chateau
 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 praebuit seipsum 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 apparuit 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 trowing
of seynt thomas." H and T both have "mys trowyng",
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 thaological explanation presents
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 ejus intus: et Thomas cum eis (Ioan. 20:26). H renders this text beautifully with an iambic rhythm.

18703-07 Chateau d'Amour 1404-17. Cf. Ioan. 20:29.

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 (H, T, L, B), but they are authentic, translating Chateau d'Amour 1429-31. They help to show that the commonly accepted manuscript stemma is wrong.

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

Car ki rene ne serrad
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. Chateau 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.

18751-58 Cf. Act. 1:4-5.

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

this.

18759-18816 The Ascension of Christ is his final post-Resurrection manifestation to his followers. Luke records the forty-day period after the Resurrection (Act. 1:13). The Ascension, believed (as also CM mentions, l. 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. Marc. 16:9-20, records the event, John makes reference to it in Ioan 6:62, 20:7, while Luc. 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).

18759 Cf. Act. 1:9.

18760 Cf. Act. 1:1: "quae coepit Jesus facere, et docere".

18761 Cf. Act. 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. Luc. 24:50-51,

18765 The idea expressed here by the CM poet, "wip
his owne propur myzt", 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. •

18766-72 Cf. Act. 1:9-10. John records two angels at
Jesus' tomb after the Resurrection (Ioan. 20:12),
while Matth. 28:20, Marc. 16:5, and Luc. 20:12, all
record one. Luke, in Act. 1:10 speaks of two angels
at the Ascension, as do H, C, G, F, and T.

18773-80 Cf. Act. 1:11.

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 diligit me, sermonem meum servabit,...", in Ioan. 15:14: "Vos amici mei estis, si feceritis quae ego praecipio vobis", and in Ioan 15:10: "Si praecepta 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 propitius."

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, Nicephoros 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 "be boke" (l. 18831) and some of

which he described in l. 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 imago 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 "sydoine" 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 Mandyllion (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 Canterbury (cf. F.W. Farrar, The Life of Christ represented in Art: London, 1901, p. 84) shows that the letter, allegedly written by one Publius Lentulus (purportedly Pilate's predecessor as governor of Judea) 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 Nicephoros' 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, Eus. Caes., Epistolae, PG XX, 1546.

18819-22 Cf. Matth. 4:11; 18:12: "...angeli... in coelis semper vident faciem Patris mei..."; Ioan. 10:30:

"Ego, et Pater unum sumus;" Marc. 12:25.

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, Christusbilder, 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 ~~poet~~ follows literally the Lentulus letter (ibid): "vultum..., quem possent intuentes 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 crispas aliquantulum ceruliores et fulgentiores, ab humeris ventilantes," (ibid).

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

18839-41 "frontem planam et serenissimam cum facie sine ruga et macula (aliqua), quam rubor (moderatus) venustat; (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) capillis concolorem, 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, oculis 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 : Matth. 23:1-39; Luc. 11:37-53, 20:45-47; Marc. 12:38-40.

18855-56 "aliquando flevit, sed numquam risit (qui numquam visus est ridere)" (ibid). Cf. Ioan. 11:35.

18857-58 The Lentulus letter does not speak of Mary.

However, in Epistola ad Theophilum Imperatorem, S. Ioan. Damascenus, PG XCV, 350, writes: "qui cum impollutis manibus formaverit hominem, homo ipse ex sancta Virgine ac Dei Genitrice Maria sine mutatione aut variatione factus, carni communicavit et sanguine, animal rationale, intelligentiae et scientiae capax, trium forte cubitorum magnitudine, carnis crassitie circumscriptus, nostrae simili forma conspectum esse ac maternae similitudinis proprietates exacte retulisse, Adam formam exhibuisse. Quocirca depingi eum curavit, quali forma veteres historici describere; praestanti statura, confertis superciliis, venustis oculis, justo naso, crispa caesarie, subcurvum, elegantiori 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 Deimatrix Mariae Hierosolymis adhuc in carne viventis, et in sancta Sion morantis imaginem, temperatis coloribus in tabella expressit, posterisque velut in speculo contuendam reliquit" (ibid).

18859 In respect to the "Veronica" or the "Vera Effigies", 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 Mandyllion, finally completing the traditional presentation of Christ's image throughout the centuries.

18863-64 Ref. to Jesus' Ascension.

18865-940 Act. 1:8.

18912 Act. 2:1. The Upper Room (Act. 1:13), according to tradition was the Cenacle, the scene, also of the Descent of the Holy Spirit. "Hi omnes erant perseverantes unanimiter in oratione..." (Act. 1:14). As to who were there of the Apostles, Luke in Act. 1:13 enumerates the eleven: "Petrus et Joannes, Jacobus et Andreas, Philipus et Thomas, Bartholomaeus et Matthaeus, Jacobus Alphaei et Simon Zelotes, et Judas Jacobi." Later the number and names of the apostles are frequently less precise.

18877 Act. 1:16. Cf. Pius Parsch. The Church's Year of Grace (The Liturgical Press, St. John's Abbey, Collegeville, Minnesota, Vol. III, p. 213). St. Augustine asks: "Ubi inchoata est Ecclesia", and he answers:

"nisi ubi venit de coelo Spiritus sanctus, et implevit uno loco sedentes centum viginti?" 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, consubstantiallem aequalis potestatis et gloriae, et coaeternum Spiritum misisti super sanctos tuos discipulos et apostolos, PG XXXVI, 2, 731."

18879-910 Act. 1:16-26.

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 8am 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 ferendam instituebatur... quapropter 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. 788b, 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.

18921-34 Act. 2:3. Cf. Isa. 10:17: "Et erit lumen Israel in igne, et Sanctus ejus in flamma". St. Ambrose says, that because of this, the prophets call Him a burning fire. He furthermore refers to Deut. 4:24, Exod. 3:15, and St. Paul's Eph. 1:13: "... in quo credentes signati... estis Spiritu promissionis sancto", PL XVI, 737-38; Leg. Aurea p. 330: "Secundo calidus est inflammandum". Luc. XII: "ignem veni mittere in terram et quid volo, nisi quod ardeat."

18931 Cf. St. John Chrysostom, In Sanctam Pentecosten, Sermo III, PG LII, p. 811: "Nunc autem gratia divisa linguis ora in unuscujusque linguam collegit, doctrinae terminos extendens, et multas fidei vias aperiens." Cf. also St. John Chrysostom, De Sancta Pentecoste, "Homilia I", PG L, 2-2, p. 459.

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 (CM 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" (GM 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.

18949-52 Act. 2:6. Cf. The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church, Part I: the Sermones Catholici or Homilies of Aelfric, Aelfric Society, London, 1971, p. 314; In die sco Pentecosten: "com faerlice micel sweg of heofonum". St. Ambrose refers to the Holy Spirit as a rushing torrent coming down from heaven, quoting Isa. 46:12, De Spiritu Sancto, PL XVI, 740.

18953-66 Act. 2:6.

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.

18969-19012 Act. 2:14-36. Peter's speech was actually longer, Luke says in Act. 2:40. Luke has only given a summary of this tactful speech.

19013-44 Act. 2:37-47. The first line, 19013, shows a difference among the CM texts: C has "þir wordes

herd, pair here gun 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 CM 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 Aposto-
lorum.

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

19076 Noteworthy is the poet's imitation of Luke's
description of the psychological reaction of the cured
man (Act. 3:8-9: Et exiliens stetit, et ambulabat: et
intravit cum illis in templum ambulans, et exiliens,
et laudans Deum. Et vidit omnis populus eum ambu-
lantes et laudantes Deum").

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 CM 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 CM 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).

19134 Act. 4:4: "... numerus virorum quinque millia."

19136 Act. 4: 5-6. Although Annas is not mentioned in CM, 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 princeps sacerdotum". Cf. Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche, Band I (Freiburg: Verlag Herder, 1957); Kirchenlexicon, Band I, Wetzler und Welte's, Zweite Auflage, Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder'sche Verlagbuchhandlung, 1882, 861-62.

