Volume V

Edited by Laurence M. Eldredge and Anne L. Klinck

University of Ottawa Press



Volume V

General Editor, Sarah M. Horrall

Previously published

Volume I. Lines 1-9228. Edited by Sarah M. Horrall Volume II. Lines 9229-12712. Edited by Roger R. Fowler Volume III. Lines 12713-17082. Edited by Henry J. Stauffenberg Volume IV. Lines 17289-21346. Edited by Peter H. J. Mous

Volume V

Lines 21845-23898

Edited by Laurence M. Eldredge and Anne L. Klinck

General Editor †Sarah M. Horrall



University of Ottawa Press

University of Ottawa Press gratefully acknowledges the support extended to its publishing programme by the Canada Council and the University of Ottawa.

We acknowledge the financial support of the Government of Canada through the Book Publishing Industry Development Program for this project.

This book has been published with the help of a grant from the Humanities and Social Sciences Federation of Canada, using funds provided by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

University of Ottawa Press gratefully acknowledges the support of the University of New Brunswick and the long-standing support and generous commitment of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ottawa to this project.

Canadian Cataloguing in Publication Data

Cursor mundi

The Southern version of Cursor mundi

(Études médiévales de l'Université d'Ottawa — Ottawa mediaeval texts and studies)

Includes bibliographies.

Vol. 1 is no. 5 of series, v. 2 is no. 16, v. 3 is no. 13, v. 4 is no. 14, and v. 5 is unnumbered.

Vol. 2 edited by Roger R. Fowler, v. 5 edited by Laurence M. Eldredge and Anne L. Klinck.

Contents: v. 1. Lines 1-9228 – v. 2. Lines 9229-12712 – v. 3. Lines 12713-17082 – v. 4. Lines 17289-21346 – v. 5. Lines 21845-23898.

ISBN 0-7766-4805-5 (v. 1) - ISBN 0-7766-0206-3 (v. 2) -

ISBN 0-7766-4814-4 (v. 3) - ISBN 0-7766-0107-5 (v. 4) -

ISBN 0-7766-0504-6 (v. 5)

I. Eldredge, L. M., 1931- II. Fowler, Roger R., 1944- III. Horrall, Sarah M., 1940-1988 IV. Klinck, Anne Lingard, 1943- V. Title.

VI. Series: Publications médiévales de l'Université d'Ottawa; 5, 16, 13, 14.

PR1966.A35 2000

821'.1

C79-002580-9 rev.



Cover Design: Robert Dolbec

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ISBN 0-7766-0504-6

© University of Ottawa Press, 2000 542 King Edward, Ottawa, Ont., Canada K1N 6N5 press@uottawa.ca http://www.uopress.uottawa.ca

Printed and bound in Canada

In memory of Alphonsus P. Campbell (1912–1983) and Sarah M. Horrall (1940–1988)

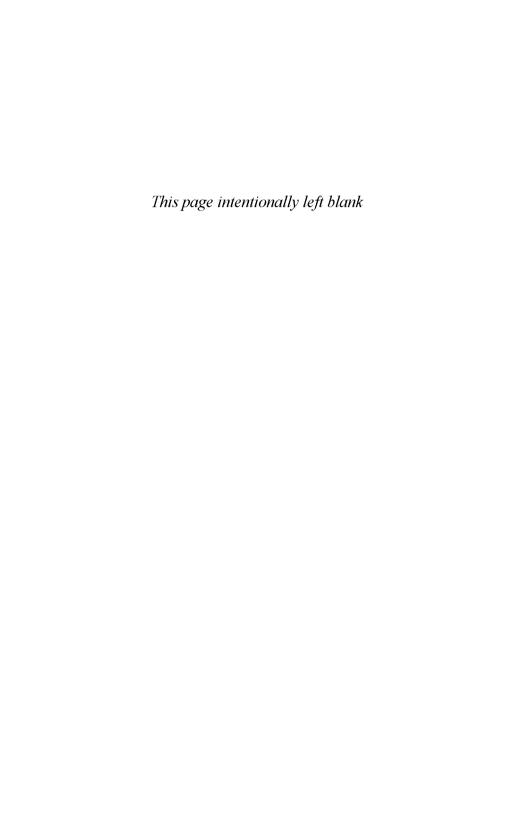
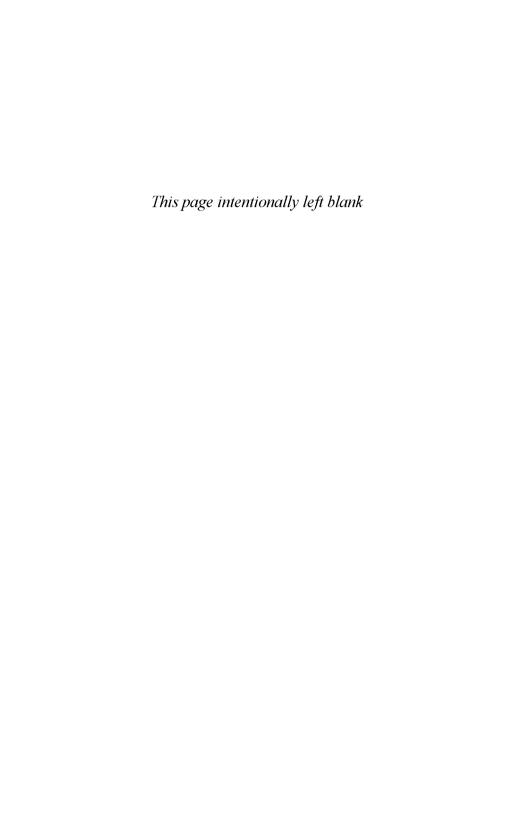


TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface	IX	
Introduction to This Volume	1	
List of Manuscript Sigla	1	
Structure of This Section	1	
Editorial Principles	2	
General Introduction	3	
Sources	3	
Genre	8	
Structure	11	
Date, Provenance, and Authorship	13	
Ownership and History of the Manuscripts	18	
Decoration	24	
Influence	35	
Manuscript Relations	42	
Abbreviations	51	
Text of the Southern Version of		
Cursor Mundi: Lines 21845–23898	53	
Textual Notes	101	
Explanatory Notes		
Appendices		
A. Errors in Morris' Texts	121	
B. MS B, ll. 22005–23898 (Pricke of Conscience,		
II. 4085–6417)		
C. The Finding of the True Cross (II. 21347–21846)	187	
D. Mary's Lament and the Establishment of the Feast		
of the Immaculate Conception (II. 23909–24968)	191	
Bibliography	199	
Glossary	205	
Index of Persons and Places	265	



PREFACE

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

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

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

The Explanatory Notes to the Text here edited, lines 21845–23898, as well as those in Appendices C and D, have been thoroughly

checked and brought up to date with current scholarship, but essentially they represent notes on lines that Dr. Horrall thought deserving of annotation. Since earlier volumes in this edition have contained an appendix with corrections of Morris' readings of the manuscripts in his edition and another appendix, where necessary, giving the portions of B that follow the text of the *Pricke of Conscience* rather than that of *Cursor Mundi*, we have maintained consistency with our Appendices A and B.

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

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

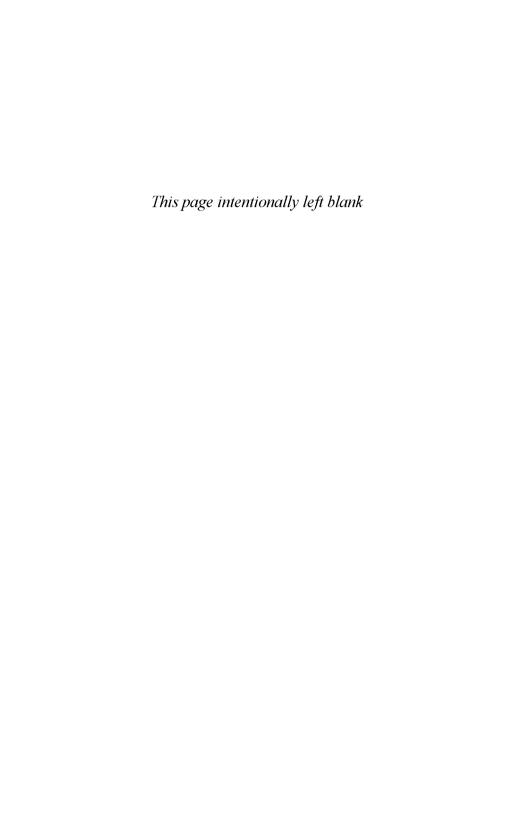
Of course, in a work of this magnitude one consults many people along the way for help. In gathering together all that Dr. Horrall left, we are especially grateful to her widower, Stanley Horrall, for allowing us unlimited access to all Dr. Horrall's drafts, and to the subeditors of previous volumes: Roger Fowler, Henry Stauffenberg, and Peter Mouss.

We have also relied upon the advice of colleagues and friends, especially J.P.S. Ferguson, Tony Hunt, George Keiser, C.W. Marx, Douglas Moffat, Jean-Pascal Pouzet, Glyn Redworth, William Schipper, Richard Špaček, Mary Swan, and R.C. Yorke. We have taken their advice where we could, ignored it when we thought we had to, and take full responsibility for the errors that may remain in our work.

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

> L.M.E. Oxford, 1999

A.L.K. Fredericton, N.B., 1999



INTRODUCTION TO THIS VOLUME

LIST OF MANUSCRIPT SIGLA

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

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

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

EDITORIAL PRINCIPLES

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

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

GENERAL INTRODUCTION1

SOURCES

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

- (1) Peter Comestor, Historia scholastica
- (2) Wace, La conception Nostre Dame (II. 10123–11232 and 24731–967)
- (3) Robert Grosseteste, Le château d'amour (11. 9877-10094)
- (4) Pseudo-Matthaei Evangelium (ll. 11595–12576)
- (5) The Vulgate Bible
- (6) The Evangelium Nicodemi
- (7) The Assumption of Our Lady
- (8) Isidore of Seville, De vita et morte sanctorum
- (9) Jacobus de Voragine, Legenda aurea.

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

^{1.} This Introduction was written by Sarah Horrall shortly before her death. She had not yet added citations for references in the text. I have supplied these, with occasional, very minor, modifications. Spaces had been left for stemmata, which I have supplied, including Dr. Horrall's own, as reconstructed by me. On the rare occasions where Dr. Horrall appeared to have made an error I have silently corrected. A.L.K.

scholastica of Peter Comestor was seen to have been used throughout CM, as a source for both Old Testament and New Testament information. Later commentators have therefore assumed, and still assume, that the Historia is the primary source for CM and that it gives the English poem its essential structure.

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

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

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

The CM poet was, however, more interested in theological matters than either of the Old French paraphrasers. His most important source for this sort of information is the Elucidarium of Honorius Augustodunensis. Information from this manual of basic instruction for priests

crops up throughout the CM, from the account of the Trinity and the creation of the world to the aftermath of the Last Judgement.

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

Aside from these four works which are used all through the poem, the CM poet characteristically used a single short source for a specific narrative. He thus translates the Latin Legende version for the story of Adam and Eve and the Cross Wood (ll. 1237-1430); Honorius Augustodunensis' De imagine mundi for a comparative chronology relating Judges to Greek history (11. 6993-7082); Grosseteste's Château d'amour for the allegories of the Four Daughters of God and the Castle of Love (Il. 9517-10122); Wace's Conception Nostre Dame for the conception and early life of the Virgin (II. 10123-834), the Doubting of Joseph (II. 11123–76), and the miracle of Abbot Elsis (II. 24731–967); the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew for the enfances of Jesus (Il. 11929-12576); the Gospel of Nicodemus for events after the Resurrection and the Harrowing of Hell (ll. 17289–18582); the Letter of Lentullus for the description of Christ's person (11. 18817-56); the De ortu et obitu patrum in two versions for the Fates of the Apostles (Il. 20849–21262); an allegory on the Four Evangelists by Petrus Riga (Il. 21263-344); the Pseudo-Alcuin version of Adso's De ortu et tempore Antichristi (ll. 21971-22424); Les quinze signes du Jugement Dernier (ll. 22427-708); and Oglerius de Tridino's Quis dabit (11. 23945-24658). These sources usually come to him in Latin, but those of Grosseteste and Wace and the Quinze signes were in Old French. The Middle English poem known as the Southern Assumption was also included in its entirety (11. 20065-848), although the CM poet is careful to say that he has translated it from a southern dialect to a northern one (ll. 20061-64).

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

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

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

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

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

And bus sais sum opinion, But sua sais noght be passion. (ll. 8843-44)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

GENRE

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

England, however, and it is these works to which the CM poet refers when he says:

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

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

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

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

Other Old French paraphrases are enormously long and show a tendency to include everything the author knows, rather than to summarize. The latest and longest of the paraphrases, the *Bible* of Mace de la Charité, written about 1283–1300, deals very fully with Old Testament

history, including non-historical books such as Job and Canticles. In spite of its enormous length (44,000 lines) it was copied at least twice. Other paraphrases survive in only one manuscript each. The ambitious *Bible* of Jehan Malkaraume attempted to combine biblical history with Benoît de Sainte Maure's *Roman de Troie*. The biblical material tells the stories of Genesis and Exodus in detail and continues through early Old Testament history, breaking off abruptly (after about 40,000 lines) in the early life of David. The Old Testament story also contains a genealogy of the Virgin, however, which may indicate that Jehan intended to pursue his story through New Testament history as well.

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

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

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

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

STRUCTURE

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

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

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

The change in taste also appears, however, in the excisions that were made in the text which the reviser was almost certainly using. The

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

Another substitution in the southern version which has not been adequately noticed occurs at 1. 10835, in the middle of the Nativity story. While the *CM* poet had been translating the story from Herman's *Bible*, and the northern MSS show that he continued to do so, the southern reviser suddenly switches to the biblical account of the event. There seems no stylistic or theological reason for him to object to the original version, and in fact the switch is more likely to have had a physical cause. There are 66 substituted lines (II. 10835–901) or the number which would probably have been contained in two columns of the exemplar. Should the outer half of a folio have been lost, as often happens, the reviser might well have turned to the Vulgate to continue his story and supplement his exemplar.

Interestingly enough, the southern version calls itself a "boke of storyes" rather than a "tretis." The excisions of the southern version, coupled with the increased number of headings breaking the poem into chunks suitable for an hour or so's reading, suggest that this version of the work may have been aimed even more directly than its original at men who "3ernen iestes for to here."

In addition to these three main stages in the poem's evolution, individual scribes also felt able to modify the poem to their tastes. The scribe of MS B, working in the mid-fifteenth century, rejected *CM*'s account of Christ's Passion and of Doomsday, and substituted instead

extracts from the Meditations on the Supper of Our Lord and from the Pricke of Conscience. Robert Thornton, also writing in the mid-fifteenth century, copies the poem up to the story of Christ's passion, but then abandons it in favour of the Northern Passion.

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

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

DATE, PROVENANCE, AND AUTHORSHIP

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

The provenance of the poem has been more often discussed. Morris' edition called *CM* simply a Northumbrian poem, but much early controversy centred around whether it was written in Scotland or northern England. This issue is much less burning than once it was, for Angus McIntosh's researches into ME dialects have served to place the

dialect of the northern manuscripts of *CM* further south than earlier scholars had been inclined to believe. Whereas older scholars had held that MS C was copied in Durham and MS E even further north, McIntosh places both of these manuscripts in the West Riding of Yorkshire (McIntosh et al., 1: 259). The earlier controversy deserves to be reviewed, however.

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

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

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

Efter halv kyrc state Dis ilk bok is es translate In to Inglis tong to rede For the loue of inglis lede, Inglis lede of Ingland, For the commun at understand. Frankis rimes here I redd. Communlik in ilk[a] sted, Mast es it wroght for frankis man: Quat is for him na frankis can? Of Ingland the nacion, Es Inglis man bar in commun; Þe speche þat man wit mast may spede, Mast bar-wit to speke war nede; Selden was for ani chance Praised Inglis tong in france;

Giue we ilkan þare langage, Me think we do þam non outrage. To laud and Inglis man i spell Pat understandes þat i tell. (MS C ll. 231–50)

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

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

However, since Kaiser wrote, careful research into Scottish history has shown that the boundary between England and Scotland was formally fixed in its present position by the Treaty of York in 1237. The treaty agreement merely confirmed a boundary which had come to be generally accepted in the east in the eleventh century and on the western side of Britain in the mid-twelfth century. The feudal relationship with England was also much less strong and far less well established than the English kings liked to claim. Furthermore, a conscious revival of nationalism in the mid-thirteenth century led to an even greater split. By the time Edward I invaded Scotland in 1296, already between the English-speaking Scot and the English-speaking Englishman, subjects of different kingdoms, a mental and emotional line of division was fixed which ran as clear as those ancient boundaries the Tweed and the Redden Burn. The idea of a contemporary Scottish poet insisting over and over that he was writing for the Englishmen of England is clearly impossible.

The poet's use of sources has important implications for an investigation of the provenance of the poem. The poet apparently had continuous access to books. Line-by-line comparison of the poem with its sources everywhere shows that he translated these texts directly, and did not rely on memory. He has the habit of interpolating a quotation from another work into the one he is currently translating, suggesting that he worked with several volumes open before him. Several texts are thus quoted at various places in the work: Herman de Valenciennes' Bible, the Trad. anon., Comestor's Historia scholastica, Honorius' Elucidarium, and to some extent De imagine mundi, the Latin Legende, Grosseteste's Château d'amour, and, of course, the Vulgate Bible.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Under these dreadful conditions someone sat, in a reasonably well-furnished library, over a number of years, composing *CM*. The only conclusion possible is that the poem is a product of one of the larg-

est and most secure northern monasteries, probably Durham, or possibly somewhere in York, places which were a great deal less vulnerable to the general chaos.

OWNERSHIP AND HISTORY OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

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

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

This book was maad of be goodis of robert holond for a comyn profite bat bat persoone bat hab bis book committed to him of be persoone bat hab power to committee it haue be vss berof be terme of his lijf preiynge for the soule of be same Robert and bat he bat hab be forseid vss of commissioun whanne he occupieb it not leene he it for a tyme to sum ober persoone also bat persoone to whom it was committed for be teerme of lyf vndir be forseid condiciouns deliuere it to a nober persoone be teerme of his lijf and so be it deliuered & committed from persoone to persoone man or womman as longe as be book endurib. (fols. 38r-v)

All other manuscripts of CM would seem to have been exclusively in lay hands.

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

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

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

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

One of the northern manuscripts seems also to have belonged to merchants. Several names occur in MS C in hands of the fifteenth cen-

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

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

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

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

MS F is in the dialect of Lancashire and its colophon also records its place of origin: "Stokynbrig scripsit istum librum willelmo keruour de lancaster." Other names appear in hands of the sixteenth century: on

the verso of an unnumbered flyleaf at the beginning are the names Tomas, Tomas of canterbere, Thomas Belyngham, Robartus Belyingham, and Robertus Crank; fol. 1r Wilelmus Belyngham, fol. 1v Nycholas Batson ... of York. Fol. 3v contains notes on burgages of Lancaster. The *Middle English Dialect Atlas* also reads "Iste liber restat domino Iohanni de croft," in other words Sir John Croft of Dalton in Kendal, Lancs. The Crofts were indeed a prominent family in Lancashire, and various members of the Bellingham family are recorded there too, including a Thomas Bellingham who had the advowson of the Church of St. Chad, under the patronage of Nicholas Croft, from June 10, 1437 until October 1445, and a Robert Bellingham who died in 1540.

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

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

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

If Lindbergh is considered as a place name, however, some suggestions are possible. The commissioner of the manuscript was armigerous, as is witnessed by the coat of arms on fol. 1r, and fairly wealthy, as is witnessed by the quality of the manuscript he commissioned. No suitable candidate is recorded from Lindbergh Magna in

Yorkshire, nor from Lindbergh Parva in Lincolnshire. Attention must centre on Lindbergh (now Limber) Magna in southern Lincolnshire, a site close to the source of the dialect layer underlying the first 11,000 lines of MS G.

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

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

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

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

It seems very likely that the manuscript was commissioned by the family who held the manor in Lymbergh Magna. In the early part of the reign of Edward III, the holder was Henry Beumys (also spelled Bealmeys, Beaumys), who held a court which his tenants, including one Hugh de Keleby, attended. Henry's son was named John, and it is he who is the probable commissioner of the manuscript. He seems to have been dead by about 1351, for Hugh de Keleby's son, who died in that year, is

said to have held his lands in Lymbergh from "Tecia, late the wife of John de Baumys." Tecia, John's wife, lived on until 1381, when she died on the feast of St. Lawrence. John's and Tecia's lands then passed to their son Thomas, aged 30, who had been born after his grandfather Henry's death.

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

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

The case for this John Beawmys of Lindbergh and his heirs as commissioners of MS G is far from proven, but in the absence of a better candidate, they stand as possible commissioners of the work.

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

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

DECORATION

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

The programme of rubrication in MS E was never carried out. Although the sections of the manuscript containing part of the Northern Homily Cycle have many headings in red, the portion of the manuscript containing the *CM* has none. Spaces were left for headings, however, on fols. 37r, 3v, 10r, and 14r, and spaces for decorated initials were left on fols. 14r and 47r. A late hand, possibly seventeenth-century, has jotted headings or running headlines on some of these folios, and these were printed by Morris as if they were original headings in text columns.

Although it has red initials to indicate divisions of the poem, MS C does not contain headings in the text. However, many folios, especially at the beginning of the manuscript, show running headlines, which again Morris has printed as headings in the text. Presumably more of these once existed but were cropped by a binder.

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

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

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

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

Robert Thornton, who copied MS Add, left spaces for more headings than are found in MS F, the nearest textual relative to his own copy.

He also decorated his text with red initials, probably penned by his own hand.

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

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

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

MS E, dated by Neil Ker at the beginning of the fourteenth century (Ker, p. 539), contains three spaces in its text columns which seem to have been intended to hold pictures. On fol. 39v col. 2, a space of 14 lines has been left at the beginning of the story of Paul's conversion (before 1. 19477). On fol. 41r col. 1, a space of 12–13 lines has been left before a section telling of God sending Ananaias to baptize the still blind Paul (before 1. 19657). On fol. 46v col. 1, a space of seven lines has been left in the middle of a discussion of the cross (before 1. 21717). The first space occurs at a place which the other manuscripts regard as a significant division of the poem, and the second occurs at a minor division, but the third occurs at a place where no other manuscripts note a division.

There seems little reason for picture spaces to appear at just these places. St. Paul was never a popular saint with the laity, and histories of Christian iconography record relatively few representations of him. It is possible that the commissioner of the manuscript had a special devotion to St. Paul. He is the patron saint of rope makers and of basket makers but the scenes which inspired this are not the ones which were chosen for illustration here. His blinding and conversion are clearly an important moment in his story, and in the history of the Church, but his baptism and the regaining of his sight are much more rarely shown. The 6000 lines preserved in MS E would have allowed an artist to illustrate other more commonly shown events: the story of Simon Magus from the life of Peter and Paul, for instance, figures of the apostles to accompany their biographies, the Assumption of Our Lady, Antichrist, the Apocalypse, the Fifteen Signs before Judgement, hell, heaven, etc. Yet these were ignored and the story of Paul apparently given two spaces.

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

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

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

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

The second, at the bottom of fol. 12v, is a drawing of a ship labelled archa noe. The ship has not been abstracted or simplified from a more complete Noah's ark scene, for it shows none of the usual attributes of the ark. It is not enclosed, there are no signs of the window and door mentioned in Genesis, and there are no people, animals, or birds nearby.

The third drawing is at the bottom of fol. 13v. The text tells of the division of the world among the sons of Noah and the sketch is a T-O map dividing the world into Asia, Europe, and Africa. The label reads divisio terrarum tribus fratribus laphet cham (Shem is not mentioned).

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

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

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

There are also some further spaces in the text columns of the Cotton manuscript. Originally the copyist left spaces ranging from 16 to five lines at the beginning of the histories of the first six ages of the world. Five of the six spaces are now filled with crude diagrams, in the hand and ink of the scribe, of the genealogy of the prominent men of the preceding era. The first space, on fol. 2v after 1. 270, is awkward, as there is no genealogy of a preceding era to fill it. The space is instead filled, for no particular reason, with a list of days of the week and their corresponding planets.

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

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

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

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

Pis ilk tre I dede be-gyn.
is alle sette for mary kyn.
bat ilkan may knaw weterly
of Ioseph kin & of mary
for þai come baþ of a man.
bat had leuy to his nam. (MS F)

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

Although the genealogies may have been present in the exemplar of C, it is not impossible that drawings, such as those preserved in C, were also present in the exemplar to mark the transition from one age of the world to another. The rivers of paradise would serve to introduce the first age, Noah's ark the second, the tablets of the law the fourth. In this scheme emblems for the third, fifth, and sixth ages are missing in MS C, and the T-O map and Tower of Babel are outside the scheme, but additional sketches might easily have been present in the exemplar or archetype.

The kind of decoration I am suggesting is not unknown elsewhere. Almanacs and calendars often represent saints pictorially by their attributes (the hand of St. Faith, for instance). They may also contain brief world histories or chronological schemes in which each age is accompanied by a suitable, though simple, pictorial representation very like those in MS C. Chronicle histories may also contain this kind of illustration, although their form is somewhat more elaborate.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Salter and Pearsall remark about the illustration of secular romances that "the availability of appropriate compositional models is an important consideration for the professional illustrator" (Salter and Pearsall, p. 104), and Hugo Buchthal has shown how widely available biblical scenes were adapted to illustrate such secular works (Buchthal, pp. 11–13). The most likely explanation of Robert Thornton's picture spaces is that he too planned to illustrate the *CM* with pictures from an illustrated Bible cycle in an unrelated text.

For unknown reasons, Thornton never filled in the picture spaces, and instead wrote in many of them. The headings are clearly an after-thought, however, as they do not correspond with headings in any of the other manuscripts, and as they occasionally duplicate other headings already in place. The heading on the picture space on fol. 4v col. 2, for instance, "Off the concepcyoun off Iohn be Baptiste," duplicates the usual heading on fol. 5r col. 2, "Pe concepcyoun of Saynt Iohn of [sic] Baptiste."

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

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

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

design of the letter itself. In a more elaborate scene, such as David and Goliath, however, the picture moves into the margin.

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

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

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

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

Fol. 52v shows David and Goliath in one of the largest scenes in the manuscript. This is the only scene to be framed in any way and to have a patterned background of arabesques. Two pictures of buildings represent Solomon's Temple (fol. 60v) and the allegory of the *Château d'amour* (fol. 68r).

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

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

The question remains why manuscripts of CM, almost alone of fourteenth-century texts, should show so much evidence of intended illustration. The answer, I think, lies in its subject matter. Because the

poem dealt with world history, its early manuscripts could use the schematic pictorial shorthand of the almanacs, calendars, and chronicles. Because it dealt with biblical history in particular, later copyists could count on being able to draw on the cycles of biblical pictures which increasingly appeared in psalters, bibles, and books of hours.

INFLUENCE

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

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

George C. Taylor argued for the influence of the *Planctus Marie* section of *CM* (II. ca. 24128) on *The Digby Burial of Christ* (Taylor, pp. 624–31). Most of his argument hinges on emphasis, for he argues that both poets choose to stress the same otherwise commonplace *topoi* of the *Planctus*. He also demonstrates that both use similar rhetorical devices of repetition and the same rhyme scheme (aab ccb), and sug-

gests that the Digby refrain "Who can not wepe com lern at mee" might have been suggested by CM II. 24440-41, where MS F reads:

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

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

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

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

Waters, that so wyde ben spred,
be gedered to geder in to one stede,
that dry the erth may seym;
that pat is dry the erth shall be,
the waters also I call the see:
this warke to me is queme.
Out of the erth herbys shal spryng,
Trees to florish and frute furth bryng. (Towneley I 37–44)

The same sort of examination demolishes most suggested links between CM and the Pricke of Conscience. In the notes to his edition of the Pricke, Morris printed extracts from CM on Antichrist, the resurrection of the body, and the pains of hell. The latter is included for linguistic comparison, but the two former seem to invite comparison as if one were the source of the other. Both poets are, in fact, simply translating independently very similar and very commonly known Latin works. The passage on Antichrist comes from Adso's De ortu et tempore Antichristi, and the other two passages are largely based on the Elucidarium of Honorius Augustodunensis.

George R. Coffman thought that the *Pricke*, 11. 766–803, was the source for *CM* 11. 3555–94 (Coffman, p. 265). As *CM* was composed about 50 years earlier, the suggestion is, of course, impossible, but even if the suggested line of influence is reversed the similarity is very weak:

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

.

He praises al thing bat es gon O present thing he praisses non Pan es eth to mak him wrath, To saxtend be es sumdel lath;

(*CM*, MS C 3562–74, 3577–80)

Bot als tyte als a man waxes alde, 766
Pan waxes his kynde wayke and calde, 767

.

And his heved feble and dysy;	771
Alle his touches er tremblande:	779
His bak waxes croked, stoupand he gas	777
His haire moutes, his eghen rynnes;	781
His sight wax dym bat he has,	776
And his face rouncles, ay mare and mare;	773
His nese ofte droppes, his hand stynkes,	775
His mouthe slavers, his tethe rotes,	784
He prayses ald men and haldes pam wyse,	794
An yhung men list him oft despyse;	795
He loves men bat in ald tyme has bene,	796
He lakes ba men bat now are sene;	797
He is lyghtly wrath, and waxes fraward,	786
Bot to turne hym fra wrethe it es hard;	787 (<i>Pricke</i>)