19137-38 Only F has these lines. They are found neither 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 "sothede" has the same meaning (cf. Owl and Nightingale, p. 1375, in ed. by F. H. Stratmann, Krefeld: 1868). F's reading, "was all i skorne", is entirely different, and "sophede" must be a scribal error, since it reverses the meaning from "folly" to "truth".

19150-51 Act. 4:10; cf. Act. 4:12; CM 19142, 19161, 19183, 19187.

19155-57 Act. 4:11. Cf. I Pet. 2:7; Luc. 20:27.

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

19156-57 Act. 4:11: "Hic est lapis, qui reprobatus est a vobis aedificantibus, qui factus est in caput anguli".

Cf. Ps. 117:22b; Isa. 28:16.

19159-62 Act. 4:12.

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.

19191-92 Act. 4:19-20; Cf. Act. 1:8; Luc. 24:47.

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 "Seruantis elles be we sory", which is a totally different reading.

19205-14 Act. 4:23-31.

19215-58 Act. 5:1-10. Cf. Act. 6:1, 11:29; St. Augustine, Sermo 148, PL XXXVIII, 799-800.

19273 Many sick were brought to them. The Cotton text of CM 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 paet hi gelogodon Ða untruman be paere straet paer Petrus forð eode, and swa hraðe swa his sceadu hi hreodpode, hi wurdon gehaelede fram 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.

19303 Act. 5:20. In Ioan 6:69, St. Peter says: "Domine ... verba vitae aeternae habes". Cf. also Act. 13:26.

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= their (19307). Cf. Morris, CM Vol. VI, p. li.

19329-37 Act. 5:28. Cf. Matth. 27:25.

19339-50 Act. 5:20-32. The Acts mention Peter here as the "princeps inter pares." Act. 5:29.

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.

19355 "suepes" (C,G) = scourges, whips; O.E. Hom. I p. 283. "swappes" (T, H) = blows (Morris, Vol. VI, p. li).

19357-58 "þer bad hem fle, as þe wolde dede". This agrees with T. T's and H's "menge", 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, 1, PG VII-I, 686-87 and 879-81.

19392-94 Act. 6:6.

19396 T and H have changed the line from the Northern version. C, F, and G have "O þam þar- of þai tok (þe 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 Stēphen.

19401-02 The reading of C may be lieude, though G's points to worthede (Morris, CM, Vol. VI, p. li).

19403-21 Act. 6:8-15. Cf. Petrus Comestor, Hist. Schol., PL XXXVIII, 1663.

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 adiutorem 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.

19444-47 F's lines are different from the other MSS.

19445-56 Act. 7:57.

19457-60 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".

19461-62 F is the only MS that has these lines:

be forste stane for to caste.
& þen sulde alle to him þrast.

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.

19465-66 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.

19471-76 Act. 7:58-59. The text parallels Luc. 23:34 and 46. Cf. Ps. 30:6.

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

19481-88 Act. 8:1. Cf. Hist. Schol., PL XXXVIII, 1668.

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 XCII, 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 slan", 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.

19512 If the city is Sabaste, Samaria's capital, half the inhabitants were pagans. Cf. Mandeville's Travels ed. P. Hamelius, (London: Kegan Paul, Trübner & Co., Ltd., 1919), I, 181.

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-

ter of the Christian Church with the magic of the pagan world. Cf. also Act. 13:8, 16:16, 19:19; Hist. Schol., PL XXXVIII, 1669. For other references to Simon Magus see Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha, ed. R.A. Lipsius, George Olms Verlagbuchhandlung, Hildesheim, 1959, Pars Prior, pp. 45-99; Legenda Aurea, Jacobi a Voragine, editio secunda (Lipsiae, Impensis Librariae Arnoldianae, MDCCCI), pp. 368-379. For further Patristic references, cf. Tertullian, In Tertulliani Apologeticum, PL I, 1135; also I, Liber de Idolatria, 672-673; II Liber de Praescriptionibus, 46; ascribed to St. Augustine, Praedestinatus, PL LIII, 587-88.

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 paire eye" gives the sense of H here.

19543 C, F, and G read "in hast", which rhymes with "hali gast". T and H have "wipouten 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 CM poet, who probably wrote around the end of the 13th c. 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.

19553-56 Philip did not lay hands on the baptized, since he was not an apostle. Hist. Schol. ibid.: "Si enim Philippus iste apostolus esset, statim baptizatis manus imponeret, nec ad hoc alios expectaret." Cf. Bede Act. Ap. Exp., PL XCII, 961: "Si enim apostolus esset, ipse utique manum imponere potuisset, ut acciperent Spiritum sanctum."

19566 T and H's change from the Northern C and G:

"Moght do sli vertu and sa strang". F shows already a divergent wording: "Mu3t do suche vertu & squa strange." OED, under "slike", "sli", chiefly north, (O.N. slik-r). It means "such". So it was not commonly used in the southern English dialects.

19563-92 Act. 8:18-22. Cf. Hist. Schol., ibid.

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:

pat he be hale flesshe & bone
& raise þe dede as 3e haue done.

19579-84 For the apocryphal accounts on Simon Magus, cf. Aelfric's Homilies, I, pp. 371b-383a; Legenda Aurea, pp. 370:2-374a; Epistula Apostolorum, Hennecke, Vol. I p. 191; Apostolic Pseudepigrapha, The Kerygmata Petrou, Hennecke, Vol. II, p. 120 ff.; Acts of Peter, *ibid.*, p. 282 ff.; Acts of Paul, *ibid.*, p. 374; Acts of Thomas, *ibid.*, p. 430; The Pseudo-Clementines, *ibid.*, p. 545 ff.

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

19585-92 Act. 8:21-22.

19597-600 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.

19602 C: "of a warriand"; T and H "of oon werronde",
 of one harrying, persecuting. See warris, ll. 19620,
 19623 (C, F, and G). "Saulus autem devastabat Eccle-
 siam..." (Act. 8:3). Cf. werrur in l. 25798 (C and
 F).

19603-52 The conversion of St. Paul Act. 9:1-29.

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 Jūdaico I, 24,2.
 The first Christians there were in all likelihood con-
 verts since Pentecost, still attending the synagogue,
Act. 9:2. Cf. Bede, Act. Ap. Exp., PL XCII, 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 Eucha-
 rist: "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 "fuyr. 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: "... sub-
to de coelo circumfulsit me lux copiosa", and Act. 26:
13: "... media in via, vidi, ..., de coelo supra splen-
dorem 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".

19621 Act. 9:5. Cf. also Act. 26:19.

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.

19647-48 Act. 9:8 and 12:11. Cf. Bede, Act. Ap. Exp.

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

19652 The Northern C and G agree here, but F, T, and H have changed the lines considerably. F has "sua shope be grace of god of mist." 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 "seruantis". 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 forhace tribulationis probatum" (Hist. Schol., PL XXXVIII, 1672). Cf. Aelfric's Homilies I, p. 386: "Drihten cwaæð, Far swa ic ðe saede, forðan ðe he is me gecoren faetels..."

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.

19683-90 Act. 22:13-16. Paul gives more fully the message to Ananias. Cf. also Act. 26:16, and 9:17.

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: " þa, mit ðisum wordum, feollon swylce fylmena of his eagam..."; Hist Schol., PL XXXVIII, 1672; Bede (ibid).

19695-720 St. Lukes 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 Syriam, et Ciliciam, et ibi praedicavit, et multos convertit.

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

19699-706 Act. 9:21-22.

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.

19722-42 Act. 9:26-30.

19722 Cf. Gal. 1: 18-19.

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.

19727-38 Act. 9: 27-28. Cf. Hist. Schol., 1673.

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;"

19739-42 Act. 9:29. CM classifies the Greeks next to the Jews, not Christians, as in Act. 6:1. Paul, the Hellenist, takes up the work Stephen had left, and arouses the same fury that Stephen had caused. Cf. Act. 22:18. Cf. Hist. Schol., PL XXXVIII, 1673: "Illis autem, (scilicet Judaei conversantes inter Graecos, cum quibus disputabat,) voluerunt eum occidere".