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

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

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

```
Sone he sayde. I.sal þe say.
How-gate þou sal take þi way.
"Pat gresse sal teyche þe þi gate.
Rizt to paradise zate;" (CM, MS F 1249–50, 1263–64)
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"And sun," he said, "I sall be say
Wharby bou sall ken be way:

Pou sall sone find a grene gate

Euyn vnto paradis 3ate." (Northern Passion, 149/139*–142*)

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

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

Of Iareth eild be yeir fourti-and Was passed werld be first thusand

and v. 1464:

Pat was be fiuet kne fra seth. (CM 1465-66)

In he forty zere han of jareth
Be a compte in scripture caste
Pat was he fyrste gre of sethe
Of he ward fyrste thousande paste. (Rev. Meth. 129-32)

There is, however, hard evidence that *CM* did influence some later works. Four manuscripts of the *Pricke of Conscience* contain Lollard interpolations. In two of these the interpolations include a quotation of 58 lines from the introduction to *CM*. In Manchester, John Rylands Library MS Eng. 90, fols. 6r and 7r, the lines are copied continuously with the *Pricke*, as if they were a normal part of the poem and appeared

as such in the exemplar. In Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 60, fols. 4v–5r and 5v, the interpolation appears in a separate quire, copied in the same hand as the text, with its first folio missing. A note in the text on fol. 10 (edited l. 192) directs the reader to turn to the interpolation. Some of the interpolated lines also appear in a third manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS e Mus. 198, fols. 173r-v, where they give the appearance of being a separate poem.

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

Hem is lever forto here

nem is lead folio here	
Romauns off many a dougti fere	
Off alisaundre be conquerour	
Off iulius cesar pemperour	
Off grece and troie be strong striue	5
Ther many a bousant lassten her liue	
Off bruit þat barn bald off hand	
The furst conquerour off Engeland	
Off king arthour þat wes so riche	
To whom in his time wes non lic[h]e	10
Off ferlees pat to his knyztes felle	
And off auentures as 3e han herd telle	
And off gawayn kay and opur stable	
Which pat weren off pe round table	
How king charles and rouland fau3t	15
Wib saresins wold bei han no sauzt	
Off tristrem and off his leoff Isot	
How he for hure bicom [a] sot	18
Off edan and off amadas	20
How didan deied for ennias	a
Off felice and off Vimmafon	b
That liutul profit hangeb apon	c
Off pirremus and off ti[s]bese	d
Ther was gret sorwe wipouten sese	e
Off paris and off Elina	f
Achilles and polexina	g

Stories also off serecen pinges	21
Off princes prelates and off kinges	
Sanges fair off selcoup rime	
Englisch frensch and latin	
To rede and here ilk a mon is prest	
These þinges [þat] hem likeþ best	26
For bi be fruit men mai see	33
Off what vertue is ilk a tree	
A fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos	
Off ilk a fruit þat men mai finde	
Hit fetteb fro be rote his kiunde	
Off good peritree god peres	
Worse tre wors fruit beres	
This two spices off pis tree	
Bitokeneþ man boþe þe and me	40
The spirit bitokneb alle our dedes	
Bobe good and ille who so rizt redes	
Oure dedes fro oure hert taken rote	
Wheher hei ben wrouzt to bale oher to bote	
For bi þing þat men drawen hem tille	45
Men schal hem knowe for good obur for ille	
Ensample bi hem hier i say	
That halden hem in her riot ay	
In welfol riot and in ricolage	
And in alle folie spenden her age	50
1 1011 1 10 20 1 201 11	

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

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

Two other authentic borrowings from CM have been discussed in detail elsewhere. Cleanness shares with CM a most unusual motif in its

story of the Flood (Horrall, *Cleanness*). Close verbal parallels and the common use of unusual details show that the writer of the Old Testament section of Caxton's *Golden Legend* was using *CM* (Horrall, "William Caxton").

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

MANUSCRIPT RELATIONS²

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

$$\beta \xrightarrow{\beta} \alpha \xrightarrow{\delta} \alpha \xrightarrow{\delta}$$

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

After criticism of this stemma, Hupe produced another one:

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

The only challenge to Kaluza's work in recent years has been a stemma constructed in a 1971 Oxford B.Litt. thesis by Charles C.V. Ross. Using evidence almost exclusively from the 4000 or so lines of the text which are present in MS E, he deduced the following set of relationships:

All of the above stemmata were constructed using word-by-word groupings of shared readings. Little account was taken of the Latin and French sources from which most of the lines had been translated, many of which were not known until work began on the present edition. Comparison of these sources with the ME text often reveals which readings of a given line are closest to the source, and hence to the poet's original, and which readings are variants. On the basis of such a comparison, the following stemma is proposed:³

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

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

^{3.} A pencilled stemma was discovered among Dr. Horrall's notes, but this cannot represent her final intention as indicated by the text of her Introduction. In the pencil sketch, the arrangement of FAdd and of HTLB is slightly different from that indicated here, both C and the ancestor of FAdd descend directly from O¹, and there is no? (question mark). A.L.K.

copied so freely that they seem at times to be paraphrasing *CM* rather than copying it. However, source study shows that MS F preserves a considerable number of unique but clearly original lines. Some of these correct readings are biblical:

2697 xiij zere F; thritti yeir CGHTLB; tredecim annos Gen. 17.25.

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

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

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

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

F 521–22 CGHTLB *om* His heued ys rouned as a balle & squabys be firmament alle

F 4682–83 CGHTLB om & alle pe baronage so til him bare Patte alle pai louted til his lare

F 8300 Di wille is worshepely to wirk Pat is to di3t [C dright] Elucidarium I 59 Caput ejus est rotundum in caelestis sphaerae modum

Bible, Herman de Valenciennes 1420–21 Les barons de la terre faire tous son plaisir, Tout le vont enclinant tout le vont servir.

Trad. anon. fol. 269v col. 2 Il scert bien que tu li uues faire I temple or pense de la traire.

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

In the newly proposed stemma, however, correct readings preserved by E and F but lost elsewhere were in the poet's original, and

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

An example of this appears at 11. 7048-49:

C GHTLB
Alexandre, in þat squar Alysaundir in þat time þare
Þat paris hight, raiuist elayn Þat paris aght, rauyscht helayn,

F

Pen come alisaundre wibout doute

And asked quo walde stande agayne.

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

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

21320	C	Luce has of ox, marc o leon
	F	Lucas of ox for bis resoun
	GHTLB	Luk has of ox, ai lokis dun
7487	C	gerard
	F	leaund
	GHTLB	Goly.

In summary, then, when FE have a common correct reading, the error was introduced at β , and thus affects CGHTLB. When FC(E) share a common correct reading, this disappeared at γ . In those lines in which C or CE alone preserve a correct reading, the misinterpretations of F can be shown to be independent errors, unrelated to the misinterpretations of G or of γ (GHTLB).

Related to the problem of MS F is that of the placement of MS Add, which is not considered in any of the other stemmata. E and Add are fragments of different parts of the poem and thus cannot be compared against each other. Among the other manuscripts, however, Add is most closely related to F. They share several passages which are not found in any other copies of the poem: ll. 11907, 11993–94, 12485–86. As these are not to be found in the poem's sources, they are probably common additions. Add and F also retain some original lines which translate the sources but have been lost in all other copies of the poem. Other evidence supports the relationship. Lines 12575–76 are omitted only in MSS F and Add. The end of the introduction to the sixth age of the world varies in different manuscripts, but F and Add agree in having only ll. 12733–38. Only MSS F and Add begin a new division of the poem at l. 13886. Certain pairs of lines are reversed only in F and Add as against CGHTLB: ll. 13310–11 and 13988–89.

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

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

Kaluza correctly recognized that MS E represents a different manuscript family. It ends at 1. 24968 and is thus the only *CM* manuscript to finish precisely where the poem's table of contents said it should. MS E is textually very close to C, but neither copies the other. The similarity occurs because both are conservative copies of their

exemplars, which were close to the poet's original. MS E contains several unique readings which comparison with the poem's sources shows to be original. These readings were lost in α , and thus do not appear in FCGHTLB. The penitential manual which is common to CFG was also added at α . Original readings shared by F and E, on the other hand, were dropped at β , and so do not appear in CGHTLB.

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

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

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

Further information about the format of this exemplar may be deduced from the evidence of L and B. MSS H and T share a similar manuscript format, both being of about the same dimensions and with a very similar layout of text and decoration. In both manuscripts the text is copied in double columns of 40 lines each, on vellum which has been ruled to receive it. The layout of both is very clear and tidy. After 1. 11912, MS L copies II. 12077–78 before cancelling these and copying 1. 11913. After 1. 18564 the scribe copied II. 18731–42 before realizing his error, cancelling these lines, and proceeding with 1. 18565. In each instance, the scribe must have accidentally turned over two leaves of his exemplar, an exemplar which was copied at a rate of 160 lines per leaf, i.e., like H and T, in regular double columns of 40 lines each.

The southern version of CM, then, seems to have been issued in a fairly uniform "edition," two copies of which survive and at least one other copy whose existence can be inferred.

Although the manuscript group represented by HTLB has been translated and revised quite extensively, there are a few instances in which only this group preserves a reading which is demonstrably original. Kari Sajavaara pointed out that several lines in MSS HTLB translate lines of Grosseteste's *Château d'amour* which do not appear in any other *CM* manuscript (*NM* 68: pp. 184–93):

HTLB 18711–12 Château 1429–30
Pat is to vche creature A universe creature

For bei shulde in troube be sure C'est sul a home par dreiture

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

HTLB 4579 Herman's *Bible* 1355 Ful of corn were bei set bo Les vii cargies de ble

CFG Sa wel war sette me thought selcuth

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

HTLB 9179 IV Reg. 18.2

He regnede nyne & twenty 3ere viginti novem annis regnavit in CFG He regnd thritte yeir and nine Jerusalem

HTLB 9558 Château 246

As him to haue in his bailye Fors d'aveir li en lur

CG (F missing) Als is man for to be baillie

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

HTLB 11321–32 Luc. 2.26

Bi be holy goost him sent Et responsum acceperat a Spiritu

Pat pus seide to him present Sancto

CG om (F missing)

HTLB 17017-18

Heryng speche sizte smelyng

& fele are wittes fyve.

Château 1157-59

C'est le oir e le veer,

Li odorer e le parler,

CG (F missing) E le taster

Hering sight smelling and fele

Cheuing er wittes five.

One correct reading is shared by HTLB and E:

HTLBE 22525

Quinze signes 14

Into be erbe shul somme ryn

Droit a ces granz fosses courront

CFG Right to be air al sal bai rin

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

ABBREVIATIONS

Acta Quiriaci Acta apocrypha [de S. Juda Quiriaco] in the Acta Sanctorum

maii tomus primus, pp. 439ff.

Adso Dervensis, De ortu et tempore Antichristi.

Apoc. Thom. D.P. Bihlmeyer, "Un texte non interpolé de l'Apocalypse de Tho-

mas."

Blickling Richard Morris, ed., The Blickling Homilies.

Château Robert Grosseteste, Le château d'amour.

CM Cursor Mundi

De miseria Lotario dei Segni (= Innocent III). De miseria condicionis

humane.

EETS, os/es Early English Text Society, Original Series / Extra Series

Eluc. Honorius Augustodunensis, Elucidarium, book III.

ET Evernew Tongue, in Heist, pp. 73–88.

Förster Max Förster, "Der Vercelli Codex CXVII nebst Abdruck einiger

altenglischer Homilien der Handschrift."

Friedberg Aemilius Friedberg, ed., Corpus iuris canonici.

Heist William W. Heist, The Fifteen Signs before Doomsday.

Historia Scholastica Peter Comestor, Historia Scholastica.

IMEV Carleton Brown and Rossell Hope Robbins, The Index of Middle

English Verse.

IMEV 796 E. Stengel, Codicum manu scriptum Digby 86.

IMEV 1823 F.J. Furnivall, ed., Hymns to the Virgin and Christ.

IMEV 3367 F.J. Furnivall, ed., Early English Poems and Lives of Saints.

IMEV 3368 Hermann Varnhagen, "Zu mittelenglischen Gedichten X: zu den

Signa ante Judicium."

Leg. aur. Jacobus de Voragine, Legenda aurea.

ME Middle English

MED Middle English Dictionary, ed. Hans Kurath, Sherman M. Kuhn,

and Robert E. Lewis, complete through to vaporacioun.

MS(S) manuscript(s)

OED Oxford English Dictionary, ed. J.A. Simpson and E.S.C. Weiner,

2nd ed.

Oglerius C.W. Marx, "The *Quis dabit* of Oglerius de Tridino, Monk and

Abbot of Locedio."

PG J.-P. Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeca.

PL J.-P. Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina.

Pouzet Jean-Pascal Pouzet, "The 'Invention of the Cross' in Cursor

Mundi."

Pricke Richard Morris, ed., The Pricke of Conscience.

Ps-Bede Pseudo-Bede, De quindecim signis.

Quinze signes Erik von Kraemer, ed., Les quinze signes du Jugement Dernier:

poème anonyme de la fin du xii^e siècle ou du début du xiii^e siècle ...

Rev. Meth. Charlotte D'Evelyn, "The Middle-English Metrical Version of

the Revelations of Methodius ..."

Sackur Ernst Sackur, Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen.

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

Templum Dei Robert Grosseteste, Templum Dei.

TLL Thesaurus linguae latinae, complete through princeps.

Trad. anon. Julia C. Szirmai, ed., La Bible anonyme du MS. Paris BN f. fr.

763.

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

von Kraemer see Quinze signes.

Wace William R. Ashford, ed., The Conception Nostre Dame of Wace.

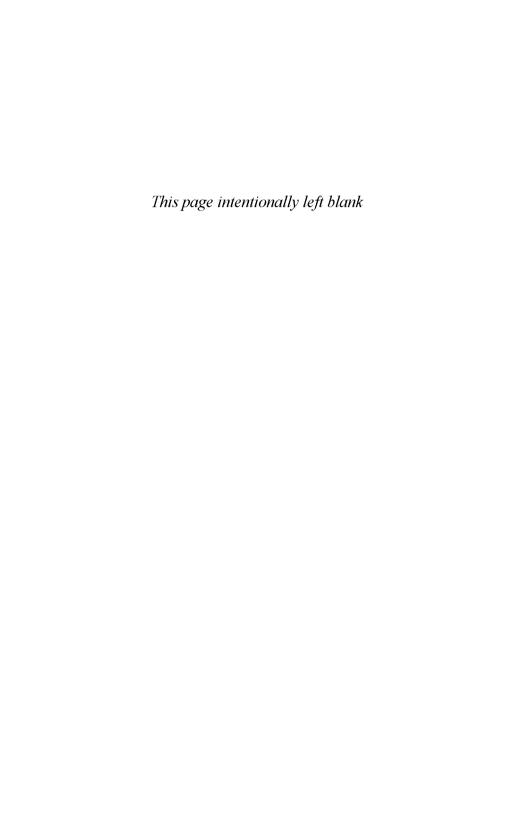
Wright Thomas Wright, ed., The Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to

Walter Mapes.

Text of the Southern Version of Cursor Mundi

(College of Arms MS Arundel LVII)

Lines 21845-23898



[Now is good for to wende To speke of bis worldes ende	fol. 130r col. 1
Six eldes haue we brozt in place be seuenbe is calde be tyme of grace	21847
And lastep to be day of dome Whenne hit shal be woot no man	21850
For whenne he furst bis world wrouzt Euer to stonde he made hit nouzt be terme is set to ende hit in Shal hit neuer ouer ryn ber may no mon wite in lede But his owne lordhede	21855
	21860
	fol. 130r col. 2
Men may se hem vche day	101. 1301 001. 2
In be boke of gospelles Tokenes he seib shul ber be In sonne mone londe & see	21865
Pat shal be benne men among	
Mony mon perof shal doute Folk shal azeyn folke rise And werre togider in mony wise	21870
Hongres & deep vpon to mynne In erpe shal rise for monnes synne Muchel wo hem shal bityde	21875
We may bese seen vche day If we knowe hem ouzte may	
To be war of his comyng Oure soulis alle to make redy Azeyn his coome so dredefuly But be moo tokenes bat we se	21880
pe worse warned are we Pat we wol not be warnyst Pat hit greuep ihesu crist For euery creatoure sure	21885
Aftir be state of his nature Bettre her makere knowe ben mon	21888 21891
	To speke of þis worldes ende Six eldes haue we broʒt in place Pe seuenþe is calde þe tyme of grace Pat bigon at cristis come And lasteþ to þe day of dome Whenne hit shal be woot no man He shal al ende þat al bigan For whenne he furst þis world wrouʒt Euer to stonde he made hit nouʒt Pe terme is set to ende hit in Shal hit neuer ouer ryn Per may no mon wite in lede But his owne lordhede But bi tokenes witerly Men woot wel þat hit is ny Of þese tokenes þat I say Men may se hem vche day Po þat god himself of telles In þe boke of gospelles Tokenes he seiþ shul þer be In sonne mone londe & see Muche in erþe shal be þe wrong Pat shal be þenne men among For þo þe see shal rise & route Mony mon þerof shal doute Folk shal aʒeyn folke rise And werre togider in mony wise Hongres & deeþ vpon to mynne In erþe shal rise for monnes synne Muchel wo hem shal bityde Pat is sett þat tyme to bide We may þese seen vche day If we knowe hem ouʒte may He sendeþ þis in warnyng To be war of his comyng Oure soulis alle to make redy Aʒeyn his coome so dredefuly But þe moo tokenes þat we se þe worse warned are we Pat we wol not be warnyst Dat hit greueþ ihesu crist For euery creatoure sure Aftir þe state of his nature

Alas what may we saye bon To him whenne he sitteb as iustise	
Of oure feint & oure fals servise	
	21005
Meke to vs we him fynde	21895
And noping loueb more ben oure kynde	
So muche he 3yueb vs euer oure wille	
Pat we him waite euer wip ille	
Bestes doumbe leouns & beres	21000
Alle lyuynge þingis on her maneres	21900
Done her deuer & werne nou3t	
Ponkynge be makere bat hem wrouzt	
Heuen & erbe sonne and mone	fol. 130v col. 1
And al hat in his erbe is done	
bei serue him alle vpon her wise	21905
And man wipdraweb his seruyse	
So filled wip couetise is he	
Pat he of god hap no pite	
Muche leuer him were to here	
How Roulande fau3te & olyuere	21910
Of worldly ping to rede & synge	
Pen of he passioun of his kynge	
Whiche he suffered wip greet despit	
Fro pyne of helle to make vs quyt	
Whi are we penne so proude & bolde	21915
Crist hap to him oure dayes tolde	21916
Po dayes pat we may not skape	21919
Deb shal take vs al in rape	21920
Po pat bifore wol not be war	
Penne shul þei fynde no 3eyn char	
To wroperhele he 3af vs wit	
But if oure lif be lad wip hit	
With e3e & ere be sobe we seen	21925
And neuer be bettur zitt we ben	
Warned we be bi operes wrake	
Vnneþe wol any ensaumple take	
If any warnyng be to cast	
Litil while hit shal vs last	21930
For if hit be at vndren tide	
Hit shal not til noone abide	
Pat makeb bis foule worldes delite	
Pat euer we sene awaywarde wite	
What bote is hit so faste to holde	21935
Pat we may neuer of be bolde	
If we beron haue holde vmwhile	
Hit is to vs but for a gile	
Whenne we best wene to haue al	

From al shul we sonnest fal	21940
Hit is fallyng as I haue seide	
Alweyes til hit be doun leide	
Perfore for crist teche I 30w	
And namely for 3oure owne prow	21944
3e þat in þis lake be lende	fol. 130v col. 2
Haue euer bouzte on zoure ende	
Pat 3e not for 3oure heuen hit chese	
And so 3oure ri3t heuen lese	
For oon of hem we most forgo	
Mony men haue heuenes two	21950
Here to haue al flesshely game	
And aftirwarde be soule be same	
Bettur is here wibstonde oure wille	
Pat we may hit pere fulfille	
Pis lif not an hour of a day	21955
To pat lif pat lastep ay	
Al þat I saye is for a resoun	
Pat we alwey be redy boun	
Redy azeyn his comyng	
For vche day we se tokenyng	21960
His furste come was smebe ynowze	
Pe toper shal be wondir rowze	
Furst he coom vs alle to queme	
Pe toper shal be vs alle to deme	21065
Furst he coom demed to be	21965
be toher coome to deme shall he	
Of his come shul be tokenes sere	
Bifore comyng bat 3e shul here	
Wibouten bat we se always	21970
Euer risyng more of greet vnpays	21970
Of alle bingis bere shal oon rise Moost cristen men to do agrise	
Pat al his world on lenghe & brede	
Shal do his wickednes to sprede	
Pat anticrist of danes sede	21975
Sombing of him is to rede	21773
He hat is so ful of goddes grame	
Whi he shal haue suche a name	
Anticrist he called is	
For azeyn crist shal he be Iwis	21980
Azein crist hit is to say	21700
Azein his werke shal he werray	
Crist coom meke in his tide	
He shal com brem al in pride	21984
Crist coom to do be lawe to rise	fol. 131r col. 1
1	

//

And synful to make riztwise He shal com be meke to felle And synful reise seib be spelle Alle godenesses wib his mayn He shal werre hem azayn be gospel & al holy writt He shal fordo wo worbe his wit	21990
He shal do reise al maumetry And clepe himself god almy3ty Pis anticrist hab hade ful fele Pat to his seruyse han ben lele Al antioche & domiciane eke And now ber is ful mony seke	21995
What maner mon so euer hit es Out of be rule of riztwisnes Ouber lewed or religioun Clerke monke ouber chanoun	22000
And werren on hat hei shulden were Of anticrist he name hei bere Now is good to here hit red How hat anticrist shal be bred	22005
Nohing shal I feyne newe But hat I fond in bokes trewe Pese clerkes seye ho hat be wise Pat he of iewes kyn shal rise Of danes kynde he seih anone Pe prophete hus makeh his mone Dane he seih is neddra in strete	22010
Dane he seib is neddre in strete Waityng hors to stynge in fete To do be rider falle bi be way Dis is as myche to say By way as nedder shal he sit	22015
And alle be men bat he may wit Ridyng in be rule of ri3t He shal hem smyte & do to li3t He shal hem 3yue ful attry dynt Out of her troube make hem stynt	22020
Of fadir & modir he shal be born As obere men were him biforn Bitwene a mon & a wommone But not of a mayden allone	22024 fol. 131r col. 2
As hit is foly tolde of somme Not betwene a bisshop & a nonne But of a bismare breme & balde Geten of a glotoun foule scalde	22030

Pere may be no foulere tweyn	
Alle in synne geten certeyn	
Geten in synne þat cursed wi3t	
Of god he shal be maledizt	
In his getyng be fend of helle	22035
Shal crepe in his modir to dwelle	
Maister of errour & of pride	
PereIn he shal his burbe abide	
Pouze he be now in prisoun bounden	
As hit is in holy writt benne founden	22040
Þat seynt gregore himseluen wrou3t	
Perfore he seib he lieb nouzt	
Pe kynde of strengbe he hab bat he had ere	
Pouze his myzte more were	
Pat my3t is not so now knowen	22045
Oure lord hab done for his owen	
For if he my3te al wolde he quelle	
Perfore he bounden hab bat felle	
He shal be lesed benne of bonde	
And muche wo worche in londe	22050
Pis is he bat cursede brede	
In be apocalipse bat we of rede	
An aungel he seide he say ledonde	
Wib a muchel cheyne in honde	
And bar be key of be muchel pit	22055
As seib seint Ion in holy writ	
To bat dragoun soone he wan	
Pat men callen deuel sathan	
And in bat pit him spred fast	
Whil a bousonde zeer wolde laste	22060
Whenne bat bousonde zeer were gone	
To be loused soone anone	
To walke his wey fro bat while	
And mony men for to bigile	22064
De kynge of pride bis ilke is he	fol. 131v col. 1
And euer hit shal him folewyng be	
And as in oure lady bo li3t	
Þe holy goost bi goddes myʒt	
And vmbileide hir wib his leme	
To brede þat blessed barneteme	22070
Þat al þe burþe she þere shulde brede	
Shulde holly be of his godhede	
Rizt so be deuel shal descende	
And in anticristis modir lende	
To fulle pat caitif so vnclene	22075
And vmbilay hir al bidene	

Into his wille hir to weyue	
And do hir bourge a mon conceyue	
Pat al be burbe bat bere is born	
Shal be wicked fals & forlorn	22080
Perfore his name is calde ful rizt	
Son of los be maledizt	
In al bat he may worche berto	
Al monkynde he shal fordo	
Of his getyng I tolde 30u ore	22085
Of his burbe I wol telle more	
For rigt as crist himseluen chese	
Be born in bedleem for oure ese	
His monhede for to bringe in place	
Pat he toke for vs of his grace	22090
Rizt so shal be fend he bis	
Chese him a burb stude Iwis	
De beest is ordeyned to his stal	
Where is be rotes of eucles al	
Pere leest of god men maken myn	22095
Pe toun of babilone wibIn	
Pis toun was whilom cheef of pers	
Of mony obere also dyuers	
A toun of wondir muchel pride	
Heed of maumetri bat tide	22100
Bethsaida & corozaym	
Pese two citees shul susteyne him	
Oure lord warieb bese two townes	
And pus seip in his sermownes	22104
Corozaym euer be þe wo	fol. 131v col. 2
And be bethsaida eke also	
Capharnaum euer wo be be	
Pe synful son shal regne in be	
Pei bou be reise vp to heuen	
To helle depe shaltou be 3euen	22110
Norisshe him shul enchauntours	
Nigromaunceres and Iogelours	
Of alle manere craftis ille	
Of al falshede bei shul him fille	22115
Wickede goostis him vp to bere	22115
Folwynge him monyone to fere	
To ierusalem shal he benne fare	
Alle bat he cristen fyndeb bare	
If bei leue not his techyng	22120
To deolful deb he shal hem bring	22120
In be temple salomone	
Þenne shal þat traitour set his trone	

hat hat was falle lange game	
Pat hat was felde longe gone	
He shal hit reise efte of stone	22125
Circumcise him bere he shalle	22123
And goddes son him do to calle	
De grete caiseres & be kyngis	
And alle suche opere lordyngis	
Turne to him bei shul raberest	22120
And sipen opere at pe leest	22130
Oueral bere crist was wont to go	
He shal ouergone hem also	
Furste he shal destrye new	
Pat halewed was of god ihesu	
Sipen ouer al pis world wide	22135
Shal be sende wip muchel pride]	
His prechouris for to spelle his wille	fol. 123r col. 1
Al be cristen lawe to spille	
Fro see to see fro norb to soub	
He shal do make his sarmoun coup	22140
He shal do mony token to sene	
Pat bifore hab not done bene	
Pondir on lofte shal he rere	
And trees blossomes brode to bere	
He shal do be see be rowze	22145
And also to be smebe Inowze	
Dyuerse binges fro her naturis	
Shal he turne to dyuerse figuris	
Azeyn kynde bi be deueles craft	
Pe wattris for to ryse on baft	22150
be wynde also reuly to ryse	
And stormes do men sore to gryse	
To reise be dede to monnes sizt	
So selcoupely to shewe his my3t	
But hit be goddis chosen bing	22155
He shal him to his errour bryng	22133
But alle bo merueiles done with art	
Of sopfastenes shul haue no part	
Wib iogeleri bei shul be wrouzt	
And fantome ben and ellis nougt	22160
As symon magus in his whyle	22100
So shal he be folke bigyle	22162
Gode men bat shul se bis wrou3t	
Shul be studying al in bouzt	22165
Wheher hit be cryst or not sure	
Pat bei haue herd of in scripture	
Per is no lond bat men con neuen	00150
Vndir þe roof of cristis heuen	22170

But he shal do hem to be souzt To brynge be cristen men to nouzt He shal himseluen do to ryse Azeyn be troube on bre wyse	
Pat is to sey wih 3 ifte wih awe And wih tokenes hat he shal shawe Who in his troube wol bi holde Shal plente haue of siluer & golde	22175
For alle bo herdes bat ben hid	fol. 123r col. 2
In his tyme shul be kid	22180
Pat he may not wip ziftis drawe	
Into his hond he shal wip awe	
Pere he may not wip drede	
Wib signes shal he fonde to spede	
And who bat wol not leue him so	22185
He shal hem worche mychel wo	
Mony sorweful pyne to dry	
And sipen deolful deb to dy	
Penne shal rise in þat tyme þere A sorwynge siche was neuer ere	22190
Sib man was made bitwene & ban	22190
Ny siben be world firste bigan	
Penne shul bei fle bat wolde be hid	
And to be hilles shul bei bid	
Hilles falle vpon vs doun	22195
And hide vs fro bis fals feloun	
And he bat in hous is stad	
In þat tyme shal be so rad	
Neuer shal he recche how to twyn	
To leue al his worldes wyn	22200
To founden how shal he not rek	
On hize to lepe his nek to brek	
Penne shul alle bo shortly to say	
Pat trewe be founden in cristis lay	22205
For ihesu cristis holy sake	22205
Suffere myche wo & wrake	
Wib yren fuyr or attri beest	
How bat euer bei may hardest	
So wip dyuerse maner pyne	22210
In crist bei shul haue blisful fyne	22210
Pis drewery tyme bat 3e of here	
Shal lastynge be half bridde 3ere	
For his derlingis be story sayes	
Oure lord shal do to short his dayes	
But his dayes shorted were	22215

Vnnebe shulde any flesshe be fere be tyme of antecristis coome And of oure lordis day of doome Seynt poul seib in his sermouns To the folk of thessalones But if dissencioun bityde And he comen be sone of pride bat is but if discorde & stryf	fol. 123v col. 1 22220
Ouer al pe world be ronnen ryf Pourze sarazines and anticrist His coome shal bide oure lord crist We woot bobe bi story & wers	22225
Pat be kindom of grace & pers Were heed kyngis in forme tyde Wib pouste florisshed moost of pride And siben was rome at be last Moost ouer obere hit ouer past	22230
For pere shulde be no lede of londe But rome shulde haue hem vndir honde Alle maner folke to rome shulde helde And as to o heed trewage 3elde Seynt poul seip for pis resoun	22235
Pat first shal be dissencioun Er antecrist shal come in lande Pat is pus to vndirstande But alle kyndomes pat was rome vndir Fro lordhede of rome shul sondir	22240
Pat first was vndir romes awe Er antecrist him shal not shawe Pis beb not 3it of romaynye Pou3 hit struid bi greet partye Euer whil frenshe kyngis is	22245
Pat owe be empire of rome to wis Of rome empire be dignite May no wey al perisshed be For in bo kyngis shal hit stonde Euer whil bei are lastonde	22250
Oure maistris tellen of his chaunce Pat her shal be a kyng of fraunce Of romayne & hat empire Holly shal be lord and syre He shal be in he laste dayes	22255
Pe moost kyng of alle hit sayes Bobe shal he be pe mast And of alle he shal be last	fol. 123v col. 2 22260

Dis kyng shal be biset wip cele	
And aftir he hab regned wele	
Whenne his regne is at be ende	
To ierusalem shal he wende	
Pere shal he zelde out of his honde	22265
His crowne & his kyngis wonde	
To ihesu crist dere lord hende	
And so shul cristen kyngis ende	
Also of be empire of rome	
Penne shal be antecristis coome	22270
Aftir poul be apostel sayes	
He shal him shew in bo dayes	
Pat synful men wibouten make	
Pat sorweful sone ful of wrake	
Þe fendis owne childe to wille	22275
His werkis wronge to fulfille	
He shal be cald his owne sone	
Al wickednes in him shal wone	
Al falshede & felony	
And al tresoun shal in him ly	22280
He shal him reise so in higt	
Men shul him wene god of my3t	
Himself shal do him reise	
Ouer goddis alle him to preyse	
Ouer Iubiter and appolyn	22285
Pat goddis were of sarazyn	
Hezer ben bese he shal him bere	
For he shal be more my3tyere	
He shal men do of him to boost	
Ouer alle obere to preyse moost	22290
3e ouer be holy trynyte	
Pat shulde ouer alle worshiped be	
In be temple shal he sit	
And do men falsely for to wit	
Pat he is bat crist to bete	22295
Pat was hem het bi prophete	
Pere shal he do him circumcise	
And shewyng make of his maystrise	
I am bat crist shal he say	fol. 124r col. 1
Pat 30w was het mony day	22300
Now am comen for 3oure hele	
Pus shal he to bo iewis mele	
Comen I am to geder 3ou	
Pat han ben scatered euer to now	
be iewis shortly euerychone	22305
To his counsel shul turne anone	

	Pei shul wene crist to vndirfonge And shul receyue þe fend stronge As crist haþ to þe iewis bolde In his gospel bifore hem tolde I come in my fadir nome And 3e me seke wiþ mychel shome If anoþer come in his awen Soone shul 3e be to him drawen	22310
//	Sibile seib in hir spellyng In tyme of bis forseyd kyng Constans men shul him calle in lede He shal haue myche lordhede	22315
	Of romayne and al be empire And also of grece he shal be sire A mychel mon of stature hyze Feir in facioun to sizte of yze Loued wel wibouten blame	22320
	Wipouten last al his licame Miche riches benne shal be De erbe shal 3yue fruyt plente De met of whete as hit is told For a peny shal benne be sold	22325
	Wyn & oyle þat ilke prise Penne shal fro norþ a folke ryse Pat alexandre spered in gog And in a lond þat het magog Pe foule folk no man may mele	22330
	Pe noumbre of hem pei be so fele Pis ilke foule cursed lede Ouer alle londis shul pei sprede And do men to drede ful sore To felles fle to hide hem pore	22335
	Monnes flesshe spare shul not bey Moost bei shul hit zerne alwey Horse & asse wommon & childe Shal noon haue myzt fro hem him shilde But at be laste romane kyng Shal of his oost make greet gederyng	fol. 124r col. 2 22340
	He shal hem brynge al to grounde And at he laste so hem confounde Azeyn sarazines greet werrour Bohe to strye hem toun and tour Of maumetrye her templis alle	22345
	And to bapteme he shal hem calle To turne to crist at [s]hedde his blode	22350

In temples he shal reyse his rode Whenne hat his dougty lordyng Hab ben an hundride wyntir kyng	
And twelue benne shal he fare To ierusalem wibouten care	22355
And 3elde vp bere his diademe	
To oure lord god as wel beseme	
Cristen kyngdomes vp to 3elde	
To ihesu pat hap al to welde	22360
Two prophetis shul come benne in hy	
Pat ben Enok and eke Ely	
Azeyn be saut of anticrist	
Shul do trewe to be warnyst	22265
Pei shul hem teche & also rigt	22365
And strengbe hem wip him to figt	
Iewis shal conuerte as hit sayes Alle pat be founden in bo dayes	
Whenne bei haue don her seruyse	
Anticrist on hem shal ryse	22370
be book of priuetees sheweb so	22510
Pat he shal hem bobe slo	
Whenne bei haue lyen deed two dayes	
To lyf shal oure lord hem rayse	
Pe ober alle he may ouer reke	22375
Wip swerd he shal hemseluen wreke	
Or do hem cristendoom renay	
If bei wol bere her lyf away	
Alle hat on him shul leue here	fol. 124v col. 1
In frounte shal he his merk bere	22380
But whenne bulke fendis brid	
His wrecchednes hap two zeer kid	
Two 3eer and hal[f] berto	
Wih al bat euer he may do	20205
Ouer al bis world in lengbe & brede	22385
Namely among bo cristen lede	
Al þat þenne wole him wiþstonde Shal crouned be to lif beonde	
Penne shal oure lord on him sende	
His doom bat shal him dryue to ende	22390
For cristis coome shal be so brigt	22370
Pat bourge bat myche lordis ligt	
He shal of stonde so myche awe	
Pat al be filbe of his mawe	
Shal brest out of him bihynde	22395
For drede of god as we fynde	22396
And obere maistryes not forbi	22399
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Pat folwe be word of gregory Seyn bat mychael shal him quelle In papilon bat mychel felle In bat stide in his owne stalle	22400
Pat is soop wel may falle For if seynt michael come in place To doom bifore oure lordis grace Him sle shal not his vertu But be biddyng of ihesu	22405
Stabely owe we leue as stoone Pat also soone as he is slone Crist shal not come his doom to dele But as we fynde in danyele Fourty dayes he shal hem 3yue	22410
Pat are fallen out of bileue Bi folewyng of þat fals prophete Pat þei may wiþ penaunce bete Whenne her penaunce to ende is brouzt I vndirstonde hit in my þouzt	22415
Pat is no mon so wyse bat may	
Telle whenne shal be pe laste day	22420
But he hat al hab for to 3eme	fol. 124v col. 2
Al is in his wille to deme	
Pe laste day bat al shal ende	
God 3yue vs grace wip him to lende	22424
Of fifteen device in to say	
Of fiftene dayes is to say Shal come bifore domes day	
Now mot I nede of hem mene	22427
Pe cruel dayes & pe kene	22421
Bifore bat day ber shal be sene	
Sorweful tokenes ful fiftene	22430
If you like hem to knawe	22130
I shal 3ou telle of hem soob sawe	
Per is no mon in erbe so felle	
Þat hertly here wole bis spelle	
Of bis wrecched worldis ende	22435
But he auzte his lyf to mende	
Grete tokenes shal oure lord make	
For to shewe be wicked his wrake	
As hit is tolde of ieromye	
Zorobabel and ysaye	22440
Ierom telleh & herof rewis	
And seib he fond in a book of iewis	
Wheber bei shul hool on rewe bityde	
Or entervale bitui[x] hem bide	

	Pat vndob he vs nowhore 3it he was greet clerke of lore Pe iuggement a litil are Pat noon shal of bo felouns spare Oure lord shal his my3tis showe	22445
	Pat mon in erbe shal hit knowe Hidur is good hat bei drawe Alle hat of him stondeh awe And here wel hat I shal sey	22450
	Þat he wend not vnlered awey	22454
//	Pe firste day þat we of rede Miche hit is for to drede Per shal falle doun fro þe lift A blody reyn a dreury drift Pe erþe shal be al reed of hew	22459 22460
	Siche a dew men neuer knew Childer in wombe pere pei ly In moder body shul pei cry Wip hyze note & loude steuen Mercy now lord kyng of heuen To be born haue we no space	22464 fol. 125r col. 1
	We done vs lord in bi grace Wherto shulde we be born today Whenne alle binge shal turne away Wepyng shul bei on ihesu calle To haue mercy on hem alle	22470
//	Pe toper day to byde Iwis Shal be myche harder þen þis Pe sterres wiþ her lemyng leuen Shul sadly falle doun fro heuen Is noon so wel faste of hem alle	22475
	Pat hit ne shal þat day doun falle On erþe shul þei renne here & þere	22480 22483
	Wepyng as þei men ʒit were No word shal þei ʒit sowne Til þat þei be fallen doune Vnto þe abyme wiþouten siʒt And þere þei shul haue left her liʒt	22485
	And wex as blac as any cole Lord who may bis benne bole Pat ben so soilid in oure synne And al biwounden now berynne	22490

	An vncoupe day hit shal be kidde be moone penne pat is so shene Whenne hit is in waxing sene Shal bicome reed as bloode For drede of him was done on rode	22495
	To erpe doun he shal descende But pere no while shal he lende Into pe see shal hit ryn Pere to be hid wipIn For to fle pe day of awe Whenne crist shal come him to shawe	22500
//	Pe ferbe day bat benne shal be	22505
	Shal be grisly vpon [to] see	
	Pe sonne þat here is so brigt And serueb al þis world of ligt Hit shal bicome ful vnfaire	fol. 125r col. 2
	Dym & blak as any hayre	22510
	In his fairist tyme onne to loke	
	At mydday as seib be boke Blake hit shal so bi his my3t	
	No mon perof shal haue no sizt	
	A lord wo shal be pe mon	22515
	Pat shal haue no mercy bon To whom he his wrabbe shal kibe	
	Shal bei neuer fro benne be blibe	
//	Vgly shal be be fifte day	
"	More ben any tonge con say	22520
	Alle doumbe beestis hit is tolde	
	To heuenwarde shal her hedis holde Vpon oure lord for to crye	
	If bei myzte speke to aske mercye	
	Into be erbe shal somme ryn	22525
	For ferdenes to hyde hem In	
	Oon shal crye wip strenger steuen Pen now may do ten or elleuen	
	Al for drede of his comyng	
	Pat doom shal deme of al bing	22530
//	Pe sixte day soop to seyn	
	Al bis world shal be made pleyn	
	Iliche bi þen shal ben al	
	Valeyes vp ryse & hilles fal Al þis erþe now vndir heuen	22535
	Shal penne be Iliche euen	22333

//

Pe pe Erbe Tour Per is But h Wode	rede of bat hyze demere es shal turne al into were shal quake neuer er so fast & toun benne doun to cast in owerk so strong ny wal it benne doun shal fal & wal doun shal drawe rede of bat demers awe	22540
Sorwe	eful shal þe seuenþe be	22545
Moor	e ben be sixte out of pite	
For to	es forcasten shul hem peyne o rizten hem vp azeyne	fol. 125v col. 1
	be crop vpwarde be rote before is not to mote	22550
	emefully benne shul bei quake	22330
Þat al	pe erpe shal toshake	22552
	where shul we benne rest	22555
	ene noon shal wite where is best	22556
	mot alle folke dyze orwefulnes þat þei shul dryze	22559 22560
101 50	is weruntes par per shar dry 3e	22300
Bifore Of hin To hy Hit sh Alle the But he Pat w Vp to Wip s Pe fise	step tokene hab no make te noon of so myche wrake te chanel be se shal ryse de hit but hit may no wyse hal brest ouer dale and doun bingis benne to droun te vs faile bat hab hit tolde as good moyses be olde be sky ryse shal he trengbe bere to gete entre shis bat berynne are stad te make vs of so glad	22565 22570
To ert And v Pe see Doun Vnto	bewarde penne shal pei fle wene pat god hem may not se e a3eyn: him shal wipdrawe fro pe lifte to a lawe hir chanel shal she turne too to ho[r]es vche a burne	22575
Was n Wiþ s As hit	npe day shal be kene toon siche of pese opere sene peche shal al ping him mene twip monnes moup my3te bene twe to warant seynt Austyne	22580

	Pat telleþ how þis world shal fyne Pei shul crye on oure lord on hi3t Haue mercy on vs for þi my3t Lord god þat lasteþ ay Pou shalt vs do to worþe away To turne a3eyn as nou3t ne ware Lord let vs not forfare	22585 22590
//	Pe tenpe out taken is to neuen Per is no halwe vndir heuen And heuen hitself shal be ferd	fol. 125v col. 2
	For him pat made myddelerd As seynt Ierom vs tellep And pope gregore pere he spellep Aungels penne shul quake vnqueme For doute of him pat al shal deme	22595
	Penne shal quake cherubyn And also shal do seraphyn No creature shal lust play Seynt petur shal be doumb bat day Pat he a word shal not dur speke	22600
	For doute of his lordis wreke For heuen he shal se parte in sunder And he shal here hit crye to wondir Crye & bray for doute & drede Haue mercy lord now is nede	22605
	Pen shal bei bat in helle are cropen Whenne ligt shal shyne & heuenes open Pe fendis alle shul walken oute Poul hit seib hit is no doute Hereb now what bei shal say	22610
	For drede bei shul haue of bat day Ihesus lord bat didest vs dwelle In heuen & siben berfro we felle We haue hit lost wib greet foly In bis greet nede we to be cry Di wrecche hondiwerke in wo	22615
	Pat bou of fire suffrest so	22620
	3elde vs azeyn oure hostel now	22623
	Pat vs is refte & we noot how	22023
	We wolde hit vndirfonge ful feyn If we my3te haue oure erde a3eyn	22625

// Pe tokene of he elleuenhe day Soone I shal hit nowe say Soore shal hit do men to gryse

Wynde on euery syde shal ryse So fast vchon azeyn ober shal blowe	22630
Pat is no tunge hit may showe be erbe shal hit brynge to drifte	fol. 126r col. 1
And vp out of be stide to lifte Pe deueles out shal be fordryuen Out of bat erde bat shal be ryuen Bere her bodyes in bat ayr bat si3t shal be ful vnfair	22635
Penne shal þe reynbowe descende In hewe of galle hit shal be kende Wiþ þo wyndis shal hit melle And dryue hem doun alle into helle And bete þo deueles þidir In In her bale euer to bryn	22640
Pei shul be bede to holde hem bore	22645
Abouen erbe to come no more	22646
Þenne shul þo fendis crize & calle	22649
Lord god fadir of alle	22650
Pou let vs vndir erþe be hid	
Pat we be here no lengir kid	
Pe twelpe tokene is sorwes sere Pourze myzte of him pat al may stere No mon pat is in erpe wrouzt	22655
Owe to let hit out of his bouzte But to mende his lyf bare And benke on him oure lady bare Heuen shal benne be loken azeyn	
A dredeful day to be certeyn	22660
How may we penne here lende Whenne al ping drawep to ende Penne aungels pat in heuen shul be Shul kne[1] bifore cristis kne	
And crye mercy to þat kyng	22665
Pat hei se redy to demyng	
For hat reube shul bei be rad	
bei se ouer al be world sprad	
Whenne aungels bus shul drede bat pas	22670
What shal synful say allas	22070
Þe þrettenþe day shal be snelle	
More ben any tonge may telle	22672
Whenne alle be stones bat are wrougt	22675
Vndir heuen in world brouzt	
Aboue þe erþe & byneþen	fol. 126r col. 2

As bondir dob w So harde dyntis : Hab noon euen b	ler wip siche myʒt rip fire liʒt shul pei kipe	22680
Pat al to peces sl Pis shal be lasty Pe seigne of his Pe men hat his d Vndir an hil shal	hul þei brest ng al a day sory play lay shal abyde	22685
	it shal be grille strait to knowe yl & snowe e þondir & leuen	22690
And droune al pe cloudis to be For to hyde hem For to fle pat day bat oure lord should be should	i þen þerIn y so breme	22695
What shal be be As I haue herd I Men seyn & soo Pat hit shal be e Dis myddelerd s	shal 3ou say ob hit may bifalle ndynge of alle	22700
And alle wattris Pei shul turne as As bei were firs	passeballe londe bat renne in stronde geyn to nougt te ar bei were wrougt	22705
Heuen & erbe to Pat euer shal be		22710
	we of be dome erd be blast of beme hal come to deme	22711
In what fourme	I shal 30w shawe en to trowe trewe yne or iewe rexioun	fol. 126v col. 1 22716

Ihesu coom to his frendis swete	
Pat set were at her mete & ete	22720
And bo bat were in drede or doute	
Wip stabul troupe he brouzte hem oute	
And sipen vp to heuen he styze	
Mony mon hit stood & syze	
His disciplis for bat caas	22725
Miche ioye maden in plas	
A cloude bei sey azeyn him lizt	
And bar him vp was wondir brizt	
Verrey god & mon to say	
For to deme on domes day	22730
In þat fourme come shal he þare	
As he in erbe his crosse bare	
So shal he come but wite 3e bon	
Þat siþ þe world first bigon	
Was neuer seen so sorweful tyde	22735
As pat day shal be to byde	
Whenne he coom firste vs to redresse	
He coom al wib mekenesse	
Pat coome was derne & myche hid	
And but to fewe men benne kid	22740
His oper comyng wol he showe	
To al bis world hit to knowe	
Heuen & erbe for him shal drede	
As 3e haue bifore herde rede	
Hit is no clerke may write with Ink	22745
Ny no moub to mene ny hert bink	
Pe hundride pousandis of kny3tis	
Shal folwe bat lord myche of my3tis	
Wip him to come alle to pis day	2277
Alas what shal be synful say	22750
Vngeyn benne shal be his gamen	
Whenne he shal se al brenne samen	
Londe & see & alle pingis	
Pat in his world stondeh or hyngis	6-1-1061-0
Sorweful beb ben be synful chere	fol. 126v col. 2
Whenne alle shul bo trumpes here	22756
Bifore be face of bat caisere	
Aungels shulen his banere bere	
His rode bat he was onne spred	22760
Pat he vs wip to lyf hap led	22760
He ouercome be fend berfore	
Is no baner he dredeb more	
Was neuer sonne shynynge so clere	
Pe tenbe part as bat banere	

Pe briztenes of pat croise shene Ouer al pe world shal be sene	22765
Pus shal come god and mon	
To deme be doom vpon men bon	
At doom shal he not sitte alone	
But wib seyntis monyone	22770
Alle bo as seib be boke	
Pat worldis worshepe here forsoke	
Siluer & gold & ese of lyf	
And toke here flesshe for him to stryf	
And trauailed hem on alle wyse	22775
To peyne hem in his seruyse	
And folwed trewely alle his lawes	
Po men shul be as his felawis	
For to deme bobe good & wik	
Wheher bei be deed or quyk	22780
Alle bat shul ben at bat assise	
Al hool hemself shal vpryse	
In body & soule on newe manere	
Pourze myzte of ihesu dere	
Pat same flesshe bat we have now	22785
Pat shul we haue so shul we trow	
And ober noon we writen fynde	
Pat oper leuep of troupe are blynde	22788
Pouze mon be molten flesshe & bones	22791
Fro tyme bat he be roten ones	
To haue lyme & lyf as he had ore	
Hit semeb nay neuermore	
To mystrow pat hit is no nede	22795
Herken whi I shal 30u rede	
Whenne god hit wol bat vp bereb al	fol. 127r col. 1
Pat monnes flesshe to molde fal	
Migt he not benne wib his mayn	
Pat ilke molde make flesshe azayn	22800
He þat al made kyng of blis	
May al do bat his wille is	
He bat dob flesshe be erbe & doust	
May make hit flesshe at his lust	22005
Soone con he make a body of ouzt Pat al bis world made of nouzt	22805
Perfore shortly benne bus may he	
Do alle binge at his wille to be	
Here of doute no mon in dede	
For troube may do vs best to spede	22810
Whoso douteb bis is childe be more	42010
Of trewe troube his is be lore	
or none doube his is he tole	

//	Al may he do bat al weldes	
"	If bou wolt wite of her eldis	
	Pat bei shul benne In vp ryse	22815
	Seynt poul seib on bis wise	22013
	Pat lasse & more olde & 3ing	
	At pat forseid vprisyng	
	Shal be of elde as bei shulde here	22820
	Haue dyzed in her britty zere	22820
	Pat elde pat crist had at his dede	
	Whenne he vs brougt fro be quede	
	And if any mon here lyuonde	
	Wemmed was on foot or honde	
	On hede or bak brest or syde	22825
	As we se chaunces ofte bityde	
	On moup nese or elliswhare	
	Or bouche vpon body bare	
	Crepul croked or bynomen	
	Or lymes azeyn kynde becomen	22830
	Forsobe I say wipouten lesyng	
	At þat ilke vprysyng	
	Alle bo bat god hab chosen to his	
	For to be brougte into his blis	
	What so bei in bis lyf han bene	22835
	Per shal no wem on hem be sene	
	Ny nouzt but al fairhede	fol. 127r col. 2
	As we in holy scripture rede	
	Ri3t lymmes shul be[i] haue vchone	
	Hit shal wante bere to hem none	22840
	Take tent what I seye to be	
	Of feire stature shul be saued be	22842
	be dampned shul haue fairhede none	22845
	Al goodnes shal be hem wone	
	Of hem is not to telle in tale	
	Wiboute bote bei shul haue bale	
	Wipodie bote per situr nade bare	
//	Þe childre þat are abortyues	
"	Po are bat ben not born in lyues	22850
	Shal ryse in britty zeer of elde	
	But litil bote to hem to welde	
	For pei were not baptised Iwis	
	Shal bei haue no part of blis	
	Pese maystris grete say hat bey	22856
	May saued be by no wey	22859
	Po men bat bourge her owne gilt	22860
	Wip hedyng or hongyng were spilt	22800
	Pourze her synne & her foly	

Wib houndis eten be moost party	
Mony wenen hat ben not wyse	
Pat hat flesshe shal not hool vpryse	22075
Pat to wene is but falshede	22865
Now wole I 30w be resoun rede	
Hit is out of al skil & ri3t	
For to mystrowe in goddis my3t	
What mon may wite or ellis lere	
What ege may se or ere here	22870
What mon here may benke in bou3t	
How al pis world oure lord wrou3t	
Heuen & erbe he vpholdeb	
Mizty god þat al woldeþ	
May we not se how of a sede	22875
An hundride dob he for to brede	
And bi his wille dob bat kyng	
Out of be harde tre to spryng	
Firste be leef & benne be floure	
And sipen fruyt wip his sauoure	22880
Vche fruyt for his ceesoun	fol. 127v col. 1
Owge we herof to feeche resoun	
How he dob alle binge to note	
Pat were but surfete vche grote	
Þe more mon swinkeþ þ <i>er</i> aboute	22885
Fro spede be ferber is he oute	
A saumple I shal 30w telle þerby	
Pat I fond in a book of seynt gregory	
Pere he was in a stide sumwhore	
A crafty clerke & wys of lore	22890
Asked hym a questioun	
Of a wolf and a lyoun	
And of be bridde bat was a man	
Pus his tale he bigan	
A man walks hower a good his way	22005
A mon welke bourge a wod his way	22895
And nyze his wey a wolf him lay Pis wolf was vnmesure mete	
Al bis monnes flesshe he ete	
1	
Anoon as he so had done An hongry leoun met he soon	22000
Vp & doun his prey sekonde	22900
Whenne he noon oper beest fonde Pis wolf he felde & eet him al	
Laft he nouher greet ny smal	
Pe leoun aftir dyzed in hy	22005
	22905
Deed bere con his careyn ly	

And so was roten al to nou3t	
Where shal now his mon be sougt	
For I may leue on no wyse	
Pat his mon to lyf may ryse	22910
Siþ noon is I wene þat kan	
Twynne be erbe bat coom of man	
Fro be erbe bat coom of beest	
Seynt gregore 3af vnswere honest	
To bat mon bat was in were	22915
Pe soop shewed he him al clere	
And proued hit wip questioun	
Pat at be grete resurrexioun	
Wib alle his lymmes hool & fere	
He shulde come be doom to here	22920
For bouze his body were al brynt	fol. 127v col. 2
And blowen & be poudir tynt	
3it may god geder hit wib mayn	
And newe hit at his wille azayn	
Al be flesshe bat was of mon	22925
Sobely shal be reised bon	
Pat was of man shal com to craft	
Pat was on beest shal be laft	
He þat made boþe wiþ his art	
Ful wel he con hem depart	22930
So holly shul bei ryse bere	
Hem shal not want of heed on here	
Ny not a nayl of foot ny honde	
And 3it shal we vndirstonde	
Þat nail & heer þat haþ ben shorne	22935
Beb not bere hit was biforne	
But as he potter doh ful wel	
Whenne he fordob his newe vessel	22938
He casteb sone al in a bal	22941
A better for to make wipal	
Not he lokeb whiche was whilke	
But makeh anoher of hat ilke	
Feirer ben be firste was wrouzt	22945
So shal crist doute we nougt	
He þat is lord of erþe & heuen	
May of bat ilke selue euen	
Pat firste was molten into lame	
Make a wel feirer licame	22950
And if hit were more or les	
To mesure hit as his wille es	

Pat be day of doom shal comme Pat day he wolde himselfe vpryse He shal vs reise bat ilke wyse	22955
He shal deme at mydny3t	
Pat same day he sent his my3t	
Vnto egipte be folk to quelle	
And in siche tyme he harwed helle	22960
Þat ilke tyme shal come þat kynge	
His trewe to his blisse brynge	22962
[be place of dome bere alle shul mete	fol. 136v col. 2
Vs telleb Iohel be prophete	22065
And in him seip oure lord fyne	22965
Whenne I shal have mercy of myne	
And breke be bondes of her trespace	
I shal hem coumforte & solace In vale of Iosephat I shalle	
Do to be gedered ledes alle	22970
Pere shal I 3yue my doom of drede	fol. 137r col. 1
But mony 3it con his not rede	101. 1571 001. 1
Woot not mony bi bis tale	
What tokeneb Iosephathes vale	
Among an hundride men allone	22975
Vndirstondeb hit not one	
Þei wene þat oure lord of my3t	
Shal com into bat vale to list	
Pat Iosephat is nemed eer	
Men wene be doom shal be beer	22980
Vndir be mount of oliuete	
As hit is tolde of prophete	
Pei tente only but to be lettre	
Litil berfore be bei be bettur	
Iosephat who takeb tent	22985
Bitokeneb goddes iuggement	
Ierom seib of bat prophecie	
Pat Iosephat may signifie	
Oure lordis dome who truly spelles	22000
Pat is be word and nou3t elles But whoso wol wite be sobe ri3t	22990
As at seint poules word he myzt	
He seip oure lord ligte shal	
Doun to be cloudes abouen vs al	
In be eir aboue he shal him showe	22995
To done his mizte to vs be knowe	
Pere shul we mete wip him to lende	
Euermore wibouten ende	
Þe wickede þat dreden not his awe	

Here doun shul be demed lawe bei shul no mizte haue vp to wynne For heuy karked of her synne	23000
Vp in he sky he doom shal be So troweh holy chirche & we But is no mon so wis con telle How longe at doom ihesu shal dwelle But he vprisyng of euerychone Shal be done soone anone	23005
Bobe shul rise benne sikurly	
Alle bat are dede & shulen dy	23010
Seint austyn seib of bat day	fol. 137r col. 2
Is noon con goddes counsel say be day of doom hit callen men	
Wheher her be mo ben oon ben	
Vndir be name of day men shalle	23015
Vndirstonde þe tyme þat alle	200.0
Shal be demed at doom so strong	
Wheher hit laste short while or long	
Þei þat bremely shul dege þat tide	
To bete shul haue no space to bide	23020
And bei bat haue but synnes ligt	
Shul clensed be for bat sizt Of fender hat shul to doom be led	
Of fendes bat shul to doom be led bei shul of hem be so adred	
Pei shul at doom so lodly be	23025
Pat seintis þat shul on hem se	23020
Quake shul bei for fere & drede	
To mistrowe bis · is no nede	
Po þat in ligt synnes be take	
And dud no penaunce for bat sake	23030
Pei shul haue noon obere pyne	
But sizte of bat lithur hyne	23032
Pat ferdenes shal be so vnmete	23035
Pat hit may alle suche synnes bete Pat founden are in dedly synne	
Wenden to peyne wipouten blynne	
wenden to peyne wipodien orymie	
At his day as we may seen	
Alle ledes in foure dalt shul ben	23040
De gode in two on his ri3t honde	
be wicked in two on lifte to stonde	
Pe formast rowe shul stonde him nere	
Po bat ben his dereworhe dere	23045
Pat al bis worldis welbe forsoken	23043
And only to god hem token	

And lasten of be fulbe of synne An bisieden hem to pleisen hym And wenten into religioun And duden her bodies into prisoun And swonken bobe day & ny3t	23050
To serue god ful of my3t Penne shul þei be made so fre	fol. 137v col. 1
Pat bei shul not demed be Alle bese holly shul come	23055
Wib oure lorde vnto be dome Not to be demed we shul wite But in her setes for to sit Feloushipe oure lord to bere Bobe as Iustise and demere Longe is siben ihesu crist Iwis Het bis couenaunt vnto his	23060
Pe tober rowe bat biside shal be	
Shal be louely onne to se Hit shal be of good cristen lede	23065
Pat duden in lif mony good dede Pat bouze bei riches had Inouze	
Perfore bei to no tresour drouze	
But greet parti of her catele Pei dud to pore men hit dele	23070
And her hertis for loue of mede Pe nedy for to clobe & fede	
And willeful were & perto glad	
To do as holy chirche hem bad And here wolde her mis amende	23075
And trewe bileuen at her ende Pese men bat bus hem bare in fere	
Pei shul but of good doom here	
Lizt shal be her part bat day To hem swetely shal he say	23080
3e blessed folk men & wyues	
Pat to me serued in 3oure lyues In my disese 3e dud me gode	
Whenne I hongride 3e 3aue me fode	22005
Me birsted sore drinke 3e me brou3t Prisoned I was & 3e me sou3t	23085
When I in sekenes stad was sore	
3e coom to coumforte me perfore Bi nakudnes whenne I toke harm	
Wib clobing 3e made me warm	23090
Whenne I was wagering out of rest	

	Godely toke 3e me to gest	
	For 3e to me were so hende	fol. 137v col. 2
	3e shul haue heuen wibouten ende	
	Euer ze shul haue hit wib wynne	23095
	Neuermore perfro to twynne	
	Þenne shul þese companyes two	
	To heuen wipouten ende go	
	Ihesu crist vs þider brynge	
	For here is febul abidynge	23100
//	Penne shul stonde on his obere side	23103
	Wrecched stad in wo ful wide	
	be lord of my3t bat al walt	23105
	Shal do hem in two be dalt	
	Lodly & stynkynge shul bei be	
	Sory & sorweful on to se	
	Þe furste moost stynkonde	
	Pat shul be of pe wrecches mistrowonde	23110
	Pat renayed are traitours fals	
	Murpereres & forsworen als	
	Pat bourge cursyng or obere pligt	
	Haue lost holy chirches li3t	
	Fro comynynge of cristen men	23115
	Po careful shul be eb to ken	
	Pat in her lif were won to ly	
	In horedome and in lecchery	
	Folwynge al her flesshes wille	22122
	And moost hem liked dedes ille	23120
	Wipouten pite or wille to mende	
	And vnshryuen were at her ende	
	But dezed in dedly synne of dede	
	Hem to deme shal be no nede	23125
	Pei were dampned er bei coom bere	23123
	Her doom vpon hemself bei bere]	
//	Pe oper rowe is euel Inowe	fol. 128r col. 1
	Of fals cristen ful of wowe	
	Pat callen hem cristen men in name	
	And euer deseruen goddis grame	23130
	Falsely is he for cristen tolde	
	Pat wole not cristis lawes holde	
	Fals is bat loue to knawe	
	Pat nouper wole for loue ny awe	
	Do þat shulde god queme	23135
	And perwip myste himself seme	
	But in pride & tricchery	

In nythe & onde & lecchery And in vntolde synnes fele Pe hundride part may I not mele Pat mon now in his lyf ledis So douke pei into wickedhedis On euery side penne gedered pei	23140
But litil bare he pepul awey Forgo may hei not herfore Nouher to 3yue lasse ny more Couetise forsohe to telle	23145
Hab mony a soule brouzte to helle Bisuylid hit hab be world on brede Vnnebe is ber any in lede Pat wele wol shryue hem of bis sake Ni for no counsel amendis make Wite hit wel bo bat siche are	23150
Shul be demed al in care To myche sorwe & wo to þaym Al þis world my3te hem not raym Wiþ muche wraþþe & woful chere Oure lord shal sey þat þei shul here	23155
Do fleeb hennes 3e maledi3t To my blisse haue 3e no ri3t Oft I was wib maleese met But for 3ou ferde I neuer be bet In hongur & birste ofte say 3e me But herof hadde ze no pite	23160
But herof hadde 3e no pite Goob to be deuel here shul 3e go	23165
For to welle euer in wo Euer in his woo to welle Wib him & his bat are in helle A lord he were wyse bat mouzt Stidfastely holde bis day in bouzt And to forzete hit neuermore Whilis bat he lyuyng wore Denne myzte he make here his way	fol. 128r col. 2 23168 23175
Fro wrecche to were him on bat day Fro bat day be comen In Shal neuer soule fro body twyn For good & euel bat bei dud ere Whil bei togider alyue were	23180
Togider shul bei take also Her worbi mede in wele or wo Ouber in heuen or ellis in helle Wib sathanas euer to dwelle Fro bat iuggement benne be done	23185

//

Penne shul þei be casten soone In a stinkynge pit of fire Pere shal be 3oulden hem her hyre	23190
As seip be book of priuete Pat seynt Ion was set to se A pit men calleb oft by stounde Pat hab nay in him no grounde So be pit of helle pyne	23194 23197
Hit is so deep wipouten fyne bat ende beb bere neuer vpon A stang forbi hit calleb Ion He bat doukeb ones ber doun	23200
Comeb neuer out of bat prisoun be fire bat bere is for to bryn Neuermore may hit blyn	23205
Nyne peynes principal ben bere Crist let vs neuer be in bat fere	
Pe firste hit is fyre of hete Pat al þe mychel se so wete Pouze hit were casten þerIn Hit shulde neuer þe lasse bryn So þat oure fire is no more	23210
Azeyn be fyre bat brenneb bore benne peynted fire azeyn oure myzt bat on a wal bi mon were dizt Foreuer hit brenneb nyzt & day But zyue lizte neuer he may	fol. 128v col. 1 23216
Pe toper pyne is colde so kene Pat monnes mouh may hit not mene Pat houze a fire were made in haast And hourze hulke watir past In turnyng of hyn honde aboute Hit wolde be colde out of doute	23220
Pe bridde pyne is hard to dryze Of wormes bat shul neuer dize Felle dragouns and todes bobe bat ben vpon to loke ful lobe	23225
Ful lobsum on to here & se Ful wo is hem bat bere shal be As we se fisshes in watir swymme So lyue bei in bat lowe so dymme	23230

//	Pe ferbe peyne hit is of stynk Pat may no mon so myche bink Mony harde & spitouse dynt Shul be wrecches bere hynt As hit we[re] dyntis of a stiby Pat smybes smyten in her smybi Do dyntis are ful fers to falle Harder ben dynt of yren malle	23235 23240
//	Pe sixte is wipouten hope Suche derknes pat men may grope So wondir picke shal hit be Pat noon may on opere se	
//	De seuenpe shame for her synne Lastynge euer wipouten blynne For perto shal vchone haue si3t To se shenshepe on operes pli3t	23245
//	Pe ei3teb pyne is ful gryse To se bo fendis in her wyse Strong peyne is on hem to loke To [bo] bat ben in her croke Pat deolful dyn & bittur bere Pat bei wibouten ende shul here Of bo wepyng in her wo Pat shal hem laste euer and o	23250 fol. 128v col. 2 23256
//	Firen bondis is be nynde As we in holy writt fynde Her lymmes shul be bounden berwib Wibouten ese of any lib But o poynt is hem peynes more ben alle ober her bifore bei wib her peyne hab noon ende For bei haue no tyme to mende	23260
//	Now haue 3e herde bo peynes nyne Here now be skile of euery pyne Nyne ordris of aungellis bei forsoke Whenne bei to be fend hem toke Perfore shul bei pyned be Wib bo peynes sixe & bre	23265
//	And for bei were wont to bryn In couetise catele to wyn	23270

Whil bei in	bis world	were
Þerfore þei	shul euer	brenne þere

	Periote per shareder brenne pere	
//	And ho men hat so euol dide here And lay herynne fro zeer to zere hei brent heryn so were hei bold hei shul haue euer hat watir cold	23275
//	Po þat euer had wraþþe & nyþe And wiþ bacbytynge wolde kiþe Po wormes euer shul on hem wrote In bale wiþouten hope of bote	23280
//	And for bei were here wont to lye In stynkynge lust of leccherye And wolde not haue but her delices Pat drouze hem into obere vices Pei shul haue bat stynke Iwis Pat bei shul neuer more of mys	23285
//	And for bei wolde no scourgyng Pole for loue of heuen kyng bei shul be beten euer on oon Mercy shul bei euer forgoon	23290
//	And for bei wolde not be lizt Of sobfastenes to haue be sizt Pat is of god lord of lond Pei haue derkenes euer lastond	fol. 129r col. 1 23296
//	And for bei wolde not shrifte take And at her ende amendes make Vchone shal se wib sizt of shame What blenche is on ober for blame	23300
//	And bei bat wolde no preching here Of god nor of his lawes lere Perfore shul bei here be sounes Bobe of neddres & dragounes Of fendis also bat foule cry Wo shal hem ben to be berby And for bei euer tyed were	23305
	In his lyf wih synnes sere bei shul euer suffere sorwes here Vpon her membris euerywhere Euer wende hei here to lyuen in synne	23310

Pere shul pei deze wipouten blynne	
Euer dezynge and neuer deed	
Dep shal hem fle for queed	2224
Po bat ben set in bat prisoun	23315
Vpwarde þe feet & hedis doun	
Her backis toward opere bet	
Wip pyne on euery syde biset	
Þe ri3twis men shul se þo pynes	
Vpon oure lordis liber hynes	23320
Pat her blisse may be pe more	
For hei are scaped fro hat sore	
Pe wicked also be gode shul se	
Iwrapped alle in gomen & gle	
For bei shul haue be more vnpees	23325
Pat bei haue lost hit endeles	
Til domesday þis shal be þore	
But aftir be doom benne no more	23328
Pouze bei hem se wite hit wel	23331
Of hem shul bei rewe no deel	
If fadir say his sone pare	
Or sone be fadir al in care	
Pe wif be husbonde or mon be wyf	23335
Or frend he loued as his lyf	
For her mysfare shul bei not morne	fol. 129r col. 2
Ny ones to forpinkynge turne	
But bei shul haue greet delyt	
To se hem penne in pat despit	23340
As we haue here on somer day	
To se fisshes in watir play	
For pe riztwis glad shal be	
For pe riztwis glad shal be Whenne he shal wreche on synful se	
	23345
Whenne he shal wreche on synful se	23345
Whenne he shal wreche on synful se If bei shulde for hem pray	23345
Whenne he shal wreche on synful se If bei shulde for hem pray Azeyn god were hit greet deray	23345
Whenne he shal wreche on synful se If bei shulde for hem pray Azeyn god were hit greet deray bei to him shul be so queme	23345
Whenne he shal wreche on synful se If bei shulde for hem pray Azeyn god were hit greet deray bei to him shul be so queme Al shal hem lyke bat he shal deme	23345 23350
Whenne he shal wreche on synful se If he	
Whenne he shal wreche on synful se If hei shulde for hem pray Azeyn god were hit greet deray hei to him shul he so queme Al shal hem lyke hat he shal deme Deme vs mot hat lorde so hat we neuer come in hat woo Aftir his domesmon hab done	
Whenne he shal wreche on synful se If bei shulde for hem pray Azeyn god were hit greet deray bei to him shul be so queme Al shal hem lyke bat he shal deme Deme vs mot bat lorde so bat we neuer come in bat woo Aftir bis domesmon hab done bat maker is of sonne & moone	
Whenne he shal wreche on synful se If bei shulde for hem pray Azeyn god were hit greet deray Pei to him shul be so queme Al shal hem lyke bat he shal deme Deme vs mot bat lorde so Pat we neuer come in bat woo Aftir bis domesmon hab done Pat maker is of sonne & moone He shal wende into his fadir cite	
Whenne he shal wreche on synful se If hei shulde for hem pray Azeyn god were hit greet deray Pei to him shul be so queme Al shal hem lyke hat he shal deme Deme vs mot hat lorde so Pat we neuer come in hat woo Aftir his domesmon hah done Pat maker is of sonne & moone He shal wende into his fadir cite Wih his felowshipe so fre	23350
Whenne he shal wreche on synful se If hei shulde for hem pray Azeyn god were hit greet deray Pei to him shul be so queme Al shal hem lyke hat he shal deme Deme vs mot hat lorde so Pat we neuer come in hat woo Aftir his domesmon hah done Pat maker is of sonne & moone He shal wende into his fadir cite Wih his felowshipe so fre Pe name of hat cite to neuen	
Whenne he shal wreche on synful se If bei shulde for hem pray Azeyn god were hit greet deray Pei to him shul be so queme Al shal hem lyke bat he shal deme Deme vs mot bat lorde so Pat we neuer come in bat woo Aftir bis domesmon hab done Pat maker is of sonne & moone He shal wende into his fadir cite Wib his felowshipe so fre Pe name of bat cite to neuen Is be hyze kyngdome of heuen	23350
Whenne he shal wreche on synful se If hei shulde for hem pray Azeyn god were hit greet deray Pei to him shul be so queme Al shal hem lyke hat he shal deme Deme vs mot hat lorde so Pat we neuer come in hat woo Aftir his domesmon hah done Pat maker is of sonne & moone He shal wende into his fadir cite Wih his felowshipe so fre Pe name of hat cite to neuen	23350

Of al gladnes bere is glewe	
& bat is euer Iliche newe	23360
Pat blis pat pei to shul go	
Shal be perfite wipouten wo	23362
No yze may se ne ere here	23365
Ny herte binke bo ioyes sere bat ihesu crist hab digte to his	
Pat ordeyned are to his blis	
Po cely þat shul dwelle in heuen	
In body shul haue 3iftis seuen	23370
And seuen in soule to her medes	
And shul be fourtene blissedhedis	
In body swiftenes & feirhede	
Fredome strenghe euer lyf to lede Likynge als wib lastynge hele	23375
Pe soule shal haue also fele	23313
Wisdome & frenshepe haue hit shal	
Acorde pouste & worshepe wibal	
Sikernesse and ioyeful ro	fol. 129v col. 1
How his may be I shal vndo	23380
In swiftenes shal bou be so swift	
Pat also soone as bou may lift	
Pyn eze vp wib sizte to se	
Also soone pere shal pou be	
And also soone as sonne may fest	23385
Fro eest hir leme into be west	
Also soone may bou come bidir	
Al at bi wille or ellis whidir Now at be erbe now at be lifte	
Or howeuer bou wolt be shifte	23390
Pe same may be aungels do	
Pat pou shalt euen be like to	
Of his faith and a writer how many	
Of pi feirhede wite pou man Pou shalt be brigte as sonne pan	
Pou shalt be briztere wite bou	23395
Seuen sibe ben be sonne now	
Penne may we wite hit wol by rigt	
So hab oure lord bifore vs higt	
He shal so newe oure bodies slyke	02.400
Pei shul be to himseluen like	23400
Drede no man but hat he Shal briztere hen he sonne be	
As he bat made alle binge in lede	
And shoop hem in her feirhede	
A	

	And goddis temple mon is seide Pat he to wone in hab purueide Penne mot hit nede be fair Iwis Pat In shal wone be kyng of blis	23405
//	Pe fredome shal be to vndirstonde Pi body bynde may no bonde Al þat þe wiþstondynge is Pour3e shal þou þirle wiþ þi swiftenes Per is no creature þat may	23410
	Lette be for to fare bi way Als be graue my3te not holde Oure lordis body whenne he wolde Rise bat he ne roos in plas And coom bere as his disciplis was	23415
	And dud hem soone out of her doute And al her holde was loken aboute Penne shal þi body be like to his A ful greet fredome is þis	fol. 129v col. 2 23420
//	Pou shalt haue strenghe at hi wille Wih hi fyngur to ouercaste an hille Or al erhe if he good houst As liztly ouerturne hou moust As hou may now loke wih sizt As myche henne shal be hi myst	23425
//	Likynge shal bou have to be May no bing likynger be Of welbes noon may more telle Penne haue at wille of welb be welle Pat is oure lord himself to say	23430
	Pat bou shalt se on euer and ay Pouze bou euer vpon him se	23435
	Of him shal bou neuer wery be	23436
	Dis welbe bat neuer more shal blyn	23445
	Shal be wipoute be & wipin	23446
	In his lyf haue men greet likyng	23449
	To se on many maner bing On wymmen somme to biholde In cloping as of riche golde To se biggyngis & faire townes Of dyuerse glees to here sownes	23450
	To here gode talkyngis telle Swete spices to taste & smelle To hondle pat is smepe & softe	23455

Good mete also men zerneb ofte Alle obere blisses bat may be Alle bese in be shul be plente Pou shalt hit euermore sene Wib lokynge ezen open to bene Di wittis fyue lad al in welbe	23460
And perwip euerlastynge helpe Hele wipouten seke or sore Shal pere be lastynge euermore Po pat of cares pere are quyte	23465
Iren may noon on hem byte No more may a dynt hem dere Pen men be sonnebeem to shere Of lastynge lyf bere is be land Deeb is euer bennes fleand Of bat hele may be certeyn none Her lyf shal euer laste in one	fol. 130r col. 1 23470
Pese are pe seuen blissedhedis Pat 3yuen are to pe body medis Pe soule hap also opere seuen	23475
Of hem is good now to neuen Po seyntis stad in hat cele Of wele shal hem wante no dele	23480
Of be welle of wit bei drawe Wisdome bat dob man to knawe bat was & is & euer shal be bei seen hit in be trinite	
Of alle men bei shul con telle Bobe quike & dede in heuen & helle And alle bo dedis bat bei did	23485
Pere shul be to bo seyntis kid	23488
Pei shul al knowe in ded & þou3t But þerfore vndirstonde þou nou3t Hit shal hem turne to no shame Ny no maner blenche of blame	23491
Haue neuer bi synne so foule bene Pat bou were here off shryuen clene And didest penaunce here berfore For hem shal be shame no more Pen a mon be tolde today	23495
What bou didest bo in cradel bou lay No more shame shal be binke bere ben if bou comen of batel were Wib woundis bat bou bere had take	23500

	And bou were heled of bat wrake Oberwis is not synne forzyuen But to bete hit whil we may lyuen Forzyuen are bei & neuerbelees God bat al woot bat es	23505
	Is or was or shal be euer Out of his witynge be bei neuer Shal bou haue no shame berfore But haue greet ioye bat bou were bore	23510 fol. 130r col. 2
//	Frenshipe her is hem to glade God hab hem his childre made	02515
	Pei wone wib him wib hem he wones He loueb hem as his owne sones More ben h[e]mself bei loue his sizt Pe aungels hem as hemself rizt Miche is bere her coumforde	23515
	For alle ben euer at oon acorde Pei are in onhede so in dole Pat euer her wille on his hole Whiderward so oon wol loke Alle so done seib be boke	23520
	Pat oon hit wille alle hit wolen also	23525
	Bobe god & aungel hit wole be do	23526
	Pou seist whenne pou bibenkest be	23529
	Pat [bou] woldes like to petur be	23530
	If bou bat wole bou maist wele Wibouten taryinge any dele Like to petur to be I say But to be petur say I nay	2000
	If bou to petur woldes be brouzt Penne zernest bou biself be nouzt If bou bi beyinge wolde not be Penne woldes bou were nouzt of be But bere is not to zernen more	23535
	Pen pei bi seruyse worpi wore But in pat greet stabulnes Noon shal 3erne be but pat he es For if pei 3erned so Iwis	23540
	Penne were bei not in ful blis	23544
	Vche mon shal haue be folle	23547
	Of al bat he aftir wilne wolle	23347
//	Miche also shal be her myʒt	
	Pat in pat welpe shul be so wizt	23550
	So my3tily her my3te to fille	

Pat if hit stood hem in wille To make anober erbe & heuen	
Pei my3te hit do as bei wolde neuen	
For bei wib crist ben heires alle	fol. 130v col. 1
Pere wip him stad in stalle	23556
Gode bei are & goddis heires	
To do her wille myste is beires	
Whi make bei not sib bei mow	20.540
Anoher heuen benne say bow	23560
Blebely sir I shal be telle	
For god hab wrouzte al hool to dwelle	
Of his werkis vnhool is noon	
But in weizte mesure & tale vchon	22565
If bei anober heuen wrougt	23565
Hit were surfete & for nouzt	
Mony bingis may we do	
Pat better were vndone þen so As for to skoupe & to ryn	
Whenne bettur tyme were to blyn	23570
Whorto shulde we furber stryue	23310
Pen for to be in seyntis lyue	
Wite we may hit alle wel	
We shal be lyke to aungel	
And not forbi bouze bei be alle	23575
In oure dere fadris halle	23313
Pei shul in wonynge stides sere	
Vchone haue her ioye plenere	
Of her worshepe what may we mene	
Pat crist him kipep to hem clene	23580
Aungels shal hem menske dere	
And seyntis as bei goddis were	
To worshepe hat god hat hem digt	
And made hem bobe in mood & my3t	
Heuen & erbe & creatour	23585
Shal bere hem worshepe & honour	
Sonne mone watir & sterne	
Pat now renneh in cours zern	
Into better state shal stonde	
Fro benne no lengur to be rennonde	23590
Perfore bei shul hem worshepe bere	
Pat als myche as in hem were	
Wip al her worshepe as bei my3t best	
For to brynge hem into rest	
Of her sikernesse now to say	fol. 130v col. 2
Certis ber is noon ober way	23596
array has no moon where wall	

For fro be welbe bat bei are In	
Is no bing may hem twyn	
Ny no mystyme may hem bityde	
For bei are triste on euery syde	23600
Pat god hab 3yuen hem to mede	
To lose bei woot is no drede	
Her ioye & gladshipe who con tel	
No mon forsobe in flesshe ny fel	
For to biholde be trinite	23605
How he is oon god in bre	
Him to se face to face	
Pat euer shal be & euer wase	
Pei shul haue ioye wipynne & oute	
And on vche syde aboute	23610
Ouer & vndir & euerywhere	
Oure lord 3yue vs wonynge bere	
Pese are be ioyes & mony elles	
God 3yueb to hem bat wib him dwelles	
But als bese goddis frendes shalle	23615
Worshepe haue among hem alle	
So shal bo wrecchis for her sake	
Laste in pyne wibouten slake	
Pese shul be feire & my3ty bobe	
Pe oper shul be grisly & lope	23620
Pei shul be lizte as foul to flye	
Þe oþ <i>er</i> e heuy wo to dryze	
Þei shul be wondir strong & wi3t	
Þe oþere febel wiþouten my3t	
Pei shul lyue in fredome fre	23625
Pe obere euer in bondage to be	
Pei shul euere lyue in delite	
Pe toper euermore in despite	
In helle shul bei lyue euermore	
Euer to be seke & sore	23630
Þei shul be euer in lastyng lyf	
P[es]e oher & deh shul euer stryf	
Þei shul haue wit hem to wyse	
Þese oþ <i>er</i> e filled of alle folyse	
For if bei ouzte witen bare	fol. 131r col. 1
Hit is but of sorwe & care	23636
Pei shul of swete frenshepe be treste	
Pei shul of vche fredome freist	
Pei shul acorde wib alle binge	
Pes obere euer debatynge	23640
Pei shul haue weldenes at wille	
Pe opere vnwelde in likyng ille	

To bese shal worshepe alle creaturis Pese obere of alle haue dishonures Pese are for trist blybe & glad Pese obere quake euer for drad Pese lawzen for ioye bei ben in lende Pese obere wepen in woo wibouten ende Fro bat sorwe & al bat wyte Ihesu crist make vs quyte And 3yue vs grace so to do Pat we may come to his blisse so	23645 23650
Off blisse & ioye haue 3e herd Now shal I telle 3ou of þe werd Pat fordone is & al fordryuen Aftir þat doom is 3yuen Hit shal be brent so deep & dry As noe flood roos vp on hy	23655
Penne shal hit haue a shap al newe Euermore to stonde trewe Alle be elementis bat we se Pei shulen alle clensed be	23660
Pat now be stirynge alle shul stonde Shal penne be no peyne in londe Suche as we now vche day are In Pat god sent us for oure synne Of bot such as a lade over a service de	23665
Of hoot ny colde reyn nor wynde Shal benne be no storme to fynde No myste no merke in no manere Of wedir bis world for to dere And as oure bodyes bat we here bere Ben feirer ben bei euer were So bis world shal benn now abrond	23670
So bis world shal haue new shroud Had hit neuer noon so proud An hundride sibe of feirer hewe Heuen & erbe shal be made newe Sunne & mone sterre & lift	fol. 131r col. 2 23676
Pat bi strengbe be now shift Alle wattris now rennynge wete Shul be in better astate to mete Fro pat tyme shul bei stille stonde Wib mychel blis to be lastonde	23680
Pe sonne shal haue scripture sayes Pe brigtenes benne of seuen dayes Pe watir bat wette cristis flesshe And bi bapteme his seyntis wesshe Fro bat tyme ouerpasse hit shal	23685

De shene shynyng cristal De erbe bat cristis cors in bred Of paradis shal ben a sted And for sum tyme made reed hit was Wib seyntis blood shed in plas Hit shal be filled wib mony flouris	23690
Swete smellyng of dyuerse colouris Pat neuermore shal falle ne dwyne But as paradise shal shyne Pe erbe bat firste was maledigt	23695
To pornes for oure eldre pli3t Penne shal hit blessed be & quyte Of labour sorwe & of wite Neuermore from pat day Knowe of harmes noon hit may Pus shal he make hit stande Pe lord pat is al weldande	23700
3e cristen men aboute 3e loke	23705
Alle pat euer hap herde pis boke Of zoure lif pat ze here lede 3e turne hit not into wanspede Whoso wol him wel bipinke	
Pe world is fals & ful of swynke Fa[l]s hit is we may se how	23710
And we wol algate peron trow Pis litil lyf we haue in hond	
We wene hit be euerlastond	
Deb we wene alwey to stille	fol. 131v col. 1
Pat dob vs myche spedyng spille	23716
Hit blendeb vs a litil 3ele	
Pat we con not oureseluen fele	
Dam fortune turneb hir wheel anone	
Pat casteb doun monyone	23720
Of pat douncaste we may bi chaunce	
Anent his world get coueraunce And come to worldis welhe azeyn	
A while to holde wip myche peyn	
But berwib fynde we anober stryf	23725
Pat waiteh nohing but oure lyf	ل الله الله الله
Deb vs hab biset oure strete	
Wol we or nyl we we shul him mete	
Alle shul we renne into his lace	
Oper wey shal noon apace	23730
Euer he waiteh vs hat quede	
Is nohing certeynour ben dede	

//

Ny vncerteynour þen his tyde	
Perfore we owe him euer to abyde	
To passe a pace bat is so hard	23735
And we woot neuer whodirward	
We shul alle heben wende	
Here is good to make vs frende	23738
Perfore his lyf he hab vs lent	23741
To serue him euer wip oure entent	
Pat his commaundementis be done	
If we do mys to mende hit sone	
To trauaile ordeyned he bis lyf	23745
Azeyn oure foos bre to stryf	
Oure flesshe bis world & be werlawe	
We are bounden in her awe	
Oure flesshe is euer to synne crous	
Pe world hateful & couetous	23750
Pe fend serueb of wrabbe & pride	
Pis werre wip vs on euery syde	
Pese pre may we wel fordryue	
If we wole treuly lede oure lyue	
For bobe may falle hem mon & wif	23755
Azeyn hem stalworpely to stryf	
If we wol strongly vs stere	fol. 131v col. 2
Cristis help shal be vs nere	
His helpe & oure wittis eke	
If we wole him trewly biseke	23760
Forsobe if we wol do oure peyn	
Pei haue no myzte to stonde azeyn	
3if we wole note on hem oure my3t	
Certis bei ben felde in fizt	
Pat londe is esy for to wynne	23765
Pat no mon is to kepe hit Inne	
And he is also a foul coward	
Pat nobing may bole of hard	
Pat zeldeb him ar he be souzt	
And leseb so himself for nougt	23770
Fizte he shulde if he dud rizt	
And fle whenne he no lenger my3t	
Fele ber ben of vs in drede	
Pat zelden hem er bei haue nede	
Vnto be fend ful of pli3t	23775
Wibouten any assaut of figt	
But euer to falle ben redy	
Who my3te do more cowardly	
Pen to falle bifore be torn	
1	

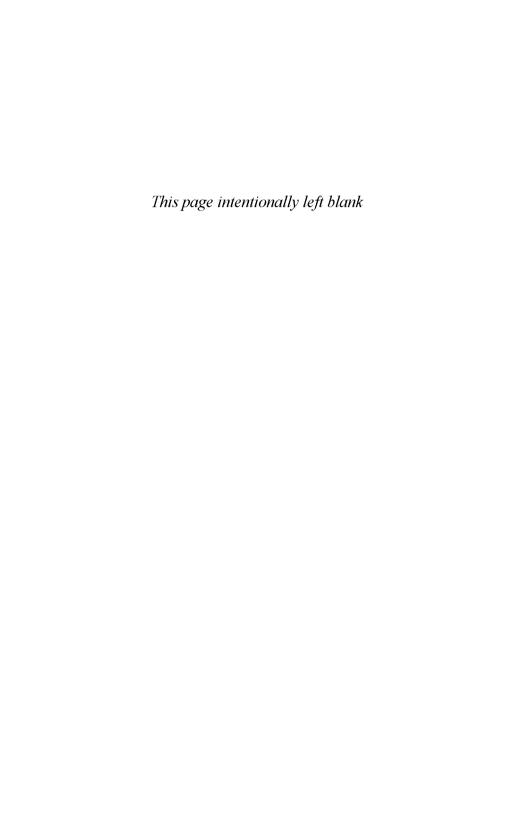
And wole not bide to 3yue a sporn Alle þat oure flesshe vs ledeþ tille Of al oure wele hit is oure wille And þouze we knowe hit myswrouzt	23780
Hit to fulfille we fyne nou3t Alas for a litil lust A dreury þat is but a dust We þralle vs to oure fulle fo In prisoun forlye I in wo	23785
Of siche are bere mony now Alas how dar bei bat avow Whi selle we vs to bat sorwe Pat no bing may vs aftir borwe We wrecchis willefuly forsake	23790
Pe selynes pat neuer shal slake Bobe of sorwe & of pat sele 3e haue herd bifore sum dele We haue bifore vs we3es two Pat on to wele pat oper to wo	23795 23796 23801 fol. 132r col. 1
F[r]ely to whidir we wole to gon To oure frendis or to oure foon If we penne forsake oure frende To chese vs to oure foos to wende Penne dar I seye & lye nouzt	23805
In sorweful tyme were we wrou3t A sorweful tyme to oure bihoue But god forbede þat we hit proue Whenne we hit proue hit is to late Pen is no mendyng of oure astate	23810
Per is no wey bifore vs rud But to go ri3t as we dud For who pat dop not whenne he may Whenne he wolde hit wol be nay Here is tyme for to grete	23815
Here is tyme synne to bete Ouper here or nowhere ellis Pat witnesseb alle holy spellis Vche day we haue somoun	23820
For to make vs redy boun Pat euery day we se & here We owe hit not to holde in were Pe prechours fynen not to spelle Pe sope bei spare vs not to telle To do vs of helle to be ware But neuer be bettur mony are	23825

//

Selden come we sermoun nere	
Lob vs binkeb hit to here	23830
Oure ere selden berto we lay	23030
But fer is oure hert away	23832
Wherfore of hem lete we so ille	23835
But for bei speke azeyn oure wille	25055
He bat me seib moost bat me likes	
God hit woot moost he me swikes	
For if we wel vs vndirstoode	
Oure wille dob vs litil gode	23840
But ofte oure skil makeb vs blynde	23040
Her aftir shal we hit fynde	
Fynde we shal hit leest whenne we wene	fol. 132r col. 2
Alle shul we to be deep bidene	101. 1321 001. 2
From hit may we no way skape	23845
For no wile bat we con make	23043
Miche wolde I herof mote	
Wiste I hit were any bote	
Euer to speke & not to spede	
Wastyng hit is of goddis sede	23850
Hit is not worbi to tile bat felde	25650
Pat not be seed a zeyn wole zelde	
What bote is hit of rigt to rede	
Pat neuer founden is in dede	
Miche to here & litil to holde	23855
But were a ribaudy vs tolde	23033
Of a fantum or a fabul	
Pat wolde we holde in herte stabul	
In herte bat is a sory hord	
To kepe hit raber ben cristis word	23860
How may he to himself be holde	
Pat cheseb leed & leueb golde	
Al be wrytyng in holy writ	
Is writen to teche vs wit	
How we owe to lede oure lyf	23865
Cristen folk mon & wyf	
In eldre men may we se	
What to folwe & what to fle	
Pingis bat we noot ne con	
For to aske at ober mon	23870
And he bat more con ben ober	
Debonerly benne to teche his brober	
Alle are we breher 30nge & olde	
Crist for vs was bou3t & solde	
He hap vs in his noumbre tolde	23875
As for sheep of his folde	======

Pourze herdis bat oure lord hab set For he wole his sheep beget He hab vs chosen for oure mede His holy folk for to fede 23880 Vche mon riztly to deme His owne soule hab to zeme And vche of vs witturly fol. 132v col. 1 Hab receyued goddis tresory Riche besauntis of gold bei ben 23885 Somme lasse & somme mo to sen Po besauntis so bat we bi set Pat we may wel paye oure det To acounte wel shul we gon Aftir bat we toke vchon 23890 Somme for more & somme for les Aftir bat oure ziftis wes He 3yue vs grace so to acounte Pat we may to heuen mounte Þat sprad was on an harde tre 23895 Nailed naked beronne to be Oure fadir maker of alle bing Pat neuer shal haue endyng

AMEN



TEXTUAL NOTES

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

21345-844	om THBL.
21845-22136	missing from H, supplied from T.
21846	þis] þe B.
21847-48	om B.
21849	at] of L; Pat bigon at cristis] Now his tyme hat is to B.
21850	And] om B.
21853	þis] þe B.
21857	wite] with B.
21858	lordhede] godhede B.
21863	himself] hym B; of] om B.
21865	shul per] per schall B.
21866	sonne mone] som many B.
21867	wrong] þrong B.
21869	þо] <i>om</i> В.
21870	perof shal doute] schall gris aboute B.
21873	vpon] on B.
21875	hem shal] schall hem B.
21876	second þat] þis B.
21877	We may bese seen] Wele may bis we se B.
21882	coome] comyng B.
21887	sure] sere B.
21893	sitteb] syt L; sitt B.
21894	feint & oure fals] falsnes & of our B.
21896	loueb more] loueb he more B; oure kynde] mankynd B.
21899	Bestes] be bestis B; doumbe leouns] dome be lions B.
21900	lyuyng þinges] lying þing B.
21901	Done] Do B; deuer] kynde B; werne] were B.
21904	erþe] worlde B.
21907	wiþ] of B.
21909	leuer] were B.
21910	&] with L.
21911	ping to rede &] ping & to rede B.
21912	pis] heuen B.

22028

Notl om L.

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21913
                Whiche] What B; wib] for B.
21922
                nol om L: bennel om B.
21923
                Tol So B.
21924
                wibl affter B.
21926
                bel om B.
21929
                to castl to vs cast B.
21930
                vs] om B.
21937
                beron hauel haue ban B; vmwhilel sumwhile B.
21939
                best wene] wene best LB.
21940
                wel om L; From al shul we sonnest] be sonner schall we berffro B.
21941
                I hauel offte is B
21945
                lendel kynde B.
21946
                onl of B.
21948
                And so] So bat B.
21949
                we] vs B.
21950
                men] a man L; mony] may B.
21951
                all a B.
21952
                bel in B; be samel schame B.
21953
                is here] it is B.
21955
                lif not] lyffe is not B.
21956
                second bat] at L.
21958
                we alwey) we schull allway B.
21961
                His] Þe B.
21964
                vs] om B.
                coomel comyng B; tol om B.
21966
21967
                come] comyng B.
21968
                Biforel Off bis B.
21970
                more] om B; vnpays] pais B.
21972
                agrise] gris B.
21973
                onl in L; onl of B.
21977
                is] om L; ful] om B.
21978
                he shall schall he B.
                hit is] is it B.
21981
                brem] brennyng L.
21984
21985
                to rise] arise B.
21988
                And] be B; seib be spelle] as I 30w tell B.
                godenesses] gode men B.
21989
21991
                al] be B.
                maner mon] maner a man B; so] bat B.
21999
                lewed] lewere B.
22001
22002
                ouber] ffrere or B.
22003
                on] om B; shulden] schull not B.
                B replaces the normal text with ll. 4085-6407 of the Pricke of Con-
22005-23898
                science. See Appendix B.
                danes l dauidis L.
22011
22013
                dane] dave L.
                first be] thy L; second be] om L.
22015
22024
                were] was L.
                folyl folyly L.
22027
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22030
                scaldel & vnwold L.
22045
                nowl om L.
22052
                bel om L.
22053
                say] hath L.
22059
                him] om L.
22064
                menl a man L.
22091
                hel euvn L.
22097
                pers] pes L.
22099
                wondir muchel] wonder & muche L.
22101
                Bethsaida Bethaida L; corozaym] corozathyn L.
22106
                bethsaidal betheida L.
                Capharnaum] Capharmayn L; be] bou L.
22107
                monyonel man bou L.
22116
                token] tokyns L.
22141
22142
                hab not] not hath L.
22150
                on] and L.
22159
                iogeleri] iogelyng L.
22160
                fantome] fantesies L.
22174
                on] in L.
22176
                And] That L.
22179
                bo] the L; herdes] hordes TL.
22185
                sol slo L.
                Mony] Many a L.
22187
22192
                be] in L; world] world syn L.
                And tol Vnto L.
22194
22196
                hide vs] hie the L.
22197
                isl in L.
22198
                rad] drad L.
22210
                crist] blis L.
22211
                drewery] dredefull L.
22212
                bridde] thre L.
22223
                is] om L.
22224
                be] bis T; this L; ronnen] comyn L.
22226
                coome] comyng L.
22227
                 wers] vers T.
22229
                 forme] forne L.
22236
                 ol om TL.
22246
                hit struid] hit be struyed T; struid] stryve L; partye] patie L.
22248
                 empire] emperoure L.
22282
                 of] alle L.
22300
                mony day) so mony a day T.
22301
                 am comen] am I comen L.
22302
                bol be T.
22304
                to] til T.
22333
                 Þel Þo T.
22351
                 hedde] shed TL.
22354
                 hab] had L.
22358
                 well wille L.
22361
                 shul come bennel benne shul com T; then shulle come L.
22364
                 warnystl wariest L.
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```
22375
                 Pel Po T; Tho L.
22383
                 and hal] & an half T; hal] half L.
22386
                 bol be T.
22392
                 lizt] myzt T.
22402
                 papilon] babilon L; felle] selle L.
22409
                 stabely] savully L.
22416
                 betel om L.
22419
                 Patl There L.
22425-26
                 rubrics | HL.
                three-line initial N H.
22427
22428
                Pel Po T, tho L; bel bo TL.
22432
                soobl suche L.
22443
                hool] om L; rewe] rowe T.
22444
                entervale bituix] enten vale bituir T; euyr vale bittir L.
22450
                inl on L.
22453
                well wolle L.
                al and L.
22462
22477
                leuen] leme L.
                leftl lost TL.
22488
22506
                be] to TL..
22510
                hayre] aire L.
                shal sol shal be so L.
22513
22521
                is tolde] is to told L.
22527
                strenger] strength L.
22540
                to] be T.
22546
                out] ought L.
22569
                bel om L.
22575
                :] om TL.
                holes] hores T; heris L.
22578
22585
                hizt] light L.
                berfro] thereto L.
22616
                bat1 then L.
22663
                knel knele TL.
22664
22669
                bus shul] shul bus T.
                leuen] leme L.
22693
                drounel drow L.
22694
22695
                bel be be T.
22708
                arl as L.
22710a & b
                rubrics H.
                be wel we be T.
22710a
                four-line initial P1 H.
22711
22714
                fourmel fortune L.
                monl a man L.
22724
22728
                vp was] vpwad L.
22742
                hit to] be it L.
22746
                no] om TL; ny] vp L.
                Atl Alle L.
22769
                lawes] sawes T; sawis L.
22777
22781
                at] of L.
```

world] worle T.

22806

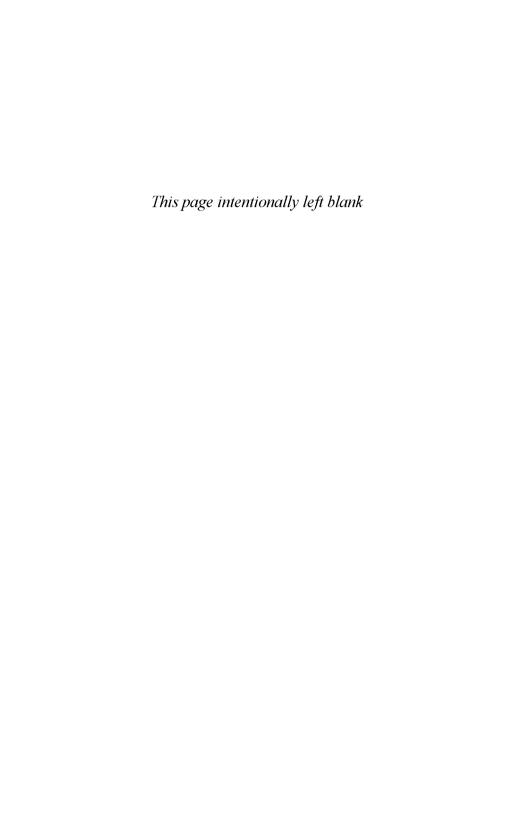
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22807
                hel be L.
22822
                brou3t] bou3t T.
22837
                Nvl Av L.
22839
                be] bei T; they L.
                stature] statute L.
22842
22845
                fairhedel om L.
22846
                goodnes] godenesses T.
22850
                Pol That L.
22903
                hel hym L.
                were all al were T; alle were L.
22921
22924
                atl as L.
22932
                on) none L.
22962
                brynge] brynggyng L.
22963-23126
                missing from H, supplied from T.
                Iohell iosell L.
22964
22972
                con bis not] bus can not L.
22978
                tol of L.
22983
                Peil The L.
23002
                karked] harkenyth L.
23018
                 whilel om L.
23028
                punctus elevatus om L.
23047
                lasten] leftyn L.
23064
                 onne to) vnto L.
23071
                 And her] And yaf her L.
23073
                 willeful) willyng L.
23091
                 wagering] wandryng L.
23104
                 stad] bestad L.
23106
                 do hem in two] hem in ijo do hem L.
23111
                 renayed are] euyr were L.
23115
                 Fro] For L.
23116
                 eb] eche L.
23117
                 won] wont L.
23121
                 mende] amend L.
23138
                 nythe & onde &] lykyng and in L.
23143
                 On] In L.
23158
                 sey bat] sey to them and L.
23159
                 hennes] yon L.
23163
                 oftel of T.
23180
                 wreche] wrethe T; him] om L.
23188
                 euer to] euer there to L.
23198
                 nay] om T; bat] om L.
23202
                 forbi] that L; calleb] callyd L.
23207
                 two-line initial M H.
23218
                 hel hit T.
23224
                 out of] withoutyn L.
23235
                 spitouse] dispitous T.
23237
                 we] were T; were L.
 23239
                 Pol The L.
23244
                 Pat noon] To oon L.
 23250
                 bol the L.
```

23781

vs] om L.

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23252
                 To bat To be bat T; To them that L.
23253
                 deolful] dynfull L.
23255
                 bol the L.
23257
                 isl in L.
23260
                 of] or L.
23265
                 bol the L.
23275
                 euoll ille L.
23283
                 were herel here were T.
23291
                 on oon] oon and oon L.
23292
                 Mercy | Myrthe L.
23297
                 notl no T.
23304
                 &l and of L.
23314
                 for] fro L.
23336
                 hel be T.
23347
                 Pei to] Therto L.
23351
                 two-line initial A1 H.
23361
                to shull shul to T.
23396
                 bel om TL.
23453
                 &1 in L.
23492
                 Butl Bothe L.
                himself1 hemself T.
23517
23530
                 Pat woldes | Pat bou woldes T: That bou woldyst L.
23534
                be] om L.
23537
                beyinge] bethyng L.
23547
                Vche mon] Echon L.
23552
                ifl is T.
23615
                als] alle L.
23622
                heuy wol drery for L.
23623
                wist] list T.
                Pese] Pere H; Pe T; The L.
23632
23637
                swetel swe T.
23638
                freistl fest L.
23640
                euerl om L.
23649
                Frol For L.
23653
                two-line initial O] H.
                zoul om T.
23654
                roos] was T.
23658
                sent us] setteb T; sent] set L.
23666
                hoot] hete T.
23667
23681
                Fro] For L.
23695
                dwynel twynne L.
                four-line initial 3] H.
23705
                Fas] Fals TL.
23711
                coueraunce] gouernaunce L.
23722
23728
                third we] om L.
23731
                batl to L.
                heben] hennes T; whethyn L.
23737
23752
                Pis] Pese T; thise L.
23773
                dredel dede L.
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23787	fulle] foule L.
23788	forlye I] for to lye T; I] om L.
23803	Flely] Frely TL; we wole] wille we L.
23812	astate] state T.
23825	fynen] faynen L.
23838	swikes] beswikeb T.
23843	shal hit] hit shul T.
23856	were] where L; a] as L; vs] is L.
23857	or a] or of a L.
23862	golde] be gold L.
23870	mon] none L.
23872	benne] om L; his] as L.
23875	vs] om L.
23882	hab] he hathe L.
23886	sen] seme L.
23889	wel] wen T; when we shalle L; we] om T.
after amen]	explicit cursor mundi L; Iohn Digbye T.



EXPLANATORY NOTES

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

- 21847ff. Honorius Augustodunensis, *De imagine mundi* II lxxv in *PL* CLXXII 156 mentions six ages up to but not including the Last Judgement. See also the note to 1, 12715 in Vol. III of this edition.
- 21848-86 These lines appear to be original with the CM poet.
- 21887-915 Taken from Quinze signes ll. 3-29.
- 21916–60 These lines appear to be original with the CM poet.
- 21961-66 These contrasts between Christ's first and second coming may have been suggested by Grosseteste's comparison of the old and the new Adam, in his *Château* II. 1457-66:

Li premer home vint de terre

E par li avium la guere.

Li autre del ciel est venuz,

Ki la pes nus a renduz.

Li premer home fu charnal

Ki a tut le mund fist tant mal.

De parais fu engete

E li e trestut sun ligne.

Mes Jhesu Crist li nostre Pere

Nos heritez nus sent arere.

- 21971–22424 An account of Antichrist, taken from the Pseudo-Alcuin version of Adso, pp. 105–28 in Verhelst's edition. This account differs from the standard text of Adso, *ibid.* pp. 20–30, in that it lacks the epilogue, it substitutes for Adso's dedication to Queen Gerberge a dedication to Charlemagne, and there are several additions, noted below, to the text itself. Unless otherwise indicated, citations are by line number to the Pseudo-Alcuin text.
- 21985 "lawe" = low, Latin humiles, l. 6.
- 21993 "maumetry" translates demonum culturam in mundum, ll. 9-10.
- 21997 "Al." Cf. CG "Als," Latin qualis fuit Nero etc. 1. 13. The southern redactor's "Al" inadvertently transforms Antioch and Domitian into place names.
- 21998–22004 The Latin is clearer in stating that all who behave like Antichrist are in fact Antichrists: Nunc quoque, nostro tempore, multos Antichristos nouimus. Quicumque enim laicus, siue canonicus, siue etiam monachus, contra iustitiam uiuit et

- ordinis sui regulam impugnat et quod bonum est inblasphemat, Antichristus est, minister satane est, ll. 15-18.
- 22013-15 Gen. 49:17.
- 22028-31 Pseudo-Alcuin's addition to Adso, Il. 31-33.
- 22041 Gregory the Great, Moralia, xxxii, 15 in PL LXXVI 649B. Pseudo-Alcuin adds this passage to Adso at l. 38, with attribution to Gregory. The quotation extends from 22037–48.
- 22051-66 Apoc. 20:1-3, II, 43-48.
- 22082 "son of los" translates filius perditionis, l. 58; cf. CFG's "tinsel" (= damnation, perdition: *OED*).
- 22093 This line seems to correspond with Pseudo-Alcuin's diabolus ... locum nouit aptum (unchanged from Adso), l. 64, but it offers a translation unwarranted by anything in the surviving MSS.
- 22095 This line corresponds with nothing in either Adso or the Pseudo-Alcuin.
- 22100 "Heed of maumetri" appears to translate caput regni Persarum, l. 66, as does "cheef of pers" in 22097.
- 22103-6 Mt 11:21.
- 22107-10 Mt 11:23, mentioned by neither Adso nor Pseudo-Alcuin.
- 22111-12 These terms translate magos et ariolos, maleficos, et incantatores et diuinos, ll. 70-71.
- 22115–16 Somewhat distorted translation of maligni spiritus erunt duces eius et socii semper et comites indiuisi, ll. 72–73.
- 22119 "leue" translates ad se conuertere, ll. 74-75.
- 22139 Ps. 71:8, quoted at 1. 80.
- 22143 "Þondir" translates ignem de celo, l. 87.
- 22155 The *CM* poet exempts "goddis chosen þing" from Antichrist's influence where Adso and Pseudo-Alcuin include them: ita ut in errorem inducantur, si fieri potest, etiam electi. ll. 92–93, citing Mt 24:24.
- 22157-62 A sentence from Haymo of Halberstadt's commentary on *Epistula II ad Thessalonicenses*, *PL* CXVII 782A, inserted by Pseudo-Alcuin into Adso's text at II. 93-96.
- 22175-76 "3ifte," "awe," and "tokenes" translate, in rearranged order, terrore, muneribus et miraculis, ll. 100-1.
- 22179 "herdes." Cf. CFT "hordes." This and 22180 translate ll. 103-4, added by Pseudo-Alcuin.
- 22195-96 These lines translate l. 112, added by Pseudo-Alcuin.
- 22197–202 A distortion of Il. 113–15: qui est supra tectum, non descendet in domum suam, ut tollat aliquid ab ea, sed seipsum dabit precipitem. The est and the sed ... precipitem are Pseudo-Alcuin's additions to Adso. The phrase is taken from Mc 13:15.
- 22212 "half bridde zere" translates tribus annis et dimidio, l. 119.
- 22219-22 II Thes 2:3, glossed at 22223-26, ll. 123-25.
- 22227 "wers." Cf. FGT: "vers."
- 22228 "grace." Cf. CFG: "grece."
- 22237-39 i.e., a repetition of II Thes 2:3, quoted at 22219-22, again following Pseudo-Alcuin, ll. 133-34.
- 22253 "Oure maistris" = doctores nostri, l. 141, Pseudo-Alcuin's alteration of Adso's quidam uero doctores.
- 22261 "cele." Cf. CFGT: "sele" = happiness, blessedness.
- 22271 Again a reference to II Thes 2:3.

- 22273 "men." Cf. CFG: "man," which translates homo peccati, l. 149.
- 22277 "his owne sone" translates filius diaboli, l. 151.
- 22286 "sarazyn" translates pagani, l. 161.
- 22310-14 Jhn 5:43, ll. 173-75.
- 22315-60 The sibylline passage is Pseudo-Alcuin's addition to Adso, Il. 176-98, taken from the version known as the Tiburtine Sibylle. Cf. Sackur, pp. 185-86.
- 22317 Reims, Bibl. Munic. MS. 1392, fols. 234–36, the base MS of Verhelst's edition, gives this name as clodoueus. Verhelst prints simply "C," l. 177, perhaps reflecting the textual uncertainty of the name. Sackur, p. 185, prints Constans, following his base MS and three others.
- 22320 Pseudo-Alcuin does not mention Greece, but the Sibylline text does; Sackur, p. 185.
- 22327 "met" translates modius, 1, 181.
- 22335-42 The CM poet's addition? Or possibly based upon Pseudo-Methodius' account of the end of the world; cf. Sackur, p. 90.
- 22347 "sarazines" translates paganorum, l. 190.
- 22349 "maumetrye" translates paganos, l. 191.
- 22361-62 Cf. Apoc 11:3-8, where neither Enoch nor Elias is named, though Adso and Pseudo-Alcuin presume that illos refers to them. Biblical warrant for identifying one of the two witnesses as Elias is Malachi 4:5 and Mc 9:11-13. The tradition that the two are Enoch and Elias is well established by the middle of the second century. See, e.g., Irenaeus, Contra haeresis 5, 5 in PG VII 1134B-C; Hippolytus, De Christo et Antichristo 43 in PG X 762A; Pseudo-Hippolytus, De consummatione mundi 21 in PG X 922C; Tertullian, Liber de anima 50, PL II 735B. Other early commentators are listed in W. Bousset, Der Antichrist, pp. 136-37, and in J. Haussleiter, "Die Kommentare des Victorinus, Tichonius, und Hieronymus zur Apokalypse."
- 22371 Apoc. 11:7, quoted at 11. 206-8.
- 22373 Pseudo-Alcuin, l. 209, specifies three days.
- 22381 "fendis brid" translates diaboli filius, l. 209.
- 22399–402 e.g., Bede, *Epistola 15*, in *PL* XCIV 707B: divina virtute perimatur quod beatus papa Gregorius per Michaelem archangelum patrandum fore ...
- 22403-4 "Papilon" is a variant spelling of Babylon, but cf. 1. 227: Antichristus occidetur in papilione et in solio suo, that is in his own tent and on his own throne.
- 22411-14 "Fourty dayes." So Adso and Pseudo-Alcuin, quadraginta dies, l. 234. Cf. also Eluc 1164A. But cf. Daniel 6:7 and 12: dies triginta, the period fixed by Darius during which his subjects were forbidden to worship any god or king other than himself.
- 22427-708 These lines are a close translation of the Anglo-Norman poem Quinze signes, written between 1180 and 1225, and edited by von Kraemer from 22 manuscripts. For a full discussion of the legend see Heist, Fifteen Signs. Heist and von Kraemer refer to earlier scholarship on the subject. The four other ME versions of the AN poem will be designated in these notes by the number given them in IMEV: 3367, 3368, 796, and 1823. The last two are really slightly different texts of the same version, though 796 lacks the invocation which opens 1823 and, because of a missing leaf in the MS, lacks days 5-10.

In the following discussion references will be made by author's name and sign number to other influential versions of the fifteen signs legend. These are found in Peter Damian, *De novissimis et Antichristo* iv, *PL* CXLV 840; Pseudo-Bede, *De quindecim signis*, *PL* XCIV 555; Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica* cxli, *PL* CXCVIII 1611; Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, ed. Th. Graesse. I refer also to various

- Celtic versions of the legend because they may represent the material in an earlier form, accessible to the *CM* poet but now vanished. They are printed in Heist: *Saltair na Rann*, an addition to the tenth century Irish poem, pp. 2–21; *Evernew Tongue*, a tenth-century Irish prose work, pp. 73–88; *Airdena*, Irish prose, pp. 73–88.
- 22427-38 A loose translation of Quinze signes 41-54.
- 22439–40 These names occur in *Quinze signes* 55–56. They are not to be taken as sources, but rather as referring to prophets who spoke generally about the Day of Judgement. See Jer 4:23, Is 13:10, 26:18–19, 34:4. The AN poem goes on to list Daniel, Ezechiel, Aaron, and Moses, while variant readings in other MSS mention also David, Amon, Maon, Naaman, Jonas, and Amos. Von Kraemer, p. 95, tries to link the list up with various Ordines prophetarum, but the *CM* poet follows the traditional attribution to Jerome in 22441.
- 22441–46 Peter Comestor: Hieronymus autem in annalibus Hebraeorum invenit signa ... sed utrum continui futuri sint dies illi, an interpolatim, non expressit. The attribution to Jerome is also found in descriptions of the 15 signs in Ps-Bede, Peter Damian, *Leg. aur.* p. 6, and in most of the works dependent on them. The *Annales Hebraeorum* have never been identified, nor can any work of Jerome's be construed as the source. See Heist p. 24 and *passim*.
- 22447-50 Quinze signes 61-63.
- 22451-58 Quinze signes 65-70 contain an invocation here, but it is not the same as CM's.
- 22459-74 Quinze signes 71-86. The bloody rain appears in Apoc. Thom., p. 272, and in sermons based on it, as well as in several Celtic works. See SnR II. 8029-36; Airdena 7; Vercelli XV, p. 256; Blickling VII, p. 91; Hatton Hom. in Förster, p. 131, and in a twelfth-century OFr work, Li ver del Juise (von Kraemer, p. 16). Cf. Apoc 8:7. Many other versions of the legend have a bloody dew instead, possibly influenced by IV Esr 5:5. See Yrymes Detbrawt in Heist p. 71; Peter Damian 10; Ps-Bede 6; Peter Comestor 5; Leg. aur. 5. A Greek acrostic poem, translated by Augustine in DCD XVIII xxiii PL XL 579, mentions that all earth will sweat before the Day of Judgement, but not with blood. IMEV 3367 omits the bloody rain altogether.
- 22465-74 This crying of the unborn children is found only in the *Quinze signes* and its ME derivatives. It may have been suggested by IV Esr 6:21, although the resemblance is slight. The scene caught people's imagination, however, for it appears in several later works; see von Kraemer, pp. 17-18.
- 22467 Quinze signes reads "A clere vouiz" (1. 79), reflected in F's "voice." CGHTLB have "note."
- 22475–92 Quinze signes 87–104. The fall of stars is a common signal that Judgement is near: cf. Mt 24:29, Mc 13:25, Apoc 6:13, 8:10, 9:1. Cf. Celtic versions: SnR 8161–63, ET 125, Airdena 11–2. See also Ps-Bede, Peter Comestor, and Leg. aur. 12. Peter Damian 7 has both stars and planets scattering fiery hairs from themselves, like comets.
- 22481-82 CFG preserve the translation of *Quinze signes* 93-94: the stars run about on the ground. This detail is omitted also in the ME versions *IMEV* 1823, 796, and 3367.
- 22481-92 The subsequent fate of the stars is unique to the AN poem and its ME derivatives.
- 22488-89 CM omits entirely Quinze signes 100, which is corrupt in many MSS.
- 22492 E's "And bar of wil we neuir blin" is clearly in error.

- 22495-504 Quinze signes 123-32. The CM poet reverses the AN signs 3 and 4. Based on Apoc 6:12, but cf. Joel 2:31 (quoted in Acts 2:20). Cf. also Airdena 12, ET 126, and von Kraemer p. 19 for citation from Assumption Moses 10. However, this is not one of the signs in the other Latin versions.
- 22498 There is some confusion over *Quinze signes* 126, where most MSS repeat the idea that the moon was red as blood ("sanc") or mud ("fanc"). *CM* on the other hand somewhat resembles the variant in MS Q: "A Deu qe frunt dunc li mescreant."
- 22507-18 Quinze signes 107-20. This is another common sign from Joel 2:31, Mt 24:29, and Apoc 6:12. It also occurs in Apoc. Thom. 5, p. 272, and is found in its Celtic derivatives; see Airdena 12, ET 126. The other Latin versions, however, ignore it.
- 22510 "Haire" translates directly AN "haire" (111), which in turn translates Apoc 6:12, "saccus cilicinus," a hair shirt. The other English versions of *Quinze signes* have trouble with the word. *IMEV* 3367 says the sun becomes green and wan, then "blak as pe cole" (1. 66). *IMEV* 1823 reads "swarte as any pych" (1. 99), and *IMEV* 3368 omits the concept altogether.
- 22514 CG's "stime" translates AN "goute" (l. 115).
- 22519-30 Quinze signes 135-46. This sign is also characteristic of the AN version of the legend and its ME derivatives. In the Latin and some Celtic versions, it is the sea creatures who bellow unintelligibly. See SnR 8059-60, 8109-12; Peter Damian and Ps-Bede 4, Peter Comestor and Leg. aur. 3, probably based on IV Esr 5:7. The following verse of IV Esr adds, "et bestias agrestes transmigrabunt," and the restless and/or noisy animals are found in Airdena 14, ET 129, and Peter Damian 12. The closest analogue to the AN, however, is the Debate between the Body and the Soul in BL MS. Harley 2253, in Wright, pp. 346-49. Although it speaks of only seven signs before Judgement, these lines are clearly connected somehow with the AN version:

The fyfte day him cometh y-wis

Everuch best that lyves ys,

Toward hevene ys hed halt,

Ant thuncheth wonder wed this byhalt

Ant wolde clepe to oure Dryhte,

Ah hy to speke ne habbeth muhte. (p. 348)

- 22525 E and the southern versions (HTLB) preserve a correct reading, "erpe," which CFG corrupt to "air." Quinze signes 141 has "Droit a ces granz fosses courront."
- 22531–44 This sign is made up of three separate motifs: (1) the levelling of mountains and valleys (cf. Ps-Bede 10, Peter Comestor 9, SnR 8213–16, Airdena 11); (2) the earthquake at 22539 (cf. Peter Damian, Peter Comestor, Leg. aur. 8, Ps-Bede 9, Yrymes Detbrawt in Heist p. 71, SnR 8202); and (3) the collapse of buildings at 22540–44 (cf. Ps-Bede 7, Peter Comestor and Leg. aur. 6). Analogues are found in other signs. Quinze signes 149–60. Peter Damian 11 has mountains crumble to dust and the ruin of buildings. SnR 8213–16, ET 122, 128, speak simply of the mountains falling, but the Welsh Yrymes Detbrawt (Heist p. 71) and Airdena 11 mention that mountains and valleys will then be level. The only other version to include both the levelling of mountains and valleys and the collapse of buildings on the same day is the Debate of the Body and Soul, day 4, from BL MS. Harley 2253, ed. Wright, pp. 347–48.
- 22534 E's "Pe wallis, touris, be felles to falle" is in error.
- 22538 Heist p. 92 would see the conversion of peace to war as a separate motif here, but the Irish parallels cited are inexact and unconvincing. See *SnR* 8065–71, 8168,

- Airdena 8. Cf. however Apoc 6:4 where power is given to the rider of the red horse "ut sumeret pacem de terra et ut invicem se interficiant [sc. homines]."
- 22543 Heist p. 179 says that the *CM* poet postpones the fall of the trees until sign 7, but in fact he follows the AN closely. "Wode" here translates AN "abre" (l. 159). Trees are overturned in *Airdena* 9.
- 22545-60 Quinze signes 161-76. This sign is only found in works deriving from the AN version of the legend. Heist pp. 93-94 wants to derive it from Irish versions of the Antichrist legend, but cf. von Kraemer p. 23, who cites a parallel in an OFr translation of the Antichrist legend. Innocent III uses the motif in his De miseria (ca. 1195) 8, p. 107, to characterize the vileness of mankind, and from there it gets into Pricke 672-87.
- 22561-78 Quinze signes 177-94. This sign is often divided into parts: (1) the sea rises (SnR 8047-48, 8105-8, Airdena 1, Peter Damian, Ps-Bede, Peter Comestor, Leg. aur. 1); (2) the sea sinks almost to nothing (SnR 8113-16, Airdena 2, Peter Damian, Ps-Bede, Peter Comestor, Leg. aur. 2); (3) the sea returns to its usual place (SnR 8117-20, Airdena 3, Peter Damian, Ps-Bede 3).
- 22568 The attribution to Moses, taken from Quinze signes 184, makes no sense.
- 22569-70 The Latin versions tend to echo Gen 7:20, saying that the water rose 15 cubits (Peter Damian 1, Airdena 1) or 40 cubits (Ps-Bede, Peter Comestor, Leg. aur. 1) over the tops of the mountains. Only SnR 8105-8 mentions reaching to heaven, although the passage is apparently a difficult one and may indicate only that the sound reaches to heaven:

The great-maned sea will rise

from the many-sided [?] earth;

it will raise its voice-performing uproar

to the clouds of heaven.

- 22571-74 The flight of the fish has analogues in SnR 8059-64, 8109-12, Airdena 1, 4. Cf. also Peter Damian, Ps-Bede 4, Peter Comestor, Leg. aur. 3.
- 22579-90 Quinze signes 195-206. Analogues for this are lacking in other versions of the signs, although Heist p. 92 cites the passage quoted above, SnR 8105-8, as a possible parallel. A more convincing analogue is from a sermon of Gregory, preserved in the works of Haymo of Halberstadt: "Tradunt enim nonnulli, quod circa finem saeculi mare, flumina et rivuli, juxta qualitatem et quantitatem suam, voces et mugitus emittent, interitum suum quibusdam luctuosis vocibus deplorantes, et per hoc non parvum timorem hominibus audientibus incutient" PL CXVIII 19D, cited in von Kraemer p. 25.
- 22581 The AN has "tuit li fleuve parleront," which the CM poet translates as "al ping." Heist p. 179 points out that MS. Trinity College Cambridge B.11.24, one of the MSS of IMEV 1823, reads:

Thatt all bynge schall speke ban,

And cry in erthe aftyr be steuyn off man.

See *IMEV* 1823, 1l. 102–3. There is a slight confusion in the AN MSS here, M and E reading: "toutes aigues." Perhaps another variant existed at one time: "toutes choses." Cf. von Kraemer p. 76 and the textual note to l. 197.

- 22583 The citation of Augustine seems to refer to no work of his, except his translation of the Greek acrostic poem on the Signs before Doom in *DCD* XVIII xxiii in *PL* XLI 579, esp. 1. 15. But the connection is in any case slight.
- 22591–626 Quinze signes 207–38. This sign demonstrates the reaction in heaven and hell to the coming Judgement. Analogues are few. Fear of the coming Judgement is found in ET 122, but it is difficult to say whose fear it is. Von Kraemer also cites

Haymo of Halberstadt, *PL* CXVIII 21, and cf. also ll. 159–66 of the *Debate of the Body and Soul* from BL MS. Harley 2253, in Wright, pp. 347–48. Devils come out of hell and fill the world in *SnR* 8284–88. In Vercelli sermon 15 devils fill the earth on Saturday; see *Vercelli* p. 258. Demons are on earth on the fourth day in the *Hatton* homily; see Förster pp. 131–34.

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

22605-8 Cf. Quinze signes 219-22:

Car il [sc. sainz Pierres] verra le ciel partir

Et si pourra la terre oir

Braire mont angouisseusemant

Et criera: "Rois Diex, je fent".

Von Kraemer makes "la terre" the subject of "criera." The CM poet takes "le ciel" as the subject, apparently interpreting 1. 220 as an interpolated clause which he could safely omit.

- 22612 Quinze signes 226 also attributes this observation to Paul, but Paul says nothing to this effect.
- 22615 Von Kraemer I. 229 rejects a variant reading "qui nos feis," found in ten MSS, in favour of "qui nos meis." The CM poet, however, was clearly using a MS that read "feis."
- 22620 Von Kraemer I. 234 prints "Qui l'angouisse d'enfer andure," but eight MSS, including, obviously, the *CM* poet's exemplar, replace "enfer" with "feu."
- 22621-22 HTLB omit two lines here:

Caitiues bat nu sorus mare

Pan euer in hell we won war ar (quoted from C)

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

- 22625-26 These lines are found in only three MSS of the AN.
- 22630-47 Quinze signes 240-59. A great wind is found also in Airdena 10, Debate of the Body and Soul 4 (in Wright, pp. 347-48). The air is agitated in Hatton homily 5 (Förster pp. 131-34) and is moved on day 7 in Apoc. Thom., p. 272.
- 22633-34 Apoc. Thom. sign 2, p. 272: the earth moves from its proper place but because of a great voice in the firmament, not a wind.
- 22635-58 Quinze signes 245-46 says that bodies of the newly dead are blown about by the wind. The CM poet probably thought that the reference was to the devils who were pleading to be returned to hell in the previous sign and are about to get their wish.
- 22639 The descent of the rainbow here puzzles commentators. Heist pp. 176–77 assumes that "arc-en-ciel" is a corruption of "archangel," which does appear in one MS of a prose recension of the AN poem. The angels' victory over the devils is of course a common motif in apocalypse literature. However, von Kraemer pp. 27–29 shows clearly that "arc-en-ciel" is the only possible reading in the line. He further demonstrates that the rainbow was associated with the Day of Judgement, sometimes through connection with archangels, sometimes alone. The scribe who copied *IMEV* 796 in BodL MS. Digby 86, however, omits the passage altogether.

22644 The CM omits Quinze signes 255-56 here, describing the heat, the cold, the pains, the grinding of teeth, the weeping. However, these same lines are also omitted from six AN MSS.

22647-52 The CM poet deviates here from Quinze signes which continues at 259-66:

Li termes vient que vos avroiz

Plantei de janz en vos destroiz."

Lors commanceront tuit a rire.

He, Diex peres, tu qui es sire(s),

De cele joie nos deffent

Quar trestuit cil seront dolant

Qui seront parconnier dou ris

Don deables ert poteis.

The sense of 22648 is not very clear. In the AN the devils laugh at the thought of the people who will come into their power, and the poet prays to be saved from their clutches. These people pray, 22650–52, as the devils had done, to be allowed to hide under the earth, presumably from the Judgement. While the subject of the original 22649 could have been either the devils or the souls who would arrive in hell, the context and the content of the cry make it seem that the devils are speaking, and the southern redactor has altered his text to make it clear.

22653-70 Quinze signes 267-86. This sign consists of two parts: the closing of heaven and the angels begging for mercy. Heist p. 92 suggests an analogy with SnR 8261-62, but the resemblance is slight and unconvincing. This sign is closely related to sign 10, where the heavens open and the angels become frightened. While the opening of the heavens is a common occurrence in apocalypse writings (cf. Apoc. Thom. 2, Vercelli homily 15, Friday), the locking of the firmament is unique to this version. But cf. the rolling up of heaven like a scroll in Apoc 6:14 and the derivative image of the book folded and closed in Vercelli homily 15 Wednesday, Hatton homily 7.

22661–62 This is intended to be direct discourse, as the *Quinze signes* 276–78 makes clear:

Chascuns dira: "Ge me mervoil"

Que nos poons ici ester

Quant toute riens veons finer."

The southern redactor, by changing 22660, transforms the lines into a rhetorical question asked by the poet. Von Kraemer p. 29 points out an analogy with *Apoc. Thom.* 3: "et dicent homines, putamus finis adpropinguabit ut pereamus."

22667-68 Quinze signes 283-84 have many variant readings. The ME lines do not correspond with any of those printed by von Kraemer.

22669-70 Von Kraemer p. 29 and n. 4 cites several instances in Latin and French of this fear of angels and men before the coming of the judge.

22671-88 Quinze signes 287-312. The Apoc. Thom. 6 mentions the splitting of rocks during the earthquake, and it is found in most other versions of the signs. Cf. SnR 8083-84, Airdena 9, Peter Damian 9, Ps-Bede 8, Leg. aur. 7. Peter Comestor 7 has the stones smashing together but does not mention their splitting.

22672 The CM poet omits two lines of Quinze signes (289–90) which mention Japheth and Abraham, MSS C and X of the AN also omit these lines.

22681-84 These lines translate *Quinze signes* 305-6 and then 303-4, the latter of which are found only in MSS EDQ of the AN. But von Kraemer p. 104 argues that they are probably authentic, corresponding to details found in Peter Damian and

- Ps-Bede. Line 303 reads: "Des cox qu'eles s'antredonrront." CM MS E has "thrawing," C "thran[g]ing" or, as Morris' gloss suggests, read "thrauing."
- 22686 CM omits Quinze signes 309-10. AN MSS NRQP also omit these lines.
- 22688 The base MS of *Quinze signes* says: "Se desouz terre" (l. 312), but seven other MSS refer to a mountain. Von Kraemer p. 30 points out that in several other accounts of the Last Judgement fearful men hide themselves under mountains (see e.g. *Apoc. Thom.* 6, *Vercelli* homily 15 Friday, *Hatton* homily 6, *Blickling* homily vii 5). The detail derives ultimately from Apoc 6:16. Cf. Os 10:8, Lc 23:30.
- 22689–98 Quinze signes 313–24. Many accounts of the Last Judgement refer in general terms to storms and agitations of the air. Cf. Apoc. Thom. 1 (thunder and lightning), 5 (thunder), Airdena 7, 9, 14, SnR 8130, 8151, 8205, Vercelli homily 15 Monday, Hatton homily 1, 5, Blickling homily vii 1, 4. The clouds do not hide under the sea elsewhere, but this is probably an extension of the AN poet's penchant for having everything fall into the abyss.
- 22692 Quinze signes 316. "De nois, de grelles et d'ores," but MSS LUV have "De nois de glaces et de grelles."
- 22698 The CM poet omits Quinze signes 325–8, which describe the mingling of earth and sea and the uncovering of heaven. This is a neat recollection of the primal state of the world when there was only heaven and earth, and the various elements of matter had not yet been separated from one another. Cf. note to 22699–708 following. Among the AN MSS CR omit ll. 325–26, and AOX omit ll. 327–28.
- 22699–708 Quinze signes 329–40. The final consummation of the world by fire is often found where Doomsday is discussed; see Peter Damian 6, Ps-Bede 5, 15, Peter Comestor 14, Leg. aur. 14, Apoc. Thom. 2, 6, Hatton homily 3. In this sign the AN poet (and the CM poet following him) continues the reversal of the creation process begun in sign 14 (see note to 22698 above). After the fire earth and sea are not simply reduced to ashes, but become nothing again.
- 22702 *CM* omits *Quinze signes* 333–34, where the poet names the process he is describing: "consumations."
- 22710 The CM poet omits the remainder of Quinze signes, 341–434, describing God's division of souls into saved and damned.
- 22711 pe blast of beme is mentioned in *Eluc* 9 1164A. Cf. the seven trumpets of Apoc 8:2–9:13.
- 22711–23704 The description of the Last Judgement itself depends chiefly upon Honorius Augustodunensis' Elucidarium, book III, as well as upon accounts in the New Testament. There are two accessible editions of Honorius: Yves Lefèvre, L'elucidiarium et les lucidaires, pp. 361–477, which is based upon a survey of extant manuscripts in French libraries; and the edition found in PL CLXXII 1109–76, which is a reprint of J.A. Giles, ed., Lanfranci opera quae supersunt omnia, II, 200–98. Giles' edition, from a single manuscript, Paris, Bibl. Reg. 5134 (possibly = Paris, BN lat. 3001), contains material not found in Lefèvre. I shall refer to book III of Lefèvre's edition by Eluc section and page number, and to book III in PL by Eluc section and column number. The numbering of sections in the two editions does not correspond.
- 22716–22 Accounts of Jesus and his disciples after the resurrection are in Mt 28, Mc 16, Lc 24, and Jhn 20–21. The *CM* poet here depends chiefly on Mc 16:14.
- 22723-28 Acts 1:9-11. The joy of 22726 is not in Acts.
- 22731-32 Cf. Eluc 51 p. 457: Ita Christus in ea forma qua ascendit cum omnibus ordinibus angelorum ad judicium veniens; angeli crucem ferentes praeeunt ... The CM poet seems to have compressed this passage in Eluc. Cf. Eluc 54 p. 458:

- D. Quali forma apparebit ibi Dominus? M. Electis in ea forma qua in monte apparuit; reprobis vero in ea forma qua in cruce pependit.
- 22737-44 This contrast of Christ's first and second coming may have been suggested by a comparison of the old and the new Adam in Grosseteste's *Château* 1457-66. Cf. the note to 21961-66, above.
- 22745–68 These lines, presenting the dread of those who are to be judged (22745–57), Christ in glory as judge, surrounded by saints (as seib be boke) (22758–68), appear to be original with the *CM* poet.
- 22769–80 Cf. *Eluc* 60, p. 459: D. Qui sunt qui judicant? M. Apostoli, martyres, monachi, virgines. Cf. *Eluc* 13 1166C, which adds confessores. But the *CM* poet is more elaborate here.
- 22755-61 The imagery in altered form and without the cross as banner is in *Eluc* 51 p. 457: D. Qualiter veniet Dominus ad judicium? M. Sicut imperator ingressurus civitatem. Corona et alia insignia praeferuntur, per quae adventus ejus cognoscitur; ... angeli crucem ejus ferentes praeibunt; mortuos et tuba et voce in occursum ejus excitant, omnia elementa turbabuntur, tempestate ignis et frigoris mixtim undique furente; ... The image of the cross as banner was familiar from Venantius Fortunatus' seventh century hymn, Vexilla regis prodeunt, / fulgit crucis mysterium, / quo carne carnis conditor / suspensus est patibulo, 1.6.1-4; *Venance Fortunat: Poèmes*, ed. M. Reydellet, I, 57.
- 22816–22 Cf. Rom 6:4–5: ut quomodo surrexit Christus a mortuis per gloriam Patris ita et nos in novitate vitae ambulemus / si enim conplantati facti sumus similitudini mortis eius simul et resurrectionis erimus.
- 22818–20 Eluc 44 p. 456 mentions that the souls will be resurrected as they were at age 30: D. Qua aetate vel qua mensura? M. Qua erant, cum essent triginta annorum; vel futuri erant, si ante moriebantur. The CM poet's treatment of this motif is, however, more elaborate than Honorius'.
- 22849–56 Cf. *Eluc* 48 p. 456: D. Quid sentis de abortivis? M. Inquantum est semen patris resurget in patre; in quantum est sanguis matris, resurget in matre. Very different in *CM*.
- 22887–930 This story is told briefly in *Eluc* 45 p. 456. The question posed in the *CM* is both more elaborate, in that it describes the circumstances of the eating and the lion's death and rotting, details not found in Honorius, and less detailed in that Honorius' wolf is first eaten by a bear, the bear in its turn by a lion. Honorius attributes the story to Gregory; see Gregory the Great, *Homiliarum in Ezechielem libri II*, II viii 8 in *PL* LXXVI 1032–33, who also eliminates the bear and perhaps served as the *CM* poet's direct source.
- 22931-52 Eluc 46 p. 456 supplies the hair and nails, though he does not specify hand or foot but simply ungues. The image of the potter reshaping his material and its application to Christ (so CM; Deus Eluc) is also found here.
- 22953–62 Cf. Eluc 50 p. 457: D. Qua hora fiet judicium? M. Media nocte. Qua hora angelus Aegyptum devastavit et Dominus infernum spoliavit, ea hora electos suos de hoc mundo liberabit. Cf. also Eluc 11 1164C: D. Qua die? M. In die Paschae, ea hora qua Christus resurrexit.
- 23003 "Vp in pe sky." Cf. *Eluc* 52 p. 457: In valle ergo fit iudicium, id est in isto mundo, scilicet in aere ...
- 23039–206 The division of souls into four groups, two good and two bad, is adumbrated in *Eluc* 59–74 pp. 459–61. Cf. Richard of St. Victor, *In Apocalypsim libri vii* in *PL* CXCVI 857, who also divides the souls into four groups. The *CM* poet, however, provides far more detail. Cf. Mt 25:32–33, where there are only two groups.

- 23080–96 Probably the *CM* poet took these lines directly from Mt 25:34–36. Cf. also *Quinze signes* Il. 371–84, where the deeds of the blessed are in a different order: shelter, food, nakedness, visitation, illness, burial; thirst and prison are omitted. Cf. also the list in Grosseteste's *Château* 1563–76, where only visitation is omitted.
- 23158-68 Based on Mt 25:41-2. Cf. Quinze signes ll. 396-406.
- 23181-82 Cf. Apoc 21:4.
- 23189-94 Cf. Apoc 21:8, 20:14-15, and 19:20.
- 23202 Apoc 21:8: in stagno ardenti igni. Perhaps the *CM* poet is thinking of ME stang, a pond or pool (cf. *CM* 8936), or perhaps of the past tense of ME stink (cf. *MED* s.v. stinken), or perhaps of ME stang, a sting or pain (cf. *CM* 20960).
- 23207-350 The nine pains of hell, their correspondence with the nine orders of angels, their suitability to the souls of the damned, the inverse posture of the damned, and the increased joy and pain respectively of the blessed to see the suffering of the damned and of the damned to see the joys of the blessed, are all taken from *Eluc* 4-5 1159-61.
- 23219-24 Eluc 4 1159D has Si igneus mons immitteretur, in glaciem verteretur. The CM poet appears to have had a variant text.
- 23231-32 The image of seeing fish swim in the water is from *Eluc* 4 1160A: qui ut pisces in aqua ita vivunt in flamma. "lowe" translates Honorius' "flamma;" cf. *MED* loue n. (2).
- 23235 The fifth pain begins here unremarked. Cf. *Eluc* 4 1160A: Quinta flagra caedentium, ut mallei ferrum percutientium.
- 23261-64 Original with CM poet?
- 23265-350 These explanations of sin and punishment are taken from *Eluc* 4 1160B and correspond with the nine pains just described. The wavering of the correspondence at the eighth and ninth sins is original with Honorius.
- 23339-42 Eluc 5 1161B: sicut nobis cum videmus pisces in gurgite ludere. The summer day seems to be the CM poet's addition.
- 23351-68 Original with the CM poet?
- 23369-594 Eluc 17 & 19 1169-72. 18, the first elaboration of the fourteen gifts, is omitted by the CM poet.
- 23373-75 Swiftenes = velocitatem, feirhede = pulchritudinem, fredome = libertatem, strengbe = fortitudinem, euer lyf to lede = immortalitatem, likynge = voluptatem, lastynge hele = sanitatem: all terms translated from *Eluc*.
- 23377-79 Wisdome = sapientiam, frenshepe = amicitiam, acorde = concordiam, pouste = potestatem, worshepe = honorem, sikernesse = securitatem, ioyeful ro = gaudium: all terms translated from *Eluc*.
- 23381-92 Swiftness, Eluc 19 1171B.
- 23393-408 Beauty. Eluc 19 1171A.
- 23409-22 Freedom. Eluc 19 1171C.
- 23423–28 Strength. *Eluc* 19 1171B-C. Wip bi fyngur to ouercaste an hille = et omnem molem terrae pede vertere vellent.
- 23429-62 Pleasure. Eluc 19 1171D-72A. The southern redactor has omitted lines 23437-48, which make an awkward comparison in both Eluc and the northern version, namely that the pleasure of heaven is internally and externally as intense as the pain would be in this world of a red-hot iron bar passing through the head and body.
- 23463-70 Health, Eluc 19 1172C.
- 23471-74 Immortality. Eluc 19 1172C.

- 23481–512 Wisdom. *Eluc* 20 1172D–3B. The southern redactor omits lines 23489–90, which in the northern version simply lend emphasis to the two preceding lines. *Eluc* is the origin of the digression into the knowledge of the saved of one another's sins.
- 23513-18 Friendship. *Eluc* 20 1173D.
- 23519–48 Concord. Eluc 20 1173D, including a longish discourse on the concord of wills in heaven.
- 23524 be boke = Honorius' *Elucidarium*.
- 23527–28 Omitted by the southern redactor, perhaps because it translates a question from the Discipulus, and normally the poet omits these.
- 23549-70 Power. Eluc 20 1174A.
- 23559-60 A question from the Discipulus, translated exceptionally by the *CM* poet: Et si possunt, quare non aliud coelum faciunt?
- 23564 tale = numero in *Eluc* 20 1174B: omnia in mensura numero et pondere perfecte absoluit. Cf. Sap 11:21, where the verb is disposuisti [sc. Deus].
- 23571-78 Joy. Eluc 20 1174B-D.
- 23579-94 Honour. *Eluc* 10 1174D. The *CM* poet seems to revert to *Eluc* 15 1168C for the image of the sun, moon, water, and stars that no longer run in their courses but are changed into stabilty: coelum, sol, luna, stellae, aquae, quae nunc festinant cursu irretardibili, quasi cupientes in meliorem statum immutari, tunc fixa stabiliter manebunt. Cf. 23677-82 below.
- 23595-602 Security. Eluc 20 1174D-5A.
- 23603-14 A summary of the state of the blessed taken from Eluc 20 1175A-B.
- 23615-48 A comparison point by point of the blessed with the damned, based loosely on the fourteen gifts just discussed in greater detail, taken from *Eluc* 21 1175B-6A.
- 23649-52 Eluc 21 1176D ends here with a prayer, though not the same as the CM poet's prayer. Where the poet includes all in his wish for Christ's grace, Honorius' Discipulus wishes well to his teacher alone.
- 23653-704 Eluc 15 1168C.
- 23657-58 Cf. also Honorius Speculum Ecclesiae Dominica xxiii in PL CLXXII 1077A.
- 23668-70 Perhaps elaborated from *Eluc* 15 1168C: frigus, aestus, grandines, turbines, fulgura, tonitrua, et aliae incommoditates.
- 23683-84 Cf. Isaiah 30:26: et lux solis erit septempliciter sicut lux septem dierum, cited in *Eluc* 1168C: sol septempliciter plus quam nunc lucebit, ut dicitur: *Sol habebit lumen septem dierum*.
- 23689 translates Eluc 15 1168D: Terra, quae in gremio suo Domini corpus confovit ...
- 23696 The comparison to paradise is based on *Eluc* 15 1168D, which says that the earth immarcessibiliter erit perpetuo decorata with flowers.
- 23705-897 Having finished his narration of the Last Judgement and, *a fortiori*, of the entire Bible, the *CM* poet now draws on his experience as a preacher to identify the moral of his extended exemplum. Evidently he had not anticipated doing this, for there is no mention of it in the opening lines of the poem, which go from Judgement Day to verses on Mary, Il. 216-17.

APPENDIX A

Errors in Morris' Texts

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

- 21347 [O]f] G of
- 21348 criste] F criste
- 21355 iesu] G ihesu
- 21357 cristen] F cristen
- 21359 cristen] F cristen
- 21364 cristen] F cristen
- 21367 crist] F crist
- 21368 valde F walde
- 21372 | bat | C bat
- 21379 [A]ls] G als
- 21405 cristes] F cristes
- 21410 iesu] G ihesu. criste] F criste
- 21418 cristen] F cristen
- 21433 cristen] F cristen
- 21437 F fol. 89r col. 2
- 21443 [b]an] G ban. benciras] C bonciras
- 21465 [b]an] G ban
- 21486 cristen] F cristen
- 21487 quenel F quene
- 21497 [G]odd] G godd
- 21504 maistris | F maistris
- 21517 priuely] F priuely
- 21521 went him G went wid him
- 21523 quen | G quen
- 21526 criste] F criste
- 21533 F fol. 89v col. 2
- 21545 iesu] Gihesu. criste] F criste
- 21547 tol F on
- 21558 cristen] F cristen
- 21561 [b]is] G bis
- 21564 cristened) F cristened

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21585 [V]r] G vr
21601 E fol. 46r col. 1
21602 processiune] E processiune
21603 kirkel E kirk
21605 nevir] E neuir
21606 schinandel E schinande
21608 tre] E tre
21609 baim] E baim
21610 emperur] E emperur
21613 eftir] E eftir
21614 perdun] E perdun. parte] E parte
21615 Seterdai] E seterdai
21616 Cristin E cristin, cristen F cristen
21618 croce] E croice, man] E man, wont] E wont
21619 man | E man
21622 thaim E baim
21624 undir] E undir
21627 grace] E grace. [b]e] G be
21629 lauerd] E lauerd. wro3t] E wro3t
21631 unselie] E unselie. F fol. 90r col. 2
21633 unnebis E unnebis
21634 grant | E grant
21635 thinc E binc. the E be. sothe E sobe
21636 That E Pat. wrozte E wrozte, bat G bat
21638 and E and. in (2nd) E in
21639 undir] E undir
21642 finde] E finde
21643 E fol. 46r col. 2
21649 hande] E hande
21653 wro3tl E wro3te. [A]nd] G and
21654 Vndir] E Vndir
21655 Thare E Pare. drigtin E drigtin
21656 perdune] E perdune
21657 [b]e] G be. blod] G blode
21658 Quen] E Quen. brobir] E brobir
21659 trel E trie. bing E bing
21660 hid] G kid
21662 himl E him
21663 quarnere] E quarnere. made] E ma[de]
21664 Croice | E croice. lange | E lange. and | E and. brade | E brade
21666 iesus] G, C ihesus
21667 Qual E Qua. him] E him
21668 rode | E rod[e]
21669 lauerd] E lauerd. [V]r] G vr
21670 Maisteris] E maistris. in] E in. hande] E hande. maistri] F maistri
21671 Sithin] E sibin. and] E and. aftir] E aftir
21672 herdel E herde
21675 in (2nd)] E in
21676 Quen] E Quen. Israel] E israel. 3ede] C yede
```

21678 croice E croice

- 21679 croice] E croice. drawin] E drawin
- 21680 lauerd] E lauerd. paim] E paim. awin] E awin
- 21681 oþir] E oþir
- 21682 unto] E unto. dinte] E dinte
- 21683 Quen] E Quen. nedderis] E nedderis. [Q]uen] G quen. pat] G pat
- 21685 Quen] E Quen. Wildernes] E wildernes. E fol. 46v
- 21687 neddir] E neddir. was] E was was. tre] E tre
- 21688 men] E men
- 21689 neddir] E neddir
- 21691 Quen] E Quen. [Q]uen] G quen
- 21692 hende] E hende
- 21693 hende] E hende. croice] E croice
- 21695 Quen] E Quen. striue] E striue. prest] E prest. [Q]uen] G quen
- 21696 bai] E ba
- 21697 twelue] E tuelue. men] E men. tazt] E cazt. wandis] E wandis
- 21699 wande] E wande, ber] E ber
- 21700 pristis] E pristis. dome] E dome
- 21701 herde] E herde
- 21703 Eliseus] E Eliseus. obir] E obir
- 21705 apon] E apon
- 21706 Croice E croice
- 21707 Ouen] E Ouen. David] E david. again] E again. [O]uen] G quen
- 21708 histan | E his tan. forgetin | E forgetin
- 21710 mare] E mare
- 21711 inl E in
- 21714 fral E fra
- 21715 Croicel E croice
- 21716 aboun] E aboun. nan] E nan
- 21717 testamente E testamente
- 21718 bisning] E bisning. quar-to] E quar to. cuthe] E cube. tente] E tente
- 21719 [C]roice] G croice
- 21720 Banir] E Banir
- 21721 herde] E herde. E fol. 46v col. 2
- 21722 thaim] E baim, them] G baim
- 21724 ouircomel E ouircome
- 21725 croice] E croice
- 21727 Croice] E croice, F. fol. 90v col. 2
- 21728 croice] E croice, wroate] E wroate
- 21729 croice] E croice
- 21730 croice] E croice. liuis] E liuis
- 21731 rancun] E rancun
- 21732 Gun-fanun] E gunfanun
- 21735 croicel E croice
- 21736 grete] E grete. honure] E honure
- 21738 writte] E writte
- 21739 Fundemente | E Fundemente
- 21742 trel E tre
- 21743 tres | E tres. brine | E brinne
- 21746 undirstande] E undirstande
- 21747 tellis] E tellis. eiun] E euin

- 21748 numbir] E numbir. seuin] E seuin
- 21749 togideris] E togideris
- 21752 neul E new
- 21753 on E on. scaping E scaping, knawin E knawin
- 21754 And] E And. drawin] E drawin
- 21755 in E in. and E and
- 21756 elemens | E elemens
- 21757 strenbis | E strenbis, brin | E brin
- 21758 Croice] E croice. bar] E bar
- 21759 Quen] E Quen, bat] E bat
- 21761 proueid] E proueid
- 21763 mendel E mende. E fol. 47r col. 1
- 21765 croice] E crois. wro3t] E wro3t. crafte] E crafte
- 21768 wande] E wande
- 21770 quar] E quar
- 21772 broste] E broste
- 21777 [E]line] G eline
- 21778 nailis] E nailis. and] E and
- 21779 driuin] E driuin
- 21781 þaim] E þaim. wro3t] E wro3t
- 21782 bridil] E bridil
- 21783 cristal] E cristal
- 21785 Quider] E Quidir. sum] E sum
- 21787 bridel] E bridel, brizte] E brizte
- 21788 trouthe] E troube, drizte] E drizte
- 21790 Quen] E Quen. ending] E ending. nere] E nere
- 21792 cro3] E croi3. baim] E baim
- 21793 uirtu] E uirtu. sithin] E sibin. wrohte] E wrozte
- 21794 cristl F crist
- 21795 and E and. France E france
- 21796 mustrancel E mustrance
- 21799 and] E and
- 21800 getin] E getin
- 21801 broʒte] E broʒte
- 21802 defende] E defende
- 21803 Oual E Oua, bettirl E bettir, attendel E attende
- 21804 loue] E loue. mende] E mende. cristis] F cristis
- 21805 quebir] E quebir
- 21806 writin] E writin. E fol. 47r col. 2
- 21807 tellis] E tellis
- 21808 diuerisl E diuers
- 21809 [b]at] G bat
- 21811 turnid] E turnid
- 21813 Ouenl E Quen
- 21815 quat] E quat
- 21817 wro3te] E wro3te
- 21818 fande] E fande
- 21819 Sawlis] E sawlis
- 21824 quite] E quite
- 21825 Anobir] E Anobir. Anober] C Anoder. F fol. 91r col. 2

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21826 grise] E grise
21828 iesu Gihesu. iesu Cihesus
21831 herdel E herde
21832 Neuir] E Neuir. ferde] E ferde
21833 wibir] E wibir
21834 Criste] E criste. lauerd] E lauerd. bat] G bat. crist] F crist
21836 Euirl E Euir
21837 [b]at] G bat
21838 Quar] E Quar. spredde] E spredde. iesu] G ihesu. iesus] C ihesus
21839 spere] E spere
21841 inl E in. hertel E herte
21842 in] E in
21844 iesu] G ihesu. iesu] C ihesu
21845 frende] E frende
21846a title not in E
21847 brogte] E brogte. [S]Ex] G sEx
21849 crist F crist
21856 it] Gitt
21863 iesus / C, G ihesus
21882 cruse] E cruse
21886 iesu] C, G ihesu. crist] F crist
21895 sa] E sua
21911 rotoygne] C rotougne
21923 F fol. 91v col. 2
21936 Pat] E Pate
21943 criste] F criste
21952 Patl E Pate
21955 is] E es
21962 and E ande
21980 iesu] C, G ihesu
21981 | bat | C bat
21985 the C pe. crist F crist
21989 and] G ad
22001 of C or
22004 antecrist F antecrist
22005 you] C yow. [N]v] G nv
22006 antecrist] F antecrist
22009 þat] C þat
22010 Þat] C Þat
22021 F fol. 92r col. 2
22023 [O]f] G of
22026 maydene] G mayden
22029 brim] G brine
22034 Ouer] C Ouer
22038 ber] F ber
22041 Pat] E Pate. C Pat. seint] C sent
22042 hene] E he ne. ber] F ber
22046 Url E Vr
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22054 cheuy] F cheny 22067 [A]nd] G And

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22085 [Olf] G of
22089 plac] E place
22098 other C ober
22110 bei] F be
22117 F fol. 92v col. 2
22120 spare] E sperare
22122 traturel E traiture
22127 [b]e] G be
22133 alle] C all
22134 iesul C, G ihesu
22145 del G do
22181 henel E he ne
22188 dol E to
22205 iesu] C, G ihesu
22212 If 49, bk, col. 2] E 22213. F fol. 93r col. 2
22234 Patl E Pate
22235 Patl E Pate
22246 geret] E gret
22253 [V]r] G <v>r
22266 þis] F his
22267 derc] E dere. iesu] C, G ihesu
22270 sone] C son
22279 felunil C felunni
22295 letel G bete
22300 Patl E Pate
22306 hail] C haal
22309 crist] F crist. F fol. 93v col. 2
22312 gram] C gram
22315 [Alls] G als
22341 and E ande and. wimmen E wimmen
22355 tuelvel C tuelue
22358 all] C als
22359 kyngrik] C kingrik
22360 iesul C, G ihesu
22361 [T]ua] G tua
22366 strength] C strength
22374 our] E ur
22381 [B]ot] G bot
22390 driue] E driue
22394 filthes C filthes
22399 [Alnd] G and
22405 F fol. 94r col. 2
22408 iesu] E, C, G ihesu
22427 [N]u] G nu
22439 il] C it
22443 Queber] C Queber
22447 little] C littel
22448 of C o
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22450 nan] C man 22454 hene] E he ne

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22456 If 1, col. 2] E 22459
22459 [b]e] G be
22472 coml E torn
22473 iesu] E, C, G ihesu
22482 quen] G quen
22485 queber] E queber
22493 [e]fter] G efter
22505 [b]e] G be
22507 F fol. 94v col. 2
22510 Dunel C Dime
22519 [V]gli] G Vgli
22531 [b]e] G be
22539 leaf 1, col. 4] E fol. 1v col. 2
22545 [S]orful] G sorful
22550 murthes C mirthes
22554 of ]Co
22561 [b]e] G be
22563 we] F be
22566 Alkin C Allkin
22568 Moses] C moyses
22574 wen bat] E bat wen
22579 [b]e]G be
22591 [b]e] G be
22605 F fol. 95r col. 2
22613 now | E nov
22615 lesus] C, G lhesus
22626 ogain] E ogain
22627 [b]e] G be
22644 alle] C alle
22653 of E es. [b]e G be
22658 iesul C, G ihesu
22660 quain] C quain
22671 [be]e] G be
22689 xvius] C [xivus]. [b]e] G be
22694 drouel E drone
22698 com] E com
22699 xvus] C [xvus]. [Q]uat] G quat
22701 F fol. 95v col. 2
22706 that | C bat
22711 [b]an] G ban
22719 iesu] E ihesu. iesus] C, G ihesus
22737 [Q]uen] G quen
22756 al ban] E ban al
22769 [A]tt] G att
22774 | bat | E that
22781 [A]II] G all
22784 bat] G bat
22797 F fol. 96r col. 2
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22813 [A]II] G all 22840 ah haf] E haf ah

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22849 [b]e] G be
22861 felunil C felunni
22879 leaf Gleif
22883 alkin] Cilkin
22893 F fol. 96v col. 2
22894 Ouer] C Ouer
22895 [A]] G a
22929 tober] G tober
22953 [O]n] G on
22963 [b]e] G be
22982 fol. 129r col. 1] C 22983
22989 F fol. 97r col. 2
23006 iesul Gihesu
23019 [b]ai] G bai
23028 | bar | E thar
23036 plihtes] E plhtes
23039 [A]T] G aT
23061 Iesu] E, C Ihesu. Iesus] G Ihesus
23063 [b]e G be
23081 Y E Ye
23085 F fol. 97v col. 2
23099 iesu Eihesu. bring Ebring. vs Evs. iesus Gihesus
23103 [blarl G bar
23127 [b]e] G be
23134 nauthir bat wil] E nauthir wil
23138 enst] C cust (?). enst] G erist (?)
23139 in Ein, vntelland Evntelland
23148 browht till E til browht
23151 | bat ] G | bat
23175 [H]a] G ha
23181 F fol. 98r col. 2
23187 heuin] E heuin
23200 wit-outen E wit-outen
23219 [b]e] G be
23225 [b]e] G be
23229 wlacsum] E włatsum
23233 [b]e] G be
23238 bair] G bari
23241 [b]e] G be
23244 ober G ober
23245 [b]e] G be
23246 neuer] C neuer
23249 [b]e] G be
23250 bat | C bait
23256 and E ad
23265 [A]nd] G and
23268 baim] C bam
23271 [A]nd] G and
23272 wib] E wit
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23281 F fol. 98v col. 2

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23283 [A]nd] G and
23286 baim] E baim
23289 [A]nd] G and
23293 [A]nd] G and
23301 [A]nd] G and
23319 [b]e] G be
23323 [b]e] G be
23345 bail E ba
23351 [O]vem] G qvem
23352 Iesu] E, G Ihesu. Iesus] C Ihesus
23367 at E bat, iesul E ihesu, iesus G, C ihesus
23369 [b]a] G ba
23373 sweenes | E swetnes
23377 haue wisdome] F [haue wisdo]me. F fol. 99r col. 2
23381 suift] C suitf. [I]n] G in
23390 euir] E euir. wil] E bou wil
23393 [O]f] G of
23412 birbel E thirbe
23423 [b]u] G bu
23429 [L]iking] G liking
23449 [I]n] G In
23451 wommen] E wommen
23465 [H]ele] G hele
23477 F fol. 99v col. 2
23479 [b]e] G be
23498 baim] E bam
23507 neuirl E neuir
23510 witering] E witering
23513 [F]renschip] G frenschip
23525 [b]at] G bat
23549 [M]ekil] G mekil
23566 and E and
23573 F fol. 100r col. 2
23577 woning] E woning. sli] C in
23595 [O]f] G of
23596 tar] E tan
23599 mistime] G mistime, pace Morris' note
23603 kan] E kan
23613 [b]ir] G bir
23623 [b]ir] G bir
23625 [b]ir] G bir
23629 [þ]ir] G þir
23631 [b]ir] G bir
23633 [b]ir] G bir
23637 [b]ir] G bir
23639 [W]id] G vuid
23641 [b]ir] G bir
23643 [b]ir] G bir
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23645 [þ]ir] G þir 23647 [þ]ir] G þir

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23650 iesu] E, C, G ihesu
23653 [O]f] G of
23669 F fol. 100v col. 2
23674 are not erased in F. pace Morris
23683 [b]e] G be
23685 [b]e] G be
23686 batism] C baptism
23689 [b]e] G be
23745 [T]o] G to
23750 couaitus] E covaitus
23753 [b]ir] G bir
23758 certis F cristis
23763 F fol. 101r col. 2
23773 [A]Isua] G alsua
23792 nankin] E nankin
23818 ur] E vij
23863 [A]II] G all. F fol. 101v col. 2
23878 þat (2nd)] G þat
23899-894 E printed twice pp. 1367-69 and 1636-37
23909 [L]Euedi] G lEuedi
23913 the E be (1367)
23926 Ratheli] E Rabeli (1367). Iesu] G Ihesu
23934 euirl E euir (1369)
23935 [b]is] G bis
23941-42 C no gap
23945 [S]pell] G spell
23946 C not indented
23957 [H]ir] G hir. F fol. 102r col. 2
23963 [I]n] G in
23969 [H]e] G he
23981 [Wledel G vuede
23984 him] E him
23985 sli] G ssli
23987 [S]ai] G sai
23993 [I] G <I>
23999 [O]f] G of
24000 tung] E tung. and (2nd and 3rd)] E and
24005 [A]II] G all
24011 [W]idvten] G vuidvten
24012 murnand] E murnand. man] E man
24017 cril E cri
24021 bat | C bat
24023 [V]nreufulli] G vnreufulli
24029 [b]ai] G bai
24035 [V]nto] G vnto
24039 blublid] G bublid
24041 [T]o] G to
24047 [b]ar-for] G barfor
24051 mad] E mad
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24053 F fol. 102v col. 2

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24060 iesul Cihesu
24079 E fol. 10r col. 2
24081 now | E nou
24092 Quen] E Quen
24095 and E and
24097 him] E him
24099 nanl E nan
24101 sterun] E sterun
24102 seluin] E seluin
24103 Quen] E Quen
24106 brastin] E brast in
24107 wroht] E wroht
24114 hang E hang, apon E apon, croice E croice
24118 sum] E sum
24119 E fol. 11v col. 1
24121 apon] E apon. him] E him
24122 sunl E sun
24125 lif E lef. sun E sun. qui E qui
24126 moder] E moder
24128 bing E bing
24129 moder] E moder
24131 outen] E outen. witvten] C witvten
24133 frend] E frend
24138 sun | E sun. moder | E moder
24139 samin] E samin
24141 strif E strif
24142 gamin] E gamin
24143 graiþer] E graiþer. gamin] E gamin
24144 moder] E moder
24146 apon] E apon
24147 and E and
24148 samin] E samin
24149 F fol. 103r col. 2
24155 obir] E obir
24156 moder] E moder
24159 E fol. 11v col. 2
24162 quam E quam. cri E cri. and E and
24164 outin] E outin
24165 and E and. strife E strife
24166 Quat] E Quat
24171 | ban | E ban
24172 nan] E nan
24173 qui E qui
24174 fra] E fra
24175 Quen] E Quen
24176 þaim] E þaim
24178 uneuin] E uneuin
24179 cril E cri
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24180 moder] E moder. merci] E merci24183 murning] E murning. moder] E moder