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.

19749-59 Act. 9: 32-45.

19752 The man, T and H read, had been afflicted with
"palesye" for "seuen zere", 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 zere".

19753 Cf. Hist. Schol., 1674.

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 Joppe 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.

19803-900 Act. 10:1- 11:18. CM breaks off after Act. 11:1 (as mentioned before; cf. notes to 11. 19749-991).

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 evangelii", 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

19810-30 Act. 10:3-9. These lines follow St. Luke's text very closely.

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

19834-37 Act. 10:10. "Swyme", and the Acts' "mentis excessus" suggest a mental vision.

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. lii: "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. Apost. cap. 47, PL XXXVII, 1676: "Ac si
 diceretur ei in spiritu: Transi ad gentes, et occide
 in eis vitia, et sic Ecclesiae incorpora".

19862-66 Act. 10:14. Peter objects, in spite of Christ's
 words in Marc. 7:15: "Nihil est extra hominem in-
 troiens in eum quod possit eum coinquinare, sed quae
 de homine procedunt, illa sunt quae communicant homi-
 nem." Cf. Hist. Schol., PL XXXVIII, 1676: "... et
 maxime timebat reprehensionem Judaeorum..."

19868-72 Act. 10:15. The "voys" only spoke of food,
 but the application went well beyond that, as is
 evident from Act. 10:28 and 11:5 ff.

19877-78 Act. 10:16.

19879-90 CM refers to Ambrose's description of the Bap-
 tismal rite: "Triplicis interrogationis et immersio-
 nis exemplum in trina responsione Petri exstitisse...
 Interrogatus es: Credis in Deum Patrem omnipotentem:
 Dixisti Credo, et mersisti, hoc est, sepultus es.
 Iterum interrogatus es: Credis in Dominum nostrum
 Jesum Christum, et in crucem ejus? Dixisti: Credo, et

mersisti; ideo et Christo es consepultus; qui enim Christo consepelitur cum Christo resurgit. Tertio interrogatus es: Credis et in Spiritum sanctum?

Dixisti: Credo, tertio mersisti, ut multiplicem lapsum superioris aetatis absolverit trina confessio",

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

19881-88 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 Ambrosius, in catechismo fit trina interrogatio, scilicet, credis in Deum? abrenuntias Satanae? vis baptizari? Similiter trina unctio, in vertice, sive fronte; in scapulis, in pectore; 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.

19888 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.

19914-18 Act. 10:23b-24.

19919-20 Luc. 7:1-10.

19921-26 Act. 10:25-26. Cf. Hist. Schol., PL XXXVIII, 1677: "... ipso gestu corporis exprimens devotionem mentis". Lines 19925-26 have been reversed in T.

19927 Act. 10:27: "frendis fele" cf. Hist. Schol., PL XXXVIII, 1677: "Et cum multi adessent, cognati scilicet, et amici convocati."

19928-48 Act. 10: 28-35.

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, l. 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.

19959-64 and 19966-68 Cf. Hist. Schol. PL XXXVIII, 1677-78.

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 Iudaea, 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.

20011-20848 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 pedibus ejus, et in capite ejus corona stellarum duodecim" (Apoc. 12:1).

"Et peperit filium masculinum, 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.
3. Cambr. University MS Dd.1.1.,
4. Cambr. Univ. MS Ff.2.38.
5. Harl. MS 2382, (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-Mileto, Romae: Pontificia Academia Mariana Internationalis, 1962. Cf. B. Capelle, "Vestiges grecs et latins d'un antique

'transitus' de la Vierge"; Anal. Boll. 67 (1949), pp. 21-48. Cf. also M. Jugie, La Mort et l'Assomption de la Sainte Vierge (1944). His book is the most comprehensive on the subject. Cf. on this the critical observations of B. Altaner in Theol. Revue 44 (1948), pp. 129-140; 45(1949), pp. 129-142; 46 (1959), pp. 5-20. Also B. Capelle, op. cit. One should compare on this subject the festal sermon of the Jerusalem Patriarch Modestus (631-634), PG LXXXVI, 2, 3277-3312. Cf. Hennecke Vol. I, p. 429.

20011-60 This section is found in all CM 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 "Edmounde of-Pouteny", 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 canonis ab Innocentio Papa Quarto 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 þe archbisshop seynt Edmound
 Hap graunted xl daies to pardoun
 To alle þat þis vie wol here,
 Or with good wille 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. 20065-20788), 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 ll. 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, ll. 20101-102. Cambr. 11-19. BM 13-17. Cf. La vie de la Vierge, de Maître

Wace (= VM), p. 61.

20072 Ioan. 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: "wipouten gilt" 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. comen doun.
pai ar myne awen bi resoun.

20081-87 Cambr. 29-35; BM 31-37. The lines are reminiscent 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).

20081. Cf. Stabat Mater: "Stabat Mater dolorosa, Iuxta crucem lacrimosa". Lib. Usualis, p. 1424.

20083. Cf. Stabat Mater, Lib. Usualis (ibid): "Cujus animam gementem, Contristatam et dolentem."

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 Bosuat, Manuel bibliographique de la littérature française du Moyen Age, Melun: Librairie d'argences, 1951, p. 290: PLAINTES DE LA VIERGE.

20093-94 Cambr. 41-42; BM 43-44. Cf. Ps. 21:1a.

20095-100 Cambr. 43-48; BM 45-50. Cf. Ioan. 19:27;

VM p. 62.

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 accepit 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 nascerentur, 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.

20105-07 Herman p. 1:8-9.

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

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

F has a minor change " & keped hir wele", and the

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

20109-112 Cambr. 53-56; BM 59-62; Herman p. 2:14-15a.

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 nawjght 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 lengere wone".

20173-74 C misses two lines here. Morris comments that these two lines are erased. All other CM 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).

20199-213 Cf. Trans. M. p. 123.

20205-212 Cf. MG 69-76.

20205-215 Cambr. 143-153; BM 151-159; Herman pp. 7-8: 73-81a; Cf. ND p. 62:23-p. 63:2; VM p. 67: 13-16; Trans. M. p. 123.

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 raim porta, oraison 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.

20216 Cf. Trans. M. p. 123.

20223-28 Cf. Trans. M. p. 123.

20241-58 Cambr. 179-196; BM. 183-200. Cf. MG 103-119.

20241-49 Cf. also Herman p. 11: 104-112.

20241 Cf. Trans. M. p. 123.

20241-48 Cf. ND p. 64: 6-14; VM p. 69: 1-9.

20242 C and F have the original reading "frendis"; G and T 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.

20283 Cf. Trans. M. p. 124.

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.

20286 Cf. Trans. M. p. 124.

20293-94 These lines are found only in C and G

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

20299-304 Cambr. 235-40; BM 241-46. Cf. MG 163-168.

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

20303-14 Cf. Trans. M. p. 124.

20303 Herman p. 15: 147-48.

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 CM MSS.

20323-24 Herman p. 15: 150-51.

20331 Cf. ND p. 66: 8-9.

20333 Herman p. 15: 154.

20285-20333 Herman p. IX no 7: 65.8-66.13.

20347 Cf. Trans. M. p. 124.

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 confort 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.

20364-67 Harl. 300-302; BM 304-306. Cf. VM p. 73: 8-12; ND p. 68:1-6.

20364 Cf. Trans. M. p. 124. Discourse of John the Divine, The Apocr. NT, p. 203.

20367-76 ~~BM 307-316.~~

20375-76 Cf. VM p. 72: 11; ND p. 67:7.

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".

20383-84 Cf. ND p. 68:7-8; VM p. 73:14-15.

20390 Herman p. 21: 216.

20392 Herman p. 21: 213.

20397-403 Herman p. 22: 221-26.

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.

20409-10 Herman p. 22: 227-28.

20410-11 BM 347-48.

20412 BM 350.

20413-14 BM 367-68.

20419-21 Herman p. 22: 230-31.

20423-25 Herman p. 24:241. Cf. Trans. M. p. 125; ND p. 68: 13-14; VM p. 74: 2-3.

20430 Herman p. 24: 247.

20432-33 Herman p. 24: 247 & 250.

20439-40 Herman p. 24: 251-52.

20443 Cf. Trans. M. p. 125; ND p. 68: 16-17; VM p. 74: 5-6.

20445 C and G are alike : "leuedi, fild of god thoght",
F stands alone with : "Lauedi pi sone wate we nozt",
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
ll. 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 hali 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.

20476-90 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.

20509-19 BM 411-21.

20511-17 Cf. Trans. M. p. 126. VM p. 75; ND p. 70:3.

20518-19 Cf. ND p. 70:14-15; VM p. 76: 3-4.

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 þe last þei dide wel more,

20541-42 BM 443. CM expands the thought of the source to two lines:

20543-46 BM 445-48.

20547-48 C, F, and G all have the same reading fitting the contexts: "þis 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. nozt 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 "down", 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 forþe in ryzt".

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 "pan 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.

20596-97 Cf. Trans. M. p. 126.

20599-600 Harl. 387-88; BM 497-98.

20601 BM 499.

20602 Harl. 391; BM 500.

20601-602 Cf. Herman p. XI, no. 12:70, 2- no. 13:71.1.

20603 Harl. 393-96; BM 501-505. Cf. ND p. 71:4; VM p. 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".

20611-15 Herman p. 37:385.

20613-14 BM 511-12 are closer to H than Harl. 403-404.

- 20617-21 Herman p. 37:386.
- 20619 BM 518. Cf. Trans. M. p. 127.
- 20621-22 Harl. 411-12.
- 20623-24 Harl. 413-16; BM 520-22.
- 20627 Harl. 417.
- 20628-32 Harl. 418-22; BM 524-28.
- 20629 Herman p. 37: 390-91.
- 20631-32 These lines in CM 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 CM 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 "rewe 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 þus as I. salle 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.

20666 Harl. 447-48; BM 562; Herman p. 38: 401; p. 39:
402.

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.

20668 Herman p. 29:404. Cf. Trans. M. p. 127.

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
assumpcionis anime Marie per ihesum". BM 577-78.

20685-86 Harl. 463-64; Bm 579-80.

20685 Cf. ND p. 71:20; VM p. 77:13.

20686 Herman p. 39:409.

20687 BM 581; Herman p. 40:410.

20687-88 Cf. Trans. M. p. 127.

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.

20694 Cf. Herman p. 40: 416.

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.

20701 Cf. Herman p. 42: 430.

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.

20713-14 Cf. Herman p. 42: 432-33.

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 safe-keeping 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: "& þa rabe eode Satanas þæt deofol & þara Iudea ealdormen & heora ongan þa aelc cwepan to oþrum, Uton we nu arisan & acwellan þa apostolas & Marian lichoman geniman & hie þonne mid fyreforbaernon, forþon þe heo gebaer þone 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 syth before . what after may tide
 yif we slewe hem . it wolde cause the comownys 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 disciplis . that walkyn so wyde
 and here bodyes devyde
 halde ye not this beste as is sayde.

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

20717 Cf. Herman p. 42: 437.

20716-17 In Wace (p. XII) no. 17 (Introduction to Herman's Assumption) Peter carries Our Lady's body, while in ~~Herman~~ Harl. and BM, 4 apostles carry her body. In VM 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.

20731-32 Cf. Herman p. 43:444-45.

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 CM 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.

20746-48 Herman p. 45: 464-65.

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.

20757-62 Herman pp. 46-47: 487, 488, 490-91.

20757-71 Cf. ND p. 78.

20757-58 Harl. 571-74; BM 681-84.

20759 C= rine on pam. T has touche hem. Cf. Blickling Hom. p. 153: "aethrin þu heora eagan mid bysum palm-twige." Cf. Morris, Vol. VI, p. lii.

20763-64 Herman p.48:503: "Plus furent de vint mil baptizié et levé"; Harl. 576-77: "He turned into goddes fay xx thousand, and somdel mo". Note marginal footnote: "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 ðære 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 fragrance in regard to Mary's Assumption. In his sermon "De Assumptione Beatæ Mariæ" (Aelfric's Hom-

ilies, Vol. I), p. 444, he describes the Spirit of God saying "Ic geseah ða witegan swilce culfran astigende ofer streamlicum riðum, and unasecgendlic braeð stemde of hire gyrlum; and, swa swa on lengctenlicere tide, rosen a blostman and lillian 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 (Introd. 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.

Legenda Aurea adds: "quod et magnus Damascenus similiter attestatur". Cf. S. Joannis Damasceni, Homilia II in Dormitionem B.V. Mariae, PG XCVI, 747-750.

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.

20800 Harl. 644; BM 810, 905. Cf. St. Bernard: "Data est ei potestas in coelo et in terra, quae posse potestas est, et in manibus ejus vita et spiritu nostri, et oculi omnium Christianorum in eam sperant" (In Antiph. Salve Regina, Sermones IV, PL CLXXXIV, 1061).

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 misericordia praestetur", PG 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 mediatrix." See Ad. Tanguerey, Synopsis Theologiae Dogmaticae, II, no. 1279 B. Cf. also Jugie, p. 361, note 1.

20809-20 The southern reviser apparently omitted these lines, as he had omitted 20797-98, and again leaves out ll. 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.

20822 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".

20824 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.

20825 St. Irenaeus says: "Christum anno aetatis 33, aut 34 passum esse", Dissertatio III, PG, II-I, col. 321-22.

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 Revelationes 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 Herman 774-75. Herman gives the month of Mary's burial "Es kalendas d'aost fut la dame enterree. Sacez que a cel jur fu mainte alme salvée!" Herman'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

(Acts of the Apostles, Gospels, Apocalypse), Isidore De Vita et Morte Sanctorum, and Jacobi de Voragine Legenda Aurea. The last two are indicated by Haenisch (ibid). However, Haenisch overlooked Appendix XX to PL LXXXI, 1285-94. Cf. Paul E. Beichner "The Cursor Mundi and Petrus Riga", p. 247.

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.

20859 Cf. St. Jerome, De Vitis Apostolorum, PG XXIII, 719.

20861-62 Ioan. 1:44 and 12:21.

20863-64 Cf. Matth. 16:16-20. The "ground wa¹" 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 crucifigi... 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 Haenisch says): "Petrus in Christo Ecclesiae 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 Bethans, 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, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia".

20878 Act. 16:7: "Cum venissent autem in Mysiam, tentabant ire in Bithyniam..." This refers to St. Paul, who also visited Mysia. Masye, 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 Evangelium praedicavit", PL LXXKI, 149. Cf. Acta Petri et Pauli 13, p. 184, Aa, vol.1.

20880 This line is probably to be attributed to the poet himself, Haenisch suggests(p. 48*).

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. lii.

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.

20903-04 Isidore (ibid); Legenda Aurea pp. 371-73; Cf. Hennecke II, Acts of Peter, pp. 282 ff.

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.

20909-910 Isidore (ibid). The Fates of the Apostles (Gordon p. 178) Hennecke II, Acts of Peter, p. 321.

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-

bles. 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 fetil C, vesul of chesing G, T, a chosen vessel. Cf. Morris, Vol. VI, p. lii.

20929-38 Isidore (ibid). CM follows Isidore quite closely, in wording as well as in progression of narrative.

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 verbi gratiam seminavit,..." cf. Act. 9:20.

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.

20955-56 Legenda Aurea, p. 381-82, gives the name of the youth; Patroclus, much beloved by Nero, who persecuted the Christians even more afterwards, according to the Legenda Aurea, p. 382. Cf: "Passio Sancti Pauli", Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha, Pars Prior, pp. 25-27.

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 Barjesu. This miracle took place at Antioch.

20957 The role of ioculares, ioculatores mentioned by Latin chroniclers in the Middle Ages, was not very highly esteemed, although the term "minstrelsy" covered both the higher and the lower in esteem. Cf. J. Ritson, On the Ancient English Minstrels in Ancient Songs and Ballads (1829). Edmond Faral, Les jongleurs en France au moyen âge, esp. pp. 66 ff. Cf. also E. Talbot Donaldson, Piers Plowman, The C-Text and Its Poet, pp. 136-55; Langland, Piers Plowman, ed. J.A.W. Bennett, Prologue, ll. 33-37, and notes.