24266 fundin] E fundin

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24184 neuir] E neuir
24185 moderl E moder
24186 togider] E togider
24188 in 1 E in
24191 in] E in
24192 suml E sum
24194 fadir] E fadir
24196 murning | E murning
24199 faderles] E faderles. E fol. 12r col. 1
24202 quarfor] E quarfor, qui] E qui
24203 [Tlint] G tint
24204 in] E in
24207 neuer] E neuer. moder] E moder
24209 [M]i] G mi
24211 me] E mi. len] E lend
24212 Quat] E Quat. quat] E quat. grace] E grace. quat] E quat. quat] E quat
24215 [Sliben] G siben
24217 euin] E euin
24218 Quen] E Quen. murning] E murning
24219 Sum] E Sum
24220 him] E him. steuin] E steuin
24221 [blou] G bou
24225 in] E in
24226 outin] E outin
24227 [He]] G he
24229 murne] E murne
24230 quat | E quat
24231 moder] E moder, mend] E mend
24232 fader] E fader
24233 [b]u G bu
24234 faderl E fader
24237 s.] G o
24238 and] E and
24239 moder] E moder. E fol. 12r col. 2 . [b]u] G bu
24240 seruin] E seruin
24241 lengin] E lengin
24243 him] E him. seruis] E seruis
24245 moder] E moder, tender] E tender, F fol. 103v col. 2
24246 quert] E quert
24251 moder] E moder. dar] E der. [M]i] G mi
24252 nam] E nam. and] E and. resun] E resun. qui] E qui
24253 apon] E apon
24254 manis] E manis
24255 in Eyn. propheciis Epropheciis
24257 [B]ot] G bot
24258 mornin] E mornin
24261 schauen] E schauen
24263 ris] E ris ris. [N]u] G nu
24264 fader] E fader
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24267 inl E in
24268 anderl E ander
24269 [Flor-bi] G forbi
24270 quiken] E quiken, again] E again
24272 man] E man. quen] E quen
24275 fader] E fader. [b]e] G be
24276 Moder | E Moder, bink | E bink
24279 fader] E fader. E fol. 12v col. 1
24280 Ouerl E Ouer
24281 moder] E moder. [N]e] G ne
24283 fral E fra
24285 outen] E outen
24286 euirmarl E euirmar
24287 mostin] E mostin. vndirlie] E vndirlie. [N]u] G nu
24288 faderisl E faderis
24289 quel] E quel
24290 Ouebin] E Quebin, plain] E plain
24292 Quen] E Quen
24293 [I]] G I
24294 cum] E cum
24297 quil] E quil
24299 Ioon] E Ion. [I]ohn] G Iohn
24300 moder] E moder
24301 serue] E serue
24302 moder] E moder
24304 grace] E grace. Wit] C [wi]t
24305 Quils] C [Qu]ils, iesus C, G ihesus, [Q]uilis] G quilis
24308 soruing] E soruing. dumb] E dumb
24310 stand] E stand. apon] E apon
24311 men] E men. [b]ir] G bir
24312 and E and. maiden E maiden
24313 Quen] E Quen. Cristis] E cristis
24315 neuir] E neuir. Come] F [Come]
24316 for him bai sagh on F [for him bai sagh on]. him E him. croice E croice
24317 [W]id] G vuid
24318 himl E him
24319 E fol. 12v col. 2
24320 outen] E outen
24321 neuir] E neuir
24323 fra] E fra. [V]r] G vr
24325 quat] E quat
24328 | bhoh] E boh
24329 com] E com. [A]lsuith] G alsuith
24330 cristis] E cristis
24332 and] E and
24333 apon] E apon
24334 smitim] E smitin
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24336 þan] E þan 24338 and] E and 24339 moder] E moder

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24340 wroht] E wroht, him] E him
24341 [V]r] G vr. F fol. 104r col. 2
24342 and] E and
24344 tim] E tim
24345 Ouenl E Ouen, himl E him
24347 [H]ad] G had
24348 dunl E dun
24350 soruing E soruing
24353 outen] E outen. croice (2nd)] E croice. [W]id-vten] G vuidvten
24354 croicidl E croicid
24355 Quen] E Quen. him] E him
24356 him] E him. wrang] E wrang
24357 stangl E stang
24359 him] E him. [b]e] G be
24360-519 E no evident gap in MS, but the 159 missing lines probably occupied a
            single leaf, now missing
24365 [O]uen] G quen
24366 [Fland] G fand
24371 [B]ot] G bot
24377 [L]euedi] G leuedi
24383 biss] F bus. [F]ul] G ful
24389 [T]o] G to
24393 all G ai
24394 & Fa
24395 [Q]uen] G quen
24401 [Q]uen] G quen
24413 [b]e] G be
24419 [b]e] G be
24425 [Q]uen] G quen
24437 [I]] G I. F fol. 104v col. 2
24443 [III] G I
24455 [L]uue] G luue
24459 wende] F we[nde]
24461 [bost must]] F b[ost m]ust. [M]e] G me
24467 [H]a] G ha
24473 [N]u] G nu
24479 [H]ere-wid] G herewid
24485 [leaf 104]] F fol. 105r col. 1. [W]id] G vuid
24491 [O]uen] G quen
24495 wald] G wad
24497 [B]ot] G bot
24503 [O]n] G on
24508 dide not crossed through in F, pace Morris
24509 [N]ay] G nay
24510 suffers like G suffer slike
24515 [H]ere] G here
24521 [M]e] G me
24524 sun] E sun. murning] E murning. mend] E mend
24525 send] E send
24527 mikel] E nikil. [b]at] G bat
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24528 gret | E gret
24531 minl E min
24533 him] E him. frunt] E frunt. and] E and. [I]] G I. F fol. 105r col. 2
24534 and (2nd)] E and. ein] E einn. and (3rd)] E and
24536 quen] E quen
24537 apon] E apon
24539 murnand E murnand, moder E moder. [I] G I
24540 staking E staking
24543 strife] E strife
24545 and E and. [Nlu] G nu
24546 Bunden] E Bundin
24548 and E and
24551 [b]an] G ban
24554 baim] E baim
24557 [III G I
24558 neuir] E neuir, moder] E moder
24559 euirl E euir
24560 him] E him. fain] E fain. E fol. 13r col. 2
24561 him] E him. main] E main
24563 Frendis] E Frendis. [F]reindes] G freindes
24564 drihtin] E drihtin
24565 praier] E praier
24566 quill E quil, him E him
24567 sibin] E sibin. quat] E quat
24568 derling E derling
24569 on F on. him E him. [Oln] G on
24570 quen] E quen. him] E him
24572 him] E him. in] E in
24573 him] E him. witouten] E witouten, strif] E strif
24575 leuir] E leuir. driuen] E driuen. [L]euer] G leuer
24576 eftir] E eftir. liuin] E liuin
24578 wind) E wind
24581 euir] E euir. in] E in. [L]euedi] G leuedi
24584 striff E strif
24587 [b]i] G bi
24588 don | E don
24589 litel G lete
24590 Pho] E Poh
24593 [S]uilk] G suilk
24597 and] E and
24599 Quen] E Quen. likham] E likham. in] E in. stan] E stan
24600 E fol. 13v col. 1
24601 him] E him
24603 languris | E languris
24604 þaim] E þaim
24605 quat] E quat. [O]f] G of
24606 trail E trai, and E and
24608 Quen] E Quen. obir] E obir. men] E men
24609 Apon] E Apon
```

24611 allan] E allan. [A]t] G at

```
24612 euir] E euir
24614 Iohan E Iohan
24616 fral E fra, sunder E sunder
24617 hand E hand. [T]o] G to
24618 moht] E moht, stand] E stand
24620 led1 E bed
24621 oberl E ober, wimmenl E wimmen, murnandl E murnand
24622 bider] E bider
24623 [M]ani] G mani
24624 gret] E gret
24626 twinl E twin
24629 langing] E langing. [b]ar] G bar
24630 vprising | E vprising
24633 moderl E moder, himl E him
24634 him] E him.
24635 and E and. forsoruin E forsoruin. [Slua] G sua F fol. 105v col. 2
24636 Quen] E Quen. mornin] E mornin
24637 brang] E brang
24638 biderward E biderward
24640 E fol. 13v col. 2
24641 [F]ul] G ful
24642 ban] E ban
24644 obir] E obir. wimen] E wimen. him] E him. wimmen] G wimmen
24647 [O]f] G of
24648 briht] E briht
24651 confort] E confort
24652 Quen] E Quen. samin] E samin
24653 him] E him. [b]u] G bu
24654 fulfil] E fufil
24655 strang E strang
24656 himl E him, inl E in
24657 biderward] E biderward
24659 [I]ohan] G Iohan
24660 moder] E moder
24661 keping | E keping
24662 maidin] E maidin. bat] G bat
24663 witoutin] E witoutin
24666 nan] E nan
24668 cristis] E cristis
24669 pris] E pris
24670 Nanl E Nan. certisl E certis
24671 [T]o] G to
24672 tresorer | E tresorer
24673 traister] E traister
24674 grabeli] E graibeli, grace] E grace, grant] E grant
24675 moder | E moder
24677 [b]ar-till] G bar till
24678 maidinhad] E maidinhad
24679 taim] E taim
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24680 wimman] E wimman. queber] E queber. E fol. 14r col. 1

```
24681 in Ein. virginite Evirginite
24683 in E i. [H]el G he
24685 virignis] E virginis
24688 euir] E euir. and] E and
24689 [W]ele] G vuele
24690 couering] E couering
24692 ober] E ober. virtu] E virtu
24693 paim] E paim. couir] E couir
24695 buxumnes] E buxumnes
24696 turn] E turn, and] E and
24698 and E and
24699 and E and
24701 [1]f] G If
24702 him] E him
24706 couer] E couer. euir] E euir
24707 wete] F wele. [b]is] G bis
24712 priuest | E priuest
24713 Chamberlain E Chamberlain, gret E gret, honure E honure. [Clhamberlain]
        G chamberlain
24714 moderis E moderis
24716 seruid] E seruid. main] E main. and] E and
24717 neuer] E neuer
24719 [T]o] G to
24720 moder] E moder, and E and E fol. 14r col. 2
24722 erandl E erand
24725 cristis] E cristis. [I]n] G In
24726 euir E euir, apon E apon
24727 murne] E murne
24728 liuedi] C leuedi
24730 quen] E quen. Amen] E Amen
24731 F. fol. 106r col. 2
24733 men] E men. [L]Istes] G IIstes
24734 grefl E gref
24736 bink] E bink
24737 louing | E louing
24740 moht] E moht. in] E in. louing] E louing. spend] E spend
24743 man] E man
24745 manis] E manis. neuir] E neuir. straite] E straite
24746 bring E bring, into E into
24747 neuir] E neuir
24748 Quen] E Quen. mining] E mining
24749 Quat E Quat
24754 getin] E getin
24755 lauerdinges | E lauerdinges
24756 Quat] E Quat. and] E and. term] E term
24757 getin] E getin
24758 outin E outin, wid-vten C wityten
24760 resun] E resun. E fol. 14v col. 1
24761 and E and
```

24762 seruis E seruis

- 24765 Willam E Willam. [A]] G a 24766 ingeland] E ingeland 24767 man | E man, hand | E hand 24768 wan | E wan, land | E land 24770 hiht] E hiht 24771 danis] E danis 24772 qui] E qui, him] E him 24773 Willam E Willam. Sengnurie E sengurie 24774 ingeland | E ingeland. and | E and. normundie | E normundie 24775 Danemarchel E danemarche, onan E onan 24776 king E king 24777 wend] E wend 24778 himl E him. was E was 24779 him] E him 24780 ingelandl E ingeland 24781 Apon] E Apon. Norman3] E norman3 24782 witoutin] E witoutin, riht] E riht 24783 king | E king, heuin | E heuin 24784 heuin] E heuin 24785 King | E king, Willam | E Willam, broht | E broht 24786 him] E him 24788 himl E him 24789 gaderit] E gadrit. and] E and 24790 and] E and 24793 consaill E consail 24800 E fol. 14v col. 2 24801 resun] E resun 24802 in E in 24810 mister] E mister 24815 [E]lsis] G Elsis 24827 F fol. 106v col. 2 24830 and E and 24832 presantes] G presantes 24839 obir] E ober. 24849 Strangli] E Sstrangli 24854 drerili] C dreleli 24858 drun] E drunn 24861 Pail E Pa 24863 iesu] Gihesu 24875 [B]ot] G bot 24879 Dun] E Dun 24882 E fol. 15r col. 2 24884 come] F comme 24890 won] C wou
- 24925 F fol. 107r col. 2 24928 þisw ord] C þis word 24935 [O]f] G of

24904 neuir] E neuir 24921 proper] E proper

24935 [O]f] G of 24937 and] E and

```
24949 comandment] E comandment
24953 conception] E conception
24954 pardonl E pardon
24966 E fol. 15v col. 2
24975 iesu] Gihesu
24987 [G]od] G god
24995 behouis him] C behouis o him
24997 [F]Ader] G FAder
25013 iesus | C, G ihesus
25019 F fol. 107v col. 2
25026 mind] C mind
25103 [FlAder] G fAder
25113 [C]rist] G crist
25117 F fol. 108r col. 2
25123 leaf 141\ C leaf 140
25125 [F]Adir] G fAdir
25167 leaf 810 back] F fol. 108v col. 1
25176 (last occurrence) [and]] C <and>
25177 [bi]] C <bi>. An[suer]] C an<suer>
25186 grace] G grace
25220 wirckl G winck
25221 F fol. 108v col. 2
25237 ober] C vber
25257 [b]is] G bis
25273 [b]e] G be
25289 fless G fles
25299 [F]orgiue] G forgiue
25318 met] the F scribe has expunged the final e in mete, pace Morris
25327 F fol. 109r col. 2
25342 forgiffes] C forgiftes
25357 [b]e] G be
25377 [S]iben] G siben
25387 [A]men] G amen
25394 bel C be
25403 [F]adir] G Fadir
25415 [H]ali] G hali
25418 iesul Gihesu
25427 [b]u] G bu
25429 F fol. 109v col. 2
25439 [R]ape] G rape
25451 [F]ul] G ful
25463 [N]u] G nu
25464 me] C ne
25465 nee] C ne
25475 [Olf] G of
25487 [esus] C, G Ihesus
25496 lauerd] C lauerd
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25505 [S]uete] G suete 25508 bai] G baa

25520 Iesus] C Ihesus. [I]esus G Ihesus

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25522 F fol. 110r col. 2
25524 iesu] C, G ihesu
25538 iesu] C, G ihesu. [S]uete] G suete
25556 [A]t] G at. iesus] G ihesus
25574 iesu] C, G ihesu. [S]uete] G suete
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25580 stei] C <stei>

25581 iesu] C <iesu>. iesu] G ihesu

25590 iesus] G ihesus

25592 iesu] C, G ihesu. [S]uete] G suete

25607 iesu] C, G ihesu. [S]uete] G suete

25613 F fol. 110v col. 2

25624 [M]i] G mi 25631] G no gap 25639 [b]e] G be

25640 [it]] G <it>25644 [b]e] G be

25659 [þ]e] G <þ>e

25684 [D]rightin] G drightin

25685 C not indented 25690 [Forbi]] G <Forbi>

25697 saulis] G saulis

25702 þai]] G þaim 25705 [care]] G <care>

25707 [mai he rise]] G <mai he rise>

25708 [bord]] G <bord>

25709 [ford]] G <ford> 25710 [sin]] G <sin>

25710 [Sin]] G <Sin>
25727 [Ne]] G <Ne>

25728 [In fin]] G <In fin>

25734 [be flemed]] G <be flemed> 25740 sus[taining]] G sus<taining>

25742 [schrift]] G s<chrift>

25747 he] G he

25750 ha[s]] F ha<s>

25758 [vs het]] G <vs het>

25760 l[ete]] G l<ete>

25772 F fol. 111r col. 2

25780 iesu] C ihesu

25782 has] C haf 25785 iesu] C ihesu

25868 F fol. 111v col. 2

25961 h[e?] F h<e?>

26019 suungen] C suangen

26058 F fol. 112v col. 2

26150 F fol. 113r col. 2

26246 F fol. 113v col. 2

26281 him nane] F him agh nane

26344 F fol. 114r col. 2

26375-77 F not indented 26444 F fol. 114v col. 2

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26471 iesus Cihesus
26540 F fol. 115r col. 2
26548 iesul Cihesu
26636 F fol. 115v col. 2
26676 for bakbiter C bakbiter for
26707 If. 148, bk, col. 1] C 26706 If. 148, bk, col. 1
26732 F fol. 116r col. 2
26800 [bat]] C <bat>
26804 [in scrift]] C <in scrift>
26828 F fol. 116v col. 2
26856 wille] C will
26924 F fol. 117r col. 2
26989 traisting] C traisting
27020 F fol. 117v col. 2
27024 cu[m]] C in
27035 lijs] C lijf
27037 iesu] C ihesu
27042 ha lin] C halm
27055 kepe] F were. bat] C bat
27067 bis] F his. birthing] C birching
27075 alle] C all
27115 War] C Þar
27118 F fol. 118r col. 2
27168 wiit] C witt
27169 falle] C fall
27186 <u>quy</u>] F quy
27211 F legible only with ultra violet lamp
27212 F fol. 118v col. 2
27263 & stulb] F legible only with ultra violet lamp
27309 smert] F s<mert>
27310 birthin] C birchin. F fol. 119r col. 2
27322 [w]ife] F wife
27374 [?bat do]s] F <bat do>s
27397 d[iuer]sis] F d<iuer>sis
27404 F fol. 119v col. 2
27409 bett] C bete
27502 F fol. 120r col. 2
27508 iesu] C ihesu
27543 Þat] C Þat
27553 Pat] C Pat
27559 | bat ] C bat
27606 F fol. 120v col. 2
27612 bat C bat
27629 C no gap
27631 C no gap
27724 F fol. 121r col. 2
27666 gain] C gan
27700 brin C brinn
27741 Pat] C Pat
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27743 wiit] C wijt

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27786 sin] C sinn
27805 bat | C bat
27818 C col. 2
27830 lauerding] C lauerdinges
27838 F fol. 121v col. 2
27850 wiit] C wijt
27855 bel F bat
27859 þ[in]e] F þinne
27881 insightt] C insighit
27884 wate] C wat
27898 wiit] C wijt
27900 [& hit is]] C <& hit is>
27984 sa] C so
28034 bii] C bij
28035 bii] C bij
28042 ol C of
28255 spelle] C spell
28300 fallel C falle
28302 iesu] Cihesu
28401 bair | C baire
28442 iesu] C ihesu
28472 iesu] Cihesu
28508 delt crist] C delt to crist
28528 lechur] C lethur
28576 sinnes scriuen] C sinnes es scriuen
28613-14 C no gap
28663 willel C will
28711 iesu] C ihesu
28867 alle] C all
29259 iesu] C ihesu
29299 slainl C slan
29308 purchad] C prechad
29373 asoillel C asoill
29406 in renaijng C in rauyng renaijng
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N.B.: C was rebound 26 June 1967 so tightly that the initial letters of the following lines are no longer visible: 21869–916, 22057–102, 29124–69, 29322–370, and 29524–547.

APPENDIX B

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

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

Some clerkis say bat one schal come	
Pat schall holde be empyre of Rome	
All holy and his croune bere	
Well & in pece withouten wer	
He schall be be last emperour bat bere schal be	
And most ouer all kynggis of povste	4090
Þe which schall wele maynten his stat	
And be empire withoute bate	
And it gouerne burgh law of witt	
As long as he schall holde itt	
Bote afftirwarde at be last ende	4095
Vnto Ierusalem schall he wende	fol. 159r col. 2
He schall be septur of Rome sett	4098
On be mount off olyuete	4097
And his croune lay doune also	
And leue ffor euer & fro hem go	4100
Pus schall ende be dignite of Rome	
And sone afftir antecrist schall come	
As clerkis say bat haue vndirstonding	
Off danyell & saint poule saying	
Pan schall antecrist tyme bygyn	4105
Pat sait poule calleb be man of sin	
For alle bat he be man nerbeles	
He schall be well of all wickidnes	
Pe deuill son he schall be callid	
Bote burgh kynde men schull hym bus hald	4110
Bote burgh his tourmenting fro gode to ill	
For he schall be deuils ffullfill	
All be power of be deuill of hell	
And all his witt of in hym schall duell	
In whom all treson & malice	4115
Schall be hid with all maner vice	

He schall to crist contrarius be And to all his lymmes pat he schall se And high hym purgh pryde pat he schall hold Aboue all pat er paynis tolde Pat is to say iubiter & mercury And apolyn & erculy And not onely aboue pat godis all	4120
Pat be paynis her godis call He schall hye hymselff to be Aboue be holy trenite Pat all creatoures more & les	4125
Schuld honour ouer all ping pat is	fol. 159v col. 1
Full synffull schall be his begyning	
And wondirffull all his lyvyng	4130
And his endyng schall be sodayn	
Purgh might of god he schall be slayn In his tyme schall be so moch tribulacion	
And so moch persecusioun	
Pat unneb any schall ber graunt	4135
Pat he is cristen & crist seruaunt	
For more persecucion schall be ban	
Pan euer was sen be world began	
Antecrist is bus moche to say	
As he bat is agenst crist ay	4140
Pan may iche man be clepid be skill	
Antecrist pat dothe agens godis will	
Pan may all bes antecrist be cald Pat agens be right will halde	
Bote many swich mow we know	4145
Pat moche dob agens be lawe	1110
Bote antecrist saib holy writt	
Schall come bote he comeb not 3itt	
As most teraunt withoute pete	
Pat euer was or euer schall be	4150
Þerfore I holde þes grete mysdoers	
Antecristis fforgoers	
Whoso will a while duell	
Aparte here I will tell	4155
Off be maner of antecrist begyning	4133
And of his lyffe & of his ending He schall be geten as clerkes shew can	
Of two synffull man & woman	
And afftir bat he consayved be	
Þe fende schall entre þurgh his povste	fol. 159v col. 2
Within his modir womb sone	4161
Pus saib bes clerkes it schall be done	
burgh whos myght he schal be forb bro3t	
And wondris burgh hym schal be wro3t	A1/5
He schal be cald be child of lorn	4165
And in corazaym he schal be born	

Off a woman of be kynde of dan Bote cristendom schall he haue nan	
He schal be malicious & ful of envy	
Pus of hym spekith be prophecy	4170
Ped an he saib schall be neddir be	4177
Smyting in way as men may se	••••
And schall byte be hors be be bones hard	
And make be sterop fall bakward	4180
Pat is bus moche ffor to say	,,,,,
Pat antecrist as a neddir schall sit in be way	
And bite hem all bob more & les	
Pat walkeb in be way of rightwisnes	
And sle hym of be venym	4185
And of be venym bat comeb of hym	
3itt schall he be circumcised	
Purgh bat his malice schall habide	
And also to hym assignid schal be	
A gode angell bat he schall not se	4190
Afftir his birbe in his begynning	
Pat of hym schall haue keping	
Bote for he agen be trewb is	
Schall be hardnes in wickidnes	
His gode angell schall fro hym wende	4195
And leue hym in keping of be fend	4196
In be cite of bethsayda	4199
And in capheenam schall regne swa	4200
Þe which caphernam & bethsayda	fol. 160r col. 1
And corazaym god waried all way	
For god spak to bes bre citees bus	
As be gospell here schewith vs	4204
Wo to be corazaym mote com	4207
And to bethsayda & caphernam	
In he ffirst he schall be born & bred	
In be second be norischid & regne in be iiid	4210
He schall gader fast to hym ban	
Alle pat of pe ffendis crafft can	
As nigromonsers & tregitours	
Wichis & ffals enchauntours	
Pat be ffendis crafft schall hym ken	4215
Perepurgh he schall dissayue many men	
Affirward burgh leding of be fend	
He schall to Ierusalem wende	
And here to duell in hat cite	4220
And amyd be temple make his se And say to all bat bere schall won	4220
Pat he is crist godis son	
And make be ffolk hym to honour	
And say he is her sauyour	
He schall say bat no rightwis cristen man	4225
Neuer sith be world began	4223

Bote fals antecristes he schal hem call And say þay lyuid in fals truþ all Pat haue be ffro þe world begyning Vnto þe tyme of his comyng	4230
He schal be lusty and lecherous	4230
Dissayv col. 1 ble & tricherous	
He schall hym make first holy	
And shew þan apert ipocrosy	
To dissayue cristen men and lele	4235
As saib be prophet daniel	4236 fol. 160r col. 2
First he saib he schall apertly	4239
Feyne ffals ipocrosy	4240
Pat he may be lightlyer begile	
Bote þat tyme schall last bote a while	
He schall kyngges & princis to hym draw	
And torne hem all to his lawe	
And purgh hem be peple tornid schal be	4245
In eche a lond & eche a contre	
In all be stedis he schall walk & pas	
Pat crist walked when he here was	
In swich a presumpcioun he schall falle	
Pat he schall hym bink lorde ouer all	4250
3urgh pride he schall azens god rise	
And hym disclaunder & his lawe dispice	
And afforce hym & be besy	
His lawe to chaunge & do holily	4255
He schall torne all his peple to his lawe	4255
On foure maners & hem to hym draw	
One maner schal be burgh preching Anober burgh myracles fals worching	
Pe thrid purgh 3 ifftes large to 3 if of pris	
And be fourb burgh turmentis gris	4260
burgh fals preching in iche a contre	,200
Many to hym tornid schall be	
For he schall sende burgh all be world wide	
His prechours to prech on ich a side	
be which schull preche undir fals colour	4265
And say bat cristes lawe is bote errour	
And antecristes lawe bay schull comend	
And agens sobffastnes it deffend	
And forbede ech man bat bay it not holde	fol. 160v col. 1
Þis lawe þat is cristis lawe tolde	4270
And his mynnistris schall so lett it	
bat no man schall expound holi writt	
Pat is to say right vndirstonding	
For pay schall say it is bote a lesing	
And make be peple leue holy	4275
Pat pay schull not be sauid perby	
Pus schull þay bring þes folk in errour	
burgh her preching with fals colour	

Pus his lawe schall passe burgh his pouer Fro be est into be west in be world here And fro be soub to be north also	4280
His lawe & his pouer schullen go	4204
Purgh fals myracles & wonders sere	4284 4283
He schall turne men to oper manere	4285 4285
For he schall pan shew wonders many	4203
Purgh enchansment & nigromaunsy So grately but he more a scholl so	
So gretely bat be peple schall se	
And hat myght hurgh he ffend schal be Of which wondris I will tell sum	
He schall do fire doun fro heuen com	4290
And bat schall be on euill spirit	4270
Pat oute of be ayre schall com tyte	
And among his disciples here down list	
And with sere tungis do hem speke right	
As did to be apostles be holi gost	4295
And bat sight in mens sight most	
For bo bat his disciples schal be cald	
Schall hem auaunce & hemselff hold	
Better of lyffe & to god more dere	
Pan euer were cristes apostels here	fol. 160v col. 2
So burgh be deuils craffte & myght	4301
He schall feyn hym to dy in mans syzt	
And on he hrid day burgh deuils rede	
He schall feyn hym to rise fro dede	
& be fendis afftir schall bere hym eue[n]	4305
Into be aire as he schuld stye to heuen	
And he beffore schall be sen	
As he fro deb rose men schul wen	
And vp vnto heuen þan ravist	4210
And trow bat he is veray crist	4310
Pus schall antecrist countirffett be wondris of and in orb so great	
be wondris of god in erb so gret Mo wondris zit work schall he	
Pat be pepill schall openly se	
He schall do trees grow & florisch fair	4315
And chas be wynde aboute & be ayre	7515
Fro heuen he schall doun fall rayn shouris	
& make waters ryn azens cours	
He schall trouble be see when he will	
And pes it make & do it be still	4320
He schall do chaung on wonder maner	
Diuers kyndes in figures sere	
He schal do dede ymages & dome	
Speke of þinges þat er to come	
He schall also ded men upraise	4325
Pat schall go about as pe boke sais	
& bat schal be burgh be ffendis queyntys	
Þat he schall entre into dede bodys	

And bere po dede bodies aboute	
So bat perfite men schal be in doute	4330
Wheber bat he is veray crist of noght	1550
And bus schall men in errour be broat	fol. 161r col. 1
On be brid maner he schall begile	
Many with zifftis schort while	
And torne hem alle to a fals beleue	4335
Purgh large zifftes bat he schal zeue	
For he schall ffynde all be tresour	
Pat is & was in erbe hid beffore	
Vndir þe erþe or owhere ellis	
Pat may not be gessid as sum men telles	4340
Pat vndir be erbe is more tresour hid	
Pan abouen is knowe or kid	
Off be which he schall all rich make	
Pat be lawe of crist here will forsake	
So schall he shew men welb worldly	4345
To dissayue hem ban berby	
In be fourbe maner afftir ban	
He schall torne to hym many man	
And do hem holy to folow his trace	
Purgh grete turmentries & manas	4350
And burgh drede of deb bat most may greue	
For ellis he will not soffre hem liffe	
Full grete tribulacions he schal hem shew	
As seip be gospell of saint mathew	4354
He saip so moche tribulacion	4357
Schall be pan to euery nacion	
Purghoute be world fer & nere	
Pat po pat god hap chosen here	4360
3iff god wold soffre þat it were don	4362
Pay schuld be broght in errour sone	4361
Bote in be pocalipcis apertly	
It saith bus mystely	4364
He saib his ffete be lich laton bright	4367
As in a chymny brennyng light	fol. 161r col. 2
And his was hat john se in vision	
Of hym þat semyd þe virgin son	4370
Be his fete bat as laton were semand	
Cristis last lymmes men vndirstand	
be which schall be men of perffite char[ite]	
Pat azens be worldis ende schall be	1055
Pat is in be tyme of antecrist	4375
Purgh whom many soulis schul be perist	
Pe chymny brennyng with be hete	
Betokenith tribulacions grete	
Pat antecrist when he schall come	4000
Purgh whom many schall haue marterdo[m]	4380
Antecrist schall be be most teraunt	
Pat euer was for he schall haunt	

All maner of turmentis ken	
In which any martirs beffore haue ben	
For in sere maners he schall hem hent	4385
bat will not to his lawe assent	
And putt hem to be deb at last	
Pat duellith in be troub ffast	
Bote all cristen men in bat contre	
Where crist walkid turment schal be	4390
	4370
And Hamo saib bat a grete clerk was	
be turmentry burgh be world schall pas	
Pe ffendis bat now be bounden so	
Pat bay may nober ffle nor go	4395
Ne noye so moche as bay wolde	4393
Schall pan be losed & not in holde	
Pat tyme schall preche no cristen man	
For pay schal be holde as cursid pan	
Ne none schall bye with hem ne sell	
Ne felischip holde with hem ne duell	4400
Bote with hem bat habe crist fforsaken	fol. 161v col. 1
And be merk of antecrist had taken	
Þat men may knowe & vndirstond	
Pat pay to antecrist were assentand	
For all pay schall bere his merk	4405
Þat fforsaken to wirch cristis werk	
And schall follow antecristis lawe	
Be his merk men schul hem know	
Pat pay schall bere as I vndirstond	
Oyþer in þe ffronte or in þe hond	4410
Bote oper pat will not done his rede	
Schall be done to vilans dede	
On bes foure maners as I have shewed	
He schall drawe to hym lered & lewde	
And cristis lawe schall be doun laide	4415
As in be pocalipcis it is saide	4416
Pat with his taile he draweb down euen	4419
Pe brid parte of be sterris of heuen	4420
And into be erb sende hem right	
Pere bat bay my3t not 3iff no light	
Pis was be tayle of be dragon	
Pat saint john se in vicion	
Þat dragon we vndirstond þe ffend	4425
And his tayle antecrist bat followeb at ende	1123
be brid parte of be sterris bright	
Be cristen men to vndirstond right	
be which he schall fro be troub draw	
And do hem in erb to kepe his law	4430
Pe men of be world bat be couitous	4430
He schall torne burgh 3ifftis precious	
For he schall ziff hem bat turnid will be	
·	
Off golde & siluir grete plente	

And also men of symple coning He schall torne purgh fals preching Gode men pat holde cristis commandmentis He schall torne purgh manas & turmentis	4435 fol. 161v col. 2
Many schull seme gode & rightwis Schall leue in hym & cristis law dispice First schall antecrist come in meknes And prech azen be troub bat is And myracles schall burgh hym be done	4440
Pat schall be Iewis resayue sone And be tornid to hym all holy And bat tyme schall com ennok & ely And agens antecrist preche full harde As ye may here afftirward	4445
Pan schall anticrist begyn felly To pursu men þurgh tormentry Grete persecucion þan schal he wirch Azen cristen men & holy chirch Pan schall he distroy cristen law	4450
And gog & magog to hym-draw be which be holden as men tell be werst ffolk bat in erb duell Sum ffolke say bat bay be closid holy Bezond be mountaynis of caspy	4455
Bote hay be not so closid aboute Pat hay may lightely come oute 3iff a king nere hat holdeh hem in Purgh strength hat hat may not oute win Pat is clepid he son of Amazans	4460
Vndir whos power hat folk wonis Bote atte last hay schal breke oute And distroy many londis aboute For he lewes haue such a prophecy And sayn magog hem comounly	4465
Pat his ffolke azens pe worldis ende Schall come oute & to Ierusalem wende With her cristis pat pay schall wirch And pan schall pay stroy holi chirch Sum clerkis say as pe glos tellis Pat gog & magog is not ellis	fol. 162r col. 1 4470
Bote be heste of antecrist bat schall com Sodaynly azens be day of dome And azens holi chirch werray For to distroy it ziff bay may be glos of be boke saib also	4475
Pat be gog be vndirstond all bo burgh which be ffende oure most enmy Schall cristen men pursu preuely By magog vndirstond may be burgh whom openly pursue schall he	4480

Or bis may be vndirstond berby	4485
Pat antecrist tyme ffirst preuely	
And afftirward oponly schall wyrk	
Wickidnes azens holy kyrk	
Gog is as moche to say as couert	
Bote magog is note bote apert	4490
Pes two prophetis as sayn sum	
Ennok & ely beffore schall come	
Beffore be tyme of comyng priue	
Off antecrist when he born schal be	
And be tyme of his comyng	4495
Pat schall be burgh his preching	
And to open persecucion	
Pat he schall do to diuerse nacion	
Bytwix be tyme of be prophetis two	
On sere partis schall preche []	fol. 162r col. 2
Pat burgh her preching bay schull drau	4501
And convert Iewis to cristen lawe	
For spekith be prophet malache	
In a boke of be prophece	4504
He saib bay schull turne burgh godis [myght]	4507
Pe ffadirs hertis to be son right	
Pat is to say pay schull turne in pe Iury	
Vnto be right cristendom holy	4510
Pan schall be Iewis be same law holde	
Pat pay haue pe cristen men be tolde	
And as cristen men done so schall pay do	
Als be glos saib bat acordeth berto	4514
be Iewis schall take pan with hert glad	4517
Þe trouþe þat cristen men beffore had	
As he two prophetis schall hem ken	4520
Þe Iewis & þe cristen men	4519
Schall pan purgh euen entencioun	
Assent in crist as on religion	
Pay schall preche as be pocalipcis sais	
A bousand & two hundreb daies	
And sexty as men schall se & here	4525
As he glos saih hat is hre zere	
As crist hymselffe vouchedsaue	
To preche be same law bat we haue	
Pay schull be as be pocalipcis sais	
In harde ayre be clad & sekis	4530
Pat is bay schull ban penauns preche	
And burgh ensample of penauns teche	
Bote also sone as antecrist knaw	
Pat he torn Iewis to cristen law	C 1 1/2
burgh ensample & sarmon	fol. 162v col. 1
Pan schall he shew grete persecucion	4536
And greuously hem torment Pat to his lawe will not assent	
Pat to his lawe will not assent	

And so hem to be deb atte last 3iff bay in be troub stond stedfast Antecrist schall ban be ffull wrobe He schall do take bes prophetis bobe And in Ierusalem by be ffendis rede	4540
Hastely do hem to dede Pan schall her bodies as be boke says Lye in be stre bre daies And an halffe aboue be erb namly	4545
For no man schall do hem bery For drede of þat þay schall haue þan Off antecrist þat wickid man Her enmyes when þay be slayne Off her deþ þay schull be ffayne When þay haue liyen in þis wise	4550
Pre daies & an halffe bey schull rise And ban her enmyes a voice schall here Unto hem speke on bis maner Hely & ennok arise vp bobe	4555
For 3e be past all maner wrope As soon when pay haue herd pat steuen In a cloude pay schull stye to heuen Pat all pe peple pan schall se A grete wondir to hem pat schal be	4560
Afftir her deb as be boke saib Antecrist schall regne ffifften dais Pat schal be tornid to hym holy Pat were tornid to ennok & hely And all bat nil on hym trow ban Schall be done to deb seb men	4565
Schall be done to dep ech man Antecrist in his grete terantry	fol. 162v col. 2
Schall regne bre 3ere & an halff fully Pan schall god abrig his daies	4570
As mathew in be gospell sais	4572
Bote his daies ben abriged saib he ban	4575
Pus saip saint gregore be holy man	4578
He saib ffor god bat seb be right	4581
Pat we be ffreill & ffebill of myght	
Pe daies pat ben euill & heuy	
Pat be put to men synglerly 3itt atte last abrige schall he	4585
Furgh his godenes & his pete	4303
Antecrist schall be withouten pere	
And lyffe here two & thretty 3ere	
And an halffe as sum clerkis can se	4700
Off so many 3eris his age schal be	4590
Fro he tyme of his first begynnyng Verte he tyme of his last ending	
Vnto be tyme of his last ending Sum men say he schall liue as many 3ere	
As crist leuid in be worlde here	

And when he hap so long liued	4595
Pan schall no man with hym be greuid	
He schall ban ffelle godis vengance	
And withoute any repentauns	
He schall be slayne sodaynly	
Purgh be might of god almyghty	4600
Vpon be mounte of oliuete	
In be stede bere crist sett his ffete	
When bat he steigh to heuen bright	
Pere schull we end burgh godis my3t	
Som clerkis sayn zitt also	4605
Pat saint myhell schall hym slo	,,,,,
Purgh cristis bidding in be same stede	
In be which he schall be found dede	fol. 163r col. 1
And be boke saib bat he	101. 1001 001. 1
Purgh godis moub slayne schall be	4610
Bote how so it be bis is certayn	1010
Purgh godis myght he schall be slayn	
Antecrist mynistris when he is dede	
Schall make joy in iche a stede	
And haue her delites night & day	4615
And wed wyffes & bus say	
All 3iff her prince be dede bus	
We have pees & welp plenteuous	
And right as pay schall say bus all	
Sodaynly dede schall bay ffall	4620
burgh be might of god allmyghty	
Pus schall bay ende sodaynly	
Bote when bay all be bus fordon	
Pe grete dom schall not be done sone	
For be glos of daniell bus says	4625
God schall graunt ffyue & ffourty dais	
To all hem bat dissayuid schall be	
Purgh antecrist & his meyne	
Þat þay may amend hem of her syn	
And do penaunce or be dome begyn	4630
Pe Iewis schall pan all tornid be	
To pe beleue pat now have we	
Pan schall god ffullffill in þe last days	
Þes wordis þat þis prophet says	4634
He saip be ffolke to be fold schall ffall	4637
And one herde schall be to kepe all	
Pat ffolk Iewis & cristen schall be cald	
In be troup of holy chirch ffald	4640
Fro pat tyme forth schall holi chirch be	
In pece & rest withoute aduercite	
For pan faileb all be pouer of be fend	
Fro pat tyme to pe worldis ende	fol. 163r col. 2
So bat he schall not tempte ne greu[e]	4645
Holi chirch ne no man þat þan schall ly[ue]	

Bote how moche space schal be fro pa[n]	
To be day of dome wote no man	
For alle be prophetes bat men may neuen	
Nor all be halowis bat be in heuen	4650
Might neuer none wite pat privite	
What tyme be day of dome schuld be	
For god will bat no man beffore wite	
Bote hymselffe þat has ordaynid it	
Perffore god to his disciples saib bus	4655
As be pocalypeis tellith vs	4656
It ffalleth not to 30w to know be tyme of priuite	4659
Pat be ffadir hab in his povste	4660
Perffor no man schuld aske ne say	
How moche we haue to domys day	
Ne we schuld not zern it to lere	
To wite wheher it were ffer or nere	
Bote we schuld make vs redy all	4665
As be day of dome tomorn schuld fall	
And benk ay on bat dredffull day of dome	
As be holy man saib saint Ierom	4668
He saib wheber I ete or drink	4675
Or oght ellis do euer me bink	
Pat be beme bat schall blow at day of dom	
Sovneb in my nere & bus saib sone	
Rise 3e bat be dede & come	
Vnto be grete dredfull dome	4680
Now haue 3e herd be begynning	
Of antecristis lyffe & ending	
Þat men a wers tokyn may call	
Pat azens be dome schall fall	
Here begynneb be xv tokenis affore be dome withoute les	
Many mo tokenis zit men schall se	fol. 163v col. 1
Beffore bat dredfull day schall be	4686
Bobe in erbe & in heuen	
As we here crist in be gospell neuen	
Where he spekith of tokenis sere	
Pat schall ffall on bis maner	4690
He saib as ordaynid is to be done	4701
Tokenis schall be in be svn & be mon	
& in be sterris of heuen bat men schal ken	
And in erb schall be grete brong of men	
For be mening of be noys of be see	4705
And of be fflodis bat ban schal be	
And men schall wex dry in bat wyn	
For drede & for long bydyng berin	
Pat to all be world com saib he	
For be mightis of heuen ban troublid schal be	4710
And bay schall se be son of man	
Coming doun in cloudis ban	
With his grete myght and mageste	
~ ** **	

And hat tuma cahall ha grat dama ha	
And hat tyme schall he gret dome be Pes tokenis be told afftir he lettre here	4715
Bote be exposicion may be in ober maner	4,15
As god bat knoweb all binges well	
	4718
Saiþ þus þurgh þe prophete ioyell He saiþ I schall 3iffe wondris sere	4724
Vp in heuen as men schall here	4725
And tokins dour in erb do ffall bick	4123
Pat is blode & fire & brebe of smeke	
Pan he syn schal be tornid to derknes	
And be mon into blode & be lightles	
Beffore be day of oure lord schall fall	4730
Pat schall be gret & openly shewid all	,,,,,
Pat grete day is be day of dome	
Azens which all bes tokenis schal come	
Pan may men burgh swich tokenis wite	
Pat it is most day bat euer was 3it	fol. 163v col. 2
And be streytest and be most harde	4736
As men may se & here afftirwarde	
3itt spekith be holy man Ierome	
Off ffifften tokenis bat schall come	
Beffore cristis comyng as he says	4740
Þat schall fall in ffifften days	
Bote wheher any oper daies schal fall	
Betwix bes days or bay schull all	
Be contend day affter oper day	
Saint Ierom saib he can not say	4745
And 3it ffor sertayn proveb not he	
Pat be ffifften days of tokenis schal be	
Bote he rehersith tokenis ffifften	
As he ffonde & writen habe & sene	
In som bokis of Ebrues	4750
Þat þe ffifften days tokenis	
Bote saint Ierom scheweb not ellis	
Pat he found hem writen owher ellys	
Bote in be brewes bokis he hem fond	
And reherse hem as he se hem stond	4755
Eche day afftir obere euyn	
As 3e may here me now neuyn	
be ffirst of be ffifften days	
Pe se schall rise as be boke says	
Aboue be highest of bat mountaigne	4760
Full ffourty cubitis certayne	
And in his stede euen vpstonde	
As an hye hill dob on be londe	
Pe second day be se schal be so lowe	
Pat vnnebes any man schal it knowe	4765
Pe prid day pe see schal sem playn	
And ston euen in his cours agen	
As it stode first at be begyning	

Wipouten rising or ffalling be fferb day schall swich a wonder be be most wondirfull ffisches of be see	fol. 164r col. 1 4770
Schall come togedir & make crying	
Pat schall be hidous to manis hering	
Bote what bat crying may signify	
May no man knowe bote god almyghty	4775
be ffifft day be se schall bren	
And all be waters as bay schull ken	
And bat schall last fro be son rising	
Vnto be tyme of his doun going	
Pe sexte day schall spring a blody dew	4780
On gress on tre as it schall schew	
be sevenith day bigging is schal doun fal	
And grete castellis & touris down fall	
Pe eight day grete rochell stonis	4785
Schall smyte todedir all at onis And eche of hem schall ober doun cast	4783
And eche azens ober hortill ffast	
So bat eche a stone in diuers wis	
Schall sonder oper in pre parties	
Pe nynthe day a grete erbquake schal be	4790
Generally in eche contre	.,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,
Swich grete erbquake schal be ban	
Was neuer herde sith be world began	
Pe tenp day perafftir to neuyn	
Schall come a wynde fro heuyn	4795
And hillis & valays turnid schal be	
Into playne & made euen to be	
Pe elleuentth day men schall com oute	
Off cavis & holis & wende aboute	4000
As wode men bat no witt can	4800
And none schall spek to oper pan	
be twelff day be sterris all	
And two signes fro heuen schal fall	fol. 164r col. 2
Pe pritten day schall dede men bon[es]	4805
Be sett togedir & rise at onis And vpon her grauis stonde	4003
Pat schall ffall in eche a londe	
Pe ffourten day all bat liuen ban	
Schall dye childe man & woman	
For bay schull with hem rise agen	4810
Pat beffore were dede to joy or payne	
Pe ffifften day bus schall betyde	
Pe worlde schall bren on ich a syde	
Þe erþ þere we now duell	
Vnto be bitter ende of hell	4815
Pus tellith Ierom bes tokenis ffifften	
As he bem in be boke of Ebrewes hab sen	
Bote for all he tokenis hat men may se	

3itt schall þe dome noght be	
What tyme bat crist schall come to be dom[e]	4820
So sodaynly he schall come	
For as it beffill in noye & loth daies	
So schall he come as be gospell sais	4823
As was done in be day of noye	4839
Right so man son schall com saib he	
Men ete & drank þan & were glad	
And weddid wiffes & bridall made	
Vnto be day namly bat noye	
Went into be schip bat made he	
So sodaynly cam be fflode bat day	4845
And ffordid all be world sobe to say	
Also in he day of loth it beffell	
Men ete & drank schortly to tell	
Ich one with opere & solde & boght	
And pletid & biggid & hous wroght	4850
And pat day pat loth 3ede fro sodom	
Sodaynly crist vengauns com	
And raynid ffire and brymston	fol. 164v col. 1
And les all bat bere was & spared none	
Right bus schall ffall as men may se	4855
When man son shewid schal be	
In be ende of be worlde before be dome	
An hidous ffire schall sodaynly come	
Pat alle be worlde schall holy bren	40.40
And noping spare bat is berin	4860
For alle be erbe schall bren withoute	
And be elementis & be aire aboute	
And all pat gode in be world habe wro3t	
Schall pan be brent & wast to noght	4075
be ffire bat burgh be worlde schal rise	4865
Schall come pan ffro sere partis	
And all be fire bat is in be spere	
And vndir be erb & abouen here	
Schall mete todedir at ons þan	4070
And bren all bat liueb beste & man	4870
And all bat groweth vndir erb & ayre	
To all be clensid & made fayre	
For all be corupcion bat men may se	
Pat in be ayre or in be erb may be	4075
Pis ffire as be boke vs saib & leris Schall bren & wirch on ffour maners	4875
It schall bren as be ffire of hell To popusch be swefful bet bere schol duell	
To ponysch be synffull bat bere schal duell It schall bren as be ffire of purgatory	
To clens men of venyall synnis holy	4880
It schall wirch at be ffire of erb here	4880
Pat ouerall schal bren ffer and nere	
To wast all bat on erb springeb	
to must all put on city springer	

As gress and trees & erply bingis	
And also be bodies of ech man	4885
To bren holy into aschis ban	4003
It schall wirch as be fire of hell	fol. 164v col. 2
And make be elementis clere iche dell	101. 1047 601. 2
And all be ayre bright of hew	
And heuenis to seme all new	4890
Purgh be ffire bat bus schall ryn aboute	4070
Pe fface of be erb schall bren withoute	
And be schap of be world fordon schal be	
As it was ffirst burgh be flode of noy	
And as be flode passid cubitis fiften	4895
Ouer be highest mount bat euer was sene	
Right so be ffire as hegh schal pas	
Toffore be worlde as it was	
And as god beffore his first comyng	4899
He schall of be world make ending	4904
Purgh bat ffire bat schall so brenning be	4905
Azens be dedis of charite	
Pe worching of his fire so brennande	
Schall contenew pre termis passand	
Pat is begynnyng mydward & ende	
As in his boke is here contend	4910
First he ffire at he begyning	
Schall come beffore cristis comyng	
Pat be gode men schal clens & ffyne	
And be wickid harde ponisch & pyne	***
Pat louid syn & boght it swete	4915
And perfore saip bus be prophete	4916
be ffire beffore hym in sere partis	4919
Schall go aboute & bren his enmyes	4920
Pat ffire mens bodies to asches schall bren	
And be world & all bat is berin	
Pus schall be fire first before come	
Or crist cvm doun to be dome	4925
And when be fire hab wastid as I tolde	4923
Pan schal all men rise 3 ong & olde Oute of her grauis with soule & body	fol. 165r col. 1
And come to be dome ban all holy	101. 1031 col. 1
And oure lorde schall come doun ban	
And sitt in be dome as domys man	4930
And deme ban bobe gode & ill	.,,,,
As 3e may here afftir as 3e will	
And gitt be ffire all bat tyde	
Schall bren aboute on iche a syde	
As be prophet dauid witnes	4935
In be sauter bat writen is	4936
Pe fire schall bren in his saib he	4939
And aboute hym grete tempest schal be	4940
And as long as be dome schal last	
- A	

be fire schall bren on ich syde fast	
When be dome is broght to ende	
Po pat be dampnid schall wende	4945
With all be ffire bat so schall bren	7773
To hell pitt & duell perin	
Pan schall all be fire be swepid doun To bell with all be correspond	
To hell with all be corupcioun And all be ffilb of be world nesch & hard	
As in his boke is writen afftirward	4950
Pus burgh be worlde be fire schall bren	4230
And clens it of all maner synn	
And of all corupcions hye & lowe	
Pat men may now se here & know	
And when be fire hab wastid al erbly bing	4955
Pan schal be elementis sese of meuing	.,,,,
Our lorde pan or he come doun	
To sitt in dome in propir persone	
Schall send beffore as be boke tellis	
In ffour partis his aungellis	4960
With her bernys ffor to blowe	
Þat all þe worlde schall here & know	
All men bay schall ban vpcall	
And bid hem come to be dome all	fol. 165r col. 2
All men schall rise bat euer had lyff	4965
Man & woman child & wyff	
Gode & ill with fflesch & ffell	
In body & soule as clerkis tell	
And bat in schort while as boght may b[ynk]	
Or mans ye opyn or wink	4970
All schall rise in one tyme amounting	4975
As he space of an ye winking	
When pay here pat dredfull blast	
Off be beme bat ban schall blow ffast	
All men schall ban sone vpris	
In be same stature & bodies	4980
Pat hay had here in her lyffe days	
And in non ober as be boke says	
All schall rise in be same age ban	
Pat god had here ffully as man	4005
Namely when he rose burgh myght	4985
Fro deb as saib saint austen right Pan was he of bretty zere olde & two	
And bre monebes berwith also	
In bat elde schall rise at last	
When pay here be bemys blast	4990
With her bodies all halle	4770
And with her lymmes grete & small	
For all 3iff be bodye of iche man	
Schall be brent to aschis ban	
And 3it 3iff all be aschis of her bodys	4995
0 0 m- k- marine ar mar oomlo	7773

Were strewid & scatrid on sere wys	
Purgh ich a lond & iche contre	
Pay schall all togedir be	
And iche a body schall rise þan holy	
With all be lymes bat falleb to be body	5000
With all be heere body and hede	fol. 165v col. 1
And none heere want in non stede	5002
And if any body be vnsemly	5002
burgh outrage of kynde namely	5010
God schal abate bat outrage burgh myght	3010
And make it all semly to sight	
And 3iff any lymme lackid bat schuld befal	
To be body oper grete or small	
Purgh deffaute of kynde god þan will	5015
All deffautis of lymmes to ffulfill	3013
And bus schall he do to all bo	
Pat schall be sauid & to blis go	
For her bodies schal be faire & bright	
With semly lymmes to mans sight	5020
Bote he schall amend in no wise	3020
Pe dedis of be synfull bodies	
For her bodies schall all vnsemly be	
And ffoule and hougely for to se	
All bat be ban gode & rightwis	5025
Pat schal be sauid schall ban vprys	50-5
And into be aire be ravischt	
Azens be comyng of ihesu crist	
To kepe hym when he schal doun com	
As domysman ffor to sit on dome	5030
be most perffite men schall crist first kepe	
And all com with hym in his felisschip	
And with hym be ay body & soule	
As be apostill saib saint paule	5034
He saib our lorde schall com doun fro heuen	5042
In godis bidding & arkaungelis sevyn	
And be son of cristis owne beme	
Alle be worlde ban ffor to deme	5045
And bo bat ben dede in crist ban	
Schall first vprise ech man	
And sitt on be same maner	
As we bat liffe & be lefft here	
Schull pan with hym in clowdis be ravist	fol. 165v col. 2
Into be ayre to mete with criste	5051
And so with our lorde euer to be	
Fro bat tyme forwarde bus saib he	
Bote be synfull bat schal rise bat tide	
Benebe on erb schall crist abyde	5055
And wepe & sorow chargid with syn	
For bay may nowhere away win	
Hem were leuer be in hell þan	

Pan come beffore bat domesman	
Pay wolde ffayne fle ziff þay myzt	5060
To hyde hem fro be domesman sight	
Vndir be erbe or owhere ellis	
As saint john in be pocalipcis tellis	5063
He saib kingis of be londe & princis sere	5072
And cheuetayns bat be vndir hem here	
And riche men of diuers contre	
And strong men bonde & ffre	5075
In cauis wolde hem hyde echone	
Im cauis & rochis of stone	
And schall say to mountains & rochis bus	
Fall ze adoun and hyde ze vs	
Fro be face of hym bat sytteb in trone	5080
And fro be wrech of be lomb bus saib saint john	3000
Many men schal be adred ban	
To come beffore bat domesman	
Namly synfull men withoute hope	
For bus saib 3it be holy man iope	5085
Lorde he saib when shal tow come	5089
To deme be erb & sitt in dome	5090
Where schall I ffro by wrech hyde me	3070
Forwhy I haue synnid to be	
Full grevously in my lyffe here	
And gitt saib iope on bis maner	5094
Lorde who may 3iff to me saib he	5099
Pat ban in hell mote hide me	fol. 166r col. 1
And couer men at bat dredfull day	5101
Vnto by wrab be past away	5.01
Pan is it no wonder as was saide are	
3iff synfull men haue drede & care	
Pat schall dampnid be & perischt	5105
For to come beffore be sight of crist	0102
Pat to hym so wrechfull schal com þan	
When iobe bus saib be holy man	
Our lorde crist burgh his grete my3t	
Schal ban com doun fro heuen bright	5110
As domesman & sit in dome	5112
And with hym grete multitude schal come	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,
Off aungels & of arkaungelis	
And of obere halowes as be boke tellis	5115
Lo our lorde schall come to dome	5118
And all his halowes with hym schal come	0110
And sodaynly he schall hym schew	5120
As saib be gospell of saint mathew	5121
As be lightening gob oute in schort tyde	5126
Fro be est to be west syde	5.20
Right so be comyng of man son schal be	
Sodayn bright & hidous to se	
He schall come doun withoute lett	5130
*** * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *	3150

Amount to account of almost	
Azens be mount of olyuet	
Where he in his manhode steigh to heuen	
For his disciples to his fadir euen	
In swich forme as he stegh vp ban	
He schal come doun to deme ech man	5135
Gode & euill 3ong & olde	
As be aungel to his disciples tolde	5137
Pay saide ihesu þat is here vptan	5142
Fro 30w to heuen flebe & ban	
He schall so com at be worldis ende	
As 3e se hym to heuen wende	5145
In be forme of man he schall com ban	
And sitt in dome as domesman	fol. 166r col. 2
Pan crist is come doun to deme	
In fforme of man he schal seme	
In a place he schall his dome holde	
In a place bat Iosaphat is tolde	5150
When all men schull togedir mete	
As crist saib burgh loel be prophet	5152
He saib all men I schall togedir call	5155
And into be vale of Iosaphat lede al	
And 3itt more to bat he saib bus	
As he burgh be prophet schew vs	5158
He saide all men schal rise to be dom	5163
And into be vale of Iosaphat com	
For bere he saib I schall sitt namly	5165
To deme all men as bay be worby	2100
Pat vale be vale of erb is callid	
For amiddis be erb withoute it falleth	
Iosaphat is as moche ffor to say	
As stede of dome att be last day	5170
Crist schall noght fully doun com	2170
To be erb to sitt in dome	
Bote vp in be aire he schall sitt	
In a white clob saib holy wrytt	5174
Lo oure lorde schall schew hym ban	5177
On be white cloude as domysman	5177
Euen aboue be vale namly	
Pere all men schall se his body	5180
Many may fynde it bat will wite	5182
• • • •	3102
Pe vale of Iosaphat is isett Betwix be mount of olyuett	
•	5185
And Ierusalem on hat oher syde	5105
Pat stondeh amiddis he world wide	
And her is he mount of calvery	fol. 166v col. 1
And be sepulcre of crist berby	101. 100v COI. 1
And in bat contre stondis bedlem	5190
Noght fer fro lerusalem	3190
Pere crist schall sitt per at pat day	
Amiddis be erb sob to say	

To here as 3e may now se	
Pe vale of Iosaphat vndir be	5195
Where beried was our lady mary	3193
Fro whom for 30w flesch & blode to be	5196a
He may say here may 3e se	3190a
He may say here may 3e se now	
Bedlem where I was bore for 30w	
And in clowtes lapped & layde was	5200
In a cribe betwix an oxe & an as	3200
He may say here may 3e se stonde	
Ierusalem þat is nere hande	
Where I had for 30w many boffett	
And with scorges sore ibete	5205
And sith for 30w he cros I bare	3203
Pat on my schuldir was laide pere	
He may say lo here berby	
Lo here be mount of caluery	
Where I was hongid on be rode	5210
Betwix two peffis for 3our gode	3210
Where my payne for 30w was most	
And where I swet & 3affe be gost	
He may say bus also	
Lo here be sepulcre a litell berffro	5215
Where I was layde as 30w for dede	3213
When I was beried in hat stede Lo here be mount of olyuet	5218
•	5217
He may say now here I sitt Where angelis aperid in mans liknes	3217
When I stegh to heuen ber ay blis is	5220
And tolde 30w how my comyng schul be	fol. 166v col. 2
To be dome as 3e may now se	101. 100V COI. 2
Now have 3e herde be skill why	
He schall sitt aboue be vale namly	
Pat men be vale of losaphat callis	5225
Pe which amid be world fallis	5225
Also anober skill may be	
Why he schall doun come in bat contre	
For per was his first comyng doun	
Onely for mans saluacioun	5230
When he first fflesch & blode toke	5250
Off be mayden mary as saib be boke	
Pus schall he come & sitt bare	
To deme all be worlde as I saide are	
Crist ful stern þan schall ben	5235
Azens synffull men bat him schal se	5255
Dredffull & hidous saib be boke	
He schall be to hem when pay on hym loke	
And as delitable to be sight	
To rightffull men þat lyuid in right	5240
Bote all be persons of be trenite	22.0
·	

And be godhede schall not shewd be	
To euill & gode hat schal apere han Bote crist allon in form of man	
	50.45
Goddis son bat ban schal deme vs	5245
Wherffore saint Iohn saibe bus	5246
God habe zeuyn to his son saibe he Alle be dome bat zeuyn schal be	5249 5250
Pe men honour pe son right	3230
As pay honour be ffadir full of myght	
be gode schall se hym in manhod ban	
With be godhede as god & man	
be which he schal not fro hem hyde	5255
For pay schal se hym glorified	3233
And bat schal be a blisfull sight	fol. 167r col. 1
So ffaire he schall seme to hem & brigt	101. 1071 COL. 1
Pe euill hym in his manhode schal se	
Onely as he hong on be tre	5260
Blody on body as he pan was	3200
When he died for manis trespas	
Pat sight to hem schall be payn & dred	
For pay schall not se of his godhed	
And for be godhede is full of blis	5265
Perffore bat sight schull bay mys	
Bote in his manhode onely as I say	
He schall shew hym to hem bat day	
For in forme of man he schal ban seme	
And in his manhode he schal hem deme	5270
He schall ban at his doun comyng	
Pe tokyn of be cros with hym bring	
On which he boght vs fro hell pyne	
For he wolde not mans soule tyne	
Pe tokyn off be cros all men schal se	5275
Full delitable it schall be	
To rightwis men & sem ful bright	
And dredfull to synffull mans sight	
Pis tokyn of be cros schal be shewid ban	
As be boke saib & be be [sic] hid fro man	5280
When oure lorde schal come to dome	5284
To deme gode and euill sone	5284a
Pat is to say all men in be ar	5285
Pat to gode men schall seme bright & faire	
Pis tokyn as I trow schall not be	
Pe same cros ne pe same tre	
On be which god was nailed fote & hond	5000
Bote a token of be cros semand	5290
3itt som leuen & so may wele be	
Pat be tokyn of be sper men schal ban se	fal 167m a-1 0
Pat stynged crist to be hert rote	fol. 167r col. 2
And of be naylis of hond & ffote	EARE
To be rode tre ffast ffestid	5295

And of be croun bat was brestid On his hede fast bat blode oute ran	
When be bornis hym prikkid to be pan	
And of be scorgis bat brast his hide	
Pat be blode ran doun on ich a syde	5300
All bes tokens schall ban be schewde	
Beffore all men lerd & lewde	
Bote be synfull bat dampnid schall be	
To her schenschip schall hem se	
In hede in ffote in hond & syde	5306
Þen schall þay se þat ilk tyde	5306a
Pat fflesch schall seme all bledand	5307
To be synffull bat beffore hym schal stonde	
He schall schew to her confucioun	
All be signis of his pascioun	5310
And be encheson & be manere	
Off his paynis bat he soffred here	
And all bis schall be done oponly	
To repreue be synffull man berby	
And bat schall be her schenschip ban	5315
As saint austen saib be holy man	5316
He saib our lord son god allmyghty	5325
Perauenture hab kepid in his body	
be erres of his woundis sere	
Pat he soffrid for mans syn here	
For to schew to his enmyes	
When he schall sitt in dom as iustys	5330
To repreue hem at be last day	
And to ataynt hem & bus say	
Lo here be man in fflesch & blode	
Pe which ze hongid on be rode	
Lo here god & man þat man wroght	5335
In whom leue wolde 3e noght	fol. 167v col. 1
Beholde be woundis bat 3e stiked	
Se þe sydis þat 3e prickyd	
Pe which for 30w is open ay	
And 3e wolde entre be no way	5340
A grete schenschip schall bis be	
To be synffull bat it schal se	
Pat to hym here dop no gode agen	
Þat for hem soffrid so grete payn	
And gitt not bes bat do no gode only	5345
Bote oper pat be ffull of velony	
Þat ay do euill azens gode	
And efft do god son on rode	
Pou þat in hem is þurgh syn	
Off he which hay will here neuer blyn	5350
What may hay ansuere han & say	
How may pay hem excuse pat day	
In nohing may bay be excusid ban	5353
- · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	

For pat day as pe boke berith witnes Pat pay ne schal tremble for drede pan Schall noght be schewid bote ri3twisnes With grete reddure to synffull namly Pat schall be dampnid as pay be worpy Pay may deffend hem be no wys	5355 5354 5356
For Iohn with pe gelden moup pus says	5360
He saip non stede of deffens per schal be	5364
Where pay schal crist openly se	5365
3iffing witnes and tokenis certayn	
Off his pascion & of his payn	
All schall haue grete drede þat day	
Bobe gode & euill sop to say	5050
Pere schal be nober aungel ne man	5370
Pat þay schall tremble for drede þan	
All if pay wite to be saue	
3it schall hay hat day drede haue Not for hemselffe for hay be giltles	fol. 167v col. 2
Bote for be reddure of rightwisnes	5375
And for be grete hausterite	3313
Pat crist schal shew bat day to se	
Azens be synfull namly	
Pat schall be dampnid withoute mercy	
When rightwis man bat schal be saue	5380
And aungels so moch drede schal haue	
What drede & dool schal be synfull haue ban	
Wherfor bus saib be holy man	5383
He saip 3iff be pilers of heuen bri3t	5388
Pat holy man be pat haue liued right	
Schal drede cristis comyng in his manhed	5390
And be aungelis also schall dred	
And wery wel bitterly berto	
What schall be synffull men ban do	
Pat schal be dampnid as I said ore	5205
3itt saib be holy man bus more	5395 5398
3itt þe rightwis man saiþe he	3398
Schall vnneþ sauid be	5400
Pe synffull & pe wickid man When ar will have word han	3400
Wheher will hay wend han Rightwis men as he boke tellis	
Schal be saue & not ellis	
Our lorde schal þan in his manhod sitt	
Aboue be sinfull as saib holy writt	5405
And stern & wrap with a fell chere	
Hem to deme bat haue mislyuid here	
Hell bench bat is wyde & depe	
Schall ban be openid hem to kepe	
Pe erp pat pay stond on schal schake	5410
For her syn & tremble & quake	
So þat vnneþ it schall hem bere	

So moche her syn be world schall dere be worlde aboute hem schal be brenand And fendis on iche syde on hem stond Grete sorow schal be among hem bore be aire aboue hem schall styng sore	fol. 168r col. 1 5415
With bondir dyntis & lightening togedir bey wolde ban fle bay wote neuer wheder ban schall bay be besett on iche a syde bat bay may not fle hem to hyde Many scvsers schall be ban	5420
To seve hem beffore be domysman For I fynde writen as 3e schull here Fifften maners of acoysers sere Pat schall in pat dredffull daye Pe synffull men pat is to say	5425
Conciens is clepid inwite And her owne synnis & holy write Goddis criatours pat we ken Devils aungels & hepin men Martires pat haue felid turmentis sere	5430
And oher hat wrong hab holed here Mannis son & doghtir unchastid Pore men hat her nede may not hyde Sogettis hat benifficis receyue here To turmentis of cristis pascion sere	5435
And god hymselffe & all be trenite Agayn be synffull ban schall be First schall 3e here how her conciens Acuse hem ber in cristis presens Openly and not in privite	5440
For nobing ban schall hid be All bing schal be bere schewid openly For daniel saib bus in prophecy be dome sat & be bokis be openid wide And bus schal be sene bat tyde be bekis be consisten & not allie	5445 5447
As be glos berof bus tellis Conciens it saib on eche a bing Schal be shewid to mans knowi[ng]	5450 fol. 168r col. 2 5452
Her synnis also bobe more & les Schall akuse as be boke berith witnes For her synnis schal euer with hem last As bey were bounde about her neck	5455
Pay schall hem akuse pat day Azens whom pay schall con not withsa[y] For a stoole ping wrechep a peffe fon[den] When it is about his nek bounden Right so her synnis schal wreche hem pere As pay aboute her nek bounde were And pan schall her synnis say pus	5460

Pou synffull man bou wroghtest vs As be we byne withouten doute And bou hast long borne vs aboute Also akuse schall holy writt	5465
Namly to men þat knoweþ it Or þe poyntis haue herd þat longeth þerto And wolde not afftir holy writt do 3itt godis criatours sere Akuse hem in diuers maner	5470
As be svn be mon & be sterris And be ffirmament bat vs gouernis And all be werk schall ban be redy To akuse be synfull openly	5475
For all criatours hate hem schall When he is wrope pat made hem all Also deuyls schall akuse hem pore Off all her synnis las & more And of pes synnis pat pay schal out say pat pay egged hem to night & day	5480
And of his hay schall hem akuse	
As be beffe his ffelaw dose	fol. 168v col. 1
Pat he akuseth of he same bing	5486
Pat he did burgh his egging	
Pe deuelis at pe dome schall pere be redy	
Pat to tempt men were ay besy	4.00
With writen synnis las & more	5490
With which bay may akuse hem bore	
And all synnis bay schall rehers ban	~
And perffore saip lobe be holy man	5493
Lorde bou suffrest here saib he	5496
Be write bitter synnis agens me	
Aungels also as we here clerkis say	
Schall akuse synffull men þat day	5500
For god bat to hem her soulis toke	5500
For to kepe here as saib be boke	
Schall ask of hem att his comyng	
Acount to 3eld of her keping	
Pan schall be aungelis ansuere berto	5505
And say at our counsaile bey wold not do And agens our will ffoly wold use	3303
Pus schall be aungels be synffull akuse	
Also hebin men as saith be boke	
Pat neuer baptem ne right troup toke	
As Iewis sarzins & payenis	5510
Pat wote not what cristis law menis	
Schall ban akuse as men schall se	
Pe ffals cristen pat dampnid be	
For be hebin men at bat grete assise	
Schall ban be holden as men rightwis	5515
Þat wolde not kepe þe comaundementis ten	5517

To be regard of ffals cristen men	5516
Bote spendith her ffyue wittis in vayne	
Perffore bey schall haue be more payne	fol. 168v col. 2
In be pitt of hell schall more greue	5521
Pan be hebin men of misbeleue	3321
Pe halows of heuin schall akuse also	
Pat schall be dampnid & to hell go	
And namly martirs cristis owne knightis	5525
Pay schall akuse sinffull wightis	3323
And through at hem pynid & slowe	
And oper pat hem to turment drowe	
Off whom vengeauns to god bey cry As be pocalipcis scheweb berby	5529
Pat is holy lorde stedfast & gode	5532
How long schal it be or bou venge our blod	3332
Off our enemyes hat in erh duell	
On bis maner be pocalipcis tell	5535
Sith pay to god ay vengeauns cry	5555
On hem bat of her blode be gilty	
How schuld pay pan in be tyme of wrak	
Be still and not agens hem spak	
Also be bat have belief here	5540
Falsnes & wrongis in sere manere	
Schall bat day akuse hem sone	
Pat haue hem here grete wrongis doun	
3itt sonis & doghtirs þat vnchast were	
Schall akuse fadirs & modirs bere	5545
For pat pay rechelesly & sloow	
To chast hem & hold hem low	
And to teche hem gode pewis	
As be holy man in his boke schewis	5549
Pe son schall playn hym þan saiþ he	5552
Off be euill fadir & azen hym be	
For deffaute of hem be pay	
In grete repreue hat is to say	5555
In deffaute of his disciplyn	
Perchance be demed to hell pyne	
And be ffadir also with hem spilt	fol. 169r col. 1
For he is caus of her gilte	
3itt be pore men schall hem playn bur3 mi3t	5560
On be riche man in godis sight	
And akuse hym ban ffull grevously	
For pay on hem had no mercy	
For to help hem here in her nede	
Noher to cloh nor to ffede Pote late gold & silver on home sixt	5565
Bote lete gold & siluer on hem rist	
Pat bay had in horde vpbrist	
And perof to pore men wolde not giffe When pay hym se in mischeffe	
berffore be rust of bat mowled mone	5570
restrore pertust or pat movied mone	33/0

Azens hym ban schall writen be	
And wormys & mobis on be same maner	
Pat on her clopes haue bred here	
Pat bay had here ouer mesure	
Pat of hem wold not part with be pore	5575
Schall þat day be in witnes broght	
For be pore bat bay holpe noght	
Also be bat were sogetis to man	
Schall akuse his maister þan	
Pat hem haue greuid burgh maisteri & myzt	5580
And of oper wolde do hem no right	2230
Pe beneffites bat god did to hem here	
Schall hem akuse in sere manere	
For azens hem schall crist alege soun	
And schew hem bat he habe hem doun	5585
Pe riche beneffetis more & les	3363
To repreue hem of her vnkyndnes	
3itt be turmentis of cristis pascion	
Pat he bolid ffor manis saluacioun	
Schall hem akuse at bat grete dome	5590
For why bus saib saint lerome	5591
He saib be cros on which he died for [man]	5596 fol. 169r col. 2
Schall stiffly stond agens hem pan	2000 101. 1001 201. 2
And crist with his woundis wyde	
Schall alege azens bo bat tyde	
Pe holis of his woundis schall speke	5600
Azens bo ffast & aske wreke	
Pe nailes pat in his ffete & handis stake	
On be schall playn & gret plaint mak	
Atte laste crist hymselffe most of myght	
And be trenite schall akuse hem right	5605
For pay wraped god in his povste	
And alle be personis of be trenite	
Bobe ffadir & son and holi gost	
Perffore bat akusing schal be most	
Bote be second person bat all schall deme	5610
Pat is crist godis son bat man become	
All bat schall come beffore crist bat day	
Schall a straite counte ziffe or bey pas away	
Of all her lyffe how bat bay here lyued	
Pan schal be sene who god greuid	5615
Pat beffore all be world schewid schal be	
Openly & noght in priuite	
Beffore all halous & angels bright	
And beffore ffendis & mans sight	
And beffore al wyckid men also	5620
Pat schal be dampnid to endeles wo	
For all schal be pere pan bope gode & ill	
To deme al be dome of right & skill	
For crist bat is rightwis domesman	
t0	

Schall clepe all men beffore hym þan	5625
And be prophet dauid berith witnes	5627
In a vers bat saib bus	5630
He saip he schall beffore hem call	3030
Pe heuen fro aboue & pe erpe alle	fol. 169v col. 1
For to deme right his ffolke bat day	101. 109V COI. 1
As bis vers is bus moche to say	
He schall clepe heuen beffore hym tyte	5635
Pat is to say holy men & perffite	3033
Pat with hym in dome ban schall sitt	
And with hym deme as saip holy writt	
Bote be erb is not ellis to tell	
Bote wickid men & ffendis of hell	5640
Pat he schall call at his will	5640
To schede oute be gode fro be ill	
Pan schall ech man of his lyuing	
Be sett to an harde rekening	
For men schall pan acountis 3eld	
Off all her tyme 3ougth & elde	5645
Noght onely of one ne two ne bre zere	
Bote of all be tyme bat bay haue liued here	
And specially of iche a moment	
Off all be tyme bat crist habe hem lent	5649
No moment schal be vnrekenid þan	5652
As saint bernard saib be holy man	5653
He saip bat none heere of byne hede	5658
Schal be perischt bat tyme no stede	
Right so schal be non moment	5660
Off all be tyme bat crist habe sent	
Of be which schal be made no playing	
In be tyme of bat last rekening	
Also pay schall zeld acount certayn	
Off all idill wordis spoken in vayn	5665
Pat is to say pat be ffroyteles	
As holy writt berith witnes	5667
Pe boke saip on pis manere	5670
Off eche idill and vayne word here	
Reson schal be 3olden right	
At be day of dome in godis sight	
And not only of idill wordis said	fol. 169v col. 2
Bote of idell poghtis pat god mispayde	5675
For excuse hem may þay noght	
Nor idill worde ne idill boght	
Pat þay spak or þoght afftir þay haue witt	
Off be which bay were neuer quitt	5679
Isay saib I com togedir with men	5684
Þe þoghtys of men þat I ken	5685
For to deme hem bob more & les	5686
Many aght to be dreding berffore	5688
And 3itt saip vs saint gregore	5689

He saip god bat all wisdom can So beholdeb be ways man Pat be leste boght bat burgh vs had he At be dome schall not vnwryed be And not only of idill word ne boght	5694 5695
Bote of all idill werkis pat men wroght Pay schall also acountes 3eld Not only of grete dedis of elde Bote of smale dedis of her poght Fro pe tyme pat pay any witt had oght Pat pay haue wroght nightis & dais	5700
Perffore salamon bus says	5705
He saib bou 30ng man be glad & blibe	5712
In by 3ough bat passeb swibe	3712
And bat byne hert in god sitt ffast	
While be daies of by 30ub may last	5715
And in be ways off by hert bou go	00
And in be sight of byn yen two	
And wite bow for all by 30nghede	
Our lorde schall be to dome lede	
Where shal be 30lden resons sere	5720
And herffore saih Iobe on his maner	5721
Lorde to waste wiltow me noght	5723 fol. 170r col. 1
Purgh synnis þat I haue wroght	
Also men schall zeld counte sone	5725
Not only hat hay wrong haue done	
Wetyng well burgh her knowing	
Bote ffor pat pay dide purgh 3erning	
Off which pay schall not be excusid pan	
And pus saith pe wyse man	5730
He saip for eche a ping pat 3ernid is	5733
Gode or euill more or les	
Man atte last day schal be dred	5735
To be dome bat is most dred	5736
Lorde saip dauid me mene bou noght	5740
Off my ffrely vnknowen in boght	
3itt schall bay 3eld acountis with drede	
Not only of eche party of euill dede	
Bot of eche dede preue	5745
Pat semyd by sight gode to be	5143
For sum euill dede semyth gode here	5747
For saint gregore saipe in his manere He saihe sum tyme is ffoule in domesmen sizt	5750
Pat in be ye of erroure schyneb bright	5.00
Bote att be dome schall bat discried be	
As in be palme men may writen se	5753
God saide bis worde be be prophet dauid	5756
And meneb ober bat acordeb berwith	
He saib when I have tyme receyued rigt	
I schall deme rightwisnes burgh my3t	

Also men behoueb nede ban	5760
3eld acountis beffore pat domesman	
Noght only of wordis hat hey have wrozt	
Bote of dedes bat bay did noght	
As of werkis of mercy and almes	
Pat bey not did as be boke says	5765 fol. 170r col. 2
Pat is as ze schull afftir here	5768
How god schall say on bis maner	
I hongred & 3e me noght ffedd	5770
I prestid & 3e me no drink bede	
For his hey schull be resond straytely	
And for oper werkis of mercy	
And not only ffor werkis noght done	
Bote for he gode hat heroff myght haue com	5775
Men schall also acountys 3eld	
Off be soulys bat hay byhoue welde	
And haue in keping while pay may liffe	
Off be which bay schall her ansuere 3iff	
Now if a king or a lorde riche	5780
Had a doughtir bat were hym liche	
Off beaute of fface & off body	
Pat he louyd specially	
And boght to make her quene of worschip	500.5
And toke her his reme to kepe	5785
3iff sche þarafftir kept hir mis	
Me bink it were no doute of bis	
Pat be king ne wolde haue rekening	
And count and answere of bat bing	5700
For be king it semyb hab grete encheson	5790
To putt her fro bat keping to person	
And be more reklesly bat he her zemid	
Pe more grevously sche schuld be demid	
What schuld be king of heuen do ban Off man or ellis of woman	5705
Whom he hape taght to kepe here	5795
His doughtir hat is hym leffe & dere	
Pat is mans soule his owne liknes	
While it ffro dedely syn kepid is	
Pe which he poght to croun quene	5800
In heuen bere ioy schall euer be sene	fol. 170v col. 1
Whoso is rekles & kepith it ill	101. 170V COI. 1
He schal be aresonde & þat is skill	
Off be keping of it bat he toke	
As saip be wis man in his boke	5805
And on Inglisch on bis maner	5808
He saip kepe by soule besily here	3000
Bote he saib wele bat sekirly say	5810
In be tyme of deb at his last day	3610
I zeld my soule in his debes stour	
To be my lord bat art my sauyour	
t yana kananti wa nana Ant	

Men schall zitt zeld acountis straytly Noght of pe soul within only Bote of pe bodies withoute Pe which pat pay bere aboute Of which pay schall ziff rekening	5815
Sith bey had berof keping Ich mans body may be callid As a castell here to hald bat to a man is 3effyn of god to kepe For his proffett & goddis worschip	5820
Pat enmyes offt asaylid hard	5025
And perffore saip saint bernard A gode castell he kepith saib he	5825 5828
Pat his body kepith in honeste	3828
Men schall 3eld acountis also	5830
Att be dome or bay bens go	3030
Pat straytely of hem schal be tane	
Noght only of be soule allone	
Ne only of her bodies berby	
Bote of bob togedir & Ioyntly	5835
Þat is to say ichon schall þan	
3eld acountis of an hole man	
For propirly may it not man be cald	
Bote be body & be soule togedir hald	fol. 170v col. 2
And be soule be itselff man is it none	5840
Ne be body withoute be soule be it on	
For man may be clepid on two maner	
Whils pay be bobe knitt togedir here For bes clerkis bat grete clergy can	
Clepeb man bobe inner man & vtter man	5845
Inner man as agens be soule only	3043
And vtter man azens be body	
Bote body & soule betwix hem to	
Makeb one man & no mo	
Perffore men schal zeld count ioyntly	5850
Bohe of soule & of body	
And forpy pat god afftir his stature	
Made man most worschipfull criature	
Perffore 3iff men be to god froward	5055
Vnkynde to hym & take no reward	5855
Pat iche dingnite of man namly	
Schall at þat dome 3eld hem gilty	
3itt schall men 3eld acount not only Of hemselffe bote of ober namly	5859
Pat is to say afftir his myght	5862
And bat is reson & right	3002
And bo bat may help & will not	
Schall ban to acount be broght	5865
Also ffadirs & modirs at bat day	
Schall zeld acount bat is to say	
- · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	

Off sonis & doghtirs hat hay forh broght	
Pe which bat bay chastid noght	5050
And lordis also for her meyne	5870
Pat þay lete vnchastid be	
And maystirs of her disciplis also	
Pat pay lete mysgouernid & vntaght go	
And chastid hem noght for to lere	
Forpy saip salamon on bis maner	5875 fol. 171r col. 1
Pe zerd he saip of disciplyn smert	5878
Schall chace ffoly oute of byne hert	
Perffore maystirs usid sumtyme be wande	5880
Pat haue childir to lere undir her hande	
Prelatis be ordir of dingnite	
Schall acount zeld in sere degre	
Off her sogettis vndir her power	
How pay hem rewled in bis lyffe here	5885
And ansuere of hem pat lyuid not well	
For bus saib be prophet esechiel	5887
God saiþ þus þurgh þe prophet	5890
Lo I schall aske my flok of schepe	
Off be heerd bat had hem undir hand	
Off pes wordis oght prelatis be dredand	
en schall also zeld rekening sere	
Off all be godes bat god habe 3 iff hem here	5895
Off godes of kynde & godes of grace	
And of godes of hap bat men purchas	
Þe godes of kynde be bodily strength	
With semly schap of brede & length	
And delyuernes & beaute of body	5900
Swich godes of kynde be Imen	
Godis of grace may bis be	
Mynde witt & sotilte	5903
To know be gode fro be ill	5905
Pe euill to leue pe gode to ffullfill	5905a
Vertuous with grete deuocioun	
And loue be lyffe of contemplacioun	
Godes of hap bes ben to geff	
As honoures power & riches	
Of alle bes gode men behoues	5910
3eld acount as be boke proues	
And ansuere straytely of hem all	fol. 171r col. 2
I drede bat many in bis schall ffall	
And to perpetuall preson gone	
For pay spende her godes wrong	5915
For why god hape 3iffe here noping	
Bote pat he will have of rekening	
Sum schall zitt as I saide are	
3eld acount full straytely pare	
Off he godes hat hay wold not bede	5920
To oper pat of hem had nede	

For all be we as one body here For be apostil saib on bis manere He saib we be all one body bat habe dyuers lymes namely And as a lyme of one body here	5923 5926
Is redy afftir pat it hape power To serue pe oper more & lesse Off pat office pat it gouen is Right so iche man pat here leuith	5930
Off all bat god burgh grace hym zevith Schuld ober serue bat berof haue nede As he wolde ansuere at be day of drede Ful many men lyueb here of bo Pat be bounden to do so	5935
As he pat grete & mighty is Is holden to deffende hem pat ar les And pe riche pat moche riches haue To 3effe hem pat in pouert craue And men of lawe also to trauaile	5940
And to counsaile hem pat ilk counsaile And lechis also ziff pay wise were	
To hele hem bat be seke and sere	5945
And maystirs of her sciens to ken	61.171
And namely hem but seed is word in purchase	fol. 171v col. 1
And prechours bat godis wordis preche	
And be way of lyffe ober teche Pus ech man is holden with gode entent	5950
To help oper of pat god habe hem sent	3930
Frely for godis loue and not ellis	
As saint peter be apostell tellis	5953
He saib ech man bat grace habe here	5956
As he receyueb grace in be same maner	
He schuld it mynister & ffrely bede	
To ech man þat þeroff haue nede	
And pus ech man is holden perto	5960
As he gospell spekeh herto	5961
He saip bat he hab of grace fre	5964
And ffrely receyue & ffrely 3eff 3e	5965
Pus schall men zeld resons sere	
Off all her lyffe as writen is here	
Pat is of all tymes spend in vayne	
And eche moment & tyme certayn And iche idill worde & þoght	5970
And of eche idill dede bat bay wroght	3770
Eyber in her elde or in her 30ube	
Afftir be tyme bat bay witt coube	
Or se with ye or speke with moube	5973a
Est or west north & soupe	5973b
Beb openly & priuely kide	5973c
Off dedis bat bay burgh hering did	5974

And not only of werkis vnwro3t bote wro3t As of werkis of mercy þat done were not	5976
Of her owne soulis bay schal rekyn bere	
And of be bodies bat bay aboute bere	
And not only of ayber be hemselffe ban	5980
Bote of bobe togedir as one man	
And not only be hemselffe of all	
Bote of her neighbouris ansuere bey schall	
Fadirs & modirs schal rekyn þat tyde	fol. 171v col. 2
Off sonis & doghtirs vnchastid	5985
And lordis of her men namly	
be which bey wold not iustyffy	
And maystirs of her disciples also	
Pat pay lete vntaght in foly go	
And prelatis & prestis of iche a sogett	5990
Pat pay wold not in right rule sett	
And all oher hat wrong & right entent	
Pe godes mispendeh hat crist hem sent	
And of all withholding of godis sere	5005
Pat bay partid noght with ober here	5995
Pat of hem had nede as bey my3t se	
Of all bes thingis men schal resond be	
At be day of dome as god hab ordaynd	
Pere bat nobing schal be layed	6000
Of all bis men schal zelde accountis straite	6000
Schal ber nobing be to laite For wele is bat man or woman	
•	
Pat gode rekening may 3effe þan So þat he may pas quite & fre	
Off all bing bat schall rekenid be	6005
And so well may be all bo	0003
Pat fro hens in charite go	
For he bat habe here gode ending	
Schall pas bere with light rekening	
At be day of dome as I before tolde	6010
All men schal be bobe 30ng & olde	33.3
And gode ill schal come þan þed <i>er</i>	
So moche folke cam neuer togedir	
Ne neuer was sen be world began	
As schal be sene before crist ban	6015
Pat schal be demid afftir bay boght	
Bote some schal dem & sum schal not	
Som schal deme with be domysman	
Pat purgh dome schal not be demid pan	
Som schal be demid þan rightwisly	fol. 172r col. 1
Pat schall deme on non party	6021
Bote many obir schall seme	
Pat schall nobir be demid ne deme	
Po hat schall deme & not demid be	
Schal be parffit men & with god priue	6025

Of ham hat domid cahal ha & dome cahal name	
Of hem bat demid schal be & deme schal nogt	
Schal sone be demid & broght	
And sum schal be demid to hell to wende	
Pere payne schal be withouten ende	(020
Bote all bat leue not as do we	6030
Schall deme none nobir demid be	
Bote for pay wold not to our treup com	
Pay wend to hell withouten dome	
First bo bat with crist schall deme bat day	
And not be demid bote only bay	6035
Pat here forsoke be worldis solas	
And folow rightwisly goddis trace	
As be apostels & obir mo	
Pat for his loue soffred moche wo	70.40
Pay schall deme with crist & not ellis	6040
For in be gospell bus he tellis	6041
He saip 3e bat ffolow me here lyuand	6045
Schall sitt on twelff setis demand	
Pe twelff kynredis of israel	
Pat be bo hat here in right duell	
Sum schall not deme ne demid be	
To blis as men of charite	6050
Pat gladly wirk be dedis of mercy	
And kepe hem wele fro syn dedely	
Som schall not deme bote be demid	
To hell and fro crist pay schal be flemid	
As bo bat be ffals cristen men	6055
Pat kepe not be comaundmentis ten	
And wolde not here forsake her syn	fol. 172r col. 2
Bote whils bay lyuid ay duellid berin	
Sum schall not be demid bat day	6064
Pat schall wende to hell ffor ay	6064
As payinis & sarsyns bat haue no lawe	6065
And iewis þat neuir wold crist knawe	
Perffore pay schall wend to payne endles	6060
Withoute dome as writen is	6068
Po bat withouten lawe vsyd syn	6071
Withoute lawe schall perisch perin	
And berffore at bat dome namly	
Ech man schall haue as he is worby	(075
A ffull harde day men schall bat day se	6075
When all bing schall bus discurid be	
Pat day schall no man be excusid	
Off nohing hat he here wrong vsid	
Pat soune in euill on any manere	6080
Off be which he was neuer delyuerid here	0080
Pe synffull schall bere no mercy haue	
For nobing may ban hem saue	
Why bey schall ban no help gete	
Off seriaunt ne atorney ne vokett	

No. Co. 11 C. 1 was a white	6085
Ne of none obir for hem to plede	0063
Ne hem to counsaile ne hem to rede	
Ne none halow schall for hem pray	
Pis may be clepid a full hidous day	
For as be boke berith witnes	4000
Pere schal be schewed bote rightwisnes	6090
And gret reddure withoute mercy	
Vnto all synffull men namly	
Po pat of her syn will not here stynt	
Pay schall day for euer be tynt	
Fro god withoute any recouerer	6095
And delyuerid to be fendis power	
Ful wo schall synfull men þan be	6097
For grete reddure bay schall ban se	6097a fol. 172v col. 1
And to hell pyne be putt for ay	6098
And berffore many may clepe bat day	
Pe grete day of delyuerauns	6100
Pe day of wrap & of vengeauns	
Pe day of bale & of bitternes	6103
Pe day of wreche & of wrechidnes	6102
be day of plening & of akusing	
be day of ansuere & of strait rekening	6105
be day of iugement & of iuyse	
be day of angre & of angwisch	
be day of drede & of tremblyng	
be day of weping & greting	
be day of crying & dolffull dyn	6110
be day of sorow bat neuer schall blyn	0110
be day of drede & of affray	
be day of departing fro crist away	
be day of mourning of sorow & derknes	
be day of bat is last & most is	6115
be day when crist schall make an end of all	0113
Pus men may discreue bis day & call	
Ooure lorde bat all can se & wite	
Att be dredfull day schall sitt	
As king & rightwis domesman	6120
In dome to deme all be world ban	0120
Vpon be sete of his mageste	
Pat day schal all men beffore hym be	(105
Pan schall be do noght bote rightwisnes	6125
Bohe gode & euill more & les	6124
He schall deme men of eche degre	
To ioy or payne bat demid schal be	
As rightwis domesman & stedffast	
And zeffe a ffenall dome at be last	
And how he schal deme I bink to shewe	6130
As tellith be gospell of mathew	
His aungels ban afftir his wille	
Schull first depart be gode fro be ill	

As be heerd dobe schepe fro be gete Pat schall be putt to pasture straite Be be schepe vndirstond we may Pe gode men bat schull be sauid bat day	fol. 172v col. 2 6135
And be pe gete vndirstond may we be euill men pat dampnid schal be	
De gode schal be sett on his right hand	6140
And be euill on his lefft schall stand Pan schal our lord say bus bat tyde	
To hem bat stond on his right syde	6143
He schall say ban come now to me	6147
My ffadirs blissid childer ar 3e	
And weldeh he kingdom hat to 30w is dist	
Fro be first bat be world was ordaynd ri3t	6150
For I hongred & 3e me ffed	
And prestid & 3e me drink bede	
Of herburgh grete nede I had	
3e herberd me with hert glad Nakid I was as 3e my3t se	6155
3e zaue me clobis & hillid me	0133
Sik I was & in ffebill state	
3e visitt me erly & late	
In prison when I was holden still	
To me 3e com with full gode will	6160
Pan schall be rightwis men bat day	
To our lorde ansuere & say	
Lorde when we se be hongry	
To giffe be mete we were redy	6165
And when we might be bristy se	0103
We gaffe be drink with hert ffre When we se be nedy of herber haue	
To herber be we vouchedsaffe	
When bou were nakid we be clad	
And se be sike & in prison stad	6170
We visit be with gode will	
And comfort be as it was skill	
Our lord schall þan ansuere þus	fol. 173r col. 1
And say as he gospell tellith vs	
Sobly I se bat 3e wroght	6175
Iche a tyme bat 3e did oght	
Vnto any of be leste bat 3e might se	
Off my brehern ze did to me	
Pan schall our lorde to all hem say	6180
Pat on his lefft syde schall stond bat day	0100
And speke to hem with stern chere Pes wordis bat ben hidous to here	6182
3e weried wightis wende fro my si3t	6186
Vnto be ffire bat is 30w dight	
To be deuill & to his aungels	
Pan schall say as be boke tellis	
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And 3e wolde noght 3effe me to ete I pristed & of drink had nede And 3e nolde me no drink bede I wantid herbere & I 3ow besoght And all þat tyme 3e herberd me noght Nakid withoute cloþis I was And withoute cloþis I was Sike I was & bedred I lay And 3e ne visit me noþir night ne day In prison I was as well wist 3e And 3e ne visit me noþir night ne day In prison I was as well wist 3e And 3e wolde not come to me Pan schall þay ansuere as men schal here To our lord on þis manere Lorde when we se þe haue honger or þrest Or of herber had any brest Or of herber had any brest Or of herber had en mynistrid þe Pan schall our lorde ansuere agen And say to hem þes wordis certayn Soþely I say 3ow as falleþ þerto All þe tyme þat 3e wold not do To one of þe lest þat min er kid As long to me 3e it ne did Pus schall our lorde reherse openly To rightwis men þe dedis of mercy For to make hem openly kid To grete worschip of hem it did And schew þe synfull þat falleþ þerto Her rukyndenes þat wold not do Pe werkis of mercy for his loue To grete schenschip & reproue When he haþ þus saide & made an end Pe synffull with þe ffende schall wende To hell ffyre þat neuyr schal slake A foule hidous cry þan schall þay make And say allas þat euer wer we wroght In mans body why were we noght Why ne had god made vs so Noipir to ffelle wele ne wo Now schall we bren in þe ffyre of hell And wilpoute ende þere duelle Hell schall hem swolow also tyte Withoute any lengger respyte And all þe ffyre schall þan be sene And all þe forupcion þat euer haþe bene		
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Pan schall our lorde ansuere agen And say to hem pes wordis certayn Sobely I say 3ow as falleb perto All be tyme bat 3e wold not do To one of be lest bat min er kid As long to me 3e it ne did Pus schall our lorde reherse openly To rightwis men be dedis of mercy For to make hem openly kid To grete worschip of hem it did And schew be synfull bat falleb perto Her vnkyndenes bat wold not do Be werkis of mercy for his loue To grete schenschip & reproue When he hab bus saide & made an end Be synfull with be ffende schall wende To hell ffyre bat neutyr schal slake A foule hidous cry ban schall bay make And say allas bat euer wer we wroght In mans body why were we noght Why ne had god made vs so Noipir to ffelle wele ne wo Now schall we bren in be ffyre of hell And wiboute ende bere duelle Hell schall hem swolow also tyte Withoute any lengger respyte And all be ffyre schall pan be sene And all be forip & all be stynke	Or nakid or sike or in prison be	
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To one of be lest bat min er kid As long to me 3e it ne did Pus schall our lorde reherse openly To rightwis men be dedis of mercy For to make hem openly kid To grete worschip of hem it did And schew be synfull bat falleb berto Her vnkyndenes bat wold not do be werkis of mercy for his loue To grete schenschip & reproue When he hab pus saide & made an end Pe synffull with be ffende schall wende To hell ffyre bat neuyr schal slake A foule hidous cry ban schall bay make And say allas bat euer wer we wroght In mans body why were we noght Why ne had god made vs so Noipir to ffelle wele ne wo Now schall we bren in be ffyre of hell And wiboute ende bere duelle Hell schall hem swolow also tyte Withoute any lengger respyte And all be ffyre schall ban be sene And all be corupcion bat euer habe bene 6235 And all be ffilb & all be stynke		fol. 173r col. 2
As long to me 3e it ne did Pus schall our lorde reherse openly To rightwis men be dedis of mercy For to make hem openly kid To grete worschip of hem it did And schew be synfull bat falleb perto Her vnkyndenes bat wold not do be werkis of mercy for his loue To grete schenschip & reproue When he hab bus saide & made an end Pe synffull with be ffende schall wende To hell ffyre bat neuyr schal slake A foule hidous cry ban schall bay make And say allas bat euer wer we wroght In mans body why were we noght Why ne had god made vs so Noipir to ffelle wele ne wo Now schall we bren in be ffyre of hell And wipoute ende bere duelle Hell schall hem swolow also tyte Withoute any lengger respyte And all be ffyre schall ban be sene And all be corupcion bat euer habe bene And all be ffilb & all be stynke	_ * * * . * . *	
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To grete worschip of hem it did And schew be synfull bat falleb berto Her vnkyndenes bat wold not do Pe werkis of mercy for his loue 6220 To grete schenschip & reproue When he hab bus saide & made an end Pe synffull with be ffende schall wende To hell ffyre bat neuyr schal slake A foule hidous cry ban schall bay make 6225 And say allas bat euer wer we wroght In mans body why were we noght Why ne had god made vs so Noibir to ffelle wele ne wo Now schall we bren in be ffyre of hell 6230 And wipoute ende bere duelle Hell schall hem swolow also tyte Withoute any lengger respyte And all be ffyre schall ban be sene And all be corupcion bat euer habe bene 6235 And all be ffilb & all be stynke		
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De synffull with be ffende schall wendeTo hell ffyre bat neuyr schal slake6225A foule hidous cry ban schall bay make6225And say allas bat euer wer we wroght8In mans body why were we noght8Why ne had god made vs so8Noibir to ffelle wele ne wo8Now schall we bren in be ffyre of hell8And wipoute ende bere duelle8Hell schall hem swolow also tyte8Withoute any lengger respyte8And all be ffyre schall ban be sene8And all be corupcion bat euer habe bene6And all be ffilb & all be stynke6		
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In mans body why were we noght Why ne had god made vs so Noipir to ffelle wele ne wo Now schall we bren in be ffyre of hell 6230 And wipoute ende bere duelle Hell schall hem swolow also tyte Withoute any lengger respyte And all be ffyre schall ban be sene And all be corupcion bat euer habe bene 6235 And all be ffilb & all be stynke		
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And all be corupcion bat euer habe bene 6235 And all be ffilb & all be stynke		
And all be ffilb & all be stynke		6235
		3200
On an pe wonde par pan schan synk	Off all be worlde bat ban schall synk	
Doun with hem to be pitt of hell		
To eche her payn þat þere schal duell		

Bote rightwis men as be boke berith witnes Schall wende to blis bat is endles With our lorde & his aungels ichon Shyning brighter ban euer svn schone Now haue 3e herd as is conteind	6240
In his party how he world schal ende	6245
And how crist at his last comyng Schall in dome sitt & discuse al bing	fol. 173v col. 1
Here may a man rede bat habe tome	
A long proces of be day of dome	
Pat a long tyme afftir pat I have red	6250
Schuld be conteind be skill or all were sped	
Bote 3e schal vndirstand & wite As men may se in holy writt	
Pat burgh wisdom and vertu	
And be might of our lorde ihesu	6255
Alle be proces bat schall be bat day	0233
Pat any clerk can can speke or say	
Schall ban so schortly be sped & sone	
Pat all schall be in a moment done	
A moment is as of a tyme bygyning	6260
As schort as of an ye twynkelyng	
A grete wondir may his be kid	
Among all wondirs pat euir crist did	
Pat in so schort while in his comyng	
To deme & discuse all bing	6265
Bote of bis none schuld meve lered ne lewed	
For as grete wondir crist habe shewid	
As grete wondir was when he wrozt	(200
With one worde all ping of noght	6269
God saide and all was done He bade and all was made sone	6274 6275
Pus in schort tyme all bing made he	0273
More wondir ban bis myght none be	
Pan may he as schortly make an end	
Of all bing bat he made bygyning	
For so witty & mighty is he	6280
Pat nobing inpossible to hym may be	
Pe proces of bat day bat I have tolde	
Al be men lyuing 30ng & olde	
Schall se & vndirstand it all	
In so schort tyme it schall falle	fol. 173v col. 2
Now haue 3e herd me speke & rede	6286
Of be wondirs bat ban schal be dred	
Bote of bat 3e herd me rede & say	
Of he reddure hat schal be do hat day	(100
Vnto all synffull men namly	6290
Pat schal be dampnid withoute mercy	
As men may here writen se	
No man schall berffore in dispaire be	

For all hat have mercy here schal be saffe And ask mercy has schall it have 3effe hay it ask whils hay lyue in body And truly tret to goddis mercy	6295
And amend hem here & syn forsake Beffore be tyme bat deb hem take And of mercy here & charite Pan gete bay mercy & saued schal be Bote 3effe be deb before haue hem tan	6300
Or þay ask mercy þan gete þay non Bote reddure of rightwisnes only For þan schal be schewid no mercy Here may ech man 3eff þat þay will Haue mercy þat doþe þat falleþ þertill 3iff he had do neuir so moche syn	6305
3effe he amend hym he mygt it win For he mercy of god is so moche here And recheth our all ffer & nere bat all he synnis hat man hahe do It might quenche & more herto	6310
And perfore saip saint austen pus A gode word pat may comfort vs As a litell spark of ffire saip he	6315 6318
Were casten a mydward be see Right so all mans wickidnes Vnto be mercy of god is les Here may men se bat his mercy	fol. 174r col. 1 6321
Fordop all syn & ffoly Forwhy a man 3iffe he had done here As moche & as many synnis here As all be men in be world haue doun All myght his mercy ffordo sone	6325
And 3eff possible were as it is not Pat ech man as moche syn had wro3t As all be men bat in be worlde euer was 3itt myght his mercy all her syn pas Pan semyth it wele as men may se	6330
Pat of his mercy here is grete plente For his mercy spredeb on eche a syde Purgh all be world brode & wide And scheweb it be many waies Perffore dauid be prophet says Misericordia eius super omnia	6335
operta es Pe erb he saib is ful of mercy Pat men may fynde here plentevously And he haue mercy or he hens wend Atte grete dome schal fynd crist his frend	6340
Where rightwisnes only schal be hauntid And no mercy bere be grauntid	6345

Afftir þe dome all þe world brode Schall seme as it were new made Þe erþ schal be þan euen & all And schyne as doþe now þe cristall And þe ayre aboute schall schyne brigt	6350
Pan schal euir be day & neuir night For pe elementis schall all clensid be Off all corupcion pat we here se Pan schall pe world be all partis	0330
Seme as it were paradys	fol. 174r col. 2
Pe planetis & be sterrys echone	6356
Schall schyne brighter pan euer pay sch[one]	
Pe son schal be as sum clerkis demeb	
Sevyn sibes brighter ban it semyth	
For it schall be as bright as it was	6360
Beffore þat adam did þe trespas	
Pe mon schal be as bright & clere	
As be sonne is now bat shyneth here	
Pe sonne schall euen in be est stond	
And withoute renewing euer schynand	6365
And be mon agenst it in be west	
And no more schall trauaile bote ay rist	
As pay were sett in pe bigynyng When god made hem & all ping	
Pay were ban as men may trow	6370
Moche brighter pan pay be now	6371
Pe mon & heuens now aboute gob	6376
Pe sonne & be mon her cours dobe	0370
And be objr planetis euerichone	
Manan as bay her cours haue tan	
And all be elementis kyndly dose	6380
Pat is nedefull to manis vse	
Pus ordayned god hem to serue man	
And of all swich seruis sese ban	
For all men afftir domys may	
Schall be pere where pay schal duell ay	6385
Þe gode in blis in rist & pes	
be euill in payne bat neuir schall sese	
What nede were bat bes criatours ban	
Schewid swich seruis to man	6390
No quik criature schall be ban lyuand	0390
In all be world in no lande	
Nohir schall grow han gras ne tre Ne crachis ne rotis schall han be	fol. 174v col. 1
Ne dale ne dou <i>n</i> ne montayne	101. 1747 001. 1
For all erb schall ban be playne	6395
And be made as clere faire & clene	5575
As eny cristall euer was sene	
For it schal be purgid & ffyned withoute	
And all oper elementis aboute	
•	

And no more travayled on no syde	6400
Ne with no charge be ocupyed	
Now haue 3e herd me beffore rede	
Off be day of dome bat many may drede	
And of be wondirfull tokenis many	
Pat schall ffall beffore be dome namly	6405
And how be worlde as we now se	
Afftir be dome now made schall be	
Now allmyghty god in trenite	
One god and persons bre	
And his modir bat swete floure	6410
Quene of mercy & mans socour	
So saue vs lorde as bou well may	
Purgh by mercy att our endyng day	
And euer lady haue in by mynde	
Þe ffebilnes of manis kynde	6415
And sende vs grace bat day to rise	
To blis with bat trew iustis amen	

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

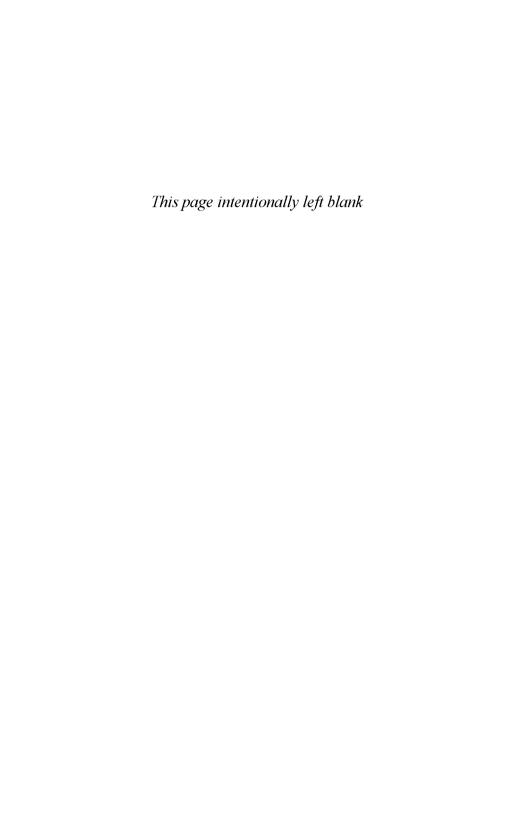
TEXTUAL NOTES TO APPENDIX B ONLY

(Cf. Richard Rolle, *Pricke of Conscience*, ed. Morris, pp. 111–73.)

All omissions from the text are quotations in Latin which B does not give, except the following, which are in English in Morris' edition but omitted from B: 4197–98, 4576–77, 4669–70, 4699–700, 4837–38, 4900–3, 4971–72, 5003–4, 5305, 5680–81, 5737–38, 5860–61, 5904, 5975, 6270–71, 6372–75.

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

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



APPENDIX C

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

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

For the origin and development of the story of St. Helena and the finding of the true Cross, see Stephen Borgehammar, How the Holy Cross Was Found; Jan Willem Drijvers, Helena Augusta; Mary Catherine Bodden, ed. & trans., The Old English Finding of the True Cross, pp. 24–27; L.-J. Tixeront, Les origines de l'église d'Edesse et la légende d'Abgar, pp. 164–74; J. Straubinger, Die Kreuzauffindungslegende. Especially valuable is P.O.E. Gradon's Introduction to her edition of Cynewulf's Elene, pp. 15–22.

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

- 21347-600 These lines are found only in CFG. They would presumably have occurred also on the missing leaves of E.
- 21356–78 This is expanded from *Trad. anon.* 8321–30.
- 21371 The CM dates this event 200 years after Christ's death. The Acta Quiriaci, p. 445 D, places it in the year 233, and Leg. aur., p. 303, says more than 200 years after Christ's death. Trad. anon. says simply longuement (8327). Gradon, pp. 15-22, has some apposite comments on the date, and cf. Leopold Kretzenbacher,

- Kreuzholzlegenden zwischen Byzanz und dem Abendland, p. 5, who dates the finding to 3 May 320 (!).
- 21379–406 *Trad. anon.* omits the story of Constantine's conversion. The *CM* poet probably takes it from *Leg. aur.*, pp. 305–6, although a few details of the scene seem to come from the *Acta Quiriaci*.
- 21382–84 The CM poet is vague about the details of the battle. Leg. aur. places it on the Danube, as does the Acta Quiriaci.
- 21385 Both Leg. aur. and Acta Quiriaci specify that the increasing size of the barbarian army made Constantine afraid: ... barbarorum crescente multitudine et jam fluvium transeunte Constantinus nimio terrore concutitur (Leg. aur., p. 305); Videns autem, quia multitudo esset innumerabilis, contristatus est et timuit usque ad mortem (Acta Quiriaci, p. 445 E).
- 21387-402 Leg. aur., p. 305. Cf. Pouzet p. 37, who has an extensive note on whether Constantine saw the cross by dream vision or direct vision.
- 21397 "euen." Possibly "euen" translates similitudinem: Qui coelesti visione confortatus similitudinem crucis fecit (*Leg. aur.*, p. 305). *Acta Quiriaci*, p. 445 f., also has similitudinem crucis. Cf. *MED* s.v. even (adj.) sense 12 and s.v. evenen (v.) sense 5.
- 21407-13 Trad. anon. 8331-36. CM omits Constantine's baptism, about which Leg. aur., pp. 305-6, gives several conflicting reports.
- 21413 The messengers Benciras and Ansiers are called Bensillas and Amphire in Trad. anon. 8335. At 8422, however, the second name appears as Anfire. In Trad. anon.'s probable source, Li romans de Dolopathos, the name is Anfire, and in the analogous Roman des sept sages it is Aussire. The various versions appear to derive from scribal confusion of f and s, and of the minims for m, n, and u. For discussion of the source and analogue, see Szirmai, n. to 8335, and p. 69.
- 21416-64 Trad. anon. 8360-457. The origins of this story of the pound of flesh have been well explored because of its appearance in Shakespeare's The Merchant of Venice. L. Toulmin Smith, "On the Bond Story in the Merchant of Venice," pp. 181-89, first pointed out the connection of this section of CM with Shakespeare. Szirmai, pp. 68-69, discusses the similarities between the Trad. anon.'s version of the story and the only other extant European version which predates it, that in the Dolopathos, written in the twelfth century by Johannis de Alta Silva and translated about 1210 into French by one Herbert as Li Romans de Dolopathos.

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

- 21423 The sum is 100 sous in Trad. anon. 8370, centum argenti marcas in Dolopathos.
- 21425 F's word "couenand" may preserve the original form of the line. Cf. *Trad. anon.* 8375: Qu'il en fauroit de covenant.
- 21432 "beleue" translates abandoner, Trad. anon. 8381.
- 21436–38 These lines have no equivalent in *Trad. anon.*, where the text is somewhat defective at this point (8386–89).
- 21443 In Trad. anon. 8389 only Bensillas speaks.
- 21447 F's "vs" translates Trad. anon.'s nos, 8394. CG's "me" is an error.
- 21452 CG's readings translate *Trad. anon.*'s dou il doit ouvrer, 8400. Pouzet p. 43 elaborates this observation with further analysis of *Trad. anon.* 8398–402.
- 21453 CG's "be laue" is not mentioned in *Trad. anon.*, but the definite article in et lou nes devant, 8401, may have caused confusion. Pouzet p. 43 thinks such confusion unlikely.

- 21467-68 F's lines are not in Trad. anon.
- 21471 CG's "maugre" and F's "maugrefe" attempt to translate *Trad. anon.*'s maldite, 8418.
- 21475 C's "anfrer" may reflect an original confused rendering by the poet of *Trad.* anon.'s frere Anfire, 8422. Pouzet p. 44 reads ansier in C; his extensive note, p. 45, further elaborates the various explanations for the confusion.
- 21489 Trad. anon.'s 8437 is defective in the only remaining manuscript. The editor conjecturally emends the line, but there is no mention of the Jew losing his tongue. Perhaps the original rhyme word was laingue.
- 21508 Trad. anon. 8455 gives the time as Trois jors antiers et une nuit, logically impossible. Pouzet p. 47 suggests that OF jors may be taken to mean a 24-hour day.
- 21510 Trad. anon. 8457 says that he will be hanged on the third day: Vous seres au tier jor pendus. Pouzet p. 47 explores Trad. anon.'s probable sources and analogues for further clarification.
- 21515–18 CG's readings follow *Trad. anon.* more or less, but F has changed the lines completely.
- 21519–36 Trad. anon. does not go into detail about the finding of the cross. The CM seems here to revert to Leg. aur., p. 308, but the sign to Judas in Leg. aur. and Acta Quiriaci, p. 447 B, is a sweet smell, not an earthquake as here, 21524. Cf., however, the OE homily in Bodden, ll. 204–6, where the earth trembles: biofode eal seo stow, as well as exuding a sweet odour: se swetesta staenc ealra deowurpesta wyrtgemanga. See also Honorius Augustodunensis, Speculum ecclesiae, "De inventione sancte crucis," PL CLXXII 948: locus contremuit, fumus thymiamatis de terra ascendit.
- 21532 The figure of 20 feet is xx passus in *Leg. aur.*, p. 308, and passus viginti in *Acta Quiriaci*, p. 447 C. G's tuenti fadim may perhaps represent an attempt to cope with the Roman measure, the passus.
- 21537-626 Trad. anon. 8486-591.
- 21559-60 The lines are authentic, translating *Trad. anon.* 8518-19, although they are omitted from F.
- 21568-70 Not in Trad anon
- 21580 The CM poet omits Trad. anon. 8538-47, the Jew's speech.
- 21591 The correct reading is CG's constantinopil, not F's costentine. Cf. Trad. anon. 8560.
- 21593 F's line appears to be authentic, translating *Trad. anon.* 8562, La croix prant .ii-ij. pars en fit.
- 21595–96 These lines appear only in F, where they seem to be scribal rather than authentic. *Trad. anon.* does not mention again what happened to two of the pieces of the cross.
- 21597, 21599 F continues to renumber the pieces of the cross to make the distribution clear, but *Trad. anon.*, like CG, mentions only L'une ... Et l'autre ... (8564, 8566).
- 21601 E's text begins here.
- 21610-26 See Szirmai, n. to 8582-91, for analogues.
- 21611 C's mande = maundy = Trad. anon.'s jor de la Cene (8577).
- 21626 Trad. anon. 8591 reads cite instead of CM's contre.
- 21627-776 Trad. anon. 8592-8884, a long interpolation on the symbolic attributes of the cross, which CM abbreviates.
- 21631 ECG's mani translates Trad. anon.'s plusor, 8596. F's man is an error.
- 21639-42 Not in Trad. anon.
- 21647-48 An allusion to the cross wood being grown from seeds taken from the Tree of Life. Cf. *Trad. anon.* 7756-59.

- 21659 G's tre is an error for ECF's crie. Cf. Trad. anon.'s clamor, 8620.
- 21668 The CM poet omits Trad. anon. 8630–59, dealing with the nudity of Noah and the stories of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph as they prefigure the cross. 21672 suggests that the CM poet does not want to repeat these stories which he has already told in recounting the events of Genesis.
- 21682 The CM poet omits Trad. anon. 8672–75, dealing with further feats of Moses.
- 21694 Voice is taken directly from *Trad. anon.* 8683, vois, which Szirmai glosses as autorité, pouvoir.
- 21695 The CM poet omits Trad. anon. 8684–91, with further details about Moses and Amalek.
- 21702 The *CM* poet omits *Trad. anon.* 8700–3, the story of Helias and the woman gathering wood to bake bread, 3 Reg. 17: 9–16.
- 21706 *Trad. anon.* 8706–23 are omitted here. They tell the story of Heliseus and the son of the Sunamite woman, 4 Reg. 4: 18–37.
- 21711-18 Loosely based on Trad. anon. 8728-38.
- 21715 E's staue is an error.
- 21728 Not in *Trad. anon.*
- 21732 *Trad. anon.* 8749–8840 goes on to explain why mankind had to be ransomed. gun-fanun is taken from *Trad. anon.* 8740, where it is spelled confenonx.
- 21740 *Trad. anon.* 8847–52, dealing with the two parts of the cross and the two laws, are omitted here.
- 21743-44 Trad. anon. 8853 says that the cross has En .iij. fuz et en .iiij. bras.
- 21754 E's vi is an error for vii, the total of the four elements of the body and the three strengths of the soul.
- 21756–57 This theme is more extensively elaborated in *Trad. anon.* 8847–64.
- 21775 ECF's smele translates odour, *Trad. anon.* 8883. G's mell is an error.
- 21777-80 Trad. anon. 8885-8910.
- 21788 EC's of drigt is correct, translating Trad. anon. 8894, Vers Deu.
- 21789 All manuscripts of CM read three years, while Trad. anon. 8895 says four.
- 21797–98 *Trad. anon.* says that only one nail is at St. Denis. The *CM* poet omits *Trad. anon.* 8905, which gives almost the only clue to the identity of the French author: Je l'i ai veu et baisie. He must, therefore, have belonged to or visited St. Denis. For a discussion of the authorship of *Trad. anon.* see Szirmai, pp. 16–17.
- 21801–8 The *CM* poet, having finished the cross story from *Trad. anon.*, refers to another version, presumably that in *Leg. aur.* or in one of the MS of the *Acta Quiriaci*. Pouzet p. 73 disagrees here and offers a more elaborate interpretation.
- 21809-12 Leg. aur. p. 309.
- 21813-36 Leg. aur. p. 309.
- 21816 E's reading is closest to the original, provided me is taken as a possessive adjective and Iudas (i.e., Judas Iscariot) as the object of the preposition, gain. Cf. Judae meo contraria operatus es, *Leg. aur.* p. 309. F reworks this and the following lines completely.
- 21821–22 The lines, although omitted from F, translate *Leg. aur.* p. 309: per illum regnabam in populo, per te jam expellar a regno.
- 21829-30 Leg. aur. names the tyrant as Julian the Apostate who later tortures and kills Quiriacus. However, a marginal note in C identifies the tyrant as Antichrist.
- 21835 C's me is an error for be, translating *Leg. aur.* p. 309: Christus te damnet in abyssum ignis aeterni.
- 21837-46 The CM poet's prayer, not in the sources.

APPENDIX D

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

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

- 23909-44 Evidently original with the *CM* poet, these lines are in harmony with his devotion to Mary, as expressed for example in ll. 69-114 above.
- 23945–4730 These lines, recounting a dialogue between the narrator and Mary concerning the crucifixion, derive from a text, variously attributed to St. Bernard, St. Anselm, and St. Augustine, but actually written by Oglerius de Tridino, a late twelfth-century Cistercian from the monastery of Locedio, near Turin. The work in full bears the title *De laudibus sanctae Dei genetricis* and has been edited from MS. Turin E.V.4, fols. 1–68, by J.B. Adriani, *Beati Oglerii de Tridino ... opera quae supersunt ...*, and the portion of it, known from its incipit as the *Quis dabit*, used by the *CM* poet for these lines, has been re-edited by C.W. Marx, "The *Quis dabit* of Oglerius de Tridino, Monk and Abbot of Locedio." All references to the text are by line number to Marx's edition.

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

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

- 23945–86 The CM poet's own introduction.
- 23987-92 Cf. Oglerius 56-58. The *CM* poet adds 23990-92 where Oglerius has simply et vinctus ad Annam tractus.
- 23993-95 Cf. Oglerius 59-60.
- 23996–98 Cf. Oglerius 60–62. The *CM* poet here both condenses Oglerius' fuller account and specifies the Jews as Christ's torturers.
- 23945-87 These lines, though here and there providing a distant echo of Oglerius (e.g., 23975 with 27-28, 23969 with 31-32, 23976 with 36-37), actually offer a new beginning to the dialogue. The narrator seeks to establish a spiritual link with

Mary by empathizing with her pain as she witnesses her son's crucifixion. Oglerius, echoing the Canticum canticorum and the parable of the wise and foolish virgins (Mt 25: 1–13), first focuses on the lament for Mary of the daughters of Jerusalem (4–10), then on Mary's part in Jesus' birth and upbringing (10–15), then on her presence among the women who followed Jesus (15–23), and finally on her pain at the crucifixion (24–39). Only then does Oglerius speak in the narrator's own voice, seeking empathy with Mary. The *CM* poet omits one interesting detail from Oglerius 53–54: Sed quia iam glorificata flere non possum, tu cum lacrimis scribe que cum magnis doloribus ipsa persensi.

- 23999–4005 The *CM* poet's elaboration of Oglerius 63–64: et non erat mihi fere uox neque sensus.
- 24006 Ps 76:4, quoted by Oglerius 63.
- 24008 Oglerius 64 mentions Mary's sisters as well as other women: Erant mecum mee sorores, et alie femine multe ...
- 24010 Apparently the CM poet's addition.
- 24014-16 The CM poet embroiders Oglerius 65-66: Maria Magdalena que super omnes, illa excepta, que loquitur tecum, dolebat. The "illa" is Mary, the "te" the narrator.
- 24017 CFGE's bedel translates Oglerius 66: precone.
- 24021-22 Here the *CM* poet reverses the sense of Oglerius 67-69: factus est concursus populorum post ipsum euntes. Alii scilicet illum plangentes, alii ei illudentes ridebant.
- 24023-29 Apparently the *CM* poet's addition. Oglerius does not emphasize the hostility of the crowd but rather Mary's pain, and the hostile multitude in the gospels restrict their actions to shouting.
- 24030 Cf. Oglerius 70 where Mary is cum mulieribus.
- 24032–35 Here the *CM* poet trims away the more extravagant imagery of suffering in Oglerius 69–72.
- 24036-46 Apparently the CM poet's own contribution.
- 24047-60 A transition passage added by the *CM* poet to lend pathos to Mary's suffering.
- 24062–76 The *CM* poet transfers the focus from Jesus to Mary. Cf. Oglerius 72–77: Ante oculos eius [sc. Mary's] fuit in cruce leuatus et ligno dirissimis clauis affixus. Et ipse tanquam agnus coram tondente se uocem non dabat, nec aperiebat os suum (Is 53:7). Aspiciebat ancilla Dominum suum, intuebatur mater filium suum in cruce pendentem, morte turpissima morientem, et tanto dolore uexabatur in mente, quantus non possit explicare sermone.
- 24077-79 Here the CM poet translates freely, postponing the description of Christ on the cross, which follows immediately in Oglerius, in order to present the contrasting figure of Christ as he was, qui erat pre filiis hominum speciosus (Ps 44:3), a phrase interpolated into Oglerius at line 79.
- 24080-85 These lines compress the fuller description in Oglerius 77-79. The spittle of 24085 is the *CM* poet's addition.
- 24086-91 Again the CM poet's addition.
- 24092-94 A fairly close translation of Oglerius 82-83.
- 24095-100 A looser translation of Oglerius 84: ideo non poterat capi in me dolor meus.
- 24101–9 A compressed translation of Oglerius 84–87. The breaking in three at 24106 is the *CM* poet's addition and is not further developed.
- 24110 Translates Oglerius 88–89: Verba dabat amor, que raucum sonabant.

- 24111-12 Much of Oglerius 89-91 is either compressed or omitted here: nam lingua, uocis magistra, perdiderat usum loquendi. Videbam morientem, quem diligebat anima mea, et tota liquifiebam pre doloris angustia.
- 24113-21 The interjection may have been inspired by Oglerius 93: Fili mi, fili mi, but he puts the comment that follows in the *CM* before the exclamation at 91-92.
- 24122-24 Cf. Oglerius 93-95: Fili mi, fili mi, quis mihi dabit ut ego moriar pro te? Moritur filius; cur secum non moritur mater eius misera? The *CM* poet omits Mary's first request, to die instead of Jesus, and stresses her empathy with her son instead of her sense of maternal sacrifice.
- 24128-30 Oglerius 95-96.
- 24131-36 Oglerius 97-99.
- 24137-42 Cf. Oglerius 99-101, which the CM poet has translated freely.
- 24143-48 Oglerius 101-3 is here compressed, with some of the extremes of sentiment eliminated.
- 24149-54 A fairly close rendering of Oglerius 103-4.
- 24155-60 Again the *CM* poet cuts down the sentiment of Oglerius 105-7: aut alia quacumque seua morte perimite, dummodo cum filio simul finiar meo. Male solus moritur. Orbas orbem radio, me uiduam filio, gaudio, dulcore.
- 24161-64 A fairly close translation of Oglerius 107-8.
- 24165-70 These lines seem to be the CM poet's own elaboration.
- 24171-72 Condensed from Oglerius 108-9.
- 24173-78 Clearly based on Oglerius 109-13 but considerably condensed.
- 24179-93 Although these lines express a good deal of emotion, they still eliminate considerable emotion from Oglerius 109-13.
- 24194–99 A fairly close rendition of Oglerius 117–18, though the CM poet has no way of translating the Latin verbs: Nunc orbor patre, uiduorque sponso, deseror prole.
- 24200-8 These lines seem original with the CM poet.
- 24209-14 Oglerius 118-22.
- 24215-50 This longish passage seems entirely the work of the *CM* poet. The only warrant in Oglerius is this brief phrase at 123-24: Cui Dominus oculis et uultu annuens, de Iohanne ait, "Mulier, ecce filius tuus" (Jhn 19:26). Cf. the brief account in Jhn 19:25-27, which offers little warrant for the *CM* poet's expansion.
- 24251-56 Oglerius 124-26. The *CM* poet has again eliminated some of the more exaggerated rhetoric: O mollis ad flendum, mollis ad dolendum, etc.
- 24257-62 A fairly close translation of Oglerius 127-28.
- 24263-68 Oglerius 128-31. The *CM* poet adds the wolf to Oglerius' image of the ovem erroneam which is found.
- 24269-70 A close translation of Oglerius 131-32: Moritur vnus ut inde totus reuiuiscat mundus.
- 24272–74 Oglerius 132–33: Vnius ob meritum, ceteri periere minores; saluantur cuncti nunc unius ob meritum. The *CM* poet is unable to reproduce the neat rhetorical contrast of vnius ob meritum (i.e., Adam's) and unius ob meritum (i.e., Christ's). The "al ... all" faintly echoes "ceteri ... cuncti."
- 24275-80 The CM poet translates Oglerius 133-34: Quod placet Deo Patri, quomodo displicet tibi? in 24275-76. But the remainder of the stanza replaces Oglerius' image of the cup, 134-35, with Christ's literal pain: Calicem quem dedit mihi Pater non uis ut bibam illum?
- 24281–86 A fairly close translation of Oglerius 135–36.
- 24287–92 These lines seem to be the *CM* poet's own contribution, though the doctrine of the harrowing of hell is well established by this time.

- 24293-98 The *CM* poet paraphrases Jhn 18:11, quoted in Oglerius 139-41, and demotes John from nephew to friend, though he makes him and Mary cousins in 24312.
- 24299–302 These lines compress the more fullsome Oglerius 142–45: Inde Iohannem intuitus, ait, "Ecce mater tua. Serui curam illius habe; eam tibi commendo. Suscipe matrem meam; suscipe matrem tuam. Suscipe tuam; immo magis suscipe meam."
- 24303-4 These lines seem original with the CM poet.
- 24305–22 These lines, which repeat more or less the same thought three times (namely, that the two were struck dumb by Christ's words), echo Oglerius 146–50, who also repeats himself several times.
- 24323-28 The *CM* poet here transforms to direct quotation of Mary what Oglerius puts into the third person plural, thus making the utterance more immediate. The *CM* poet also eliminates the unabashed sentimentality and punning in Oglerius 151-53: Defecerunt enim spiritus eorum; amiserant uirtutem loquendi. Solus illis dolor luctusque remansit amicus. Amabant flere et flebant amare. Amare flebant, quia amare dolebant.
- 24329–94 An expansion of Oglerius 153–62. The Virgin's loss of consciousness at 24348–49 is either the *CM* poet's invention or a misreading of Oglerius 174–75: Cogitare libet quantus dolor tunc infuit matri cum sic dolebant que insensibilia erant.
- 24356 The only spear Oglerius mentions is 158–59: mente martyr Maria erat percussa cuspide teli quo membra Christi serui foderunt iniqui.
- 24359 E breaks off at this point and does not resume until 24520.
- 24378–82 Oglerius does not mention the image of the sword of Lc 2:35, where Symeon says to Mary, et tuam ipsius animam pertransiet gladius. This was interpreted by Peter Damien PL CXLIV 748A Ac si aperte diceret: Dum filius tuus senserit passionem crucis in corpore, te etiam transfiget gladius compassionis in mente. Barré, pp. 243–46, sees the entire tradition of the planctus Mariae deriving from such attributions of sympathy to the Virgin, where earlier church fathers denied her such feelings; cf. Ambrose, "Expositio euangelii secundum Lucam," PL XV 1574B.
- 24395-402 Cf. Jhn 19:28 and Mt 27:34, both passages quoted by Oglerius 164-66.
- 24403-6 Cf. Mt 27:46 and Mc 15:34. Oglerius quotes neither passage.
- 24407-9 Cf. Jhn 19:30.
- 24410–24 Oglerius 169–73. 24410–12 are the *CM* poet's summary of events, and the details are provided by Oglerius.
- 24425–36 Cf. Oglerius 174–77. The *CM* poet rearranges Oglerius' order, taking 176–77 at 24428–30 and 175–76 at 24431–33. He also changes Oglerius' third-person narrative description to a first-person account.
- 24437–42 Here the *CM* poet replaces a passage of puns and sentimentality from Oglerius 177–81: Vox non erat illi [sc. Mariae]; dolor abstulerat uires; limo strata iacens pallebat quasi mortua uiuens. Viuebat moriens, uiuensque moriebatur; nec poterat mori que uiuens mortua erat. In anima dolor seue seuiebat illius; optabat mori magis quam uiuere Christi post mortem que male uiuens mortua tamen erat.
- 24443–54 Cf. Oglerius 188–92. The CM poet omits Oglerius 182–87, where the Virgin is described as begging for Christ's body to be lowered from the cross, and is selective of details in the lines on which he depends. E.g., he omits 188–89: considerans [sc. Maria] uulto benigno Christum pendentem in crucis stipite seuo; but is more graphic in 24446–48 than Oglerius 189–90: pedibusque nitens in altum manus leuabat amplectens crucem. 24450–51 seem to depend upon Oglerius 190–91: ruens in oscula eius Christi qua parte sanguinis unda rigabat. The CM poet

- seems to have taken ruens absolutely, as a description of Mary's collapse, where Marx's punctuation suggests a translation like rushing to kiss Christ from whom a wave of blood flowed.
- 24455–75 The CM poet here condenses and removes much of the sentimentality from Oglerius 191–203, where the emphasis lies on Mary's thwarted desire to embrace Christ, whom she cannot reach because he is still hanging on the cross. The CM poet also varies between direct quotation of Mary and narration of her actions, where Oglerius gives entirely third-person narrative. Oglerius' final sentence recalls his 190–91, cited in the previous note: Cadentes guttas sanguinis ore tangebat, terram deosculans quam cruoris unda rigabat.
- 24476–78 The CM poet's own interjection.
- 24479–90 The *CM* poet here continues to report direct discourse from Mary, where Oglerius 204–12 remains in the third person. Oglerius also provides more pseudohistorical detail, e.g., that both Joseph and Nicodemus were secretly disciples of Jesus and that they asked Pilate for his body. Oglerius' Joseph and Nicodemus bring more than just the god chere of 24485: secum instrumenta ferentes quibus clavis euulsis de cruce possent deponere eum. Moreover, Oglerius is more detailed in describing the restoration of Mary's health (cf. 24488–90): quasi de morte consurgens, paululum reuiuiscit spiritus eius et illis quod poterat adiutorium ministrabat.
- 24491-502 Cf. Oglerius 213-23. The CM poet omits some of the more graphic detail, e.g., super ipsum ruens pre incontinentia doloris et immensitate amoris quasi mortua stetit ... lacrimis faciem eius rigans ... Frontem et genas oculosque simul et nasum oraque frequentius osculabatur ipsius. C's animan (24495) should read ani man, like F.
- 24503–50 These lines, again rephrased to a direct quotation of the Virgin, seem to be the *CM* poet's own interpolation, though they bear some distant resemblance to Oglerius 224–50. 24503–14 lament the lack of justice in the crucifixion and may have been suggested by Oglerius 230–31: Non desperabat, sed pie iusteque dolebat quem genuit uirgo. 24515–50 rest, however, on the contrast between Mary's sorrow at the crucifixion and her joy at Christ's birth and infancy, a contrast which also forms the basis of Oglerius 224–50. The *CM* poet restricts the grief to Mary alone, where Oglerius involves quedam ... femine sancte quarum paruus erat numerus paucusque uirorum (232–33) and et angeli simul cum illa dolentes (234); and he likes the notion enough to elaborate it further on: O quis angelorum uel archangelorum contra naturam illic non flesset ...? (238–39). 24549 echoes more directly Oglerius 231: sperans tamen ipsum tercio resurgere die, but 24526, expressing a desire for the Holy Ghost, finds no counterpart in Oglerius.
- 24551-56 A closer translation of Oglerius 259-60.
- 24557–80 The struggle between Joseph and Nicodemus on the one hand, who want to bury Jesus, and Mary on the other, who wants to continue to hold him, is the CM poet's elaboration of Oglerius 263–67, where Oglerius unusually writes direct discourse for the Virgin. Morris' inverted comma in C should be moved from 24577 to 24580, where Mary's speech ends.
- 24581–96 The *CM* poet here interpolates his own response to the Virgin and his further question.
- 24597–607 Based on Oglerius 268–75, with some of the more extravagant images modified. Oglerius continues to emphasize the struggle between Mary and the disciples over whether to bury Christ's body or not. The *CM* poet, however, emphasize

- sizes the sorrow of the mourners for Mary, echoing two clauses in Oglerius 272–74: et super illam dabant potius planctum quam super extinctum Dominum suum. Maior illis inerat dolor de matris dolore quam fuerat de sui Domini morte.
- 24608-13 Again the *CM* poet removes some of the extravagance from Oglerius 276-79; e.g., where the *CM* poet has Mary lying on the tomb, Oglerius has sepulchrum mater amplectitur omni corde. The English poet also omits amaro Dominum nimis deplorans singultu.
- 24614–22 Cf. Oglerius 279–82, again omitting the more sentimental passages; e.g., Nam cruciata gemitibus, fatigata doloribus, afflicta ploratibus, pedibus stare fere nequibat is reduced to On fote vnethes moght i stand. 24620 C's i should read he; cf. FGE.
- 24623-29 Cf. Oglerius 283-93, again omitting most of the detail on the effect on others of Mary's continuing sorrow; e.g., Vix poterant lacrimas continere quicumque videbant eam plorantem. Tam pie plorabat et tam amare dolebat quod ex suo pio ploratu multos, etiam inuitos, trahebat ad luctum ... etc.
- 24632-34 Cf. Oglerius 293-94.
- 24635-40 Oglerius does not mention the resurrection and thus provides no basis for these lines nor for 24630.
- 24641-58 The *CM* poet's addition, which turns the reader's attention to Mary's blessed state in heaven.
- 24659–730 This address to St. John, at least at its beginning, takes its warrant from Oglerius 293–99: O felix et beatus Iohannes cui talem Dominus commendauit thesaurum, even to the extent that the *CM* poet takes thesaurum literally and makes John the treasurer (24672). But where Oglerius concentrates first on John, who was blessed by both Christ and Mary, and then on all those who are blessed through their love of the Virgin, the *CM* poet interpolates a passage in praise of virginity at 24677–706, perhaps taking his cue from lines 1588–96 of Wace's poem on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception from which he takes the following story at 24731.
- 24731–967 This account of the institution of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception is based upon the Anglo-Norman poem by Wace commonly known as La conception Nostre Dame, probably composed between 1130 and 1140. The first part of the poem, all that the CM poet translates here, is called "L'etablissement de la feste de la conception Nostre Dame." I follow (citations by line number) the edition of William R. Ashford, The Conception Nostre Dame of Wace, based on Tours MS. Bibl. Munic. 927, collated with 17 other manuscripts.

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

- 24753-54 See above, Il. 10123-574 and notes, in Vol. II of this edition.
- 24757 Cf. Wace 3: En quel tens, coment e par qui. But Wace refers to the establishment of the feast, where the *CM* poet speaks still of the conception itself.
- 24762 Wace 9: Que a nul tens anceis fist on.

- 24765 Cf. Wace 11: le rei Guillalme.
- 24767 Wace 13-14 does not describe William's prowess but stresses his conquest: Par force e par bataille prist, / Viles, chastels, citez conquist.
- 24771 Wace does not mention Harold's Danish origins.
- 24778 Cf. Wace 20, a detail not found in Eadmer's Latin.
- 24781-82 The CM poet omits Wace 25: Qui le rei Aralt orent mort.
- 24783–84 Apparently original with the *CM* poet, though perhaps suggested by Wace 25.
- 24786–88 William's reaction, though alarmed, is less fearful than Wace 28: Dolenz en fu, paor en ot.
- 24792 FGE's vnderstode translates Wace 33: Cum cil qui mut saveit de guerre better than C's vnder stode, which should properly be one word.
- 24802 The CM poet's laconic litotes, Wit-vten ani mer in muth, condenses Wace's effusiveness: Qui mult par saveit bien parler / E un bien grant conseil doner / Si esteit de grant eloquence / E parlot par grant sapience (41–44). Wace has here substituted diplomatic competence for Eadmer's emphasis on Elsis' devotion: ... Jesu Christo devotissime famulabatur, ejusque genetricem, servitium ejus faciendo devotissime, venerebatur. PL CLIX 323B.
- 24804 E's cosin is clearly in error.
- 24807 Wace 47: Bailla lui mut bons garnemenz seems to have given the *CM* poet difficulty, E's Wit tresori his schip was diht offering the best translation though at the expense of the rhyme with gift in the following line. C's triffor appears to be a nonce word, perhaps a misreading of long s for f in a word like tressor. G at least manages to load the ship with cargo, but F only manages to get the abbot himself aboard. The AN MSS show considerable variation here, though nothing that might account for CFG's confusion. Eadmer says nothing of Elsis' preparations, only that on arrival he et salutes ac munera atque servitia ex Guillelmi regis parte obtulit to the Danish king. *PL* CLIX 323C.
- 24823–24 Cf. Wace 59–60: E tels i ot qui il promist; / L'ost fist remaindre, tant lor dist. The MSS show many variants, and Ashford's note, p. 93, which quotes CM 24822–26, does not help much, nor does Eadmer's proceresque terrae muneribus et promissis oneravit. PL CLIX 323D.
- 24844 The CM poet's own interjection.
- 24855-56 The *CM* poet generalizes what in Wace 80-82 is specific: Ne l'uns ne puet l'altre aidier; / Li plus sage poi i savaient, / E li plus prot poi i veeient. Eadmer has ... preces cum lacrimis Deo fundunt, et se graviter deliquisse miserabiliter gemunt. *PL* CLIX 324B.
- 24863 Wace 88: Deu reclaiment, where the CM poet prefers Jesus.
- 24865-70 The CM poet's elaboration of Wace 89-91: E ma dame sainte Marie, / Que vers ton fil face aie / En lor vie petit se fient. Wace has omitted Eadmer's long prayer: O Deus clementissime, Pater misericordiae, dignare nos respicere mersos pro nostro crimine. Respice, clementissime, de sede tuae gloriae, visita nos iam positos in extremo vitae periculo. Assit nunc tua gratia! assit tua benignitas! assit maxima bonitas! assint bona gratuita dona! Succurre nobis miseris, pietas ineffabilis, ne nos sorbeat infernus nunc pro nostris criminibus. Pie Deus, cognoscimus quod graviter deliquimus, pejora commeruimus [sic], quia multum peccavimus. Etc. PL CLIX 324B-C. Perhaps Wace felt the prayer detracted from the subsequent prayer to Mary.

- 24875 Wace 94-95: A Deu s'esteient comande, / Quant uns angeles lor aparut differs from the *CM* poet, who attributes the angel's arrival to Mary, sco [F ho, G scho] bat euer es bot o bale.
- 24880 selcuth clething misses Wace's ecclesiastical emphasis: Si ert d'un vesqual vestement, which he takes from Eadmer's ... quemdam pontificalibus vestibus ornatum. PL CLIX 324C.
- 24885 C's ferr cost should of course be one word, as it is in E; it translates Wace 103: la nef.
- 24887 The *CM* poet omits Wace 105–6: Li abes Helcin se dreca, / Cum il ainz pot vers lui ala, thus denying Elsis a moment of dignified recovery, also allowed him by Eadmer: Dum autem ... Elsinus surrexisset. *PL* CLIX 324D.
- 24899 C's Forgeten should read For geten; cf. FGE.
- 24898–908 Wace 118–24 is a good deal more frank about the carnal begetting of Mary: ... Fu conceue e engendree. / Voe, Helcin, a celebrer / E as altres faire honorer / Le jor que ot engenderment / Sainte Marie charnalment, / Que fu conceue en sa mere / E engendree de son pere. Eadmer is as reticent as the *CM* poet: in alvo matris concepta fuit. *PL* CLIX 324D.
- 24923 The CM poet is content with mentioning Mary's birthday, where Wace 140–41 is more specific: Tot cel de la nativite / Qui est oit jorz dedenz Septembre.
- 24931-34 The CM poet's addition. C's propre refers to the proper of the mass; FG seem to have misunderstood.
- 24940 CGE's Vte of pair sight [F ship] is the CM poet's addition. Cf. Wace 152: Ez vos l'angele d'iluec torne.
- 24944 The image of seamen dressing their tackle is more vivid than Wace 155: E cillor nef repareillierent.
- 24947 CE's farnet and F's compani translate Wace 159: sa gent. G's fardel is wrong.
- 24950-52 The CM poet's emphasis on Elsis' public declaration is not found in Wace 161-62: Si reconta la o il pot / Ce que veu e oi ot.
- 24965–72 The *CM* poet's conclusion, not in Wace, who goes on to tell of Mary's conception, birth, and upbringing, matters already narrated in II. 10123–654, above.

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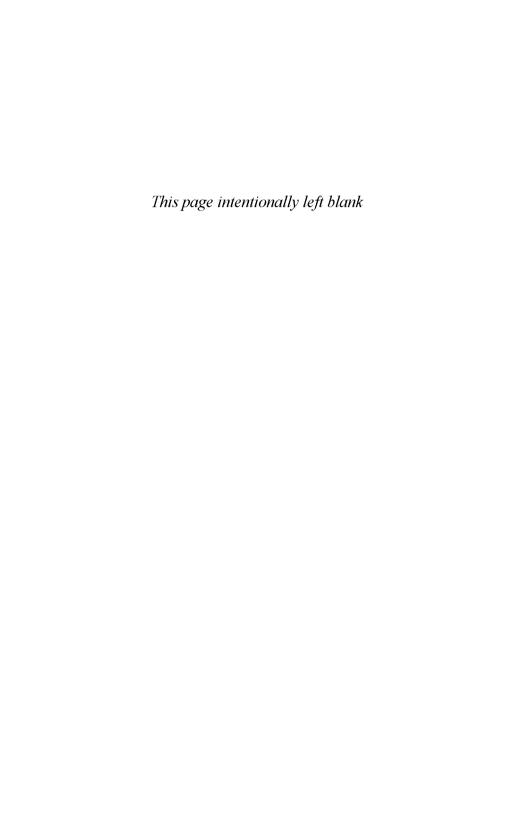
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GLOSSARY

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

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

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

Lines numbered Al-A60 replace CM 10835-906.