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 gangine gaue 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 "pe nedder o venum" compare "a gast o gile", a lying spirit, l. 20953, Morris, Vol. VI, p. lii.

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 "flesshe 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 miserias".

20971-79 Isidore presents a more detailed list of
 Paul's suffering, but CM's items follow the same se-
 quence. 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 "threst", 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

Patrum, PL LXXXIII, 150: "et tormenta catenarum, squalores, et vincula". Cf. Tertullianus, Adv. Gnosticos Scorp., PL II, 151.

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 Acts 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 ll. 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. lxiix, 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. II, PG XX, 194-95, writes that Peter and Paul suffered martyrdom in Rome under Nero (54-68). Tertullian of Car-

thage (ca. 198-200) declared that Paul was beheaded in Rome, cf. De Praescr. 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. Ephemianus), 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 praedicatio et gesta, 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: "Et deducti sunt Petrus et Paulus

a conspectu Neronis. Paulus decollatus est in Uia Ostiensi". Isidore (ibid): "... ad ultimum a Nerone gladio caeditur eo die quo et Petrus crucifixus est. Sic enim oportuerat ut hi qui simul confessi sunt uno die coronarentur. Sepultus Romae in via Ostiensi, anno post passionem Domini tricesimo sexto, tertio ab urbe milliario, contra occidentalem plagam". Cf. Tertullianus, Lib. de Praescr. PL II, 36, 37; St. Jerome Lib. de Viris Illustr., PL XXIII, 647, 650.

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" ("andro $\acute{\varsigma}$ " 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).

20999-21000 Eusebius in Hist. Eccl. PG XX, 216, assigns Scythia to Andrew as his mission field, while St. Gregory of Nazianzus in Or. 33, PG XXXVI, 228, mentions Epirus; St. Jerome in Ep. ad Marcell. PL XXII, 589, gives Achaia; Theodoret, Ps cxvi, PG LXXX, 1805, Hellas. Isidore (ibid) "Hic in sorte praedicationis Scythiam atque Achaia[m] accepit." Cf. St. Isidore, Prolegomena, PL LXXXI, 393: "... Andreas Achaim..."; Venantii Hon. Clem. Fortunati Operum, PL LXXXVIII, 270: "Nobilis Andrean mittit Achaia suum"; Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha Vol. 2: "Passio Sancti apostoli", p. 1;

The Fates of the Apostles, p. 56:16; Legenda Aurea p. 12; in New Testament Apocrypha, "Acts of Andrew", Hennecke Vol. II, pp. 397-98 mentions the Liber de Miraculis Beati Andreae Apostoli of Gregory of Tours (6th cent.) which tells of the apostle travelling to Patrae in Achaia, the journey's goal. Cf. also "Andreas" in Andreas and the Fates of the Apostles p. 6: 168 b-169:

paer 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.

21001 Egyas, the tyrant, is mentioned in The Fates of the Apostles, p. 56:17; The Acts of Andrew, in New Testament Apocrypha Vol. 2, p. 403. De Fide contra Manichaeos of Evodius of Uzala, ch. 38, and pp. 408: 16; Codex Vaticanus 808; also in Reconstructed Text of the Martyrdom, New Testament Apocrypha, Vol. 2: Passio Andreae, l. 2, p. 3; Legenda Aurea pp. 15-19; S. Juliani Episcopi Toletani, Comment., in Nahum Prophetam, PL XCVI, 746.

21002-06 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 qua
 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.

21007-08 F continues for another two lines, mentioning
 Andrew's death, but these lines are not found in C, G,
 E, and T.

21009-18 This section on James the Greater is basically
 found in Isidore, 151.

21009-10 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.

In New Testament Apocrypha, Vol. I "The Gospel of the Ebionites", p. 156, James is mentioned as the son of Zebedee according to Epiphanius Haer. 30.13,2,f. "The Apocryphon of John", p. 321.

21011 Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. II, 1.3, PG XX, 135, says about the sixth book of the Hypotyposes of Clement of Alexandria: "Sed Jacobum cognomine Justum Hierosolymorum episcopum elegisse".

21012 New Testament Apocrypha, Vol. I, "Epistola Apostolorum", p. 192.2: "(We) 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..."

21013 Cf. Legenda Aurea, p. 422; Cath. Enc. p. 280 b Vol. VIII. Enc. Brit. Vol. 19, p. 1045 d, in reference to Santiago de Compostella, speaks of a tradition

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. (1898-1908). The Legenda Aurea (ibid) relates that James was not too successful in Spain, and that he returned to Judea.

21014-18 St. Isidore, Prolegomena, PL LXXXI, Pars II, Cap. LXI, p. 393,29: "S. Jacobum Majorem in Hispania praedicasse", and "Praedicationem in Hispania ita a Didymo assertam Jacobo Majori", "...qui etiam verba Martyrologii Blumani ex Florentinio de Jacobo Majore allegat: Hic Spaniam, et occidentalia loca praedicatur: et sub Herode gladio caesus occubuit: sepultusque in Acaiam Marmoricam vii Kal. Augusti."

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.

21019 Jame's Brother. Marc. 1:19. Re. virginity of John, no specific mention is made in Isidore, but see the Pistis Sophia, Hennecke, Vol. I, p. 256, and The Gospel of Bartholemew, (ibid) pp. 292-93; Acts of John, Hennecke, Vol. II, p. 257.

21020 Cf. Ioan. 19:26; 20:2; 21:7; 21:20. The Fates of the Apostles, in Andreas and the Fates of the Apostles (ed. Kenneth R. Brooks), p. 56, 1.26; Legenda Aurea p. 56; Acts of St. John, Hennecke, Vol. II, p. 226.

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

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

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

21035 Apocalypsis 1:11; Mart. Rom. p. 393; Isidore Prolegomena, PL LXXXI, no. 500; Legenda Aurea, p. 56; Acts of St. John, Hennecke Vol. II, p. 242; Ephesus (in the Roman province Asia), cf. Venantii Hon. Clem. Fortunati Operum, Miscellania, PL LXXXVIII, 270; St.

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

21038 Cf. Legenda Aurea, p. 57: "Eodem anno"; cf.

The Acts of John by Prochorus, Hennecke, Vol. II, p.
 575, which states that it has recorded the doings of
 John, especially when in Patmos.

21039-40 These lines are not found in E, 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, Legenda Aurea, p. 56
 has: "Domitianus igitur imperator ejus intelligens
 famam accersitum eum in dolium ferventis olei ante
 portam latinam mitti jussit, ille autem inde exiit
 illaesus, sicut a corruptione carnis exstiterat alie-
 nus". Cf. Tertullian, De praecript. xxxvi, PL II, 49.

21042 Cf. Pistis Sophia c.96 and Schmidt-Till 148,
 25-33, Hennecke Vol II, pp. 256-57; Acts of John,
 Hennecke Vol. II, pp. 256, 113.

21047 Many miracles ascribed to John are recorded in the Legenda Aurea, p. 56-62, and in the Acts of John, Hennecke Vol. II, pp. 188-259; Isidore (ibid), ch. lxxii, 128, col. 151.

21048-56 Isidore (ibid); Legenda Aurea pp. 61-62, summarizes "Isidore".

21053-54a 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.

21054b- 57 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.

21063-68 Acts of John, Hennecke Vol. II, p. 256.

21069 Cf. Hennecke Vol. II, p. 52. Clement, Quis div. salv. 42.2, GCS 17, p. 188, 3-7; The Muraturi Canon, Hennecke, Vol. I, p. 43, where John is mentioned with his bishops; Acts of John, Hennecke, Vol. II, pp. 195, 204, 214 ff.

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:

pe landis folk þis will noȝt nik,
lete 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

Syriac Version, text W. Wright, Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, 1871, I, 73-99; English translation II, pp. 69-92. Cf. Legenda Aurea, p. 295 ff. translates "Isidore"; The Fates of the Apostles (ibid), p. 56, ll. 39-40; cf. also St. Jerome, De Vitis Apostolorum, PL XXIII, 721.

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 Naham Prophetam, PL XCVI, 746.

21083 Cf. Venantii Hon. Clem. Fortunati Operum, Miscellanea, Liber. VIII, PL LXXXVIII, 270.

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.

21093-96 Cf. Flavii Lucii Dextri Chronicon, PL XXXI, 87; Isidore Prolegomena, PL LXXXI, 393; Legenda Aurea pp. 32 ff; The Fates of the Apostles (ibid), p. 57; cf. Acta Thomae, Hennecke Vol. II, pp. 443-464; Thomas is called Judas Thomas (the apostle's name among the Syrians, cf. Hennecke Vol. II, p. 425).

21102-104 Cf. Acta Thomae, 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 Thomae belong to Gnostic literature, and, as Hennecke says, Vol. II, p. 426: "Thomas... ranks in the ATh (Acta Thomae) 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 Thomae) 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-LXXXIII).

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. Enc. 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 Bartholomaeum, cf. St. Jerome, Comment. in Ev. Matth., PL XXVI, 17, and note b, provide no source material for CM. Cf. Juvenius, Ev. Hist., PL XIX, 156, 157; Jerome, Epist. cxxii, PL XXII, 1038 and Comment. in Isai. PL XXIV, 649; St. Augustine Tract VII, PL XXXV, 1445, and Serm. PL XXXVIII, 557, 680, 681; Ven. Bede, In S. Ioan. Ev., PL XCII, 654, 655. Otto Hopman, The Apostles, 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 Natalibus (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. 818 asks whether this might not be Syria. "Sulie" is a corruption of "Surie" (Syria, as

suggested by Kaluza in his glossary, CM, p. 1818.

Isidore (ibid) says, referring to the name "Bartholomaeus", "nomen ex Syria lingua suscipiens." Mandeville, Vol. II, p. 309, has "Surie" for "Syria"; cf. The Southern Version of CM, Vol. I, l. 2106, note.

21108-09 Cf. Mart. Rom. p. 254-55: "qui Christi Evangelium in India praedicavit; " Isidore (ibid):
 " Ad ultimum in Albano Majoris Armeniae urbe, vivens a crudelissimis gentibus barbaris decoriatur, sicque terrae conditur." Cf. Legenda Aurea p. 540; p. 544
 "Dormivit in Albana". Venantii Hon. Clem. Fortunati Operum, Miscellanea, Lib. VIII, PL LXXXVIII, 270:
 "Inde triumphantem fert India Bartholemeum". Cf. The Fates of the Apostles, p. 57, 43-49.

21109-112 Cf. Legenda Aurea p. 544.

21112 Cf. Aelfric's Hom., Vol. I, p. 468: "Se cyning
 ða totaer his purpuran reaf, and het mid stiðum saglum
 ðone apostol beatan, and siððan beheafdian."

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. LXXVI, 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 l. 20849.

21113 Marc. 2:14; Matth. 9:9; Luc. 5:27. Matthew sometimes takes a prominent place in apocryphal writings, as in the sentence in the First Book of Jeû (c.3; see Vol. I, p. 262): "All the apostles answered with one voice, Matthew and John, Philip and Bartholemew and James, saying..." (Hennecke, Vol. II, p. 37). In A Manichaeon 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." 21119 The ultimate source here is Matthew himself: Matth. 9:9, and 10:3: "et Matthaeus publicanus". Cf. Eusebius, who calls Matthew "vir Syrus, professione vitae publicanus, lingua Hebraeus", in quaest. ad Steph., in A. Mai, Nova Patr. Bibl. IV, i: p. 270, PG XXII, 962.

Cf. Hennecke, Vol. II, p. 60; Aelfric's Hom. Vol. II, p. 469.

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").

21123-24 Cf. Legenda Aurea p. 624.

21124 The Fates of the Apostles (op. cit.), p. 58: 58-59:

þone het Irtacus þurh yrne hyge,
waelreow cyning waeþnum aswebban;

Aelfric's Hom. Vol. II, p. 479. But see Heracleon (Clement of Alexandria, Strom. IV, PG VIII, 1282), who

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. 1:18-19), 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. 21:13 ff.). The following references refer to him explicitly as bishop of Jerusalem. The Aurora, p. 639, Actus Apostolorum, l. 315: "Iacobus Alphei sancte fit episcopus urbis." Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. VII, 19, PG XX, 582, relates that in his time the seat of St. James was as yet extant in Jerusalem; Frèculf., Chronicon, PL CVI, 1122; Haymo, Hist. Sacrae Ep., PL CXVIII, 823; S. Rado Viennens, Chronicon, PL CXXIII, 76..

21119 Cf. Legenda Aurea, p. 295: "Iacobus iste apostolus vocatus est Iacobus Alphei, scilicet filius, frater domini Iacobus minor et Iacobus justus, Iacobus Alphei dicitur non tantum secundum carnem, sed etiam secundum nominis interpretationem". Cf. The Gospel of the Hebrews, Hennecke, Vol. I, p. 165, no. 7; The Gospel

of Thomas, Hennecke Vol. I, p. 290, Lotion 12, pl.

32. 25-30; Apocryphon Jacobi, Hennecke, Vol. I, p.

33. Codex VII; Hegesippus, Memoirs; Eusebius, Hist.

Eccl. II, 23:4-18, PG XX, 195; Hennecke, Vol. I, p.

419.

21130-31 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 "es-

poused" 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. 8:20), Jerome distin-

guishes among four ways in which H. Scripture uses the

term: natura (eg. Andrew and Peter), gente (eg. all

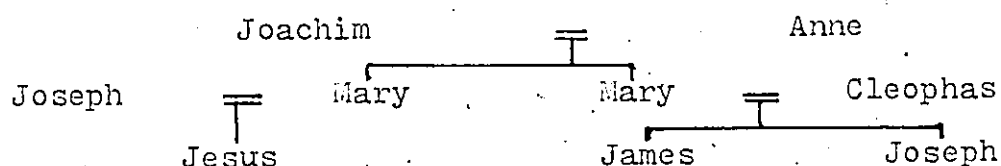
Jews), cognatione (one family or fatherland), and affectu (spiritually, or emotionally). He concludes saying: "Restat igitur, ut juxta superiorem expositionem fratres eos intelligas appellatos, cognatione, non affecti; non genti privilegio, non natura," Cf. col. 201 in which Jerome applies the same to 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. Virg. 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 Ioan. 19:25 that she is to be identified with Mary (the wife) of Cleophas. She either married twice, or

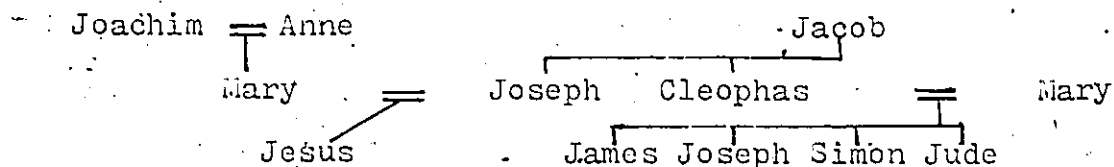
the two names refer to the same person, as was the case in a number of instances recorded at the time, namely with Saul and Paul, Simon and Peter.

The following tables will try to shed some light on the question of James' mother, while she is the wife of both Alphaeus 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 Nativity of Mary, or Pseudo-Matthew.

Table 1



Note: This table is based on the supposition made by many commentators (cf. S. Shaeren, O.P., Cath. Com., pp. 344 ff.), that Ioan 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

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. 245). 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, 378-79; III, 11:1, PG XX, 216. This would make James the nephew of Joseph and cousin of Jesus. Cf. St. Jerome, PL ~~XXIII~~ ^{XXVIII}, 219. For the fact that James was the son of Alphaeus, cf. Orderic. Vitalis, PL ~~CLXXXVIII~~ ^{CXXVIII}, 64-65; Petrus Comestor Hist. Schol. in Ev., PL CXCVIII, 1631.