```
a drad. See drēde, v.
abade, n. delay 490, 7399, 7559, 12538: without ceasing, without remission
abide, abyde, v. wait 3008; stay 1151; await 955; endure 2249; live to see 6900. pr. 3
    sg. abīdeb lasts, exists 2124; awaits 12778. imp. pl. wait! 15604, pa. t. abāde 8059;
    abode 10569; abood 1899.
ab\overline{v}(e), v. pay for 2036, 7816, 11948, 13069.
abyde, n. delay, 3145, 4527, 6250, 7337, 15210.
abyme, n. abyss 22487, 22678.
abode, n. living, life 3083.
aboute, as adj. bent on, planning to, concerned to 14638, 14887.
abrēde, adv. prominently 16578.
acombred, pp. embarrassed 12213.
affiaunce, n. trust 8896.
af(f)ray, n. assault 16702; alarm 15570.
aftir, prep. (modern uses not cited) according to 493, 3340, 11288; on behalf of, with
    regard to 19934; For ~ he vs hinkeh long You seem to have been away from us for
     a long time 20190.
agast, adj. afraid 8224, 13073, 18200.
agrīse, v. be terrified 21972.
azayn, azein, azeyn, adv. back 1865, 2623; in return 6722, 6754.
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a3ayn, a3ein, a3eyn(e), a3eynes, prep. close to 2518; to meet 3324; against 448; instead of 7644; in preparation for 19103; in reply to 16243; stond ~ withstand 7225:

per ~ against it 3094; in opposition to that 8701.

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azeynsawe, n. objection 8382.
azevnsevinge, n. denial 1163.
ay, adv. forever 126; constantly 497; always 3637; perpetually 5107, on ~ 8252; contin-
     uously 12603.
aknowe(n), pp. acknowledged 3092, 7741; confessed 19101; I am ~ I confess 5084,
     9059
al, pron. and adj.: ~ is oon it is the same thing 5062; ~ maner lede all people 1190.
al, adv. completely 15107.
al, conj. See alle.
aldur. See aller.
algate, adv. at any rate, in any case 4091; in any way 6208; in all cases 6360; in any cir-
     cumstances 6365; in every way 6575; by every means 9597; nevertheless 23712.
alle (bat), conj. although 14458, 17659; al 2206.
aller, pron. gen. pl. of all 469, 4949, 11194, 11571; aldur 7263; alber 251, 1693, 2318.
     4795.
almesdēde, n. almsgiving 10197, 10511, 11350.
almous, almes, n. pl. alms, charity, mercy 19764, 19813; for ~ were bat he were dede it
     would be a mercy if he were to die 11874.
alowe, v. praise 15096, 20765.
als, adv. also 137, 402, 3347, 3678, 3740.
als, adv. and conj. See also.
als fast as. coni. as soon as 823.
alsö, adv. as, equally 8105.
alsō, conj. as 3431; als 3737.
also soone, adv. immediately 339, 617, 860, 7108; als \sim 8120; als(\overline{o}) soone (as) as soon
     as 5105, 10773, 11719, 12043.
also swibe, ~ swybe. See swibe.
also tite. See tite.
alber. See aller.
alberhy3est, adj. superl. highest of all 10600.
alberleest, adv. superl. least of all 10423.
amy, n. friend 20193.
amyd(e), amydde, adv. in it, interspersed 8462; along with other things 7522; around,
     alongside 14358; meanwhile 14015.
amydwarde, prep. in the middle of 13702, 15026.
among(e), adv. at the same time 88; in the same place, here and there 2114, 2526; mean-
     while 10210; intermittently 17803.
and, conj. if 7456, 15143; & 13644.
anent(is), prep. concerning, with respect to 6880, 23722.
angur, n. discomfort, affliction 4505.
anoon, anone, adv. at once, immediately 885, 1076, 2441, 19694.
apāce, apās, adv. at a good pace, quickly 23730; at a walk 15872.
apayed, adj. pleased 12877, 17570.
apeire, v. contravene 13837.
apert, adj. open, public 13982.
apert(e), adv. openly 5839, 6355, 6534, 12815, 12922.
aguyt, pp. acquitted 4477.
ar(e), adv. and prep. See er.
ar, conj. See or.
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aray, n. equipage, train 11522.

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arave, v. prepare 20173.
āre, n. grace, mercy 2749; ōre 10099.
arēde, v. explain 4474.
arēre, v. arouse 15678.
arēsoun, v. explain 1122; question 14621.
arewe, adv. in turn 19781.
aromāte, n. spice 21299.
as(s)ay(e), v. test 3126, 12937, 12961, 13471; taste 3656. pa. t. asayed tested 3118.
as(s)oyne, n. legal excuse, pardon 2266, 16395.
aspyes, n. pl. spies 11541, 17349.
assise, assyse, n. assize, legal hearing 9687, 9707, 19103, 19344, 22781.
astāte, n. state, condition, situation 231, 616a, 822a, 1587, 4092; high estate 9683.
at, prep. until 7672.
atrott. adv. at a trot 15872.
attevne, v. atone 1113.
attrī, attry, adj. venomous, poisoned 22021, 22207.
atwyn(ne), adv. separately 17845; in two 8219; parted 11481.
auzt(e), n. property 3395, 3963; household and possessions 3930, 3997; property, mon-
     ev 5398; possession 6765, 6771.
aust(e). See owe.
aumenere, aumoner, n. distributor of alms 15219<sup>n</sup>, 15969.
auntres, n. pl. perilous enterprises, adventures 11.
availe, avavle, v. prevail 4646; assist 13481.
āuē, excl. Hail! 18594.
Auerille, n. April 13249<sup>n</sup>, 13259.
\mathbf{au\overline{y}s}, n. opinion 9068.
auvsed, pa. t. informed 15745. pp. avised taken note of 15917.
auysioun, n. dream, vision 4603.
avowe, n. vow, solemn promise 10203.
awayte, v. provide for, arrange 5416. pr. 3 sg. awayteb is preparing 11592.
awāke, v. rouse themselves 15782.
awe, n. fear 22182; stonde noon ~ have no fear 482; me stondeb ~ I am afraid 18050;
     property inspiring fear goddes ~ 3000, mannes ~ 6988; reverence 12091, 12096.
aw(e)n, as n. own (name) 22313; come to myn ~ come into my possession 8692.
awreke, v. avenge 11554.
bachilēre, n. young knight 8541.
bad. See bede, v.1
badde. See běde. v.2
bade. See bide.
baft, n, rear: on \sim astern 22150.
baily(e), n. officer of justice, king's officer 5008, 11006, 12914. pl. bailis 6445.
baily, baylye, n.2 jurisdiction, control 9551, 9558, 10028, 18554.
baily, bayly, n.3 wall enclosing a castle courtyard 10023, 10027. pl. bailyes, bayl(y)es
     1034, 9893, 10015, 10034.
bak, n. back: on ~ to the rear 10764; back, backward 15018, 15756.
balde. See bolde.
bāle, n. doom, disaster 44; punishment 9398; evil 9787; horror 18505; torment 1864. pl.
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bāles evils, afflictions 105. **ban**, v. curse 12050, 13631, 19458.

bandoun, n. power, control 9013; detention, captivity 15780.

banerere, n. standard-bearer 12723ⁿ.

barbicans, n. pl. fortified towers 9903, 10033.

baret, n. strife 4137, 5316, 9331, 18740.

barm(e), n. bosom 5442, 8621, 11778.

barn(e), bern, n. child 2563, 2597, 2628, 2725, 11957, 20450. pl. barnes, bernes 2945, 4673, 4681.

baronāge, n. coll. nobles 4549, 4627, 4649, 8161, 8533.

barn(e)tēm(e), barntēēm(e), n. producing of children 3790; child 21127; children, brood 2044; progeny 2138; descent 8499.

batail wri3t, n. See wri3t.

batailed, adj. equipped with battlements 9902.

bēde, n. prayer 17672, 19209. pl. bēdes 8261.

bede. v. command 9608; intercede 16282. pa. t. bad prayed 20216; bode 19836. pp. bede(n) commanded 22645; prayed 11316; invited 13366.

běde, v.² offer, present, show 5403, 10636, 12360, 12732, 14575; *pa. t.* **bed(de)** 14456, 15167; **bē(e)de** 880, 881. *pp.* **bed** 6069; **bet** 23317; **badde** providing, serving as 16094; **bŏden** offered 16771.

bēestaile, n. coll. herds 2444.

beeb. See beb v.

beget, v. acquire, have possession of 23878.

beyinge, n. being 23537.

belde, n. boldness 12237; comfort, succour 9963, 18152.

bēme, n. trumpet 22711ⁿ.

benesoun, benisoun, benysoun, n. blessing 1930, 2541, 3412, 3616, 5461.

beonde. See beb. v.

berde, byrde, n. maiden 9967, 10077, 12305.

bēre, n. bier 12515, 20703, 20708, 20724.

bēre, n. commotion, carrying on 10447, 12496, 15114, 16055, 23253.

bere, v. (modern uses not cited) thrust 7624; ~ on honde treat 15922. pa. t. **bare** signified 14753. pp. **born** thrust, pierced 7625.

beringe, n. burial 16872.

bērvng, n. childbearing 11079.

bern, bernes. See barn.

besauntis, n. pl. gold coins 4194, 23885, 23887.

bēse. See beb, v.

besēme. See bisēme.

bet, adv. compar. better 7642, 23162.

bet. See běde v.²

bēte, v. amend 105, 748; cure 3279; rescue, save 9572, 22295; make amends for 13054. pa. t. **bet**(t) 2156, 14415. pp. **bet** redeemed 15550; atoned for 946; **bette** set to rights 15016.

bēb, pron. dual. both 3432.

beb, pr. 3 sg. (modern uses not cited) as fut. will be, shall be 3109, 3206, 3614. pres. (proverbial) 4507. imp. pl. be! 6240; **bee**b 6087. pr. p. **beonde** enduring, lasting 15312, 22388.

bēbe, pr. 3 sg. beats, drives? 21076.

bi dēne. See bidēne.

bi syde, adv. aside, apart 3622.

bicoom, pa. t. came to be 5348; where ~ what became of 8998, 20684.

biddyng, n. making requests 7131. pl. biddyngis commands 9816.

bīde, **b\overline{y}de**, *n*. waiting 1761; delay 6275.

bide, byde, v. wait, remain 2517, 22444; stay, rest 5873; wait, hold in readiness (refl.) 7469; await 21876; his biddyng ~ put off his command 12997. pr. 3 sg. bideb awaits 20402. pr. p. bidynge 17725. pa. t. bade stayed, waited 14238; bod 13822; bod(e) 1907, 20829; bode awaited 1752. pp. biden waited 1597; beden 10991.

bidēne, bi dēne, bydēne, by dēne, adv. promptly (often largely meaningless) 1457, 1552b, 1814, 2923, 13628.

bie, $b\bar{y}$, n. town 19511, 21251; bij 13290, 21153.

biere, n. buyer 14730.

biggyngis, *n. pl.* buildings 23453.

biggonde, pr. p. going 6830.

bigīle, **bigīle**, v. deceive, trick 716, 3880, 5991, 22064, 22162. pa. t. **bigīled** 3734, 9009. pp. **bigīled**, **bygīled** 8632, 9004, 9479.

bihest(e), *n*. bidding 18753; promise 2349, 5723.

bihēte, n. request, behest 4171, 10049.

bihēte, v. promise 5431. pa. t. **bihēt(e)** 6872, 20835; prophesied 10720, 18106. pp. **bihēt** promised 3010, 3137.

bihēue. See bihōue.

bihōue, **byhōue**, n. use, benefit 7335, 14883; concern, regard: to $his \sim$ on his behalf 3361, to $hi \sim$ with regard to you 4384; requirement 3645; **bihēue** advantage 14707.

bihōueþ, v. impers. is incumbent upon 5512, 13538, 18893. pa. t. bihōued, byhōued was necessary, was fitting 1208, nedeful ~ hit wore was necessary that it should be 422.

bii. See bie.

bikende, pa. t. handed over to 7242. pp. 8840.

bikur, n. dispute 14066ⁿ.

bilad, pp. situated, in a state (of) 16808; treated 17049.

bileft(e), pp. left, left behind 4403, 17592; bileued 7736; bilaft left in the possession (of) 18558.

bileid, bileyde, pp. surrounded 10003; wrapped (around) 1336.

bimēne, v. mean A19.

binomen, bynomen, pp. taken away 17550; deprived 9490; amputated 22829.

birst, n. breaking 6339.

bisēme, besēme, v. be appropriate, be fitting, 8734, 22358.

biset, v. surround 23887 (guard). pa. t. bisette harassed, persecuted 195. pp. biset(t) surrounded 3962, 7179; besieged 7056.

bisily, adv. diligently 11406, 19033.

bismare, n. shameful creature, whore 22029.

bispit, pp. spat upon 17771.

bisshopriche, n. apostleship 18892.

bistad(e), pp. situated 674, 1045, 2800, 4287; present 5254.

bisuylid, pp. defiled 23149.

biswīke, biswyke, v. deceive, cheat 2998, 19231.

bisynes, n. agitation 18510.

bitāke, v. entrust, grant, give 8743. pa. t. bitōke 12309. pp. bitake(n) 1126, 15971. Cf. bitēche.

bītande, pr. p. biting 5954.

biteche, v. hand over to 15445, commend 5307; entrust 12172; grant, give 20098. pa. t. bitau3t(e) gave 3539; conveyed 18768. pp. committed 14810; given over to (in bad sense) 14870. Cf. bitāke.

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

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

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

by(e), **by3e**, ν purchase 926, 19574; ransom, redeem 152, 4420, 18592; atone for 822, 1115, 1146, 2584. pa. t. **bou3t(e)** 1231, 14935. pp. 1280, 13849.

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

byle, n. boil 6011.

byrde. See berde.

bvsen. adj. monstrous 16595.

bysou3t, pa. t. sought after 5357.

bytwēne, conj. until 8497.

blåke, v. darken 14747, 17430.

blan. See blyn, v.

blenche, *n*. turning away, shrinking 19599, 23300, 23494.

blenched, pa. t. swerved aside 7626, 7668; shrank 19731.

blendep, pr. 3 sg. blinds 23717. pr. p. **blendyng** 6834ⁿ. pp. **blende** 17333, 17452; **blent** 819.

blew(e), pa. t. cast (of metal) 6503, 6575.

blisful, adj. blessed 4738.

blisfulhēde, n. blessedness, blessing 6852.

blyn(ne), n. ceasing 21280, 23038, 23246, 23312; wipouten ~ without delay 1897; without stinting 17649; without restraint 881.

blyn(ne), v. cease 121, 265, 3309, 13942; delay 3641. pa. t. blan 744.

blyndefeld, adj. blinded 19615.

blyue, adv. quickly 1399, 5021, 7508, 12478, 16355.

blō, adi, black (men) 2118ⁿ, 8073.

blode, n. child 1055.

bobet, n. buffet 16623.

bod(e). See bide, v.

bode word, bodeword(e), *n.* message, instruction 1195, 6111, 8346, 13203, 20160; proclamation 17920.

boist, n. box 14003.

bōlde, *adj.* courageous 19728; (as vague term of approbation) 10494, 12305; confident 10550; convinced 17427; assured, sure 19728; as *n.* hussy 8693; **balde** bold, immodest 22029.

bolde, v. hearten, encourage 17885.

bolle, n. bowl 3306. pl. bolles (larger) round vessels 5524.

bollen, pp. swollen 12685; bolned 4726.

bollyng(e), n. swelling 6011, 10463.

bō(o)ne, n. 1 request, prayer 3690, 8414, 10499, 16818, 20166.

bone, n. destruction 7634.

bonte. See bounte.

bood(e). See bide, v.

boost, n. false claim: (as a tag) wipouten ~ A39, 18715, 18758, 19543.

boot, pa. t. bit 5955, 18723.

born, pp. See bere.

borwe, n. surety, ransom 6144.

borwe, v. redeem, ransom 23792. pa. t. borwed 5286.

bō(o)te, *n*. profit 89; cure 4351; salvation 44; assistance 4734; satisfaction for an injury 8693; *hit was no* ~ it was no use, no good 1780, 5957.

botil(I)ĕre, n. butler 4447, 4459, 4497, 4501, 4521.

bouche, n. hump 8087, 22828.

bouzt(e). See by, v.

boun, bown(e), adj. bound to, sure to 1848; ready 2360, 2775, 3317; prompt 3411.

boun, adv. promptly 9137, 12269, 20987.

bountē, n. generosity, goodness 130, 9531, 10615; gift 12501, 12502; **bonte** goodness *12674ⁿ.

bour(e), n. small room 1697; bedroom 3921, 4411, 9806 (fig).

bourze, n. town 11069.

bowed, pa. t. submitted to, consented to 12307.

boxomnes. See buxomnes.

bray, v. make a loud noise 22607.

bred(d), **breed**, pp. roasted 6079, 6081, 13373.

brēde, n. 1 brood, scion 22051.

brēde, n. breadth: $on \sim$ far and wide 23149.

brēdynd, n. pregnancy 3479.

breech, n. breeches 2048.

breyd(e), *n*. sharp movement 7169; blow 15712; heave 16590, 18083; *at a* ~ in a flash 10374.

brēm(e), brēem, adi, fierce 1092, 4003, 4899, 21984, 22029.

brēmely, adv. fiercely, violently 5542, 15832, 18199, 19614, 23019.

brēue, n. brief, legal warrant 19606.

brewis, n. pl. brows 14747, 17430.

brid, n. young, offspring 22381ⁿ; young bird(s) 11305; bird 21269. pl. briddes 12000.

brydale, n. wedding 10830.

brode, brood(e), adj. broad, great 1930, 2058, 5334; comprehensive 3713.

broiden, adi. adorned 1008.

brond, n. sword 7587.

broode, n. coll. young 6153.

brouke, v. use 2427, 5881.

bulk, v. beat 18511.

burgeis, n. townsman, citizen 12491. pl. townsfolk 11445.

burne, n. stream 22578.

burbe, *n*. offspring A43.

burben, n. load 8826.

busked, pa. t. (refl.) prepared 10556.

but, prep. except for 961, 5346; nothing but, only 17537; ~ dayes pre in only three days 20173, 20186.

but, conj. unless 1114, 13054; if ... not 844.

buxom(e), adj. humble 8356; obedient 908.

buxomly, adv. humbly, obediently 3477, 15167, 15675.

buxomnes(se), n. humility, obedience 30, 3197, 9569, 10042, 15291; boxomnes 15617.

caiser(e), cayser(e), n. emperor, ruler 2688, 3359, 7076, 22757; kaisere 9409. pl. caiseres 22127.

caitif, caytif, caytyue, n. wretch, villain 445, 6268, 11815, 13632; wretchedness 7353. pl. caitifs, caytifs 1801, 1818, 6634.

2707, 4765.

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caitif, caytif, adi. wretched 8987, 9086.
caitifte, n. wretchedness 18191.
căle, n. cabbage 12523; cool 12526.
can, v. know, know how to, be able to 12121, 20295; con 625, 9065; kan 4647, pa. t.
     coub(e) 438, 2202, 19697; coude 7407, 7408; showed 17659. 2 sg. coudes could
     4555.
can, v.2 See gan.
Cantica, n. pl. Canticles, the Song of Solomon 8472.
careful, adj. wretched 23116.
carevn, n. carcass 6737, 19247, 22906.
carke, n. burden: ouer ~ over-endowment 9843. Cf. karked 23002.
carked, pp. burdened 13747.
carnels, carnevles, n. pl. battlements 9901, 9924.
cast, n. decision 6205.
cast(e), v. (modern uses not cited) contrive 10066, 21929. pr. 3 sg. casteb forms, moulds
     22941. pp. cast(en) composed 16686; constructed 9947.
catěl(e), n. domesticated animals 6002; property 2361, 2378; money 4954; riches, pos-
     sessions 8557.
cēdron, n. coll. cedar trees 15739.
ceesoun, n. season, age 3509, 22881.
cele. See sele.
celěre. See selěre
cělv. adi. See sělv.
Cenophē. n. the Feast of Tabernacles 14563<sup>n</sup>.
centener, n. centurion 19907.
certeyn, n. fixed extent, limit 23473.
certes, certis, excl. certainly! 1124, 4612, 4907, 5178; sertes 762.
chalengis, n. pl. criminal charges 6714.
chapmen, n. pl. merchants 4186, 4239, *14722.
char, n. turn, return, going back: 3eyn ~ turning back, escape, 21922; turn of work, task
     3172.
chăre, n. chariot, carriage 5184.
charge, n. burden of guilt 6448.
charged, chargid, pp. loaded 8253; ouer ~ over-burdened, over-endowed 9834.
chaules, n. pl. jaws 7510.
chaumberleyne, n. woman attending upon a lady in her bedchamber 10432.
chaunce, n. happening, occurrence 1941; luck, fortune 2512; by no ~ in no way 9769.
chaungeours, n. pl. money-changers 14732.
cheer, chere, n. demeanour 1091, 7395; appearance 11144; countenance 7366; tidings
     12495; mood 4232; joy 4220; make good ~ be in a good mood, be cheerful 10313;
    made him ~ greeted him in a friendly manner 12350.
chees, pa. t. chose 144, 174, 431, 737; took 5643.
chēpyng, n. bargain 15419.
chēpond, pr. p. selling, dealing in 14723.
cherl(e), n. base fellow, villain 1736, 13808.
chësyng, n. choosing, choice, selection 14430, 19674, 20932, 20936.
chēsoun, n. occasion, cause 2237, 3854, 7079; cause, reason 16444; wik ~ opportunity
     for doing mischief 10536.
childe, n. child, son 4532; young knight, young man 7520, 19463. pl. childer, childre
```

```
childehēdes, n. pl. deeds done as a child 12577.
childing, childyng, n. childbirth, labour 3480, 5541.
chyde, v. argue, quarrel 6681, 12972. pp. chid rebuked, harangued 13867.
chyn, n. crack in the skin 14012.
cisterne, n. tank in the ground 8206, 8217.
clang. See clyng.
clēne, adi, pure bright 9922.
clēpe, n. call, summons 1118.
clēpe, v. call 11668, 15323. pr. pl. clēpeb 8474; clēpen 13361. pa. t. clēped 6384. pp.
     3816
clerg\overline{\mathbf{v}}(e), n. learning 8422, 8423, 8436, 8438, 8479.
clerk(e), n. learned person, divine 648, 1178, 1921, 4515; unordained person in holy or-
     ders 12897. pl. clerkes, clerkis scholars 343, 11462.
clippe, v. embrace 15457.
clyng, v. wither, shrivel 8764. pr. 3 sg. clyngeb 12227. pa. t. clang 4699. pp. clongen
     4569, 4581.
clof, pa. t. clung 20954.
cloos, n. protective enclosure 8770.
cloob(e), n. clothes, clothing 3695, 3809, 4217, 5264, pl. clobis 15001, 15025.
clow, n. valley 17590.
cockul, n. the weed corn-cockle 1138.
cŏfur. n. chest 5614.
comelynge, n. stranger 6837. pl. comelyngis immigrants 6785.
comvn(e), adj. common: be ~ the ordinary people 10388, 10400; ~ wommone loose
     woman, prostitute 13973.
comynly, adv. equally, alike 760; collectively 9659, 9792; generally 14569.
comvnynge, n. congregation 23115.
comoun, n. communication, speech; alle were bei of o ~ they all said the same thing
     19118.
comoun, v. communicate 12244<sup>n</sup>.
compăs, n. ingenuity, artifice 8797, 9947, 10585; encircling 10017.
con. See can, v. and gan.
conclūdid, pp. refuted 14713.
confessour, n. acknowledger, avower 20867.
convers, adj. converted 19736.
cool. See cale.
coost, cost, n. condition, state, circumstances 7963; disposition, character, nature 8179.
cors, n. body 23689.
costage, n. expenses 13401.
coude. See can, v. 1
countenance, n. dignity 3368.
coub(e), adj. well-known 2118, 4135, 18699, 18937, 22140.
coub(e), pa. t. See can, v. 1
coupely, adv. in a fitting fashion 17696.
couenābul, adj. accessible 10122.
couenaunt, n. contract 7637; promise 8400, 13149.
couenaunt, adj. committed, obliged 10754; couenonde committed by promise 7484.
couent, n. gathering, assembly 18349.
couer(e), v. recompense 2630; restore 15575; recover (intrans.) 10119; keuer recover
```

(trans.) 916. pa. t. couered made recompense 19705; keuered recovered 19694.

coueraunce, n. recovery 23722; keueraunce redemption 9770.

coueringe, **coueryng(e)**, *n*. restoration, recompense 3478, 4206; recovery 14149; **koueryng** amendment 483.

crabbed, adi. ill-natured 8943.

cracche, n. feeding rack for beasts, manger 11253, 11272. pl. cracches supports for a feeding rack 11237.

craft(e), n. skill 426, 511; ingenuity 740; completed product: com to ~ be completed, be reconstituted 22927. pl. craftes, craftis, skills 626, 4647.

craftī, craftī, adj. skilful 86, 150, 8477; skilfully made 8300. compar. craftiere more skilful 8753.

creature, n. creation 328; created thing 574. pl. creatures creatures 417.

cristendoom, n. Christian belief 19385.

croised, pp. confronted 19445.

crōke, n. clutches 23252.

crop, croppe, n. top of a tree or plant 1342, 8458, 11688, 22549. pl. croppes 8038.

cropen, pp. crept 22609.

crous, adj. of a bad disposition, perverse 17303, 23749; angry 14740.

crulyng, pr. p. bent over 3567. pa. t. cruled crawled 11836.

cure, n. task, duty 1726.

curnels, n. pl. seeds 1366, 1417.

curnes, n. pl. grain(s), crop of grain 7158.

curst, adi. perverse, vicious 19201.

curtel, curtil, n. tunic, robe 4161, 4208, 4209, 16699. pl. curteles 935.

cut, n.: drouze bei ~ cast lots 16699.

dalf. See delue.

dalt. See dele, v.

dan, n. master, sir (as title) 13291.

dawe, n. day 8871; do of ~ kill 16544; bring of ~ 7808, pl. dawes, dawis 8583, 13227.

debate, n. contention, opposition 1224, 11863, 16162, 19094.

debonerly, adv. graciously 23872.

dēde, **dēed**, n. death 905, 1619, 1952, 20076; done to ~ put to death 8742.

 $\mathbf{d\bar{e}de}$, n. dead person 18043.

dede, n.3 task 8328.

dĕdlv, adi, mortal, bound to die 10919.

deel. See del.

defaute, n. lack 13503, 20702; lack of food 4601, 9208, 13477.

defendide, pa. t. forbade 16305.

degre, n. step, level 10600.

dēknes, n. gen. Levite's 7009.

dēlay, n: in ~ waiting, experiencing hindrance or postponement 15576.

del(e), deel, n. part 23480; no ~ not at all 23332; neuer a ~ 2428; sum ~ somewhat 2492; euer a ~ every part 1364; euery ~ entirely 20319, 17388 (as one word); any ~ at all 23532.

dēle, v. divide 8739, 10178; arrange, dispose 17604; dispense 22411; distribute 23070; have to do (with) 4301. pa. t. **dalt** divided, shared 6966, 10384; **delt** arranged 351; had to do (with) 3505. pp. **dalt** divided, shared 2094; **delt** 6736.

dēlīces, dēlyces, n. pl. sensual delights 23285; delicious things 1027; dēlys delights 605.

delue, v. dig 4676, 21063; bury 5430, 8000, 17775. pa. t. **dalf** buried 5664, 7786. pp. **doluen** 5494, 7998.

```
demaye, v. refl. be dismayed 14991.
dēme, v. judge 1982, 3431; allot 8733; condemn 14995, 19122, pr. 2 sg. dēmestou
    14051, imp. pl. demeb judge! 13917, pa. t. demed judged 7002; condemned 186.
    pp. demed 15343.
demer(e), n. judge, administrator 6994, 18539, 22537, 23060. gen. sg. demers 22544.
demestere, n. judge 7005, 9737.
dēmvng, n. judgement 22666.
demmyngis, n. pl. dams 11934.
dēne. See bidēne.
dened. See dyneb.
dēnied, pp. denounced 16279.
dēo grāciās, excl. Thanks be to God! 20370.
deol, n. dole, mourning, lamentation 5113, 10419; dol(e) 10455, 13040.
deolful. adi. dire 1085, 7828, 11809, 22120, 22188.
dēpart, v. separate 22930. pp. dēpardide divided 8600; dēpartide separate, exempt
     12113.
deray, n. violence 15568, 23346.
dēre, n. injury 692, 903.
dere, adv. lovingly 11101, 20133.
dere, v. injure 7731, 9890, 10066, 14659; get in the way, prevent 7377. pr. 3 sg. dereb
     injures 12061; dēris 10014.
děr(e)worbe, adi, precious 23044; beloved 19092.
děrne, adi. secret 1543, 7234, 8447, 11405; in ~ in secret 11473.
děrnely, adv. secretly 19712.
derner(e), n. lintel of a door 6077, 6103.
děrworbely, adj. valuable 4731.
děrworbelv, adv. highly 5322; affectionately 13669, 15010, 16877, 19470.
despense, n. expenditure 10184.
despit(e), dispite, n. scorn, contempt 2037, 7555; harm, abuse 7150; humiliation 10414;
     malice 7833.
desturbaunce, n. intervention, interference 7700.
det, n. duty, obligation 6469, 8760, 15812; of \sim as is due or right 18734; bat ben \sim which
     are due 15812.
děuely, adv. devilishly, diabolically 14392.
dēuēr, n. duty 21901.
děuyne, v. imagine 15240.
dēuyse, n. plan, idea 11576.
dēuyse, adj. clever 3291.
dēuyse, v. imagine 9442; envision 9895; plan, contrive 1568d.
did(d)e. See do.
dist(e), v. prepare 3532, 3610; set out, array 3364; make, fashion 1665; put into a con-
     dition, make to be 7358. pa. t. prepared 11179; planned 9369, pp. prepared 1301;
     treated 8724; arranged 9903; situated, in a certain condition 11854; made (thus)
     13581; put (to death) 16730; depicted 23216.
discoumfite, pp. overcome 7799.
discouer, v. reveal 11150.
discrye, v. disclose, reveal 7136.
disēse, n. hardship 6237; disaster 9907, 14197; distress 16629, 23083.
dispite. See despit.
```

dispitously, adv. cruelly 5082, 16951.

```
disport, n. entertainment 7817.
disserued. pa. t. served, did service to *8405.
dit(t), v. stop up, close up 11942, 19452. pa. t. ditted 12019.
dluerse tyme, adv. phrase at various times 7066.
d⊽ke, n. stream 9939, pl. d⊽kes 10063.
dyneb, pr. 3 sg. makes a percussive sound 21307. pa. t. dened resounded 1770.
dvnt. n. blow 1856, 3175, 5662, 6108, 12184. pl. dyntis 22681.
do, v. (modern uses not cited) make (to do or be )1222, 1478, 4305. inf. done put 4418;
     lete ~ had done, made to be done 2490. pr. 2 sg. dostou do you (behave, act) 12052.
     imp. sg do put! 1406; refl. go! take yourself! 6249. imp. 1 pl. do let us make, cause
     (+ inf.) 7424, imp. 2 pl dob make! (+ inf.) 5703; doob go! 6140, pa. t. did(d)e. dv-
     de, dud(e), did, made 1122, 1608, 2649, 7521; put 4543, 6741, 2 sg. didest caused
     (to) 22615. pp. don(e) made 5282; put 618, 1094. ~ away made to go away 3032;
     doun done 20568.
do wey. See dowey.
dol(e), n. See deol.
dole, n. division, apportionment 2099, 13302, 18111; dealing, behaviour 685, 23521.
doluen. See delue.
dome. doom(e), n, judgement 2906, 2909, 4582; Last Judgement 216; day of ~ 22218;
     decision 6824; opinion 11380; justice 9750; command 9327; stonde in ~ appear in
     court 9492. pl. domes commandments 6667.
domes day, domesday, n. Judgement Day 215, 498, 797, 14262, 14644.
domesman, n. judge 5585, 7084, 22712; domesmon 5670, 7264.
dou3ti, dou3tv. adi. worthy, excellent 3402, 4031, 4242, 4668, 7285.
dou3třly, adv. worthily, ably 8461.
douztvhēde, n. excellence, virtue 10628.
dou3tynys, n. excellence, virtue 9758.
douke, v. sink, be immersed in 23142. pr. 3 sg. doukeb 23203.
doun(ne), n. hill 7186, 17573, 22565.
doun, pp. See do.
doun held(e), dounhelde, n. going down: sunset 6431; downward slope 8134; death
     5468, 20818; decay, destruction 3112.
douncaste, n. downfall 23721.
doute, n. fear 1580, 2523, 2825, 3297; out of ~ certainly 2276.
doute, v. fear 1334, 1978, 2293, 2523, 2825, pr. p. doutynge 15171; doutonde 15180.
     pa. t. douted, doutid 2906, 12571.
dowey, do wey, doway, excl. stop! cease! let be! 15795, 16378; go away! 13049; take
     away! 7533; not so! 5976.
drad(de). See drēde, v.
drau3t, n. 1 something drawn by a team, a waggon-load 21266.
draust, n.<sup>2</sup> course, way 16320; goal, object, destination 5961.
drawen, pp. disembowelled 21235.
drēde, n. fear: out of ~ without doubt 10155; reverence 17821.
drēde, v. fear 271. pr. p. drēdond(e) 10226. pa. t. dradde 3431; dred 4360. pp. drad
     afraid 1292; a drad 3469; i drad 4871; dredde 19724.
```

drege, drÿ(3e), v. endure 496, 951, 5054, 5310, 22187. pa. t. dreyge 9398, 20966. drenche, v. drown 1652, 1848, 5914. pa. t. drenched 1796; dreynt 2228. pp. drenched 1232; dreynt 1532.

drēdy, adj. afraid 11622. drēdnes, n. fear 8571.

```
dres(se), v. refl. prepare 5851, 19863. pp. dressed prepared, directed 10336.
dreur v. n. love-affair, love-dalliance 23786.
dreury(e), drewery, adj. horrible, dreadful 22211, 22462; melancholy 17986.
drēue. See dr⊽ue.
drewervnes, n. love-dalliance 11161.
drift(e), n, a driving, being sent on one's way 496, 5089; driving rain 22462; shifting of
     position 22633.
dr♥(3e), v. See dre3e.
\mathbf{dr} \mathbf{\overline{v}} \mathbf{e}, n. drought 4699.
drīvue, drīvue, v. (modern uses not cited) be driven 1909; rush 1768; endure (trans.)
     7829; chastise, scourge 9100.
dropes\overline{\mathbf{v}}, n. dropsy, disease involving retention of fluid 11829.
droued, pp. troubled, disturbed, made turbid 13769.
dud(e). See do.
dwāle, n. deadly nightshade, the drug belladonna obtained from it 17708.
dweld, pp. stupefied 19526.
dwelle, n. delay 7536, 12992.
dwelle, v. wait 2312; delay 3628; remain 1158; stay 468. inf. dwellen 604. pr. 2 sg.
     dwellest remain 3703. 3 sg. dwelleb delays 1890; dwelles dwells 1964. pr. p.
     dwellond(e) staying, remaining 6234, 12590; dwellyng 6126. pa. t. dwelled stayed
     6307; dwelt delayed 1903.
dwelling, dwellyng(e), n. waiting, lingering 2831; delay 4802, 5115.
dwyne, v. decline, fade 23695.
ebber, adj. manifest, out-and-out 13041, 13662.
Ecclësiastisës, n. Ecclesiastes, (Book of) The Wisdom of Solomon 8464.
ēche, v. increase 2649. pa. t. ēched 21194. pp. 2685.
edder, eddur. See nedder.
eeme, n. maternal uncle 3789.
eer. See er. adv.
ēern. See ĕrn.
eeth, eebe. See eth.
eft(e), adv. again 1332, 1720, 9153; afterwards 10184, 10488.
eftsone, adv. immediately 19212; eftsones afterwards 4241; henceforth 16287.
eggyng, n. incitement 7206.
egub, pr. 3 sg. eggs on, vexes 1155. pl. eggen are set on edge 796.
e3e. See y3e, n.
ezeb. See eth.
eiztebe, ord. num. eighth 2669, 3011, 6815, 6841, 10573.
eillondis, n. pl. foreign lands 2189.
eis. n. ease 10446.
eiber, eyber, pron. each 799, 4456, 4533, 10201, 11052.
eysel, n. vinegar 16769, 16780, 18019.
ēke, adv. also 6331, 9518, 13348.
ëlde, n. age, time of life 585, 3079; life-span 923; old age 1268; hēlde 3112, pl. ēldes
     ages of the world 21847.
```

elders, eldres, n. pl. elders, those who are older 3793; predecessors 17864. gen. eldre ancestors' 23698.

ēlderfădris, *n*. gen. father-in-law's 5730. **ēldermōdir**, *n*. grandmother 1189.

ěldest, adj. superl. most senior 5784; as coll. n. elders, leaders 5847.

eldre men, n. pl. men of the past 23867.

elynge, pr. p. in exile 3075.

ellen, n. ell (a unit of measure; perhaps 37.2 inches) 1419, 1675ⁿ, 1838, 7451, 16599ⁿ. pl. **elnes** 8866.

elles, ellis, adv. in other respects 330; otherwise 2411, 5014, 6777; either 1963.

enchësoun, n. cause, occasion, reason 13193, 16298, 19905.

ender, adj.: bis ~ day on a recent day, recently 19122.

enprise, n. purpose, intent 6528.

ensaumpel, **ensaumple**, *n*. illustration, signification 47, 3476; moral lesson 2882. Cf. **saumpel**.

entendaunt, pr. p. paying heed to 19034.

entent(e), n. intention, plan 119; attention, commitment 3227; opinion 5257; thoughts 5330; meaning 12632. good ~ attention, notice 661; good will 2636. pl. ententes meanings, intentions 365.

entermeted, pa. t. refl. concerned himself, undertook 7403.

entre, n. beginning 13259; entry 3802.

enuy(e), *n*. resentment, malice 721, 4075, 9332; harm 7318; desire prompted by ill-will 2240.

ēr(e), **eer**, adv. previously, before 1335, 5820, 8178; are 2438; ore 1402.

er, prep. before 11383; ar(e) 2982, 9830.

erde, n. home, country 2370, 22626, 22636.

erem⊽te, n. hermit 17900.

ēres, n. pl. ears (of wheat) 4577.

ĕ(e)rn, n. eagle 13444ⁿ, 18060, 21314, 21329, 21333.

ernde, erned(e), erond(e), n. errand, message 1273, 1303, 1387, business 1294, 6555; request, petition 20660.

erbeden(e), n. earthquake 19211, 20985.

estres, n. pl. regions 2252.

ē(e)th, **ē**b, **eē**be, adj. easy 4266, 7850, 12637, 13482; **e3**e**b** 3575.

ēth, adv. easily 3428.

ēteyn, n. giant 7443.

ētonde, pr. p. eating 6088.

euel, n. (modern uses not cited) disease, sickness 8455, 11831.

euelhēl(e), adv. unfortunately, for the worse 6583, 7320.

Euen(e), n, means? 335^n ; reason, occasion 22682; material 22948.

ēuen, adi. quiet, calm 18869.

ēuen(e), adv. exactly 528, 20907; fully, well 15053. ful ~ straight, in a straight line 3105; entirely 12711.

Euenynge, n. equal 11430.

ĕuerychōn(e), **ĕuerychōōn**, **ĕueruchōne**, *pron*. each one, every one 576, 8568, 16316, 19979, 20364.

euervdēl(e). See dēl.

euydense, n. example 2295.

faile, v. faint, collapse 13477; deceive, be unreliable 22567.

faire, n. good looks 3569.

fay(e), fey, n. faith 2354, 3193, 6488, 12167; at my - in allegiance to me 12984.

fayn, n. gladness, joy 3852.

fayn, feyn, adj. glad 1387, 1887, 2531, 2624; eager 2614.

favn, adv. gladly 2851, 3093, 4095; eagerly 8744.

falle, v. (modern uses not cited) happen 5109, 9848; befall 23755; wel may ~ it may well be (that) 17523. may ~ pou art it may be that you are 18216. pr. 3 sg. falleb appertains 12630. pa. t. falled diminished 3376; falde trans. felled, overthrew 7261; fel(le) befell 11; belonged 6896; ~ perto was suitable 1724; ~ to have ought to have 9532.

falling euel, n. epilepsy 11831.

falsehēde, n. deceit 7879, 9581.

fare, n. journey 5007; course 4754; welfare 1298; doings 4238; behaviour 10443; manner of life 12763; food 19035; proceeding 5324; wip myche(l) ~ with much to-do 6536, 13212, 17819.

fare, v. go, travel 3263, 4865; fare 1946. pr. 2 sg. farestow: how ~? how do you fare? how do you do? 12297.3 sg. fareb 5059. pr. p. faryng travelling 3295. pa. t. ferd(e) went, made (one's) way 3958, 3989; behaved 4439; acted 4685; fared 4443; lived 12763. pp. fare, far(e)n departed 2356, 7890; gone, passed away 11911.

fast. v. See fest.

faste, adv. fixedly 4471.

faunnyng, pr. p. wagging 12354.

faut(e), n. lack 5385, 13354.

fawnyng, n. affectionate behaviour of an animal 12350.

fe(e), n. herded animals, sheep 1059, 1517, 3099; property 12492, 16040.

fecche, v. fetch 20189; fet(t), fette 5091, 6448, 7394; fot 12310. imp. pl. feccheb 7519; fetteb 5021. pa. t. fet(t), fette 5704, 7395, 10833. pp. fet 7292.

fēde, ν. (modern uses not cited) bring up 5634, 5637. pa. t. **fedde** 5640. pp. **fed** 6935, 10579.

feint, feynt, n. pretence 19535, 21894.

feire, adj. See fere.

fey. See fay.

fevn. See favn.

feyne, v. make happy 1113.

fel(le), n. skin 584, 15644, 19961, 20017, 23604.

fel(e), adj. many 1217, 1321, 4708, 5500, 6823.

fel(le), fele, adj. fierce, cruel 2197, 3974, 5537, 18573; wicked 8912; terrible 23227.

fel(le), pa. t. See falle.

fēle, n. feeling, sensation 547.

felle, n. mountain 3096, 6461, 6529. pl. felles, fellis 8822, 22338.

felon \overline{y} (e), n. villainy 1132, 1137, 2220, 4391, 7831.

felo(u)nly, adv. wickedly, 4168, 11878, 12286, 13631.

feloun, *n*. villain 2069, 11803, 11896; as *adj*. 5591, 5896. pl. **felo(u)ns** 2777, 14438; as *adj*. 2381.

fělowshepe, n. company, companions 14249, 15743, 15755.

fer, adv. from a distance 6655; on ~ afar off 15727, 15883.

ferd(e), pp. afraid 5097; of deep so ~ so feared by death 17995.

ferd(e), pa. t. See fare, v.

ferde, n. fear 18952.

ferdenes, n. fear 22526, 23035.

fēre, n. companion 559, 878, 1186; like, equal 5144; coll. company, companions 449: in ~ together 1434. pl. **fēres** 12192, 18469; **fērus** 13314.

fere, adj. well, healthy, sound 3829, 4881, 5826, 6006; feire 5968.

ferfőrþ, adv. far 10757.

ferfőrbly, adv. extremely 1585.

ferly(e), n. marvel 7585, 9845, A36, 11210, 12130.

fĕrly, adj. marvellous, wondrous 3984, 4565, 6320.

ferbe, ord. num. fourth 5579.

fest, v. fasten 8797; fix 23385; **fast** 4266. pa. t. **fest** embedded 7583; established 5725. pp. 7562.

fester, n. fistula, deep ulcer 11824.

fet(t), fette, fetteb. See fecche.

feuer quarteyne, *n*. quartan fever: disease which produces a paroxysm every fourth day 11828.

fifte: fifte mett. See met.

file, n. foul person 715.

fined. See fyne.

firbe. See frib.

fyle, v. defile 4154, 9043, 10136. pr. pl fylen 10104. pp. fyled 882; fuyled 1642.

fyn(e), fine, n. end, ending 8802, 22210, 23200; completion 11177; fine 6753; wihouten ~ without end, without limit 5517.

fyndyng, n.: at his ~ maintained by him, kept by him 3223.

fyne, v. cease, finish, come to an end 16327, 20031, 22584. pr. 3 sg. fyneþ 9720. pl. fynen 23825. pa. t. fyned, fined 1817, 2971; fynde 1831.

fleand, flede, fleeb. See flen.

flecched, pp. driven away 994ⁿ.

fleem, n. current 4791.

fleze, n. fly 5959, 5996. pl. flezes, flyzes 5954, 5956, 5990.

flemed, pa. t. put to flight 111, 5359, 9632. pp. 953, 1169; fled 9627; in exile 5453.

flen, inf. flee 4428. pr. 3 sg. fleep speeds, whirls 21280. imp. pl. flee! 2891. pr. p. fleand 23472. pp. flede put to flight 1173.

flete, v. float 4784. pr. 3 sg. fleteb 4786. pr. p. fletond 1886; fletyng 4780. pa. t. flet 1807.

flit, v. remove, transport 2450, 2904; transplant 2014. pa. t. departed, moved 2961; flitted 12487.

flite, flyte, v. contend 32; dispute 12086; abuse verbally 7556; quarrel 15804.

flittyng, n. transplanting 2015; moving house 3923; baggage 5227.

flyzes. See fleze.

flo(u)m, flum, n. large river 168, 2465, 3773, 5570, 11938.

fo(o)de, n. food, sustenance 1136, 4707; child, offspring 1056ⁿ, 3499, 10340.

fovsoun, n. sustenance 8516, 13499, 13514.

fol, adv. fully, in full 9227.

folde, v. refl. bow 8965.

folewynge. See folwe.

foly(e), *n*. folly 1743, 1744; wrong, evil, sin 1596, 2035, 3116. *pl*. **folyes**, **folyse** vices 10109; kinds of foolishness 23634.

foly, adj. foolish 4361, 4378, 9018.

folke, *n*. flock 5733ⁿ.

folle, n. fool, mad person 4008.

folted, adj. foolish 2304.

folwe, v. follow 4322. imp. pl. folweb 2899. pr. p. folwonde 4599; folewynge 21222. pa. t. folwede pursued with hostile intent 19483.

fond, adj. foolish, crazy 4267.

főnde, v. try, try out 3953; attempt 3601; taste 542; test 5770; experience 8466; tempt 712. pa. t. főndide, főndede tried, tested 6057; attempted 21224. Cf. founde.

fonde, pa. t. (modern uses was not cited) provided, supplied 5414, 13401; up pei ~ they invented 2302. Cf. founde.

fondyng, n. experience 7231; temptation 10104; testing 17756.

fonel, n. funnel 3306.

fone, n. (pl. as sg.) enemy 15468.

fong, pa. t. took 17723, pp. fonge received 15434.

foode. See fode.

for, prep. before 2645, 2646, 3793.

for bled, adj. weak from bleeding 16775.

for fare. See forfare.

for þī. See forþī.

for whi, for why. See forwhy.

forbarre, v. obstruct, oppose 2254, 8213.

forbēre, v. let alone, give up 3454. pa. t. forbāre 1192; spared 4117; forbēre deferred to, submitted to 20116. pp. forbōrn spared 1621; restrained 4321; avoided 14560.

förbirþe, förburþe, n. firstborn offspring 6122, 6169, 6178; privilege of being born first 3541, 3544. pl. förbirþes, förburþes 6091, 6813.

forbode, n. prohibition 612, 765, 6526, 8993, 9436.

forbrent, pp. burnt up 4314.

forcasten, pp. felled, fallen 22547.

fordō, v. destroy 4184, 5566. pr. 3 sg. fordōþ 10043, 10048. pa. t. fordid 10052; abused, transgressed 1576. pp. fordŏne destroyed, lost 1515; fordide 9191.

fordryue, v. drive away 23753. pp. fordryuen swept away 23655.

forecrye, v. proclaim 9610.

forfare, for fare, ν. perish, be destroyed 4760, 22590; destroy 688, 2750, 5570. pp. forfar(e)n 2829, 6694.

forgō, v. do without 3124. *inf.* forgōōn 23292. *pp.* forgōn(e), forgōōn omitted 4367; deprived of 3443; abandoned 13280; missed 15107; worn out 3527.

forzelde, v. reward 4883.

forlēte, pa. t. gave up 13295.

forlye, v. lie wretchedly 23788. pp. forleyn overlain 8623.

forlyuen, pp. lived very long 5315.

forlorn, pp. lost, destroyed, damned 1058, 1621, 8908; hopeless 4322; dead 4736.

formast(e), formest adj. first 1491, 1518, 1525, 5464, 5587.

formast, formeste, adv. first 433, 477, 3503, 10108; formoost 21006.

forme, adi. first 8583, 9768.

fors, n. need 13044, 20683.

forsāke, v. refuse 5817; reject 15572. pr. 2 sg. forsākes 10254. pa. t. forsōke declined 17530. pp. forsāke(n) rejected 10272, 15997.

forsō(o)be, adv. truly 300, 896, 2000, 4131, 17528.

forswonken, pp. worn out with labour 2017.

forswor(e)n, pp. perjured 6049, 23112.

forbermore, adv. forward 6540, 6543; further along 6298.

forbermore, prep. towards 15737.

forbferde, pa.t. departed, went out 10092.

for bi, for bi, for by(e), adv. for that reason, therefore 327, 369, 3064, 3435, 15636; not ~: see not.

forbi, for bi, conj. because 2625, A43.

forbinkynge, n. regret 23338.

forbou3t(e), pa. t. impers. regretted, repented 2732, 3553; changed (his) mind, was sorry 16186.

forwărd(e), n. agreement, compact, covenant, promise 2404, 2667, 3241, 3547; prediction, prophecy 15889.

forward, adv. henceforth 19182.

forwaryed, pp. cursed 1350.

forwelewed, pp. withered 1255.

forwerv, adi, worn out 1270.

forwhy, for why, for whi, conj. because 813, 9643, 11255, 15242; in that 3191; for what reason 7070.

forwondride, pp. amazed 17664, 18163.

forwrouzte, pp. overworked 1239.

fot. See fecche.

fote, n. ability to walk 20885.

foundement, n. foundation 9981.

founde, v. go on one's way 4879, 5020, 5091; set out 14557; depart 15836. *inf.* **founden** set about, try 22201. pp. **foundide** tried out, invented 2048. Cf. **fonde**.

fray, n. fear 4775.

frayn, freyn(e), v. inquire; ask 5694, 5777, 7191, 17657; request 16174. pa. t. freyned 3849, 7193.

fraunchise, n. moral freedom 1637.

frē, adj. free 9629; noble, honourable 673, 2153; as vague compliment his wyues fadir & modir ~ 7115. as n. noble or honourable person 16044. pl. 5968.

frē, adv. graciously 15768.

frēdom, n. generosity 10048.

freist, v. make trial of, experience 23638.

freyn(e), freyned. See frayn.

frēlv, adj. noble 3569, 8377, 10521ⁿ.

fremde, n. stranger 11808.

frēndis, n. pl. (modern uses not cited) family, parents 11951, 11957, 12281, 12301; kin 12660.

frest, n. space of time, delay 15954.

frib(be), n. wood 657, 7697, 8024, 8822; firbe 6347.

fro, adv. from hence 17543.

fro, conj. since 6023.

fro benne. See benne.

frounseb, pr. 3 sg. is wrinkled 3571.

frount(e), n. forehead 3571, 7583, 19887, 22380.

froward(e), *adj.* stubborn, perverse 6374, 7302; perverted (of physical appearance) 8104.

frowarde, adv. perversely 8076.

frowardenesse, n. stubbornness, perversity 6901.

frowardly, adv. stubbornly, pervertedly 7317.

fruyt, n. progeny 5540.

fuyled. See fyle.

fulfilleb, pr. 3 sg. is completed 9760. pp. fulfilde 18759.

fulbe, n. filth, vice 8985. pl. fulbes vices 10105.

furre, adv. compar. further 16256.

```
gabbe, n. lie 7853, 8401.
gabbe, v. lie, deceive 5173.
gabbyng(e), n. lying, false story 5176, 7194.
galle, n. bitterness 102.
gāme(n), gōmen, n, festivity 3370, 15060, 23324; jest 3445; game, sport 6022; pleasure
     6501; joy 10564; entertainment 12554; wild animals for food 3522.
gāme(n), v. play 11932; entertain 7409.
gan, gon, pa. t. (+ inf.) began = did 18, 758, 2920; can, con 1763, 2472.
gast, pp. terrified, aghast 4971, 5814, 18949.
gāte, n. way 1263, 6262, 7102, 8960; be hize ~ by the direct (quickest) way 16166.
gedelyng, n. contemptible person (term of abuse) 4410.
geest, geste, n. tale (of chivalry) 87, 123. pl. iestes 1.
geest, v. provide minstrelsy 7256.
geyn(e), v. avail 8455, 12401. pa. t. geyned: him ~ not it did not profit him 732.
gent, adj. exquisite, graceful 9355, 13138.
gentile, adj. noble, gracious 4049.
gerard(e), n. villain 11811, 11905, 18227.
gerner, n. granary 5044. pl. gerneris 4689.
gert, pa. t. made, caused (to do) 15176.
gesin, gesyn, n. childbed 3906, 8594; iesyn 11298.
gëste. See gëëst.
gestenyng, n. accommodation of guests, lodging, staying 3326, 3344, 11750, 12544.
gestne, v. stay as a guest 2770. pa. t. gestened 14082; received, entertained 2712. pp.
     17651.
gět(e), v. procure 3502, 3603; watch over, take charge of 997, 7055, pa. t. gět(te) begat
     18725; was watching over 7503. pp. gěte(y)n begotten 3421, 7444; procured 5238;
     obtained 13580.
gětvng, n. begetting, conception 22035, 22085.
gile, gyle, n. deceit, trickery 3664, 5009, 21938; evil 6501, 6785; had ~ had experienced
     a deception 8626. pl. gilis stratagems, tricks 10786.
gipcian, n. Egyptian 5655.
gyle, v. entrap 6142; steal from 6890. pa. t. gyled tricked 818. pp. giled, deceived 14840.
gyn(ne), n. device 1759; stratagem 741, 3716, 8220; engine of war 9889.
glād, n. gladness 17873.
glāde, pa. t. glided, passed 20884; glīde 11428, 20830.
glē, n. amusement, entertainment 54; rejoicing 17873; music, sound, joyful sound 7409,
     21315; glew(e) 7251, 23359; musical instrument 1521. pl. glees kinds of music
     23454.
gleem, adj. bright 4779.
gleyue, n. spear 7745.
glized, pa. t. looked asquint 3862<sup>n</sup>.
glose, n. pretence 8401.
gnēde, adj. scarce, lacking, inadequate 13384: wexe al ~ grew scarce 5392; nēde 2448,
     8599.
gnow, pa. t. gnawed 6043.
gō, v. walk 5640: ~ for walk before 2645. inf. gōōn, gōne go 6008, 20566. pr. 3 sg. gōōs
     6822; goop goes slowly 21278.imp. pl. go(o)b go! 4733, 4803. pr. p. goond(e) go-
```

ing 2005; walking 4564; gōyng(e) 20958; going upon the ground 401. pa. t. **3ēde** went (on foot) 1086; **3(e)ōde**, **3ōōd(e)** 1806, 1919, 2615, walked (as opposed to

```
"ran") 15392; ~ & cam came and went 681. pl. 3eoden 11537. pp. gone: ~ ful longe
     long ago 17331.
gode, n. advantageous thing (material or immaterial) 13353, 19054, 19065; good(e),
     coll. goods 3817, 13276. pl. godis 2435.
goyng(e), n. walking 8952, 20958.
gome, n, 1 man 4307, 13092, 17609.
\mathbf{g}\mathbf{\bar{o}}\mathbf{m}\mathbf{e}, n.^2 heed 7937.
gomen. See gamen.
gon. See gan.
gone. See go.
gong(e), v. go 19300, 19338, 19356.
goost. n. spirit 7405, 7436, 9275; the Holy Ghost 206, 308, gen. goostis 11163, pl.
goostly, adj. spiritual 427, 555, 583, 10051, 11038.
goostlynes, n. spiritual matters 6445.
gō(o)b. See gō.
goute potager, n. gout in the feet 11825.
gray, adj. (of eyes) light-coloured 18850.
grām(e), n. wrath 2423, 4331, 17659, 21977; affliction 19362.
graungis, n. pl. barns, storehouses 4689.
graunte, n. promised gift 17956; consent 8380.
grāue(n). See grōf.
grauels, n. pl. grains of sand 2347.
grē, n. favour 1656.
greece, n. flight of steps 10584. pl. greeces steps, stairs 10588.
greef. See greue. n.
greet, n. thickness 8244.
greide, greyde, pp. prepared 3686, 11238<sup>n</sup>; greibe 15278; greibed, greybede 3534,
     15511.
greynes, n. pl. legs 7499.
grevbe, n. preparation 11238<sup>n</sup>.
grēkes, n. pl. Greeks 7060; grewis 19740<sup>n</sup>.
grēnes, n. green(ness) 9916, 9917, 9987.
greses, n. pl. grasses 4563.
grēte, n. weeping 189, 4930,14008,15657.
grēte, n.<sup>2</sup> earth, soil 9938.
grēte, v. weep 4765, 15006, 23817. pa. t. gret(e), grett(e) 5248, 5249, 15624, 20081.
grēue, n. anger 5949; take not in ~ do not take it ill 5807; offence 8339; harm 6034;
     greef physical pain or ailment 19758; hostility, vexation 7663.
grēue, v. harass 4076; injure 7233. pr. 3 sg. grēueb afflicts 11734, 21886. pr. p. grēuond
     annoying 15406, pa. t. greued afflicted 7072; troubled 1747; angered 1227, pp. an-
     gry 6537; distressed 10470.
grēuyng, n. anger 8800.
grewis. See grēkes.
grickisshe, adj. Greek 2121.
grille, adj. rough, cruel 464, 719, 3143; dire, terrible 18317, 22690.
gripe, gr\nablap, n. gryphon 691, 11811.
grisbate, v. grind (teeth) 19354.
grisyng, pr. p. producing grass 384<sup>n</sup>.
grisly, adj. terrifying, horrible 18953, 22506, 23620; dreadful 3143.
```

```
grib(be), gritth, n. protection 492, 658; mercy, quarter 1594, 2506; peace 23358.
gryse, adj. frightening, terrifying 18649, 23249.
gryse, v. be terrified 7983, 22152, 22629.
grōf, pa. t. buried 6962. pp. grāue(n) 1415, 5428, 9137, 17325.
gromes, n. pl. menservants 11610.
grope, v. search, probe into 18694, 23242. pa. t. groped 13590. pp. 18689.
grōt, n, groat, coin of little value, small sum 2528, 17611; small item, particle 22884.
grounde, n. bottom 20952, 23198.
ground(e)wal(le), n. foundation 2242, 8424, 9914, 9990, 13335.
grū, adj. Greek 16689, 21197, 21292.
grucched, pa. t. held back, was reluctant 15774.
grucchyng, n. complaining 6299.
gurd, pp. dressed, girded 6087.
3af, pa. t. gave: ~ bak stepped back 4390.
3alde. See 3ēlde, v.
3arde, n. garden 15739, 16878.
3are, adj. quick, prompt, ready 1409?<sup>n</sup>, 5393.
3are, adv. promptly 2837, 4866; quickly 5002, 5225; indeed? 1409<sup>n</sup>.
3ăte, n. gate 10366. pl. 3ătes, 3ătis 18119, 18125; directions? 592<sup>n</sup>.
3ătewarde, 3ăte warde, n. gatekeeper 1245, 13327, 18425.
3ē, n. See <u>⊽</u>3e.
3ēde. See gō.
zeerdis. See zerde.
zeyn chắr. See chắr.
3eyncome, 3eyncom, n. return 2719, 19043.
3eynsaye, 3eynsey, v. deny 883; refuse 5769.
3eynsawe, n. denial, contradiction 14817.
3eynseying, n. denial 11364.
3ēlde, n. tax 11198.
3ëlde, v. give, hand over, yield 461; reward 4996; recompense 20313; pay 6762; 3ilde
     give, pay 6742; helde, yield, bow down 7464. inf. 3elden give, yield 19240, pr. 3
     sg. zēldis 4720; hēldeb 13121. imp. pl. zēldeb 1985. pa. t. zelde 9483; zalde.
     30ld(e) 209, 696, 17038; brought forward 19794. pp. 30(u)lden given, given in re-
     turn 4424, 23192.
zële(s). See hële.
3ēme, n. heed: take ~ take heed 17297, 17536.
3ēme, v. govern 7015; observe, keep 2690; administer 8585; guard 12446; 3īme take
     care of 11173.
3eode(n). See go.
ʒēp, adj. clever 5370.
zërde, n. rod, staff, branch 2612, 3990, 5880. pl. zë(e)rdis, zërdes twigs, shoots 6334;
     withies 5614; (young) trees 1418.
3erne, adj. eager, diligent 8205.
3ern(e), adv. eagerly 2789, 8447, 23588; quickly 7676, 14820.
3ernen, pr. pl. long 1; 3erneb 23458. pa. t. 3erned 788, 2592; desired 10506.
3ernyng, n. desire 3684, 7310, 8298.
zete, adv. yet 1198.
3icche, n. the itch, scabies 11823.
3īlde. See 3ēlde. v.
```

```
zīme. See zēme, v.
```

3ing(e), **3yng**, *adj*. young 3224, 3590, 4244.

3yuere, *n*. giver 14397.

3ōde, 3ōōd(e). See gō.

30ld(e), 30(u)lden. See 3elde, ν.

30ndur, **30ndir**, *adj*. (modern uses not cited) recent, just past 3740, 4561; ~ *day* the other day 13559, 19701.

30re, adv. formerly 2651, 4507; long ago 5275, 5672, 10716.

haburioun, n. coat of mail 7521.

hailsyng, heilsyng, n. greeting 5318, 7865, 11045.

hayre, n. rough cloth made of hair 22510ⁿ.

hāle, adj. intact 6271, 19313; hēle 671.

halewynge, n. sanctity 10215.

halowed, pa. t. called out to, hooted at 15833.

hals, n. neck 3677, 3699.

halt(e), adj. crippled 8136, 17989, 19080, 20958.

halt, pa. t. See holde, v.

haltide, pa. t. limped 3942.

halue, n. behalf 17502.

haluendē(e)l, n. half 973, 2100, 19227.

hālwe, n. (for hālewei) healing water or lotion, antidote 22592.

hap, n. good fortune 734, 3017, 5564, 8884; in ~ in case 6801.

hardenesses, n. pl. sufferings 5910.

hardily, adv. boldly 6245.

harewe, v. 1: pr. 3 sg. hareweb draws a harrow over (ploughed land) 21303.

harewe, ν² pa. t. harrewede, harwed(e), harried, harrowed (Hell) 200, 1446, 22960; heryed 18584. pp. 20567.

harme, n. injury: 30ure ~ injury from you 3000. pl. harmes penalties 6762.

harneys, n. baggage 4924, 11642; *harnays 3296.

hatt, hāte, v. be called 5071, 10546; hēt, hett(e) 2146, 2684, 12815. 2 sg hettest 2650. pa. t. hāt 12666; hēt(t), hette 633, 1504, 2483; hiʒt(e) 442, 1500. pp. hēt 19463; hiʒt(e) 1054, 4668.

hauntonde, pr. p. frequenting 15742. pa. t. **hauntide** resorted to 13691.

haueb, imp. pl. (as sg.) have! 4884.

hēde, suff. See lord hēde.

hēde, adj. capital (sin) 20636.

hēde, v. behead 5015, 13175, 14387. pa. t. hēded 7587; heueded(e) 172, 8916. pp. 13176.

hēdvng, n. beheading 22860.

heef, pa. t. lifted up 17913. pp. houen cast 17926; hofen lifted into 17962.

 $h\bar{e}est(e)$, $h\bar{e}ste$, n. command 872, 907; promise 18535.

hēze, adj. high 108. compar. he(i)zer 2232, 22287. superl. hext 12978.

heilsyng, n. See hailsyng.

heilsynge, pr. p. greeting 5156. pa. t. heilsed 7395, 8164, 17633.

hev. n. grass 13493.

hēl(e), n. well-being 76; health 11317: in ~ healthy 5824; healing 8068; salvation 3950; **3ēle** prosperity, good fortune 3638. pl. **3ēles** good things 4503.

helde, n. See elde.

hēlde(þ), v. See zēlde.

hēle, adj. See hāle.

hēle, v. I hide, conceal, cover 2738, 8429, 9285; hǐl(l)e 1082, 6802. imp. pl. hēleþ 20250. pa. t. hīled 2249; hullud803.

hēle. v.² save 9128.

hēly, adj. holy 12800.

hěnde, adj. gracious 431, 967; gentle 3906; pleasing 10357; attractive 5710.

hěnde, adv. graciously 9134.

hěndel (e), adv. courteously 4339, 8092, 12788, 14166, 20807.

henne, adv. hence 8230.

hent. See hvnt.

herberger \overline{y} , n. lodging 9876, 11536.

herborwe, v. lodge 14135. pp. herborwed 15494.

hērde, n. 1 keeper of animals, shepherd 1059, 1517, 3864. pl. hērdes, hērdis 3825, 5688.

hěrdes, n. pl.2 See hŏrde.

hēre, n. army 7732, 7806.

hēreb, imp. pl. hear! 270a, 3117. pa. t. hērde took notice 5893.

herfore, adv. henceforth 5509, 5545, 15558; straight away 5671; for this reason 9021.

heryed. See harewe, v^2

hěrt, n. hart, stag 1787.

hert brest, n. heartbreak 4283.

hertly, adv. with the heart, earnestly 20044, 20630.

hëste. See heest.

hět(t), hette(st). See hatt and hēte, v.

hēte, n. promise 11897.

hěte, v. promise 956, 1975. pa. t. hět(t), hette 3435, 7121, 14434; higt(e) 1722, 2340. 2 sg. hettestou 15656. pp.hět(t), hette 1276, 2590, 6869; higt(e) 1302, 1360.

hēting, hētyng, n. promise 785, 9336.

hēþen, adv. hence 1264, 7578, 11714, 13818, 18080.

hēbenis, n. heathendom 2102.

heued, n. head 6083.

heueded(e). See hede, v.

heuynes, n. sadness 10052.

hext. See heze.

hidur tille, hidurtille, adv. up to now 3605, 8677, 10281.

hi3e, **hy3e**, n. haste: $in \sim \text{quickly}$, immediately, in haste 1275, 12021, 10525; **hy(e)**: $in \sim 2605, 3229$.

hǐ3e, **hỹ3e**, n. height: $on \sim on$ high, aloud 16407; at a distance 731; above 1683; **hy**(e): $on \sim$ aloud 10480, 14826.

hi3e, hy3e, v. hasten 916, 3641 and 5110 (refl.); hy(e) 4340 19771 (refl.), pr. 3 sg. hy3eb (refl.) 15513. pa. t. hi3ed, hy3ed 5199, 11920 (refl.); hyed 3425, 4809 (refl.).

hi3t, n. promise 2548.

hizt(e). See hatt and hete, v.

hil(l)e, hiled. See hēle, v. 1

hint. See hynt.

hiren, pron. hers 8608, *20016.

his, pron. his friends, his people 17779, 17971, 21886.

hy(e), hyze(d), hyzeb. See hize, v.

 $h\ddot{y}(e)$, $h\ddot{y}3e$: $in/on \sim$. See $h\ddot{1}3e$, n. I. 2

hyne, n. boor (as term of abuse): liper, lithur ~ loathsome boor 18013, 23032. pl. liper hynes 23320. hynt, v. receive 23236. pa. t. seized, took 3176, 3841; hint 12183; hent 12070; took away 4542.

hyre, n. wages 23192.

hofen. See heef.

hold(e), n. stronghold 9957, 18211; detention 17320; prison 18276; holding (of real property) 5413, 1009 (fig.).

hölde, adj. faithful 13264, 21318, 23861.

hölde, v. (modern uses not cited) keep, observe 410; ~ of have in subjection to 7498; ~ we let us keep 5513. pa. t. hält held, regarded as 4398. pp. hölden bound, obliged 12111; kept in subjection 7092.

holpen, pp. helped 20184.

hŏnd(e), n. 1 (modern uses not cited) hand: have in ~ attend on 2432; nexte ~ next (in order) 1693; holde in ~ keep in control 16428.

hond(e), n.2 See onde.

hondbonde, n. covenant (made by joining hands) 13428.

hones, imp. pl.: ne ~ not do not delay! 6088.

honest(e), adj. unblemished, undefiled, comely 3610, 6067, 8217, 19850.

honoure, n: of ~ beautiful 1315.

hool, adv. altogether, continuously 22443.

hoot, n. heat 293.

hope, n. expectation 6416; wipouten ~ without doubt 2097.

hōpe, v. expect 5010. pa. t. hōped 734.

horde, n. store 19213. pl. herdes hoards of treasure 22179ⁿ.

horen, pron. theirs 6155; hores 2507, *22578.

horn panne, n. skull 7277, 21145.

host, n. cough 534.

houen. See heef.

how, conj. (modern uses not cited) in the respect (that), in the same way (that) 371, 13948; for what reason 5265.

hullud. See hele. v. 1

husbonde. n. master of the house 13400.

i drad. See drēde. v.

i knawe. See knowe.

i liche. See iliche. adv.

i wis, adv. certainly 571, 876, 1130, 1918; iwis A20.

iaylere, n. gaoler 4433. pl. iayleres, iayleris 17319, 19309.

iaperve, n. frivolity 10131.

Iche. See ilke.

iesyn. See gesin.

iestes. See geest.

ĭze. See ўze.

izt. See owe.

iliche, adj. See ilke.

iliche, i liche, yliche, yl\overline, adv. alike, the same 74, 1012, 1421, 1989.

ilke, adj. same 232, 1259, 1327; Iche 18141; ilīche 22533. Cf. bilke.

imyd, adv. in the middle (of them) 6612.

in(ne), n. lodging, residence 3318, 5123, 14060, 15119, 15192. pl. innes 11443.

innermore, adv. back in, within 6199, 6212.

inomen. See nym.

inouze, inow(ze). See ynouze.

insi3t(e), n. knowledge, understanding 9526, 9590, 9733, 10012.

inwey, adv. away 2734.

iðgeleri, n. black magic 22159.

iŏgelour, n. magician 20891, 20957. pl. iŏgelour(i)s 5898, 22112.

iournay, n. day's journey 12604; journey 1890. pl. iourne(y)es, iurneyes day's journeys 509, 5842, 5983; day's work 5870.

irou3t (= iwrou3t), pp. made 15776.

iwis. See i wis.

ÿ3e, i3e, n. eye 1087, 1819, 4265; ē3e 5224; 3ē 341. pl. ÿ3en 523; ē3en 13547; ÿse 10948.

yze, ize, pron. I 659, 1404.

ylīche, ylyche. See ilīche, adv.

ymeynt. See menge, v. I

ynde, n. indigo 9920, 9991.

ynouze, inouze, adv. enough 96, 13490; ynowze, inowze 92, 4356; ynow(e), inow 2190, 8254, 18168.

kaisere. See caiser.

kan. See can, v. 1

karked, n. burden 23002. Cf. carke 9843.

ken(ne), v. perceive, recognise 2292; know 5906; distinguish 23116; instruct 5783, 6062; inform 7363. pp. **kende** revealed 6418; instructed 19826.

kende, pp.² conceived 14339.

kēne, adj. fierce 213, 2886; savage 8943; cruel 22428; clever 12079.

kēnelv, adv. cruelly 18530.

kēpe, n. attention, care, notice: take ~ keep watch 7197; takeb ~ pays attention 7427; takeb good ~ take notice 14198; toke ~ took care (to) 20128.

këpe, v. preserve 7985; watch over 8210; protect 6194; guard 17368; exercise, use 625. inf. këpen maintain, preserve 6446. pr. 3 sg. këpeb guards 1246. pr. pl. këpen 10035. imp. pl. këpeb watch over! 20455. pa. t. kepte preserved 2419; guarded 17390. pp. kept taken care of 8640.

këpere, n. guardian, protector 14075.

kēpyng, n. restraint 6741; protection 20106; control 20437.

keuer(ed). See couer.

keueraunce. See coueraunce.

ki3t, pp. caught 17396ⁿ.

kip(pe), **kith**, **kipthe**, *n*. acquaintance, knowledge 12164; home-region 10127; home 11103; native land 3811, 6133.

kiþe, kÿþe, v. reveal, show, make known 827, 1871, 10964; prophesy 7052. pr. 3 sg. kiþeþ shows 23580. pa. t. kid(de), kyd 1607, 4269, 11532; kud 14442. pp. kid(de), kide, kyd 211, 1108, 10630, 11416; kud 2701.

ky, n. pl. cows 4564, 4566.

kyn(ne), n. kin, race, species 1716; line of descent 113; generation 11401; ancestry 9124; tre of ~ family tree 1625.

kÿnde, *n*. nature 36: *out of* ~ against nature 2889; *in riʒt* ~ in natural or normal appearance 8124; human nature, human kinship 1105; condition of life 1525; species 1222; race 362; family 10730. *pl*. **kÿndes** races 2132.

kynde, adj. acceptable, pleasing 6509.

kyndely, adj. natural 192; specific to a species 1912; congenial 2370; proper 9380; native, family 11192.

kyndely, adv. according to nature 9413ⁿ; naturally 11231, 18942; fittingly 12473.

kynghēde, n. kingdom 9549.

kyngrīche, kyngryche, n. kingdom 4595, 4616, 4829, 5209, 5911.

kynreden, *n*. kindred, family, tribe 6624, 6885, 6967. *pl*. **kynrede(n)s** 6883, 12014. **k⊽be**. See **kībe**.

knāue, n. boy 2628, 2668; male servant 6480, 6845; **knāwe** boy 11294. pl. **knāues** 8595; male servants 1792.

knē, n. degree of kin 9254. pl. knēes generations 9260.

knowe, knawe, v. make known, reveal 12918, 14575; acknowledge 6862; nowe 17785; knowe recognise 21878. pr. 3 sg. knawes acknowledges 6600. pa. t. knew 6576. pp. knawen, knowen 8167, 18796; i knawe informed, sure 1905.

knowing, knowyng, n. acquaintance 5061, 11749, 13638.

knowlache, knowleche, knowlage, *n.* acknowledgement, recognition of claims 2659, 5800, 11193; rent paid to a feudal lord 610; familiarity 4817.

knowleched, pa. t. made acquaintance 3838 (refl.). pp. had carnal knowledge 11056.

knowlechyng(e), n. acquaintance 15931; understanding, awareness 10728.

koueryng. See coueringe.

kud. See kibe.

kursednes, n. perversity 1575.

lac, n. defect 140; lak 3120.

lace, n. fastening 1728, 8778; net 23729; las cord 15878.

lack, v. blame 9037.

lad(de). See lede, v.

lāde, *n*. channel 12019.

laft(e). See leue. v.²

laire, n. clay, mud 518.

lav. See lawe, n. 1

lavne. See levn.

lak. See lac.

lake, n. pit, dungeon, prison 21945.

lāme, n. loam 13568; clay 22949.

langur(e), n. sorrow 10422; languishing, sickness 13792, 14153, 14179.

lāre. See lõre.

lärge, adv. fully, at least (with a measurement) 8812.

lās, n. See lāce.

las(se), les(se), adj. compar. less 463, 2168, 5780; smaller 3486. ~ & more smaller and larger, lesser and greater 494, 4684. superl. leest youngest 4949.

last, n. defect, fault 9852, 13734, 22324. pl. lastis 19857.

last. n. leaving 6818.

laste, v. (modern uses not cited) follow 19950. pr. p. lastonde continuing, remaining 4758. pa. t. laste 20113. pl. lesten 499.

läte, n. letting in, entry 2780, 18078.

lāte, v. See lēte.

lāthbe, n. hostility 2061.

lātir, lātur, adv. more slowly 2495; neuer þe ~ not at all reluctantly 8963; quickly, eagerly 20211.

lauze, v. laugh 7426. pr. pl. lawzen 23647. pr. p. lawzynge laughing, happy 7366. pa. t. louze, low(z)e 1402, 2028, 18856; pl. low(z)en 8090, 16609.

lau3t, pa. t. received 10778, 13179, 14811; seized 7928, 18223. pp. lau3t(e) 6766; leue had ~ had taken leave, received permission to go 5379.

lawe, n. law, religious law, religion 1570, 2299, 7096; lay 1428, 1474; of \sim legally, legitimately 5580. pl. lawis 18035; layes 4246.

lawe, n. low place 22576.

lēche, n. physician, healer 5944, 13264, 21197, 21204. pl. lēches 11838, 11862.

lēche, v. cure 176, 11841.

lēchyng, n. medical treatment 6685.

lēde, n. people, nation 234, 1626a, 1745; al maner - all people 1190. pl. lēdes, lēdis 2632, 18708.

lēde, v. (modern uses not cited) carry 4936, 5229; administer 8544; guide 8559. pr. pl. **lēdonde** leading 22053. pa. t. **led(d)e** carried 5129, 6961; **lad(de)** 8129, 11602. pp. **led** 533; taken 9907; kept (in a condition) 13787.

leed, n. cauldron 11885.

leem, leme, n. light 8048, 8160, 9925, 17344, 17865.

l**ēē**p. See l**ē**p.

lees. See les. n.

leest. See las, adi, compar.

lē(e)f, lēof, lēue, adj. dear 1924, 7209, 9571, 10085; ~ me were I would like 13673. compar. lēuer: ~ him were he would rather 1411; he had ~ 3135.

leityng, leytynge, n. lightning 533, 1769.

leyde, pp. put down, eliminated 5990.

leyn(e), **layne**, v. conceal 1127, 9299, 17658; *is not to* ~ must be said, cannot be denied 1549, 5281.

leyser, n : a - in (his) leisure 7239.

lēle, adj. loyal, honest 75; faithful 7847; worthy 3233; true 7798; admirable 8454.

lele, adv. faithfully, truly 17656.

lēme. See lēēm.

lēmes, pr. 3 sg. shines *9951. pr. p. lēmyng 5754, 17678, 22477.

lemmon(e), **lemman**, *n*. sweetheart, dear one 81, 2405, 3839, 3868, 9355. *pl*. **lemmons** concubines 8887.

lěnde, v. rest, stay, remain 1868, 2433, 4214. pa. t. **lent** 10776. pp. **lěnde** staying, remaining 21945, 23647; **lent** 649; ~ into turned into 5889.

lēne, v. lend, loan 6796; give 4739, 4741. pr. 2 sg. **lēnest** lend 6795. pp. **lent** given, granted 11100.

lěnge, v. stay 19272. pa. t. **lěnged** 19798, 20138; languished 14138.

lengbe, n. length: drawe forb on ~ put off 5805.

leof. See lef.

leop, pa. t. leaped 15765. pp. lopen leaped, hastened 18302.

lē(e)p, n. basket 4486, 19719, 20983. pl. lēepis 13513.

lēre, v. learn 1545, 12256; teach 6882, 12104, 12421. pr. 3 sg. lēres 12782. pl. 12191. pa. t. lēred 7219, 12452. pp. lērd 12059.

lē(e)s, n. lie 1037, 6879, 7165, 8463, 9182.

les(se), adj. compar. See las.

lēsing, lēsyng(e), n. lie 5204, 8098, 15412, 16067, 19239. pl. lēsyngis 18556.

lësten. See laste.

let, n. hindrance: wibouten ~ unstinting 67; without defect 9880; without denial 14046; without prevention 15552; without obstruction 16564.

lět, v. See lete and lett.

lēte, n. demeanour, bearing 14053.

lēte, lāte, v. give up, relinquish 2287; allow 6841, 7100; let be 4783; abandon 9448; hold back 5293 (cf. lett); refrain 19870; rent 6778; think, consider 23835. pr. 3 sg. lēteþ: greet spit she ~ bi me she has great contempt for me 2610. pa. t. lēt(e), lett(e) allowed 747; left alone 14090; held back, abstained? 789; made (to do) 5323; thought (of) 9150; pretended, gave the appearance of 4270; behaved 14608; li3tly ~ of thought little of, held in contempt 469.

lett(e), v. contravene 4990; hold back 8361; guard 10006; prevent 2236; let 6182. pr. 3 sg. letteb 17450. pl. letten hold back, keep from 13913. pr. p. lettonde delaying 2821. pa. t. let held back? 789. pp. obstructed 11980.

letter, n. obstructer 16888.

lettyng, n. prevention, hindrance 3199, 4657, 4914, 12044, 12413.

lettur, n. writing, scripture 18975.

 $l\bar{e}b$, n. hostility 12055.

lepiere, adj. compar. more unresisting, more easily inclined 9779.

leutē. See lewtē.

lēue, adi. See lēf.

lēue, v^f believe 2939, 5212; ~ in trust in 17572. pr. 2 sg. lēuest believe 19883. pl. lēueb 17487. pa. t. lēued 9451.

lēue, κ² go away from 948; cease 857; neglect 8328; avoid 10761; abstain 750; allow 5808. inf. lēuen remain 20199. pr. 3 sg. lēueþ ceases 1131. imp. lēef allow 20229. pa. t. laft(e) 4108; quitted 9668; abandoned 9053, ~ wiþ abandoned to 9872; rejected, neglected 3144; remained 7269, wiþ Dauid ~ þe feld the victory remained with David 7662; remained behind 4390; lēfte ceased 3308. pp. laft(e) remaining 9669; lēued 13745; lēft 20866.

lēuen, n. light 22477; lightning 22693.

leuer, n. believer 18719.

lëuer, adj. compar. See lef.

lewed, adj. uneducated 249, 22001.

lew(e)te, leute, n. loyalty, honour 1655, 4365 4464, 12252, 13601.

licam(e), n. body 12070, 12295, 16955, 17324, 17660.

lickest, adj. superl. most delicious 6382.

licoures, n. pl. fluids 536.

liffode, lyffode, lyffade, lyuelode, n. way of life 2008; subsistence 5394, 13279; sustenance 1962; food 19835.

lift(e), n. air, sky 495, 7570, 8003, 19841, 22461.

liggvng, n. lying in bed 6686.

ligond. See lib, pr. 3 sg.

li3t(e), adj. (modern uses not cited) trivial 3285; athletic 6951; reconciled 7654; cheerful 10501; easy 597. compar. li3ter: was ~ of was delivered of (a child) 2638; ~ were bai they were delivered 8593.

li3t, v. fall 22020.

listyng, n. descent 13822.

liztly, adv. quickly 7720.

likyng(e), n. what is desired 4291, ~ woone lack of one's desire 4292; pleasure, delight 23449; sensual pleasure 23375°; ~ ille dissatisfaction 23642.

likynger, adj. compar. more pleasing 23430.

līkonde, pr. p. pleasing 2513.

listis, n. pl. strips of cloth 19845.

lite, n.: wibouten - without delay 17899, 18517.

litere, n. bed, litter 13817.

lithe, n.: lond and \sim land and people 4364. pl. lipes: londes & \sim 5403.

lithur, liper, adj. vile, bad 7618; ~ hyne vile creature, loathsome boor 18013, 23032; pl. ~ hynes 23320.

lib, n. joint 12612, 23260.

līþ, pr. 3 sg. lies 5341. pl. 5340. pr. p. ligond 6130; lyonde 4166. pp. lyn lain 11297.

lyf. See lyue.

lyflade, lyflode. See liflode.

lvm(m)e. n. bodily member 2023, 2258, 2671, 16955. pl. lvmmes 2034.

lyn, lyonde. See lib, pr. 3 sg.

 $l \nabla n(n) e$, n. linen 11112, 12680.

lyue, *n*. life: of \sim dead, no longer living 9305, 12478; brynge of \sim put to death 1593, 11570; pa. t. dide of \sim 11563; **lyf**: in \sim alive 11020; pl. **lyues**: in \sim 22850.

lvuedlode. See liflode.

lyuere(y), n. allocation, portion (for support or subsistence) 2122, 5045, 19220.

lyuond(e), pr. p. living 3314, 4023, 4188, 4874.

lodesmon, n. leader 6968.

lodly, adj. hateful, horrible 2453; hateful to bear 7358; unpleasant, unprepossessing 16032; ugly 11877; lopely 7448? 8105.

lodly, adv. horribly, vilely 7358; **lobely** in an ugly fashion? 7448.

lofte, n. air, sky 14337: $upon \sim into the air$, aloft 21076, $on \sim 22143$; upper storey 12279. **logges**, n. pl. shelters 6192.

loggid, pa. t. pulled, dragged 15825.

loke, v. take care of, watch over 7046, 8297; look for 8616; ~ azeynes guard against 8468. pr. 3 sg. lokeb takes heed of 14688; not he ~ he cares not at all 22943. imp. pl. pay attention to! 10715. pa. t. loked: ~ aftir looked for 11086. pp. ordained 9553.

loke(n), pp. See loukeb.

lokyng, n. view, opinion 6698.

long(e), adj. 1: pinke ~ to/aftir, impers. grow weary or impatient in waiting for, ~ aftir hem houste Cornely Cornelius grew impatient in waiting for them 19917, hem houste to hir ful ~ they grew weary in waiting for her 20582.

long(e), adj.² attributable to: is on me ~ 6030, ~ on goddis wille 10282; but hit be on himseluen ~ unless through his own fault 8427, al is on 3ow ~ everything is your fault 16646

longe, v. I have desire 1029. pr. 3 sg. impers. longeb: me ~ I long 3611.

longe, v.² be attached, be detained 3180. pr. p. longynge belonging 2808.

longyng, n. languishing 4511.

100s, n. fame 1452, 7611, 8570; **10s** 18229?

loop(e), adj. hateful 960, 8105; ~ him is he is reluctant 5804, ~ me were I would hate to 8430; hostile 1092, 7606; **lope** ugly 23228, 23620.

lopen. See leop.

lord hede, n. (your) lordship 4837.

lore, **lare**, *n*. teaching 1832, 4254ⁿ, 15614; knowledge, learning 8459, 12457; education 10608; wisdom 13892; advice 3659.

lorere, n. laurel 8235.

lorn, pp. lost 1928, 13654, 15146, 20156; losen lost, destroyed 21155.

 $1\delta s$, n. See $1\delta o$ s and $1\delta s$.

lős. n.² ruin 18229? 22082ⁿ.

```
lop(e), n. harm 3810, 4942, 7245, 14131, 18720.
```

lope, adj. See loop.

löþely. See lödly.

lopsomly, adv. cruelly 15825.

louze. See lauze.

loukeþ, pr. 3 sg. closes 18656. pp. löke(n) locked, shut up 6203; enclosed 8323, 10912.
 loute, ν. bow 678, 1305; obey 13614. pr. p. loutynge bowing 4061. pa. t. louted, loutid(e) 2648, 5318, 6109.

loue, n. love: $for - \sim for$ the sake of -, because of - 11440, 11870; for (pe) $\sim of$ 14683, 20911.

loue, v. praise 9037, 14579; ~ and loute praise and bow down before 6387, 6546. pr. 3 sg. loueh 14375. pr. p. louyng 19078. pa. t. loued 12005. pp. 15051.

louely, adv. graciously 13113.

louesum, lufsum, lufsom(e), adj. lovely, pleasant, attractive 604, 948, 5792, 18832; lussom 2467.

louesumly, louesomly, adv. affectionately, graciously 7989, 18692.

loueword, loue word, n. praise, renown 2545, 4048, 13255, 13899, 14330.

lovuynge, n. praise 20028.

lowe, n. I flame 5739, 23232ⁿ.

lowe, n.2 hill 7393. pl. lowes 4081.

low(3)e, lowen. See lau3e.

lowzen, pa. t. pl. abased themselves 8090.

lurdeyn, n. layabout, no-good 13660.

lussom. See louesom.

lust, n. desire 22804.

lust, v. impers. desire 14226, 22601.

mād, adj. 1 See māte, adj. 1

măd(de), adj.² distraught 1270, 10957; amazed 12600; dazed, stunned 17710, 18186; **māte** mad, angry 19353.

maf(f)ay, excl. by my faith! 5062, 7359.

maister, mayster, maistir, maystir, adj. main, chief 3864, 3941, 4449, 4530; ~ sterres planets 527.

maistrīe, maistry, maystry, n. power, accomplishment 12319, 14832, 19571; marvel 12410; art 13142. pl. maystrise, maistrius, maystryes impressive actions 17404; accomplishments, powers 14611, 22298; feats, marvels 12010; authorities 22399.

may, n. maiden, girl 3341, 3372, 9988, 10030, 10538.

may falle, adv. perhaps 14498.

mayden, n. woman servant 3039, 6480.

mayn(e), meyn, n. might, strength, forces 1511, 4000, 4377, 7192, 21051.

māke, n. match, equal 100, 1143, 1380, 4044; match, mate 4668. pl. mākes 1688.

mākeles, adj. without equal 10029, 12119.

maledist, adj. cursed 10266, 12031, 13336, 14375, 15220.

malěs(se), malē(e)se, malis, n. difficulty, trouble 8371; discomfort 7306; harassment 2794; distress 23161; harm 6300; ill(s) 14699; evil 1555.

malisoun, n. curse 2051, 3668, 3709, 10270, 10491.

malle, n. metal-headed club 23240.

manăce, n. threatening 1834, 3765, 7472.

maneres, n. pl. manors, holdings (of land) 9969.

marchaundīse, marchaundỹs, n. transaction, bargain 4198, 15417, 16471, 16519.

```
marche. n. border of a country 9883, 9971.
marē, v. marry 10653.
marred, pp. hindered, obstructed 463; ruined 17988.
mās, pr. 3 sg. makes 9199, 12776.
māsed, pp. bewildered, confounded 4000, 15875, 17361.
māte, adj. weary 1240; sad 11136, 15898; mād weary 1407.
māte, adj.2 See mād.2
māte, v. match, compete with 8479.
mate. v.2 overcome 21041.
mābes, n. pl. maggots 11836.
maugre(i), maugrey, prep. in spite of 6424, 18583, ~ his in spite of him 4305.
maumetry(e), maumetri, n. Islam 2286; paganism, idolatry 6623, 21993n, 22100; idols
     11776.
maungerye, n. banquet 15198.
mawe, n. belly, inside 22394.
mēde, n. reward 66, 67, 272, 752; payment 6778. pl. mēdes, mēdis rewards 23371,
     23476; compensation 6697.
medeled, pa. t. mingled 5690.
mēeb, mēth, n. gentleness 10011, 10152.
mevn. See mavn.
meynd, pp. See menge, v. <sup>1</sup>
meynē, n. household 1862, 1916; attendants 11597; company 12553; entourage 17444.
mēke. v. subdue 4299, 17578.
mekel. See michel.
mel(l)e, v. 1 speak 5475, 8013, 9165, 9348. pa. t. melt 1067, 2087.
melle, v^2 mingle 22641; to ~ in addition 11831.
mēne, adj. humble 13272.
mēne, v. speak, say 1552a, 3107, 3371; refer to 6770; refl. have in mind 5251. pr. 3 sg.
     mēnes says 16889. pr. p. mēnyng speaking 4948. pa. t. mēned told 3059? refl.
     4963; spoke 12498; ment 10387. pp. mēned: ~ his mood spoken his mind? 8159.
mēne, v.<sup>2</sup> lament 4456. pr. p. mēnyng: ~ hir mone uttering her lament, lamenting 10429.
     pa. t. mened 3059? 4277; ment 1815. pp. mened: ~ his mood vented his sorrows?
     8159.
menge, v. 1 mix, mingle 18019, 19271; myng come to grips, fight 7456. pr. 3 sg. mengeb
     mixes 9952. pa. t. menged, mengid 2259; troubled, disturbed 19710; ~ him his
     mod was distracted 8804; revolved (mentally) 14385. pp. confused 14720; trou-
     bled, disturbed 16224; meynd, ymeynt combined, mingled 9923, 18841.
menge, v.2 tell, mention 19358, 20325. pa. t. menged 4980, 15701.
mengyng, n. troubling, disturbing 15248.
menyng(e), n. meaning 5782; mention 8518; remembrance 4480, 13183.
mēnyng, pr. p. See mēne, v.
m\bar{e}nynge, n. 2 lamentation 5721.
menske, n. honour 3269, 8354.
menske, v. honour 6388, 8354, 9139, 12098, pr. 2 sg. menskest 20035.
menskely, adv. honourably 4769.
mensk(e)ful, adj. honourable 4245, 17775.
menskyng, n. honouring 11053.
ment. See mēne, v.
merynes, n. joy, joyful thing 20510.
```

merk, n^{I} measure 8779.

```
merke, n.2 darkness 23669.
```

merke, adj. dark 6053, 17872.

merked, pa. t. grew dark 1764.

merkely, adv. mysteriously, cryptically 9278.

merkenes, mirkenes, n. darkness 6052, 15860, 15866, 18239, 20978.

merkful, adj. dark 17863.

merryng, n. defect 8779.

merbe, myrbe, v. cheer 10461ⁿ; entertain, delight 7254.

meschaunce, n. misfortune 1182.

mēsel, n. leprosy 11827. pl. mīseles lepers 13106; coll. pl. mēsele 18543.

mēsel(e), mysele, adj. leprous 5824, 8138, 8169, 11827, 14446.

messe, n. prepared food, dish 12559.

met(t), n. measure 10020; dimensions 8814; fifte ~ fifth part 4610; bushel 22327ⁿ.

mēte, n. food 898, 1015; *bi zernyng* ~ the food that you desire 3684; *unmesure* ~ out of all proportion in its food 22897; meal 3532; dinner 4340.

mētely, adj. medium, moderate, suitable 18827, 18847.

mēteshiþe, n. meal 12565.

mēth, n. See mēēb.

mette, pa. t. dreamed 4063, 4454.

mēb, adj. gentle 12271.

mēueb, pr. 3 sg. moves 9738. pp. **mēued** stirred up (fig.) 9635, 20142.

miche(l), myche(l), muchel, adj. large, great 4839, 15340; much 283, 2115; many, numerous 2627, 12496; mikel, mykel, mekel much 785, 1555; great 21082. compar. more (modern uses not cited) larger, greater 3486; older 10756. superl. moost, moste largest 11469; greatest 205, 9553.

mirkenes. See merkenes.

mis(-). See mvs(-).

mīseles. See mēsel. n.

mislikyng, adj. displeased 11144.

mister(e), mystere, n. work, task, trade, occupation 4669, 5560; ~ wymmen women of a certain occupation 8589ⁿ; of ~ a master of my craft 12230; need, requirement, predicament 3247, 10134.

mychel, adv. much, greatly 4360.

myddelerd, n. earth (between heaven and hell) 22594, 22703.

mydmäst, adj. middle 10023.

my3t, n.: at his ~ according to his power, as he is able 6720. pl. my3tis: pat alle ~ may who is capable of doing anything 17850.

mykel. See michel.

myn(ne), n. thought, consideration, remembrance 9353, 9667, 22095.

myn, adv. less: more ny ~ neither more nor less 1920, 19249.

myn(ne), v. remember, have in mind 1327, 2487, 2718; mention, make mention 5174, 17713.

myng. See menge, v. 1

mynt, v. intend, plan 6209. pa. t. 1588. pp. mynt(e) 718, 1657, 6107.

myrbe. See merbe.

mys, mis, n. wrong 875, 4994; loss 7744; wipouten ~ without fail 18441; error, sin 23075.

mys, adj. sinful 16496.

mys, adv. amiss 12480, 17617; missing, astray 9807.

```
mys(se), v. lack, be deprived of 15543, 23288. pa. t. pl. misten failed to find 17413. pp.
    myst missed, absent 17586.
mysbilēue, n. false belief 2302; disbelief 17402.
mvscheef, n. harm 7664.
mvsdēdv. adi. sinful 18279.
mysdo, v. do wrong 9659, pr. 3 sg. mysdoob 1978, pp. mysdone 859, 7914.
mysele. See mesel, adi.
mysfalle, v. fare badly 7820.
mysfare, misfare, n. misfortune, ill-faring, unhappiness 315, 14304, 23337.
mysferde, pa. t. did amiss 866. pp. gone astray, fared ill 18311.
mysgilt, n. guilt 9059.
mysgō, v. go astray, do wrong 16418. pp. mysgōōn 911, 9051.
myslēuvnge, mislēuvnge, pr. p. unbelieving, disbelieving 16643, 21203.
myslikyng, n. trouble, unhappiness 4632, 10466.
myslyche, v. be displeased 5912.
myslyuvnge, pr. p. living wrongly 20904.
myspayde, pp. displeased 6240.
myspreyse, v. reprimand 18673.
myssay(e), v. speak ill of, abuse, vituperate 6805, 14779, 19423, pr. 2 sg. mysseist
     13905. pa. t. pl. mysseyden 14669. pp. myssaide spoken incorrectly or in error
myssawe, n. wrongful saying, misrepresentation, lie 14683, 16289.
mystere. See mister.
mystyme, n. miscarriage of an infant 20050; misfortune 23599.
mystroube, n. disbelief 18677.
mystrow(e), n. disbelief 14484; doubt 8433.
mystrow(e), mistrowe, mistrau, v. disbelieve 3651, 5269, 22795, 23028; suspect, think
     ill of 5175, 13595, pr. p. mystrowand, mystrowonde disbelieving, unbelieving,
     without religious faith 9267, 11366, 23110; mystrowynge 14441. pa. t. mystrowed
     9351.
mystrowyng(e), mystrowing, n. disbelief 18680; false belief 2284; suspicion, misgiv-
     ing 1089, 4841, 11170; lack of faith 7516.
mode, mood(e), n. mind, heart 217, 2259, 3059, 6537, 14396.
molde, n. 1 top of the head 9098.
molde, n.2 earth, dirt 22798, 22800.
mölten, pp. melted consumed 22791; rendered down, reduced 22949.
mon(e), moon(e), n. complaint, lamentation 4277, 4346, 4973, 13380.
monē, n. money 16475, 16478, 17506, 19228.
mone, v. commemorate 8252; think, reflect 8384; mention 5916, 9233; speak 9519.
monqueller, n. murderer, homicide 2205, 11810.
monsleer, n. murderer, homicide 16441.
mony what, pron. many things 12598.
monyone, adj. many, many a one 22770.
mood(e). See mode.
m\overline{oon}(e). See m\overline{o}n. n.
moost. See michel.
moot, mote, n. trial 16307; debate 11949.
more, adi. compar. See michel.
more, v. increase 2354.
```

morb, n. murder 1121.

nome(n). See nym.

```
more, n: a \sim on the next day 3345.
mossel(e), n. morsel 13485, 15381, 15386.
möste. See michel.
mote. n. See moot.
mote, v. debate, discuss 12938, 22550, 23847.
mouthe, v. utter, say 594.
mowe, n. heap or store of grain or other gathered crop 6760.
muchel. See michel.
must. n. immature wine 18968.
nav. v. deny 19180.
nam. See nvm.
natātōry, n. bath, pool 13549, 13550, 13570.
nau3t, n. night 15000.
nedder, neddre, n. snake, serpent 697, 739, 744; edder, eddur, 5813, 12527.
nēde, adi. See gnēde.
nēde, adv. of necessity 1221, 1440, 2400, 2895; nēdis 2450.
nēdeful, adj. poor 12852.
nēdes, n. pl. duties 3336.
nēes, nēse, n. cousin A47, 11057.
neest, nest, adj. superl. nearest, closest 20640, 21021.
neet, n. pl. cattle 3019, 4597.
nēre, pa. t. were not 20157.
nēre honde, nērehonde, adv. and prep. close by 17937; close to 11129; approximately
     *9222.
nëse. See n<del>ee</del>s.
nesshe, adi, frail, weak 8986.
nēst. See nēest.
nebemast, adj. superl. lowest 9926; nebermaste bottom 12747.
neuen(e), v. name 303, 1487, 2085; mention, speak (of) 411, 3116a.
niste. See wite v.
nīþe, nÿþe, n. malice *11941<sup>n</sup>, 23138, 23279.
ny, conj. neither, nor 1571, 2803, 2846, 5144, 5924.
n\overline{v}e, n. annoyance, trouble 3474.
nygromauncy, n. necromancy, black magic 19522.
nv3e. adv. never (error for neuere?) 1393.
nv3e hŏnd, nv3ehŏnd, adv. close, nearby 2844, 14247, 15459.
ny3(e) honde, prep. close to 3255, 12863, 19893.
nystertāle, nystirtāle, nysturtāle, n. night-time 7783, 14196, 15847, 18611; nyste
    tāle 2783.
nvk. v. denv 21078.
nyl, v. will not 14640, 23728. pa. t. nölde did not wish 11149, 11181.
nym, v. take 17293. pa. t. nam 1112, 1367, 20109. pp. nome(n) 805, 4112; inomen
    3654.
nys, adj. stupid 1278, 16740.
nove, v. injure, trouble 12381.
novnted, pa. t. anointed 7286. pp. novntide 7726, 7826, 9343.
nokes, n. pl. corners 17675, 19845.
nölde. See nyl.
```

```
noon, none, n. the ninth hour (3 p.m.) 16749, 16764, 19045, 19810.
```

noot. See wite, v.

not, pron. nothing 455, 1140, 1752, 4367; ~ forbi nevertheless 22399.

note, v. use, make use of 23763.

nouzt, adj. wicked 14459.

nou3t(e) pron. nothing: hit was ~ but ... there was no help for it but ... 10771; aboute ~ to no avail 7128.

noumbrāry, n. number 423.

nouber, pron. neither (of two) 5054, 5831, 6028, 6197.

nowe. See knowe.

nust(e). See wite, v.

ō, num. one 288, 292, 654, 729, 769.

ō, adv. always, forever 19091.

occione, n. ocean 11395.

of, prep. (modern uses not cited) from, out of 6177, 6447; by 17767; by means of, with 22620; from, instead of 20935.

of lyue. See lyue.

offrande, offronde, n. offering 5772, 5974, 6806, 10232, 10254.

okerere, n. usurer 14034.

okeryng, n. interest on money 6796.

Tolde, adj.: be ~ men of israel the elders of Israel 6099.

on, pron. See one.

ō(o)n, *num*. and *adj*. one, the same 4246; *al is* ~ all the same, nevertheless 5062; one, a single 22932; alone, only 12949, 18756.

on slont, adv. obliquely, in a slanting direction 6200.

onde, n. hostility, malice 23138.

onde, n. breath 534, 541; honde 520.

ondeb, pr. 3 sg. breathes 21075.

on(e), oon, pron. one: a particular individual 19602; his/hir ~ alone 630, 7454, by his ~ 2021, by hir ~ 10476; in ~ steadfast 4278; unchanging 1429, 1852; at ~ in agreement 3580; euer on ~ continuously, incessantly 1835, 23291.

onhede, n. unity 23521.

only, adj. solitary 12799, 12834.

oonen, v. unite 4014.

oost, n. host, army 8089, 22344.

or, conj. before 4475, 4492, 4894; ar 121, 673, 1394.

orde, n. point of a sword 7770.

ordeyne, v. plan 8311, 8856, 10831. pr. 3 sg. refl. ordeyneb prepares (herself) 20403. pa. t. ordeyned assigned 417; governed 11188. pp. ordeyned, ordeined appointed, assigned 22093; ordained as priest 12899.

ōre, *n*. grace, mercy 10099.

ore, adv. See er.

orisoun, n. prayer 7966, 8126, 8893, 9565. pl. orisouns 18458, 18459.

os, conj. as 5781.

ospring(e), ospryng(e), n. offspring, progeny 135, 228, 2056, 20528; family 10617; race 18529; person in a particular generation 11415.

Öper(e), *num*. and *adj*. second 1629, 2175, 5603; *pat* ~ *day* the day after 7619; ~ *half* one and a half 16600.

öperhwile, öperhwyle, adv. sometimes 3566, 7133, 10323; from time to time 4751.

```
ŏberwyse, adv. in a different way 18262.
 out of, prep. without 4955, 9503, 14066, 22546, 22867.
 outāke, v. except 9648. pp. 5411; outtāke, outāken 764, 12115; out tāke(n) exception-
     al, unlike any other 1143, 22591.
outrage, n. injury, crime 248, 812, 1115, 1972, 2209.
ouber, pron. one of two 6198.
ouber, conj. or 4230, 7461, 11305; either 7227, 7511, 23187.
ouer past, pp. overcome, overwhelmed 8987.
ouer rēke, v. get at, get hold of 22375.
ouerbvde, v. live through 5457.
ouerfalle, v. fall upon 16661.
ouergone, infl. go through 22132. pr. 3 sg. ouergood overruns 5505. pa. t. ouergode
     1044; ouer300d went over 2228. pp. ouergon(e), ouergoon caught 8644, 13700;
     surpassed 575; overcome 4721, 7765; transgressed 9644.
ouerhewe, v. cut up 16571.
ouerleyde, pp. overrun 5504.
ŏuermāst, adi. highest 10019, 10025.
ouertāke, pp. caught 1167.
ouerthwert(e), ouerbwert, ouerbwart, adv. against 11370; across (his) path 7103;
     angrily, in a bad mood 7926, 10464.
ouerwēle, n. excess of good fortune 2901.
ow(e), ow3e, v. ought 271, 1973, 6762; own 2807. pr. 3 sg. oweb ought 6161. pa. t. i3t
     owned 6719; aust(e) 6729, 13178; ought 7222; ruled 7049.
ōwhēre, adv. anywhere 15184; ōwhōre 1837.
owne, pron.: myne ~ my own (people) 20538.
paeny, adj. pagan 19992.
pages, n. pl. boys 10295.
pay, n. pleasure 2326, 3655.
pay, v. please 3585, 20108. pa. t. payed 17765, pp. 1064, 7652, 7814; ~ be we we con-
     sent 16828; payde pleasing 1708.
paynemes, n. pl. pagans 7440.
pal(le), n. rich cloth 5119, 5125, 5147, 5167, 11516.
pales, paleys, n. palace 413, 4394, 15893; peleys 415.
pales \overline{v}(e), n. palsy, paralysis or lack of muscular control 19048, 19752, 20886. pl. per-
     sons suffering from this affliction 18543.
pāne, n. the bottom of a garment 4387.
paněl, n. saddle-pad 14982.
panne. See horn panne.
pappis, n. pl. breasts 16659.
par fay. See parfay.
paramoure, n. lover 69.
paramouris, adv. in love affairs 52.
parde, excl. by God! indeed! 11448.
parfay, par fay, parfey, excl. by my faith! assuredly! 298, 6579, 7301, 9297, 14681.
paringal, paryngal, adj. equal 776, 2096.
parlement, n. council 5497, 11852.
\vec{p}art\vec{v}(e), n. part 370; quantity 4834: a \sim a little, to a certain extent 12387; side in a cause
     or dispute 729, 1613; in ~ 19991; on my ~ on my behalf 15196. pl. parties, partyes,
```

 $p\bar{a}rt\bar{y}se parts 352, 969, bi \sim 344.$

```
pās(e), n. step 13152, 15392; greet ~ quickly 19076, pl. steps, tiers 9948.
paske, n. the Passover 6164, 13227, 14941, 15183; Easter 22953<sup>n</sup>.
pătriarke, n. high priest 10223, 10233.
pēce, n. (modern uses not cited) space of time 7063; person 11058.
pevn, n. difficulty 23724.
pevn(e), v. refl. exert oneself 6207, 22547, 22776, pa. t. pevned 19027.
pevre, v. grow worse 8407.
peleys. See pales.
penves, n. pl. money 5507.
pepyn, n. seed, pip 8504. pl. pepenes 1373.
percase, adv. in that case, in a given case, perchance 4002.
pēre, n. equal 450, 451, 776, 1467, 1701.
piche, v. coat with pitch 5615.
picke, n. pitch 1673.
pi3t, pp. set up, arrayed 7572.
pire, n. pear tree 37.
pite, n. piety, sense of duty (towards God) 21, 908.
pib, n. strength 18173.
pyement, n. perfumed ointment 3702, 9356.
pyn(e), n. torment, suffering, distress 1136, 1608, 4712, 4773, 5372. pl. pynes 18213,
pyned, pa. t. tormented, tortured 198, 21111.
pyneful, adj. cruel 18223.
plat, adj. flat 17709.
pleyden, pa. t. pl. struck (a blow) as if in jest or in a contest 16625.
pleyn, adj. open: in bataile ~ 7480; unequipped, unarmed: al ~ 7564; flat 22532.
pleněre, n. fulness 23578.
plente, n. fulfilment 1359. pl. plentes good things 5327.
pli3t, n. guilt, sin 2061, 6621, 6750, 6825; peril 20051.
plist, pa. t. pledged 8386, 14523, pp. 9640.
poyntel, n. stylus 11087.
port, n. gate 14612<sup>n</sup>.
possitiue, adj. positive (law) 9433<sup>n</sup>, 9449.
potage, n. stew or thick soup 3549.
potager, adi. See goute potager.
pouder, poudir, n. dust 929, 930, 5953; ashes 13237, 13240.
pouste, n. power 434, 4371, 5296, 9016, 10342.
pray, n. booty 2543; prey 4322.
preciouse, adj. full of esteem 19121.
prēes, pres, n. distress 5608; out of ~ without any distress 5747.
preesed, pa. t. insisted 2796. pp. prest impelled 25, 3449, 21255.
prēs, n. praise 6358. See also prīs.
prē(e)s. See prēes.
prěsond, n. present 7588.
prětory, n. the Roman governor's judgement hall 16302<sup>n</sup>.
prīde, pryde, n. (modern uses not cited) pomp: wibouten ~ 5609; value, high cost
     21050; arrogance, arrogant thought: toke a ~ acted arrogantly 448; hougte hat ~
     conceived that proud thought 465.
```

prīs(e), prys, n. high price, value 2103, 6173; esteem 436; held in ~ & pres kept in ho-

nour and praise 6358; of ~ precious 12005; estimable 8747, 9625.

```
prisful, adj. estimable, eminent 18173.
prisoun, prisen, n. prison 9556, 9576; prisoner 9566, 9573, 18571. pl. 18144 (coll.);
     prisouns, prisones 4436, 19312.
priue, n. confidant 4630; intimate 8342, 16920.
priuē, pryuē, adj. secret 1003, 4276; made him ~ took him into his counsels 3005; per-
     sonal 2338; intimate 16482, superl, prvuest most intimate 7232.
priuelăge, n. special right 19284.
priuēly(e), pryuēly(e), adv. privily, secretly 2517, 2595, 3170, 6362, 16856.
priuěte, pryuěte, priuýte, n. secrecy 2935, 7953, 16271; secret(s) 2738, 17854, 18454;
     private concerns 3222. pl. priuetees, priuetees secrets 7228, 12710.
prvde. See pride.
profur, n. attempt *8819.
promissioun, n.: be lond(e) of ~ the Promised Land 6924, 14433.
propiciator\overline{\mathbf{v}}, n, the mercy seat 8281.
propur, adj. peculiar, characteristic 562.
proude, adi. handsome, valuable (of adornments) 3250.
proverbis, n. (the Book of) Proverbs 8467.
prow(e), n. profit 784, 3727, 5416, 5830, 6744.
pulle, n. tug, set to (a wrestling term) 3563.
purpos, n. reason 8769.
purpur, adj. bright 17867.
pursewest, pr. 2 sg. persecute 19618, 19623.
puruay, v. prepare 13128. pa. t. purueyde, purueyed 6102; arranged 284; planned 324;
     provided 6643. pp. 3102; purueide planned, prepared 1612.
puruēaunce, puruyaunce, n. plan 5576; provision 11677.
puruēour(e), n. steward, one who procures what is necessary 4337, 4607, 11003 (of
     John the Baptist).
put(t), pa. t. knocked down 12292, 12299.
puttis, n. pl. pits 6611.
quad, quod, pa. t. said 5005, 14829, 16238.
qualm, n. dire sickness 20758; pestilence, plague 4721, 4724, 5999.
quarel, n. fight 10036.
quarteyne. See feuer quarteyne.
quēde, quēed, n. evil, harm 7935, 16254, 23314; evil person 19575, 23731.
quede, queed, adi, hostile 8535; evil 20569.
quevntise, quentyse, n. art 19567; cunning 740.
queyntly, adv. cunningly 741.
quel(le), v. kill 7698, 8670, 10038, 11917, 22047.
quēme, adj. pleasing, agreeable 3266, 23347; fitting 8809.
quēme, v. please 2689, 3312, 11174, 17621, 21963.
quert(e), n. health, well-being 15172; in ~ 1803, 8554; source of health or well-being
quik(e), quyk(e), adj. alive, living 3378, 4171, 8645, 8879, 23486.
quike, quyk(e), v. come to life 5188, 13233; spread 17476; bring to life 8622. pa. t.
    quyked came to life 20883.
```

quyt(e), v. pay for 6685, 6776; do as much (in return) as 12484; ~ pi mede give you your reward 3190; may not her of him ~ cannot give satisfaction for it 7834; refl. be acquitted 13722; rid oneself, discharge oneself 11198; pei made hemseluen ~ they excused themselves 6578. pa. t. rewarded, repaid 14893. pp. 7617; acquitted 4620;

```
discharged 6770; departed 5994; deprived of 2038; set free (of a slave) 6708; free
    from 1648; quytte recompensed 4422.
quod. See quad.
auode, n. cud 1958.
råd, adj. afraid 22198, 22667.
răd, pp. See rēde, v.
raft(e). See rēue.
rage, n. disturbance 9412. pl. ragis fits of madness 6986.
raym, v. ransom, redeem 23156.
ran. See rennande.
rape, n. violent seizure 21920.
raberest, adv. superl. soonest, most quickly 22129.
rau3t(e). See reche.
raumpyng, pr. p. mounting on the hind legs 7104.
raunsonere, n. redeemer 9775, 15043, 18322.
raunsonvnge, n. redemption, pardon 11100.
raunsoum, raunsoun, n. compensation 1970; ransom 4420; pardon 16281; redemption
     8111, 18333.
rauysshe, v. carry off 7680. pp. rauysshed 17566, 18483, 20950.
recche, v. care 5446, 22199; rek 22210. pr. 3 sg. reccheb 3335. pa. t. rougt 16964; refl.
     felt consideration for 15102.
recett, v. receive 14745.
rē(e)che, n. smoke 3105; reek, smell 2744.
rēche, v. get to 1840; extend to, encompass 2660; hand to 3649; give, grant 5308. pa. t.
     rauzt(e) reached, extended, stretched 1341; managed to 11385; handed to 3682.
     pp. reaching, extending 1339.
rēcheb, pr. 3 sg. smokes, reeks 1644, 2742, 2744.
rēd(e), rēed(e), n. advice, counsel 919, 8378, do any ober ~ adopt any other advice
     2989, toke hem to ~ took counsel together 4032; plan 5099, 8606; expedient 11505;
     piece of news 18561.
redde, n. the colour red 18112.
rēd(e), rēed, v. explain 348; interpret 1178; 3yuen to ~ given to understand 10791; ad-
     vise 783; counsel, warn 1620; count 2570; tell, give an account of 94, 4690, 8513;
     read 222; save, deliver 906. pr. 2 sg. redes advise 8352, pr. 3 sg. interprets 42. pa.
     t. rěd(d)e, radd 7124; spoke, told 3348, 9817. pp. rěd(de), rad 221; explained
     153; counselled 19265; read 11090.
rēdeles, n. riddle 7120.
rēder, n. explainer, interpreter 4502.
rēdles, adj. foolish 15695.
rēeche. See rēche, n.
reef. See ryue, v. 1
rees. See res.
reft(e). See rēue.
rěherse, v. tell, recount, go over 9231. pr. 3 sg. rěherseb 268.
rěhersingis, n. pl. things recited 19882.
rek. See recche.
rēke: ouer rēke. See ouer.
```

relef, n. remains 13512.

religioun, n. man of religion 22002.