There existed in the Middle Ages an opinion that Anne had had three husbands, namely Joachim, Cleophas,

and Salomas. 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 Barnabbas), 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 (Matth. 13:55; Marc. 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 Cf. Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. II, 1.3, who recalls from the sixth book of the Hypotyposes of Clement of Alexandria: "post Servatoris ascensum Petrum, Jacobum et Joannem quāvis Dominus ipsos caeteris praetulisset, non idcirco de primo honoris gradu inter se contendisse, sed Jacobum cognomine Justum Hierosolymorum episcopum elegisse" (PG XX, 135). Cf. 1. 21128.

21137-46 Original source: Isidore, PL LXXXIII, 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

195, 202. Mart. Rom. p. 127: "Jacobus vero, qui et frater Domini legitur et primus Hierosolymorum Episcopus, e pinna Templi praecipitatus, confractis inde cruribus, ac follonis fuste in cerebro percussus, interiit, ibique, non longe a Templo, sepultus est.

Cf. The Fates of the Apostles p. 58, 70-74.

21143-46 Legenda Aurea p. 293.

21147-54 Isidore, col. 153, gives the same information in the same order, except for line 21153.

21147-48 Ep. B. Judae: "Judas... 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 CXCVIII, 1631; Judas is also called Thaddeus, or Lebbaeus, Ecclesiastical History; cf. Legenda Aurea pp. 705-706, 708.

21149-52 Cf. Freulf, Chronicon, PL CVI, 1132, 1147; Orderic Vitalis, Hist. Eccl., 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.

Cf. Ep. B. Judae, 17: "Vos autem, carissimi, memores estote verborum quae praedicta sunt ab apostolis Domini nostri Jesu Christi."

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 Nerito." Cf. Venantii Hon. Clem. Fortunati Operum, Miscellania, PL LXXVIII, 270; The Fates of the Apostles, p. 58, 75-84; Passio Simonis et Judae, J.A. Fabricius, Codex apocryphus novi Testamenti, 1703, ii, pp. 608 ff. Note the differences between the CM texts in regard to the place mentioned in l. 21153; C 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 Carmeny 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). H 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. The Biblical source is *Act.* 1:15-26. Cf. Haymo, *Hist. Sacr.*, PL CXVIII, 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; Freulf. *Chronicon*, PL CVI, 1148.

21160 Three and a half score and two makes seventy-two.

21163-64 The *CM* poet did not find Matthias' death in Isidore, nor in the *Legenda Aurca*. The *Mart. Rom.*, p. 61, says: "In Judaea natalis sancti Matthiae Apostoli, qui, post Ascensionem Domini ab Apostolis in Judae proditoris locum sorte electus, pro Evangelii prae-

dicatione martyrium passus est."

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.

Cf. St. Jerome, Appendix, Lib. de Vir. III, I, vi, PL XXIII, 721: "Simon Chananaeus, cognomena Judas frater Jacobi episcopi, qui et successit..." The identification of Simon with Jude here is noteworthy. See also Epistola Apostolorum (2:13), Vol. I, p. 192, Hennecke, Vol. II, p. 61; Matth. 10:3; Orderic, Hist. Eccl., PL CLXXXVIII, 64-65; Petrus Comestor, Hist. Schol. PL CXCVIII, 1631. The Gospel of the Ebionites, Epiphanius, Haer. 30.13, 2f.; Pistis Sophia c.136:

Schmidt-Till 232.1-233.5, Hennecke, Vol. I, p. 259; pseudo-Clement, Rec. I, 55-62, Hennecke, Vol. II, p. 37; Act. Thom. I, Hennecke, Vol. II, p. 61; Manichaeon Psalm-book (pp. 192.14; 194.15, Alberry), Hennecke (ibid); Act. Thom. I, Hennecke p. 442-43.

21170 Cf. St. Jerome (ibid); Freulf., Chronicon, PL CVI, 1146; Haymo, Hist. Sacr. PL CXVIII, 833.

21171 Cf. St. Isidore, Prolegomena, PL LXXXI, no. 501. 30; Legenda Aurea, p. 706.

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 Illustribus, PL XXIII, no. 958, VI.

21174 Venantii Hon. Clem. Fortunati Opera, Miscellanea, 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 recepit (an. 107)", Freculf., 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 Bosphorus, and this is what Isidore (ibid) says: "Jacet in Bosphoro." The letters "f" and "s" are easily confused 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 continues 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. Eccl. of Eusebius indicates that the apostle had four daughters, but adds that St. Jerome deserves

more credence on this point. Cf. Clement of Alexan-

dria, 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 tumultatae 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 procrearunt." 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.
 III, xxxi, PG XX, 279, 281 from Clement. Hennecke, Vol.
 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 insinua-
 tes that this information must have come from oral

tradition known to Clement (Hennecke, Vol. II, p. 260).

21187 St. Marcellus, according to Legenda Aurea, p.

373, had been a disciple of Simon Magus, but, convinced

by St. Peter's miracles, had become his disciple. The

Acts of John, Hennecke, Vol. VII, p. 215, mention his

wife. The Acts of Peter, Hennecke, Vol. II, p. 289,

say that he was a Senator; cf. Mart. Rom. p. 307; cf.

Clement of Alexandria, Dissert. II, Art. V, PG IX, cols.

1168-69.

21188 Cf. Legenda Aurea, p. 343: "Petronella,

cujus vitam sanctus Marcellus scripsit fuit filia

sancti Petri apostoli." Cf. also The Acts of Peter,

Hennecke, Vol. II, pp. 276-78, which do not mention

Peter's daughter by name but dedicate a whole section to her.

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 "propheying"

(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).

Cath. Enc. Vol. 1, IX, p. 308.

21195-216 In this section on Luke, the poet uses two sources; he closely follows Isidore, cap. LXXXII, 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. 24; 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).

21197 Isidore, PL LXXXIII, vol. 1292 and Col. 4:14: "Salutat vos Lucas medicus"; Legenda Aurea, p. 692: "Lucas

Syrus natione Antiochenus arte medicus fuit..." Cf. Muratorii Canon, Hennecke, Vol. I, p. 43; the so-called monarchian Prologue to the Gospel of Luke, KIT I, p. 14; Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. III, 14.1, PG VII-I, 913, Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. III, 4.6, PG XX, 219. In regard to Luke's learning in Greek, cf. Clement of Alex. who in his Adumbrationes, on I Pet. 5:13, GCS 17. p. 206, PG IX, 729-32, defends the view that Luke translated for the Greeks the Epistle to the Hebrews composed by Paul in Hebrew, while Origen, in Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. VI, 25.14, PG XX, 583, 586, mentions a tradition which regarded Luke as the author of the "Greek" epistle.

21198 This contradicts Clement of Alex.'s view in the last line (cf. note to l. 21197).

21199 Isidore, PL LXXXIII, col. 1292: see II Tim. 4:7-11, in which Paul describes Luke as the only one standing beside him in his last imprisonment; Petrus Comestor, PL CXCVIII, 1643. Eusebius Hist. Eccl. III, 4:6 "Lucas vero domo Antiochenus, arte medicus, qui et cum Paulo diu conjunctissime, vixit, et cum reliquis Apostolis studiose versatus est", PG XX, 219.

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 "werè", 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 7, 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

missionary journey of the two apostles Saul and Barnabas through Cyprus and S. Asia Minor. Legenda Aurea pp. 347-48; Mart. Rom. p. 173; Acts of Paul, Hennecke Vol. II, p. 320, who refers to the Greek Acts of Titus (ed. M.R. James, JTS VI, 1905, pp. 549-556); Smidt II, pp. 113 ff.; F. Halkin, "La légende crétoise de saint Tite"; Anal. Boll. 79, 1961, pp. 241-256 (c.4).

(Halkin p. 246): "When they reached Antioch they found Barnabas the son of Panchares, whom Paul had raised up..." Acts of Peter, which mention that Barnabas had been sent to Macedonia by Paul, Hennecke Vol. II, p. 283.

21225-32 Legenda Aurea, p. 349.

21225-26 Act. 13:1; 15:39; cf. Freulf. Chronicon, PL CVI, 1125; Anastas. Chronologia, PL CXXVII, 456, 458; Orderic. Vitalis, Hist. Eccl. PL CLXXXVIII, 108, 114-116, 178); Regino Prumiens, Chronicon, PL CXXXII, 17; Haymo, Hist. Sacr. PL CXVIII, 826, 827; The Pseudo-Clementines, Hennecke Vol. II, pp. 538-42, Cath. Enc. Vol. II, p. 301a.

21233-36 Legenda Aurea p. 349; cf. Acts of Barnabas
 Lipsius, Apostelgeschichten II, 2 pp. 270-320;
 Bardenhewer, Litgesch. I, p. 116; Hennecke Vol. II
 p. 578; Mart. Rom. p. 173 (for June 11).

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-Lietzmann, 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 humilitas dicitur fuisse, ut pollicem sibi amputaverit, ne ad ordinem sacerdotii posset humano iudicio promoveri." Hippolitus Philosophumena, VIII, xxx, PG VI, 334. In Canon 984 of the Codex Iuris Canonici it states: "Sunt irregulares ex defectu....Corpore vitiatum qui secure propter debilitatem, vel decenter propter deformitatem, altaris ministerium 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 Irrégularités "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*).

21247-48 Mart. Rom. p. 120 (September 25): "Item Alexandriae sancti Aniani Episcopi, qui beati Marci discipulus ejusque in Episcopatu successor...;" Legenda Aurea, p. 266; Legenda Aurea has "verumtamen dispositio Petri et auctoritas sancti Petri praevaluit qui ipsum Alexandriae episcopum destinavit." Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. III, 39, PG XX, 300; Mart. Rom. p. 120; Tertull., adv. Marc. IV, 5, 3f. PL II, 367, Corp. Christ. I, p. 551; Act. Petr. 20; Victorinus of Pettau, Comm. on the Rev. 4,4, p. 50, Hausleiter (Hennecke, II pp. 68-69).

21249-50 Legenda Aurea, p. 265.

21253-58 Legenda Aurea, p. 267.

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. Eccl. 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 Miscellanea, wrongly ascribed to Hildebertus, Cenoman. 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. ll. 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).

21263 Ezech. 1:15-21.

21264 Cf. William Langland, The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman, ed. W.W. Skeat, Text B, London: Oxford Un. Press, 1964, EETS OS 38, pp. 355-56, Pass IXI, ll. 257-60:

Grace gaue Piers a tème. foure gret oxen;
pat on was Luke, a large beste. and a lowe-chered,
And marke, & mathew þe brydde. 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, 1-106, 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 itt waz3neþþ Crist till menn
þurh fowwre Goddspellwrihhtess,
Rihht alls iff itt waere þatt waz3n
þat gap o fowwre wheless. (ll. 77-80)

The reference to "Off quapþrigan Amminadab" (1.5) 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 Salomon 6:12. The Ormulum (l. 25)

Goddspell iss Jesusess wa33n
batt gap 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.

21267-69 Cf. Ezech. 1:15.

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 "þe 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.

21272 Cf. Ezech. 1:16-21.

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.

Lazamon's Brut, 26000.

21284 Cf. Matth. 11:30. Cf. l. 21288.

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 significationibus of Petrus Riga). Morris and Haenisch 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 l. 21284.

21291-92 Cf. Jerome, Comment. in Isai. PL XXIV, 93; St. August. De Consensu Evangelistarum, Liber Primus, cap. II, PL XXXIV, 1044.

21293-96 Cf. PL 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. Matth. 13: 3ff. 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

Apoc. 4:7. Cf. Jerome Comment. in Ev. Matth., PL XXVI, 18; St. August. Tract., PL XXXV, 1666.

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.

21333 Cf. Ezechiel 1:6.

21336 Cf. Bestiary p. 77.

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.

Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha, Vol. I. Lipsius, R.C. ed.

Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha, Vol. II-I. Bonnet, M., ed.

Aelfric's Homilies, The Sermones Catholici or Homilies of Aelfric. Thorpe, Benjamin, ed.

Apocr. N.T.—The Apocryphal New Testament, James M.R., ed. and transl.

BM—Assumpcio Beate Marie, Lumby, J.R., ed.

Cambr.—Assumpcioun de Notre Dame. Lumby, J.R. ed.

Cath. Comm.--A Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture.
Orchard, Dom Bernard, et al., eds.

Cath. Enc.--The Catholic Encyclopedia. Herbermann,
Charles G. et al., eds.

Chateau d'Amour--Le Chateau d'amour de Robert Grosseteste
Eveque de Lincoln. Murray, J., ed.

CM--Cursor Mundi. Morris, Richard, ed.

Dobschütz--Christusbilder; Untersuchungen zur christ-
lichen Legende. Dobschütz, Ernst von, ed.

EETS-- The Early English Text Society.

Evang. Nic.--Evangelia Apocrypha's Gesta Pilati,
Descensus A, Descensus B. Tischendorf, C. de, ed.

Gesta Salv.--The Gospel of Nicodemus, Gesta Salvatoris,
Kim, H.C., ed.

Gosp. Nic.--The Middle English Harrowing of Hell and
Gospel of Nicodemus. Hulme, W.H., ed.

Haenisch--"Inquiry into the Sources of the Cursor
Mundi." Morris, Richard, ed.

Harl.--Assumpcioun de Notre Dame, Lumby, J.R., ed.

Hennecke--New Testament Apocrypha, Schneemelcher, W., ed.

Herman--De L'assomption Nostre Dame von Herman de
Valenciennes. Herman de Valenciennes

Hist. Schol.--Historia Scholastica. Petrus Comestor.

Hist. Schol. Evang.--Historia Scholastica.- In Evan-
gelia. PL CXCVIII.

Liber Usualis--The Liber Usualis. The Benedictines of
Solesmes, eds. Tournai: Desclee Company, 1961.

Legenda Aurea.--Jacobus a Voragine.

L'évangile de Nicodème.--Alvin E., ed.

Malory's Morte Darthur--Malory Works. Vinager,
Eugène, ed.

Mandeville's Travels.--Hamelius, P., ed.

Mart. Rom.--Martyrologium Romanum, editio sexta Tauri-
nensis.

MED--Kurath, Hans and Sherman M. Kuhn, eds. Middle
English Dictionary. Ann Arbor: University of
Michigan Press, 1956.

ND--L'établissement de la fête de la Conception Notre-
Dame. Wace, ed.

NT--Novum Testamentum, or New Testament.

PG--Patrologia Graeca. Ed. Migne.

Piers Plowman-- Skeat, Walter W., ed.

PL-- Patrologia Latina, Ed. Migne.

The Apostle's Creed.-- Swete, H.B.

The Blickling Homilies.-- Morris, R. ed.

The Fates of the Apostles, in Andreas and the Fates of
the Apostles.-- Brooks, Kenneth R., ed.

The Gospel of Nicodemus.-- Crawford, S.J., ed. Edinburgh:
I.B. Hutchen, 1927. (This is an OE version of the
Gospel of Nicodemus).

Trans. M.-- Sancti Melitonis Episcopi Sardensis de
Transitu Virginis Mariae Liber. Wace, 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).
- De Virginitate. PL XVI.
- Augustine. De Civitate Dei. PL XLI.
- De Consensu Evangelistarum. PL XXXIV.
- De Doctrina Christiana. PL XXXIV.
- In Joannis Evangelium. PL XXXV.
- Enarratio in Psalmum CIII. PL XXXVII.
- Bede. Expositio in Evangelium S. Joannis. PL XCII.
- Expositio in Evangelium S. Lucae. PL XCII.
- Expositio in Evangelium S. Marci. PL XCII.
- Expositio in Evangelium S. Matthaei. PL XCII.
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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 Herald's, has been partially made available in Dr. S.M. Horrall's The Southern Version of "Cursor Mundi". This study deals with folios 100^v- 122^v 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. 123^r-127^v 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.