```
rēmes, n. pl. realms 1034.
renay, v. deny 8995, 22377. pp. reneved 9055; renaved (as adi.) renegade 23111.
rennande, rennonde, pr. p. (modern uses not cited) running 7803, 14283, pa. t. ran had
     currency, were in circulation (of money) 14038.
rent, n. privilege 19593.
rered, pa. t. raised 21056.
r\bar{e}(e)s, n, rush, mad dash 6550, 7160, 7166; hastiness 16465.
rescet. n. admittance 5299.
rěsoun, n. advice 4864; explanation 589; intention 5216; meaning 9340; opinion 9622;
     justification 9771; understanding 553; reasoning 12602; argument 16056; wisdom
     21024. pl. resouns pieces of advice 5456; arguments 12234; tempred ~ took coun-
     sel 15019.
rěsoun, v. explain 3881, 17746.
reuful, adj. sorrowful 4930; piteous 12536.
reuly, rewely, ruly, adv. pitifully 1825, 14253; piteously 12530; grievously 22151.
reube, n. compassion 1607, 1610; contrition, repentance 9113, 14073; grief, distress
     22667.
reubful, adj. piteous 14301, 20129, 20244, 20303.
rēue, v. take away, steal 2574, 3748, 14500; deprive 6149. pr. 3 sg. rēueb 4286. pa. t.
     reft(e), raft(e) stole 2958, 3468, 7882, 13019; reuede 4488, pp. reft(e), raft 3754,
     17551, 22624.
reuestide, pa. t. refl. clothed 10949.
rēueb. See rēue and rvue.
rew(e), v. have pity 1282, 3134; repent 4138, 4325; impers. regret 6205, pr. 3 sg. rewis
     laments 22441; impers. rewes regrets, repents 7968; reweb 1602; grieves 20074.
     pa. t. rewed, rewid pitied 15695, 16647; impers. repented 7964; was sorry 13463.
rewelv. See reulv.
ribaudy, n. coarsely comic tale 23856.
riche, n. kingdom 11979, 20597.
riche, ryche, adj. powerful 9, 4871.
ridelles, n. pl. curtains, draperies 11240.
rigolage, n. riotousness 49.
rist, adv.: ful ~ directly, immediately 17385.
rigtwis(e), rigtwyse, adj. righteous, just 5347, 6033, 7542, 12915, 21986.
ri3twis, adv. justly 8662.
ri3twisly, adv. righteously 7870, 9708.
ri3twisnes(se), n. justice, righteousness 9546<sup>n</sup>, 9614, 9621, 10088, 17449.
ryf(e), ryue, adj. abundant 7695; numerous 177, 8557; great 13018; renowned, famous
     8531; widely known 14364; rife, widespread 840; abounding in 14837.
ryf, adv. frequently 10799, 18662; abundantly 17852; far and wide 13273.
ryne, v. touch 19277, 21231.
ryue, n. bank 1840.
rVue, v. <sup>1</sup> tear 4161, 7507; tear off 9099; reduce 9110; burst 17020. pr. 3 sg. reueb tears
     1962, pa. t. reef cut, clove 7809, pp. ryue(n) split 1855; to ~ torn asunder 10116.
ryue, v. arrive (at) 1840.
ryuely, adv. frequently 7880, 8603.
ryuere, n. hawking on river-banks 3506.
\mathbf{r}\overline{\mathbf{o}}(\mathbf{o}), n rest 1007, 7418, 17888, 23379.
\mathbf{r}\mathbf{\bar{o}}, n.^2 roe-deer 19080.
```

rode, n. cross 198, 218, 1609, 9039, 11372.

```
romaunce, n. tale of chivalry 2.
```

ronke, adj. abundant 21024.

roo, v. rest 3351.

roos, n. boasting 13894; wibouten ~ without exaggeration 7747.

root, n. rot, foulness 5921.

rouzt. See recche.

roun, n. secret counsel 3987.

route, n. host, crowd 4003, 5155, 7537; entourage 5311, 15938.

route, v. roar 14618, 21869.

rowe, n.: on ~ in turn, in sequence 221, 9712; hool on ~ one immediately following the other 22443.

rowne, v. whisper, consult in secret 14276, 19713.

rud, pp. cleared 23813.

ruly. See reuly.

ruvd, n. reed 13120.

saaf, adj. well, healthy, cured 8094, 8170.

sacred, pp. consecrated 19496.

say, pa. 1. See se, v.

sake, n. guilt, crime 839, 2471; in his own ~ for his own fault 7704; for pat ~ merges into "for sake of that" 6679; for her ~ for them 5522; for goddis ~ for God's sake 9063.

săklěs, sac(ke)les, adj. guiltless 2440, 4484, 4623, 4625, 9006.

săme(n), adv. together 3025, 3369, 3446, 6021, 7410.

sarasěne, sarazěne, sarazšne, sarazšne, n. saracen, heathen, pagan 4247 (as adj.), 11072, 19946, 22716. pl. or coll. sg. sarazšn 22286ⁿ; sarasěnes 6984ⁿ; sarazšnes 16, 2288 (Moslems); saresšnes 7751; sarsšnes 7805.

sarmonynge, n. preaching 19912, 21123.

sarmoun. See sermoun, ν , and n.

sau3t(e), n. reconciliation, peace 2693, 3964, 4010, 5121, 14996.

sauzt(e), pp. reconciled 16, 856, 3540, 6730.

sauztelynge, n. reconciliation 964, 3954.

saumpel, **saumple**, *n*. exemplum, example 9514, 9753, 14901, 22887. Cf. **ensaumpel**. **saut**. *n*. assault 22363.

sauter 7969, 8529, 11616.

sāuour(e), n. delight, relish 11327; smell 3701, 21297; fragrance, perfume 1381.

sāuour, v. taste 3647. pr. 3 sg. sāuereþ smells 3702. pr. p. sāuerynge 6368.

sawe, n. saying, speech 1569, 5459; account 6512, 16548; promise 6857. pl. sawes, sawis sayings, utterances, accounts 6599, 13226, 13443, 16073.

sawe, v. sow 1050ⁿ.

sawe, pa. t. See $s\overline{e}$, v.

scalde, adj. scabby 22030.

scanteloun, n. scantillon: tool for measuring the thickness of an object 2231ⁿ, 8775, 8808.

scăped, pa. t. was released 4497.

sclaundreb, pr. 3 sg. refl. takes offence 13109.

scripp, n. wallet for food 7532. pl. scrippes 11425.

scrIte, **scryte**, *n*. writing 17634, 18492.

sē, n. seat, residence 2482, 16210; seat of office, throne 8728.

```
sē, v. see 6253; take charge of 13327; look 20090, ~ on to look upon 676; sew see 12200.
     inf. sen(e) 5743, 12876; seen look 3057, pr. 2 sg. se(e)stou do you see 12053.
     12982. pr. pl. seen, sene 1603, 2855. pr. p. seyng(e) 3950, 13679. pa. t. sawe 447;
     soze 4160; seze, size, syze 2821, 16214, 17907; say, sey(e) 204, 713, 4147, pp.
     sēne visible 4545; evident 4625.
sēche, v. seek 3156; sēke assail 13937, 16176. pr. 2 sg. sēcustou do you seek 15750.
     pr. p. sēkonde, sēkande pursuing 19499; seeking 22901, pa. t. souzt(e) visited
     23086; applied 4814, 12757; assailed 11833, 15471; came, went 16542; sought 159;
     reached 3106; tested 8655; visited (on) 1760, on hem - visited them with 14956,
     foly on him ~ did him wrong 12420. pl. sou3ten sought 7162. pp. sou3t come 4833:
     assailed 816; on me ~ visited on me 20547.
sēde, sēed(e), n. grain 2399; plants 1139; origin, family 4410; progeny 897, 2343, 9129;
     race 5573.
sēde, v. populate 16266.
seen, seestou. See se, v.
seere. See sere.
seesyn(e), seisine, n. possession, seisin 3360, 9443<sup>n</sup>, 9476.
sēges, n. pl. seats 14734.
seze, sey(e), seyng(e). See se, v.
seistou, seistow, seystou, pr. 2 sg. do you say 965, 5150, 14767. pr. pl. seyn 11377,
     11379. imp. pl. seib 20411.
seyntwārē, n. sanctuary 6888.
sēkande. See sēche.
sēke, n. sickness 10407, 21230.
sēke, adi. such 21998.
selcoub(e), n. marvel, wonder 4761, 8077, 8853, 9847. pl. selcoubis 14312, 18102.
selcoub(e), adj. wonderful 2572, 5737, 6339, 9830. compar. selcouber 9857. supert.
     selcoubest 16213.
selcoub(e), adv. marvellously 128, 7285, 8935, 9922, 18059.
selcoubely, adv. marvellously 22154.
sēle, n. good fortune, happiness, blessedness 4432, 14888; cēle 5564, 8319, 8884; wib
     sele well, thoroughly, in good measure 3962, 9902.
selěre, n. (= solěre; see below) upper room 15207; celěre 15197. pl. selěres storage
     chambers, cellars 4676, 4686.
sělv, adj. blessed, fortunate 3120, 3362; cělv 10934, 13595, 13978; sellv innocent? 712<sup>n</sup>.
sělyness, n. blessedness 23794.
sellv. adv. marvellously, strangely 712?<sup>n</sup>, 1146<sup>n</sup>, 2271, 12529.
semblaunde, semblaunt, n. appearance 17372, 20421.
semb(e)lē, n. assembly 6408, 10688, 12584, 13680, 14489.
sēme, v. (modern uses not cited) be fitting, suit, become 2751, 3265, 3311; refl. deign
     12445, 17622, pr. 3 sg. sēmeb is fitting, suits 15849. pa. t. sēmed suited 3288; was
     fitting 9111.
sēmelv, adj. lovely 210; handsome, distinguished 13371, 18830. compar. sēmeliere
     more likely 9781.
sēmely, adv. fittingly, handsomely 9879.
```

sē(e)re, adi. separate 292, 1493; unique 9961; different 17848; diverse 3339; various

925; some, a certain number 11346. sere, *adv.* separately 17753.

sendel, n. rich silken cloth 14984, 16871.

sēn(e). See sē. v.

```
serge, n. large wax candle or taper 21313. pl. sergis 20701, 20718.
seriaunt, n. servant 3221, 3363; officer of the law 16283. pl. sergeauntis 4899, 4937;
     seriauntis 16440, 17293.
sermoun, n. speech 4863; preaching 21099, 22140; sarmoun 20911. pl. sermownes
     sermons 22104.
sermoun, v. preach 19320; sarmoun 20940.
sertes. See certes
seruage, n. bondage, slavery 4193, 6304, 14405.
serued, pa. t. deserved 20080. pp. 10246.
seruyse, n. employment 12390; helpfulness, dutifulness 10624.
seruonde, n. servant 3118, 5884.
sēstou. See sē. v.
set, pt. t. (modern uses not cited) beset 19717; made (to be) 20902.
sēte, adj. fitting, well adapted 14783.
seuene, num. seventy 1455.
sew. See se. v.
sewe (on), v. pursue 16243. pa. t. sewed 14600; followed 16747.
shāde, n. shadow 20883.
shaft(e), n. creation 512; constitution, nature 739; being, creature 425, 10087.
shāles, n. pl. scales (on the eyes) 19691.
shāmeful, adi, modest 3367.
shank, n. leg 14064.
shăples, adj. without form 369<sup>n</sup>.
shāre. See shēre.
shēde, n. parting (of hair) 18837.
shende, v. disgrace 4397, 9024; put to shame 14844. pa. t. ruined, destroyed 1568,
      11944. pp. shent 754b, 820; disgraced 1639, 14838.
shēne, adj. bright, beautiful 1329, 2416, 3372, 3571; shīne 21236.
shenful, adj. disgraceful 1619.
shenshepe, n. disgrace 17470, 18172, 23248.
shēre, v. cut, cut off 23470. pa. t. 4057; shēre circumcised 2695. pp. shērn circumcised
      2670, 2698; reaped 12229; cut off 11713.
shert, adv. briefly 8347.
shifte, v. arrange 4440. pp. shift moved 23678.
shilde, shylde, v. prevent 5011, 8719.
shine. See shëne.
shire, shyre, adj. bright 17371, 21236.
shynning, pr. p. shrinking 15173.
shoop, shope, pa. t. created 23404; took measures about, set about, attended to 5722.
shorn. See shere.
shour, n. battle, assault, attack 7752, 7753, 20965. pl. shouris 51.
shrewe, n. villain 13662. pl. *shrewis 14825.
shrifte, n. penance 9090, 9091, 9094, 9114; confession 23297.
shryde. See shroude.
shryue, v. confess 17656, 18488; confess and receive absolution 23151. pp. shryuen
      23496.
shroud(e), n. covering, clothing, adornment 3250, 23673.
```

shroude, v. adorn 8322; shryde cover 936.

sibbemen, n. pl. kinsmen 20242, 20243.

sib(be), n. and adj. relative, related, kin 2898, 3328, 5065, 11940, 13221.

```
sibila, n. sibyll, prophetess 7031; sibile 6999, 7019, 7034, 7051.
sibrěde, n. kinship 12674.
sichon, pron. such a one 3464.
side, syde, adj. long 5313, 8079.
signe, syne, n. miracle 13420, 13520, 14474. pl. sign(n)es 14366, 14955.
significacioun. n. good reason 3380.
size. See sē. v.
sigt(e), n. sight, visible proof 9860; in ~ as can be seen 9639; to ~ 15668.
sizty, adj. keen-sighted 13448.
siked. See svke.
siker, sikir, sikur, adj. sure 4134, 9010, 19006; secure 16905. compar. sikerere more
     sure 19370.
sikerly, sikurly(e), adv. truly, assuredly, certainly 1145, 9583, 9809, 11061; safely
     18564.
sikernes(se), sikernis, n. safety, security 1158, 23379; confirmation 3331; sure knowl-
     edge 3472; surety 15427.
sīking, sīkyng, n. sigh, sighing 1088, 10411, 15170, 18145.
sise, n. judgement of a court: set on \sim put (a law) into effect 9427.
site, n. misery 9438.
sittynge, pr. p. fitting, suitable 15286.
sittyngly, adv. fittingly, pleasingly 3289.
sibe. n. time, period of time 5214; time(s) (of numbers) 1702, 1901, 2083, 2132. pl.
     sibes, sibis 1851, 6860.
siber, n. cider 10982<sup>n</sup>.
svde. See side, adj., and bi svde, adv.
syze. See se, v.
svke, v. sigh, pa. t. svked, siked 2959, 3877, 4856.
sympel, adj. poor, humble, of low rank 6798.
syne. See signe.
s\overline{\mathbf{v}}re, n. master 440; gentleman 14759.
skalle, n. scabby skin condition, psoriasis, eczema 11819.
skatervng, n. separation 15541.
skābe, n. injury, damage 6344, 6686.
skep, n. basket, container for grain 4741.
skil, skil(l)e, n. intelligence, reason 1327; reasoning 8327; good sense 16894; wisdom
     4732; cause, reason 751; reckoning 17955; as hit was ~ as was appropriate 12999.
     pl. skiles reasons 18852.
skilful, adj. intelligent, reasonable 16298.
skilful, adv. with good reason 3742; reasonably, intelligently 9739.
skilfully, adv. wisely 4747, 12081; reasonably 21334.
skoupe, v. skip 23569.
slāde, n. valley 1259, 8203.
slake, n. slackening, respite 23618.
slāke, v. relax, let go 6424; assuage 5114; abate 3772; decline 23794, pr. 2 sg. slākest
     assuage 18357. pr. 3 sg. slākeb comes to an end 12886. pa. t. slāked relaxed, let go
sla(y)n, slawe, sle(e), sleep, sleyn, sleonde. See slo.
slezely, adv. artfully 9404<sup>n</sup>.
slei3t, n. skill, craft 5563, 9904.
```

sli3t, adj. smooth 9975, 18840; sle3t 3490.

```
slizt, adv. skilfully 9975.
slv(e), slyze, adj. skilful, clever 1795, 4312, 9019; sleze 8695. superl. slizest 11840.
slvke, adi. of such a kind 23399.
slvlv, adv. cleverly 626.
slō(o), v. slav 1172, 1179; slē(e) 5573, 14485, infin. slōne 13952, pr. 3 sg. slēeb 1969.
     imp. pl. 6634. pr. p. slēonde 19467. pa. t. slo(w), slouze, slow(z)e 162, 832, 1514,
     1044b, 19502, pp. slone, sloon 8738, let hem ~ had them slain 11546; sla(y)n,
     slevn 905, 7757, 21174; slawe 8730.
slont. See on slont.
slow, n. skin 745.
slow3e, n. pond, marsh 1964, 15826.
smål. adi. slender 13138.
smart, adj. quick 7167.
smartly, smertly, adv. quickly 3673, 5695. compar. smertlyere 341.
smert, n. injury 1788.
smert(e), adj. cruel 5535; painful 3024, 6059, 12084.
smert, adv. painfully 58.
snel(le), adi, bold 3287, 16628; fierce 6149, 7753; cruel 22671.
snel(le), adv. promptly 7316; quickly 3627, 14946, 16530; firmly 14980.
snybbed, pa. t. reprimanded 18228.
snybbynge, n. reprimanding 18853.
so. conj. if 3759.
soden, pp. boiled 6081, 13373.
soze. See sē, v.
soken, pp. sucked 16659.
sŏlāce, sŏlās, n. joy, happiness 1004, 10459, 10478, 15040.
solempnite, n. festival 13874, 15083.
solere, n. upper room, upper story 12277, 12294. Cf. selere.
somdēl, sumdēl, adv. somewhat, to a certain extent 1280, 1580, 3580, 6851, 20535. See
     also del.
sonde, n. body of water, inlet, strait 679, 1841.
sonde, n<sup>2</sup> thing sent 3692; message 3954; visitation 5917; provision 5099; sending
     14700; person sent 711; messenger 7459; agent 5099. pl. sondis messengers
     14158, 17596.
sonde, n.<sup>3</sup> sand, earth 5664, 13729; shore, land 10910; sond ground 12527.
sondir, adj. separate 8038; dide in ~ separated 17752.
sondre, v. separate 13309, 13951, pa. t. sondride 19996, pp. sondred 20202.
sondry, sundry, adj. set apart 9961; separate 17847.
sō(o)ne, adv. immediately 1652, 2489, 6645, 11480. compar. sūūner sooner 4400.
soobnes, n. truthfulness, uprightness 1571.
s\overline{o}(o)re, n. pain 483, 615, 628, 19360.
sotele, sotile, adj. subtle 325, 4750.
s\overline{o}(o)b, s\overline{o}be, n. truth 777, 1103, 2731, 4977, 14676.
sopely, adv. truly 120, 2552, 4098.
sober, adj. compar. more truthful 18854.
sobfast(e), adj. true 9661, 17459; genuine 9614, 18728; upright 9501.
sobfast(e)nes(se), sobfastnys, n. truth 9545<sup>n</sup>, 9595, 9606; uprightness 1569, 2339;
     genuineness 9860.
sophěde, n. truth 19146<sup>n</sup>.
souzt(e). See sēche.
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```
sowneb, pr. 3 sg. makes the sound of a stringed instrument 21307, pa. t. souned
     resounded 378<sup>n</sup> (error for sonderd? See sondre).
sparcle, n. spark(s) 2925.
spare, n. compassion, sparing 3974; wibouten ~ without abatement 19738; without
     hesitation 17301.
sparred. See spēre, v. I
spēde, n. success 3524, 8787; good ~ quickly 7640, 18522, betur ~ more quickly 15430.
spēde, v. profit, prosper, succeed 243, 734, 736; deal with 224; hasten 13538, pa. t. sped-
     de prospered, succeeded 20000, 20001. pp. sped 1389, 3689, 9229.
spēdyng, n. prosperity 23716.
speyere, n. slit in a robe 5825.
spel(le), n. words uttered, preaching 18759, 19971, 20936; story 857, 1001; book of ~
     Holy Writ 12993. pl. spellis sayings, writings 23820.
spel(le), v. speak 14231; recount, relate, say 219, 1001, 2618; preach 12690, 12753; con-
     strue 14692. pa. t. spelled preached 19738.
spellers, n. pl. preachers 20849.
spellyng, n. preaching, homily 19655, 19951, 20000; pronouncements 22315.
spensere, n. dispenser of provisions, butler, steward 4447, 4485, 4530.
spěre, v. fasten shut, lock, bar 13329, 18086, 18087. pa. t. sperde, spěred 5618, 15894;
     enclosed 6888; sparred barred 13200. pp. sperde, spēred 10091, 15894.
spěre. v.<sup>2</sup> enquire 1760.
sperving, n. enquiring, observing 1683 (as adi.).
spille, v. destroy 516, 720, 1616; ruin 8999; kill 4126. pa. t. spilt 9768. pp. destroyed
     4332; put to death 22860; scattered 14733.
spire, n. cycle 1548<sup>n</sup>.
spit, n. spite, offence 4619; contempt 2610.
spītouse, adi. cruel 23235.
sponge, pa. t. error for spronge, sprung 9102.
sporn, n. rejection 4329; rebuff 23780.
sporne, v. spurn, despise 3575.
spousage: out of ~ outside marriage 3043.
spousail(1)e, n, marriage 7849, 10026, 11176.
spousebriche, n. adultery 185
spoused, spousid, pa. t. married 1449, 3080. pp. spoused 1501, 2898, 10030.
spred fast, pa. t. laid out, pinned out 22059.
squēlonde, pr. p. squealing, crying 1344; squēlyng 5626.
squyre, n. square, tool for measuring right angles 2231, 8808.
stad, pp. situated, placed 1269, 3470, 3587; sted(de) 66, 901, 10995.
staf slynge, n. sling which has its strings attached to a staff 7528.
stage, n. level 10079.
stal(le), n. place, position 396, 17863, 18810, 23556; seat of office 11256.
stalworbe, adj. strong 6496, 7324, 7495, 9823, 10296.
stalworbely, adv. vigorously 4310, 18090, 23756.
stang, n. pool 23202<sup>n</sup>.
stang, pa. t. See stynge.
stāpul, n. column, pillar 8288.
start, pa. t. leaped 7104, 7168.
state, n. place 314; condition, circumstances 17610; importance: holdeh no ~ have no
     respect for 13584; nature, kind 21300; possible means 14149.
```

stāue, n. stick 7322; walker - see walker.

```
stěd(e), stedde, n. place 641, 3764, 5138; wol stonde in ~ will profit (him) 4114; stěde
     476; stŭde 7862. pl. střdes 4674; stŭdes 21225.
sted(de), pp. See stad.
stev(ze). See stige.
stēke. See stōke.
stēlen, adj. of steel 18104.
stem, v. contend with 21135.
stēre, v. govern 4295, 23757; make one's way 4959, 6055.
stern. n. star 21313.
stert(e), n. short space of time 5722, 14298.
steuen(e), n. voice 1196, 2551, 3784, 11244, 12872.
stīde(s). See stěd. n.
stif, adi, strong: ~ in stour strong in battle 2203, 18180, superl, stiffest 61.
stifly, adv. firmly 18933.
stize, sty(ze), v. climb, rise 9424, 18668, 18750; stey(ze) 17543, 17758. pa. t. styze
     22723; stev 17490.
stile, style, n. subject (of a literary composition) 8509, 13001.
stille, v. keep quiet 202, 1081; silence 13075.
stire, v. disturb 829, 8936. pp. stired 8937.
stib\nabla, n. anvil 23237.
st\bar{y}, n. path 4575, 8131.
stynge, v. pierce 18022. pa. t. stang 20545.
stynkande, pr. p. stinking 2862.
stynt, n. stopping, ceasing 17700, 18770; wibouten ~ without delay 12977, 18341.
stynt(e), v. cease, stop 717, 4123, 10760. pa. t. stynt 1742; styntede 9151. pp. stynt
     6210.
stōke(n), pp. closed fast 19313; made fast 1758; stēke stuck, confined 4522.
stondond, pr. p. standing 5044.
stoon. n. (modern uses not cited) earthenware 5924; precious stones 9097.
stoppe, v. close 6726.
stored, pp. restored 2940.
stounde, n. short while 2244, 2314, 4671; pat \sim then 7532; at that time 8154; in pat \sim in
     that situation 20951; bi \sim sometimes, from time to time 21073; oft by \sim often 23197.
stounde, pp. stunned, dazed with blows 15838.
stour, n. battle 2203, 18180; dire struggle 15647. pl. stouris battles 7466.
strait, adj. severe 22691.
straytly, streitly, adv. strictly 2436, 6105, 8585.
strāked, pa. t. battled 1845.
strau3t, pa. t. stretched 18291; made (his) way vigorously 10610. pp. stretched 3779.
strenge, See strong.
strengbe, n. force 8811, 19323, 22570, 22683.
strēte, n. way, course 6182, 8071.
strif, stryf, stryue, n. violence, affliction 942, 1269, 19368; anxiety, agitation 10368;
     struggle, trouble 726, 17024; hostility 10800; strife 5, 831, 20114; conflict 1480;
     wipouten ~ without doubt 1849; without hesitation 17831.
stryed. See struye.
stryf(e), v. struggle, contend 829, 23632, 23756; quarrel, make trouble 178.
stronde, n. stream 6392, 6591, 8191, 15740, 17963.
strong(e), adj. painful 16630; dangerous 20959; severe 1441; harsh 3416; strong 15438.
     compar. stronger more severe 4426; strenger stronger 22527.
```

teer, n. tar 2245, 2870.

```
stronge, adv. boldly 5191.
struÿe, strÿe, v. destroy 14774, 22348. pp. strÿed, struid 9203, 22246.
stůde(s). See stěd. n.
studfastliere, adv. more steadily 5201.
studying, pr. p. pondering 22166.
sūdāry, n. the cloth wrapped around Christ's head in the tomb 17693.
suffrest, pr. 2 sg. afflicts 22620.
sumdēl, n. part 11796. See also dēl.
sumdēl. adv. See somdēl.
sundry. See sondry.
suuner. See sone.
swage, v. calm 7622.
swayn, sweyn(e), n. young man attending a knight 6279; man (of low rank) 16768; man-
     servant 6692, 6721.
swāl, pa. t. swelled 12531.
swank(e). See swynke, v.
swappes, n. pl. blows, lashes 19355.
sware: four ~ four-cornered, rectangular 19843.
sweuen(e), n. dream 2552, 4055, 4455, 4464. pl. sweuenes 4461.
swiche, n. deceit, trickery, treachery 18891; swike, swike 18260, 19519.
swikes, pr. 3 sg. deceives 23838.
swinke, swynk(e), n. labour 530, 1049, 1717, 6669, 14412.
swithe, swibe, swybe, adv. quickly 1936, 2073; very 1246, 5003; also ~ immediately
     6422, 13739.
swyme, n. swoon 14201, 19837.
swyng(e), v. swing 7582; hurl, toss 7527; beat, whip 5876. pa. t. swong(e) 16434,
     19355; flung 21141.
swynke, v. labour 921, pr. 3 sg. swinkeb 22885, pa. t. swank(e) 1047, 11413, pp.
     swonken 23051.
swynkeles, adj. without toil 9421.
taaste, n. judgement, discernment 18889.
tābles, n. pl. writing tablets 11087; tablets (of stone) 6466, 6511, 6541. pl. tāblis 6643.
tābulment, n. tablement, cornice (at the top) 1678<sup>n</sup>.
taile, n. appearance 11855.
tavīl. n. tau, the Hebrew and Greek letter t 6078, 12199, 12201, 12204, 12208.
take, v. take 7110; accept responsibility for 20790; understand 6905. pr. 3 sg. takeb
     begins, gets going 12887. pa. t. toke 20128. pl. token took 19383. pp. tan(e) taken
     5642, 5732; take 4476; itake 8915.
take, v<sup>2</sup> teach 13115; give, entrust, commit 5450, 15377. pa. t. toke 3006, 4366; took
     offered, held out 19791. pp. take entrusted 4367, 6513. Cf. teche.
tāl(l)e, n. narrative, account 124; number 394, 421, 6272, 7174; nyʒte tāle see nyʒter-
    tāle. pl. tālus admonitions 12455.
talent, n. inclination, desire 3912, 5258.
tapite, n. carpet, coverlet 11240.
tāste, v. perceive, distinguish 7859; test, tempt 12934.
te, v. draw, go 1709. pr. 3 sg. (for pa. t.) tizt made his way 15888.
teche, v. teach 13251, 18709. pa. t. tau3t(e) 18760; showed 18423; gave, committed to
     5027, 8068, 10823. pp. 6882. Cf. tāke, v.<sup>2</sup>
```

tel(le), v. count 420, 1462; enumerate 3382; estimate 6905; relate 220; reckon, consider 4142. pa. t. tōlde counted 14727. pp. tōld(e) 2676, 7843; considered 19850; telde counted 7174.

tēme, n. story 5070, 18495.

temed, pa. t. cut into, broached 12020.

tende, n. tenth part, tithe 968, 1062, 1208, 2540. pl. tendes 14118.

tēne, n. resentment 4034; anger 7624, 13909; affliction 5536, 8142; distress 10472. pl. **tēnes** insults, causes of anger 7980.

tēne, adj. angry 12063, 12080, 14728.

tene, v. be distressed 10462. pa. t. impers. tened 19119. pp. 15694.

tent, n. attention, notice, care 1740, 1816, 3531; take ~ take care, pay attention to 12773; took ~ looked after 3496.

tent(e), v. pay attention to, attend to 1307, 1705, 3497. pr. 3 sq. tenteb 5208. pr. p. tentynge 2542. pa. t. tent 1791; tentede 1790; tent applied himself 10177. pp. tynt intended 1587.

thonder, n. thunder (scribal error) 539, 540ⁿ.

tides, n. pl. hours 14193.

tiel, tyel, n. brick 1533ⁿ, 1538, 2245.

ti3t, v. I See te.

ti3t, pa. t.² intended 3157, 4124, 12032. pp. ordained 20506.

tille, v. cultivate, educate 12175. pr. 3 sg. tileb tills, ploughs 21301.

tille, adv. to 3605, 3712, 12355; fro & ~ to and fro 11937.

tille, prep. to 45, 1266, 1562, 1615, 1754.

tille, conj.: wher tille. See wher.

tilbe, n. agriculture 2013, 3504, 10177.

tite, **tyte**, *adv.* quickly 3174, 11087, 15800; *also* ~ immediately 8119; *al so* ~ 18497; *as* ~ 500.

tipande, tipond(e), n. news 2514, 3847, 5242, 10417, 10994.

tyed, pp. put in bondage 23307.

tymbering, pr. p. constructing 8763.

tyne, v. destroy 4774, 5518, 9457, 13511. pp. **tynt** destroyed 1658, 7244; completed 1741; finished 18769; used up 6085.

tynt, pp. See tent, v. and $t\nabla ne$.

tō, adj. hither: ~ side hither side 3929.

tō dryue, v. scatter 9671.

tō ryuen. See ryue.

to bringe. See bringe.

töbrēke, v. hurt 900.

todrawen, pp. torn apart (fig.), afflicted 16397.

tōfērd, adj. afraid 15557.

tōforn, adv. before 8146, 10938, 12479; tōfore 3674, 7034, 9109.

toke(n). See take, v.²

tōkenvng, n. prophecy 2974.

told(e). See tel.

tome, toom, adj. empty 4581, 17798, 17815; devoid of 2905.

ton: **be ton**, pron. one of two 5053, 5552, 8601, 11055, 16717.

took. See take, v.2

toom, n. time 2128.

torn(e), n. resentment 3576, 4330; affliction 23779.

toshake, v. shake violently 22552.

tŏþer, *pron.* and *adj.* the other 5053, 5160, 8636; the next 17652; the second 5927, 13249. *gen.* **pe tŏþers** the other's 7464; **pe tŏþeres** the second's 21316. *pl.* **pe tŏþ er(e)** the others 4580, 6074.

touchynge, pr. p. concerning 207.

toune, n. tun, vat 21042.

tray, **trey**, *n*. pain, affliction (linked alliteratively with **tēne**) 9413, 10472, 15694, 17050, 18254.

trave, v. betray 15267.

transmigration, n. transmigration (i.e., the Babylonian exile) 9198.

transolate, pp. translated 7958, 17766; transferred 9220.

trauail(e), n. labour 89, 1741, 3574, 9703; trouble, difficulty 6373, 6443.

trauail, $n.^2$ journey 14170.

trauail(e), **trauaille**, *v.* trouble, vex 7357; labour 3526, 4789. *pp.* **trauailed** disturbed, vexed 7435, 7620, 7664; *refl.* laboured 22775.

trauailyng, trauelynge, n. work 4694; labour (of childbirth) 3487.

trē, n. (modern uses not cited) wood, piece of wood 1664, 5924, 8782, 12399, 12404.

treen, adj. wooden 12389, 12392, 21048.

tregettour, n. juggler, trickster 12247.

trey. See tray.

trēsoun, *n*. treachery 773, 1121; evil intention 11956, 12068; plot 14492; evil action 14997; deceit 16057; evil, injustice 16300.

treste, adj. See triste.

treuandise, n. disreputable behaviour 253.

treube. See troub.

trewage, trowage, n. tribute, tax 5799, 22236.

trewe, *adj.* firm 9914; pure 10081; **trize** true 19292; as *n*. **trewe** faithful followers 22962.

 $tric(c)her\overline{y}(e)$, n. trick 3870, 4392; deceit 730, 816; treachery 7832, 15476.

trist, n. security 23645.

tristē, trestē, adj. faithful, loyal 10049; honourable 11161; confident 11049; secure 23600; assured 23637; trusty confident, certain 12321, 20458; tristy of faithful to 3272.

trouþ(e), treuþe, *n.* fidelity, loyalty 99, 2387, 2525, 8386; honesty 10193, 13891; faith 14587, 19097. *pl.* **trouþis** pledges 11432, 14521.

troubhěde, n. loyalty 97.

troubly, adv. faithfully 19950.

trow(e), v. believe 1951, 2036, 5146, 7222. pr. 2 sg. trowest 771; troweston 14270. pr. pl. trowen 14268. pa. t. trowed 721, 958.

trowäge. See trewäge.

trussed, pp. packed up 4911.

trustv. See triste.

turned, pa. t. converted 20904.

twaile, n. towel 15285.

twey(e), num, two 4444, 7917; tweyn(e) 523, 1523; twyn(ne) 2930, 3903.

twi3t, pp. pulled, plucked 8045.

twvn(ne), v. separate 9634, 22199, 23096, 23182. pp. twynned 7948.

þai, **þei**, **þey**, *conj*. though 1238, 1991, 3367, 6399, 22109.

bar, v. impers. need 1029, 1978, 2553, 2730. pa. t. burt(e) 1993, 6979.

bat, rel. pron. what 39, 510b, 673, 1330; (of persons) those who(m) 6022, 6614.

bē(e), n. thigh 3941, 5426, 16830.

bēde, n. people, country 4483, 13760, 21097.

ben(n), **benne**, *conj*. whence 5581; when 801, 7406, 8913, 17941.

þenne, adv. thence 3798, 8945; thereafter 8839; fro ~ thence 13695; thenceforth, thereafter 7616; ~ forb thenceforth 19108.

běr(e), conj. where 1257, 3156, 6200, 6389, 10701.

běrby, adv. even ~ close by, close to it 8147.

berf. adi.: ~ breed unleavened bread 6079.

perfore, adv. because of it 6699, 22761; for it 5722, 6720; for that reason 633, 2317; from that source 12390.

pērtille, *adv.* to it 887, 1066; for that purpose 4731, 6674; with regard to that 13716, 20658.

bērtō, adv. from this time 10353.

bew, n. good character 13275. pl. bewes, bewis ways, customs 1947, 10597, 12088.

pewed, pp. of a good disposition, well-behaved 8425.

bider, adv. up to that point 5181.

bilke, bylke, adj. the same 10795, 11386, 11525; bulke 8959, 11417. Cf. ilke.

þing, n. (modern uses not cited) creature, person 1933, 2077, 22155; what ~ what news 5203; no maner hinge in no way, not at all 1226, 1790.

þinke, v. impers. seem 950. pr. 3 sg. **þink(e)** 2941, 2946; me ~ it seems to me 6670; **þinkeþ** 639, 2224. pa. t. **þou3t(e)** 750, 2473. pp. **þou3t** 2392.

birle, v. pierce, penetrate 23412.

birlis, n. pl. pierced holes 18687.

þō, pron. pl. those 6118, 6126, 6575, 6576.

bo, adj. that 5719. pl. those 5920, 5965, 6327.

bō(o), adv. then 2848, 2915, 3003, 3147, 7627.

þöle, v. endure 7312, 9108, 11861; suffer 9619, 9636. pa. t. þöled endured 9106, 10397. pa. t. 2 sg. þöledest suffered 20240. pp. þöled 12431.

bolyng, n. suffering, enduring 15684.

bon: to ~ bat, conj. until 1437-38.

bouzt(e). See binke.

bour3e, prep. through 151, 2933; (with verb understood) pierced 17052.

brayste, pa. t. thrust 4472. pp. **brest** 557.

þral(le), n. slave 2055, 2133, 2136, 15291, 16940; bondage 14653. gen. sg. **þralles** slave's 6705. pl. 16413.

braldam, **braldom**(e), n. slavery, bondage 2342, 2583, 4304, 6990, 9658.

bralhěde, n. bondage 5791.

bralle, v. enslave 23787. pp. bralled 20020.

þrawe, **þrowe**, *n*. space of time, short time 757, 792, 3281, 6666a, 8442; *in litil* ~ immediately 7668.

brest, n. thirst 6308^{n} .

bret, **bret**(e) pa. t. threatened 196, 19328, 19603. pp. 10102.

prettende, prettenpe, ord. num. thirteenth 11373, 22671.

pridde, ord. num. third: his (day) ~ day two days from now 1398, 4475, 20187, 20203; half ~ 3ere three and a half years 22212ⁿ.

brifte, *n*. prosperity, success 4439.

bring, n. affliction *11821.

pringe, v. crush: to - crush completely 10076. pa. t. **pronge** pierced 16438.

þrye, adv. three times 20629; **þryes** 430, 3842.

þryn, *num*. three 6340, 20827.

```
brvuen, pp. flourishing 5641, 14806.
bro, adj. stubborn 5803; determined 14392; violent 19741; harsh 11741; apt, amenable
     16560.
þrō, adv. obstinately 5997, 16144; fiercely 15978.
broly, adv. obstinately 19338.
brom, n. throng 7423.
brong, n. oppression 2585.
bronge, v. See bringe.
browe. See brawe.
bulke. See bilke.
burt(e). See bar.
vchōn(e), pron. each one, every one 833, 1680, 1715, 6120, 6312.
vmbeset, pa. t. surrounded 7751. pp. vmbset 8884.
vmbilay, v. surround, encompass 22076, pa. t. vmbileide 22069.
vmbreide, vmbreyde, n. upbraiding 5673, 8398, 10287, 10319, 18094.
vmwhile, adv. at some time 21937.
vnbeden, adj. uninvited 14243.
vmbevne, adi. uncooperative, disobedient 17735.
vnbolde, adi. unconfident 15914.
vncēle, vncěly. See vnsēle, vnsěly.
vncoub(e), adi. strange, foreign 4410, 4803; barbarous 2406, 13641; new, unaccus-
     tomed 18346; inappropriate 10139; strange, terrible 22494; vnkoub(e) unknown
     1170, 2392,
vncoubelv(e), adv. in an unfamiliar manner 4818, 4823.
vndelt, adi. undivided 9761.
vndid(e). See vndo.
vndir, n. See vndren.
vndirfonge, v. receive, take up 10354, 22307, 22625, pa. t. vndirfong 1519, 19565.
vndirgropede, pp. fathomed, searched out 575.
vndir3ēde, pa. t. underwent 9114; vndir3ōde came to understand 19173.
vndirly, vndurly, v. submit to, suffer 6691, 12226.
vndirloute, n. and adj. subordinate 2372, 3705, 5514, 9774, 12989.
vndirstode, pa. t. took note of 12342.
vndirtāke, v. set about 3409; receive 4642; accept 9064, pa. t. vndirtōke understood
     2050; adopted 2700; took charge of 5639; set about, commenced 8436; undertook,
    took on (a task) 9125. pp. vndirtaken adopted 917.
vndō, v. reveal 5598, 9300, 23380; solve 7120. pr. 3 sg. vndōb reveals 22445. pa. t.
     vndid(e) opened 6611; revealed 6657, 7134; recounted 8461; explained 12465.
    pp. vndone opened 14317.
vndren, n, the 3rd hour of the day (9 a.m.) 18915, 18972, 21931; the 6th hour of the day
    (noon) 16741; vndir 19830.
vndurly. See vndirly.
vnēebes. See vnnēbe.
vnfayn, adj. unglad 3591.
vnfēre, adi. sick 187, 1238, 3507, 13765, 13778.
vngevn, adj. profitless 22751.
vnhap, n. misfortune 6759.
vnhēle, n. infirmity, sickness 8137; ill fortune 8143, 8170, 8174, 20744.
vnhěnde, adj. discourteous 9023; rough 10128.
```

vnkid(de), adj. unknown 909, 1575, 6920; withheld, not shown 13355.

```
vnkynde, adj. unnatural 2027.
vnk\overline{v}ndenes, n. perversion, perversity 13018.
vnkoub(e). See vncoub.
vnlau3ter, adj. without laughter 3283<sup>n</sup>.
vnlēle, adi, dishonest, treacherous 13173, 18609.
vnlēred, adj. ignorant 13884; uninstructed 22454.
vnliche, adi. unlike 5325.
vnměsūre, n. or adj. excess, out of all proportion 22897.
vnmēte, adj. unequal 9362; unsuitable 16566; immeasurable 23035.
vnnēbe, adv. hardly, scarcely 2510, 3422, 4706, 8159; vnēbes, vnnēbes, vnnēbis
     5277, 11685, 12136.
vnpē(e)s, vnpays, n. suffering, lack of rest 23325; discord 21970; hostility, harm 13306.
vnpurueyde, adj. unprovided 5444.
vnqueme, adj. uneasy 22597.
vnguēmefully, adv. uncomfortably 22551.
vnquert, n. trouble 5721, 14893.
vnrěsoun, n. unjustifiable thing 3747.
vnri3twislye, adv. unjustly 18274.
vnrō, n. unrest 7438.
vnsau3t, adj. unreconciled 16318.
vnseene, adj. unfamiliar, unknown 4631.
vnsēle, n. unhappy plight 1166; vncēle bad fortune 7279.
vnsěly, adj. unhappy, wretched 1223; vncěly 15842.
vnshryuen, adj. unconfessed 23122.
vnsi3tily3e, adj. ugly 6706°.
vnskil(le), n. folly 201, 6982, 6989.
vnskilfuly, adv. foolishly 19149.
vnsly(e), adj. ill-made, ugly 7446; unskilful 1684; foolish 9187.
unsouzt, adj. intact, unharmed 2440.
vnsped, adj. unsuccessful 17596.
vnspēde, n. bad luck 10468; misfortune 15420.
vntāmed, adj. unsubdued 21045.
vnteld, adj. uncounted 18549.
vntoun, adj. wanton 6441.
vnþryue, v. cease to thrive 9450.
unwarres, adv. unwarily 2018.
vnwēlde, n. frailty, weakness, helplessness 3563, 23642.
vnwēlde, adj. weak 1267, 1451, A51.
vnwēle, n. distress, hardship 5714.
vnwemmed, adj. unstained 21046.
vnwitonde, pr. p. not knowing 12525, 19100; vnwityng 3874, 19250.
vnwittis, n. pl. lack of intelligence 13657.
vnwone, adj. unwonted 10139.
vnwrast(e), adj. wicked 9475, 19480.
vnwröken, adj. unavenged 13067.
vpri3t, adv. supine 5439.
vprisyng, vpr\overline{y}syng(e), n. resurrection 202, 11363, 11367.
vprist, n. resurrection 14264, 17784, 18683, 18999, 20831.
vproos, pa. t. rose (from the dead) 203. pp. vprisen 17787, 17788.
```

vpstay, pa. t. ascended 203.

vaile, v. prevail 7375.

verony, n. the image of Christ's face on St. Veronica's handkerchief 18859.

verrey, adj. true 3473.

vertū(e). n. special power or property 34, 8012, 8949, A41; virtue 10625; a member of one of the orders of angels 19523. pl. vertūes moral powers, virtues 571; excellent things 1011, 9990; power, properties 1016, 8454.

vessele, n. vessel, instrument 19674.

vigūr, n. image, figure 2290.

vilany, vileny(e), vilene, n. shameful treatment 2422, 4405, 8405, 16306, 20340; defamation 9022.

viletē, n. abuse 20537.

visitynge, n. visitation 11099.

 $v\overline{y}is$, n. complexion 18841.

volatile, n. food, victuals 6386.

wagering, pr. p. wandering 23091.

waileway, wayleway. See weilawey.

waite, wayte, v. lie in wait for, watch with hostile intent 7672, 21898; await 11406; pr. 3 sg. waiteb lies in wait for 7833. pr. pl. wayten 9974. pa. t. waited, wayted 4330, 7616. pp. waited 6674.

wayment, n. lamentation 14314.

wayn, weyn, n. wain, waggon, chariot 11653, 21264, 21272. pl. weynes 5229.

wāke, n. staying awake 10302.

wāke, v. watch, keep vigil over 8208, 20273; be diligent 8759; stay awake 15655. imp. pl. wākeþ stay awake, watch! 15653. pp. wākeb watched over, attended at a vigil 20374.

walde. See welde, n.

waleweb, pr. 3 sg.: \sim in is surrounded by 4503.

walker, n. fuller: ~ stave fuller's stave, implement for beating out cloth 21144.

walkynge, pr. p. journeying on foot 17478. pa. t. welke walked 3155, 5735, 13526.

walt. See welde, v.

wan, adj. See wone.

wan, pa. t. See wyn, v.

wandrynge, n. being without a settled home? 5787 (error for wandreth distress, hardship?)

wane. See won n.2

wānhōpe, n. false religion 7572; despair 18674.

wānspēde, n. futility 23708.

wantyng(e), n. depletion 6272; lack 11676.

wantounshipe, n. licentiousness, mischief 10135.

war(re), adj. wary, as in "beware" 661, 1717; ~ him let him beware 62; aware, alert, on the alert 2787, 3171, 8569; thoughtful, prudent (alliterating with wyse) 4421, 4614, 7303.

warande, waronde, warant, n. guarantor 14651; confirmation, authority 14849; authorisation, authority 14968, 18426.

ward(e). n. custody 18270; guardianship. charge 5209; safe-keeping 8199; exercising of precautions, watching out: have pou no ~ do not be concerned 11637; area of jurisdiction 19484; werde 9968; worde keeping 18030. pl. wardes enclosures within the curtain walls of a castle 9894.

wardestoure, n. store(s) 1698.

wardrope, n. storage room 1686.

wary, v. curse 16770. pr. 3 sg. warieb, waryeb 6678, 22103. pp. waried, waryed 1498, 2077, 9929, 15868.

waryinge, n. curse 12061.

warn, n. warning 11133.

warn(e), v. inform 2564, 2627, 3625; advise 2598; admonish 15611. pp. warnyst admonished, instructed 19897, 21885; warned 22364.

warn(e), v.² prevent 2726; refuse 3040, 3261; keep from, bar the way to 15465; **wern(e)** refuse, deny 12106, 12453, 21334. pr. 3 sg. **werneb** forbids 13733. pa. t. **warned** refused, denied 4939.

warnyng(e), n. warning 4588; instruction, notification 6945, 16021.

waronde. See warande.

warre. See war.

wāst, n. inflammation of the eyelid 13546.

wāsteful, adj. disastrous 18230.

wate. See wit, v.

wax. n. beeswax 21297.

waxe, v. grow, become 456, 1138, 1270. *inf.* waxen 8766. *pr. p.* waxinge growing 385. *pa. t.* wex(e) grew 1420; became 719; came into being, grew 2323; rose 1775. *pp.* waxen grown 3074, 3077.

waxing(e), n. growing larger 22496; increase 1430.

wē, excl. woe, alas! 13630. Cf. wō.

webbe, n. female weaver 1525.

wed(de), n. token 7706; pledge 4402, 16670.

wēde, n. clothing 3341, 3365, 5135, 16620; wēd 6798. pl. wēdis clothes 19775.

wēde, v. go mad 3749, 11548, 13034, 13974, 16008, pr. pl. **wēdis** grow enraged 12053. **wēene**, n. supposition 1104. See also **wēne**.

weilawey, weileway, waileway, wayleway, weylaway, weylawey, weyleway, excl. woc, alas! 8669, 9056, 12040, 12534, 15279, 15367, 22703.

weyn(es). See wayn.

weyue, v. move, turn aside 22077.

wěl. n. Scc wēle and welle.

wēlde, *n*. power, control, charge 462, 788, 9484; **walde** 7163, 12331; **wōld(e)** 2393, 17040.

wëlde, v. rule, control 586, 2657; wölde 9958. pr. 3 sg. wëldeb A28; wöldeb 22874; walt 23105. pr. sg. subj. wële hold sway? 7546. pr. p. wëldand(e), wëldonde ruling, controlling 2386, 3117, 23704; wëldyng(e) 1939, 18065. pa. t. walt had possession of 10181. pp. wëlden controlled 13821.

weldenes, n. control, authority 23641; wildenes possession 4501.

wēldynge. n. control 13781.

wēle, n. good fortune 672, 755, 1310; favour 4479; wealth 3234; wēl gain 7744.

wēle, adi, prosperous 8883.

wēle, v. Sec wēlde

weleful, adj. pleasant, delightful 641; wilful 2090.

welke. See walkynge.

welle, n. spring, stream 310, 1032, 1315; fountain, source 21023; wel spring, stream 3256, pl. welles 1766.

welle, v. boil (fig.), be in torment 23166, 23167. pr. p. wellyng(e) springing up, gushing forth 11701, 17076; boiling (lit.) 21042.

```
welbe, n. well-being, prosperity 802, 2907, 3110, 4501. pl. welbes good things, kinds of
     well-being 23431.
wem(me), n. flaw, stain 11208, 11226; injury 19721; defect 22836.
wemles, adi. flawless, pure 5748, 18839.
wemmed, adi. marred, stained, flawed 10021, 22824.
wende, v. go 64, 754; turn out, happen 18789; move on 21845; ~ him forbermore go on
     6540; ~ azeyn go back 14946. pr. 2 sg. wendes go 1154. pr. pl. wenden 23038 impl.
     pl. wendeb. pa. t. wende 1867; went 3719, pa. pl. wenten 8024 (refl.), 23049, pp.
     went 825, 1550.
wene, n.: wipouten ~ without doubt 577, 1355, 1813, 3187, 5073.
wēne, v. think 1458, 6202, 9025, pr. 2 sg. wēnes 4070; wēnest 59; wēnestou 10456; wē
     nesbou 7557, pr. 3 sg. wēneb 60. pr. pl. wēnen 22863. pa. t. wēnde 202, 736, 806.
werd(e). See ward and world.
were, n. apprehension, anxiety 2425; doubt 3830, 7069; wibouten ~ undoubtedly, as-
     suredly 2157, 3698; out of ~ 8101.
were, n.^2 war 3453; dispute 20794.
were, v. guard 1476; guard against, prevent 3299; protect 7546, 14658, pr. p. werryng
     guarding 7548.
wered. See werren.
werfor. See wherfore.
werk, n. fortification 22541.
werlawe, n. warlock, the Devil 23747.
wern(e), werneb. See warn, v.<sup>2</sup>
werray, v. fight, do battle 19702, 21982, pa. t. werrayed 20004, pp. 18265.
werre, adi. compar. worse 7579.
werren, pr. pl. attack, make an attack 22003. pr. p. werronde 19602. pa. t. wered 18582.
werreour, n. assailer, adversary 18014, 20933; werrour warrior 22347.
werryng. See wêre, v.
weber, n. wether, ram 11649.
wex(e). See waxe.
what, pron. indef. thing(s) 8450; any - anything 3629; mony - 12598, 19286.
what, prop. interrog.: ~ is zow? what is the matter (with you)? 4395; ~ is be 20289.
     20301, 20379.
what, adj. whatever 14258.
whenne, conj. until 3058.
wher, adv. interrog. introducing a direct question, like whiper 2723, 14839, 14840.
wher, coni. whether 15359.
wher till, adv. interrog. for what reason? 7291.
wheraboute, adv. interrog. for what reason? 15429.
wherby, adv. interrog. how? 7801.
where, adv.; wide ~ far and wide 20444, 21011; wide whore 19996; vche where every-
     where 13981.
wherfore, conj. for which reason 6694, 7050; werfor whence, from which 14789.
wheben, conj. whence 2805, 3826, 4785, 4819, 10491.
wheber, pron. interrog. which of two? 14045; rel. 7463.
wheber, adv. interrog. introducing direct question 6313, 11725, 12292, 12802, 13656.
while, adv. meanwhile 8764.
whore. See where.
wi3t(e), n. person, creature 1350, 2074, 2136, 9888, 9929.
```

wizt(e), adj. brave, strong, mighty 2634, 2987, 7085, 8306, 9214.

```
wi3t, adv. vigorously 3836, 7183.
wi3tly, adv. mightily 7642.
wike, n. week 2857.
wil See wille n
wildenes. See weldenes.
wil(le)ful, adj. arrogant 11807; voluntary, freely chosen 10064; self-willed 2090, 16429;
     desirous 23073.
wilful, adj. See weleful.
wille, n. pleasure, desire 463, 653; self-will 6397; intention 493, 502; good will 6416;
     sentiment, attitude 1065; promise 10667; consent 4131; free will 664; joy 11926;
     wib ~ voluntarily 14530; in ~ with the intention 11525; in good spirits 11926; at
     (his) pleasure 18065; al at ~ entirely to (his) taste 3647; wil desire 8328.
wille, adj. wandering, lost: ~ of wone wandering without a home or wandering without
     resource 3051, 15516.
willonde, pr. p.: euel ~, as n. pl. ill-wishers 6829.
wis(e), wisse, wyse, v. guide 1285, 6851, 14643, 21272. pp. wissed 1540.
wist(e). See wite, v.
wit(t), wite, n. intelligence 667, 7219, 8319; wisdom 285, 324; mind, wits 2220, 13975.
     pl. wittes, wittis senses 17015, 17018; kinds of knowledge 18940; wits, intelli-
     gence 23759.
wit, v. See wite, and wite.
wite, wyte, n. blame, guilt 499, 6577, 7895, 17921; punishment 15802, 23649; hadde
     be ~ was to blame 5667; wibouten ~ without accusation, blame 17633.
wite, wyte, v. know 510a, 13504; to ~ hem to let them know 1180; wit perceive 22018.
     inf. witen know 10708. pr. 1, 3 sg. wate 313; woot(e) 64, 301; neg. noot 5265. pr.
     2 sg. wo(o)st 766, 2981. pr. 3 sg. witeb 14286; wit 3537. pr. pl. witen 12133; wate
     14508; woot 1552. imp. pl. witeb 14648. pa. t. wist(e) 748, 2949; neg. niste 2800;
     nust(e) 1806, 14485. pp. witen 6996.
wite, wyte, v^{I} blame, accuse 1647, 13813, 17311, 17445; to \sim to blame, guilty 876. pr.
     2 sg. wites 10466; witestou 10468. pp. wit 17772.
wite, v.2 pass away 21934.
witen, pr. pl. wet 1318. See also wite, v.
witerly. See witterly.
wityng, n. knowledge 23510.
Witsonday, n. proper Whit Sunday, Pentecost 18914.
witteles, adj. ignorant 14608.
witter, adj. wise, cunning 698.
witterly(e), witerly, witturly, adv. assuredly 2003, 2165, 2943, 6419, 10921.
witty, adj. clever 3291, 4677.
wib, prep. (modern uses not cited) until 2591; in return for 3234, 3239; by 3442.
wib al(le), adv. nevertheless 1117; in addition 3491.
wiphelde, pa. t. kept at a distance 5539.
wiboute(n), prep. away from 15082; outside 588.
wibsawe, n. objection 5877.
wibstonde, v. refuse, disobey 13825. pa. t. wibstode took measures against 10523.
wyk, n. place, dwelling 2090.
wyle, n. device, stratagem 4153, 4749; trickery 16080.
```

wyn(ne), n. joy 1310, 7879, 18848, 22200, 23095.

wyn, adj. lovely 4465.

wobe, n. peril, hurt 20977.

```
wyn(ne), v. earn by labour 922; ~ her lyf earn their living 1048; make one's way (to)
      5024; gain 919; force 8219; wrest away 5502; ~ away escape 2499. pa. t. wan
     earned, obtained 1049; gained 16844; made one's way (to) 2780; ~ to gained.
     achieved 21220; won: vp ~ got up 15760. pp. won(e) got, gained 6389; up, on (his)
     feet 5196.
wynning, n. earnings 968.
wynsum, adj. lovely 2484.
wvse. See wis.
wvte. See wite, n., and v.
wlank, adj. proud 6397.
wō(o), wouze, wowe(e), wowze, n. evil, woe, distress 1044a, 1171, 1443, 15020, 15828,
      19501. pl. wois 15621.
wod(e), wood(e), adj. mad, raging, savage 3506, 5571, 7419, 11863; wild, unhinged
     14023.
wold(e), woldeb. See welde, n. and v.
womb(e), n. belly 536, 894, 16509, 18888,
\mathbf{w}\overline{\mathbf{o}}\mathbf{n}(\mathbf{e}), \mathbf{w}\overline{\mathbf{o}}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{n}, n action of dwelling 641; dwelling place 13281; in \sim in the world 2170.
     7881; by custom, regular practice 4353, 14697. For wille of wone see wille, adi.
\mathbf{won}(\mathbf{e}), \mathbf{woon}, n. expedient, resource 3755, 5679; supply, source 1384; abundance 651;
     possessions 13713; wane expedient 4388.
won, adj. pale 4547.
won(e), pa. t. and pp. See wynne.
wonde, n. wrapping? 1672.
wonde, v. hold back (from), shrink 4334, 8465, 12970, 19253, 19875.
wone, woon(e), n. lack 4291, 6389, 19059; waning, diminution 1430.
wone, n. See won.
wone, woon, adj. wanting, lacking 82, 7608, 20056, 22846; wan 5387, 5469.
wone, adi. See wone, v.: pp.
wone, v. dwell 1687, 2462; live, fare 11850; accustom 12088. pr. 2 sg. wonest dwell
     20341. pr. 3 sg. woneb 2678; wones 23515. pr. pl. wonen 570. pr. p. wonend(e)
     7918, 14081; wonyng(e) 3349, 11314. pa. t. woned 1507, 2207. pp. wone accus-
     tomed, wont 7392, 12010, 17880.
wonyng(e), n. dwelling 914, 2076, 2956, 3800, 6157. pl. wonyngis 2845.
wood(e), adj. See wod.
wood, pa. t. waded, crossed 3773.
\mathbf{w}\overline{\mathbf{o}}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{n}(\mathbf{e}). See \mathbf{w}\overline{\mathbf{o}}\mathbf{n}, n, l, 2; \mathbf{w}\overline{\mathbf{o}}\mathbf{n}\mathbf{e} n, and adj.
woost, woot(e). See wite, v.
worchynge, n. building 8759.
word: loue ~. See loueword.
worde. See ward.
wore, adj. superl.: out be ~ the out-and-out worst 11835.
world, n. age 1491, 1495, 1531; werd(e) world 91, 552, 2891, 3457.
worm(e), n. serpent, snake 887, 889, 891, 1690, 12542.
worshepe, worship(e), n. honour 109, 111, 114, 3004, 4643. pl. worshipes 6098, 6388.
worshepe, v. honour 6474, 10527. pa. t. worsheped, worshiped 512, 17820. pp. 17841.
worbe, v. befall, come to be, come to pass; ~ hir worst may she fare worst 7236; wo ~
     her hende ill betide her hands 7241; ~ away pass away, be done away with 19110,
     22588.
wost. See wite, v.
```

```
wouze, wow(e), wowze. See wo.
```

wowze, n. wall 7667.

wrāke, n. See wrēche.

wrāke, v. See wrēke.

wrast, pa. t. pulled, wrenched 3466, 7510,

wrappe, v. anger 16159, 16427; grow angry 18221. pa. t. **wrapped** angered 10176. pp. 16227; distressed 13665.

wrecched dome. n. wretchedness 3113.

wrecched hěde, n. wickedness 1141, 8469.

wrěc(c)he, n. vengeance 1130, 1131, 6058; wrēke 2927; wrāke 837, 889; evil, harm, violence 6514, 8916; disaster, misfortune 9204; persecution 19379.

wrēke, v. avenge 11773. 11963; wrāke take vengeance 6093. pa. t. wrēked 6281. pp. wrōken avenged 2586, 4416.

wrēkyng, n. punishment 19336.

wrenchis, n. pl. tricks, wiles 13336.

wri3t(e), n. builder, carpenter 1666, 12387; craftsman 325, 331; batail ~ person skilled in battle 7495. pl. wri3tes, wri3tis craftsmen, workmen 333, 4671; carpenters 1725.

writ(t), n. letter 17613; document 11397, 11399, 11401. pl. writtis letters, writings 18501.

wry(3)e, v. denounce 16048; reveal, disclose 16466. pa. t. wryed accused 18555.

wrynge, v. spring or trickle out 11700. pa. t. wrong(e) squeezed 4470; wrung (hands) 15955, 16642; broke out 18888.

wrvbe, v. coil out, slide out 4276.

wröken. See wrēke.

wrongwis, adj. wrongful 7548, 13718.

wroob(e), wrob(e), adj. angry 30, 794, 959, 4529; distressed 10437.

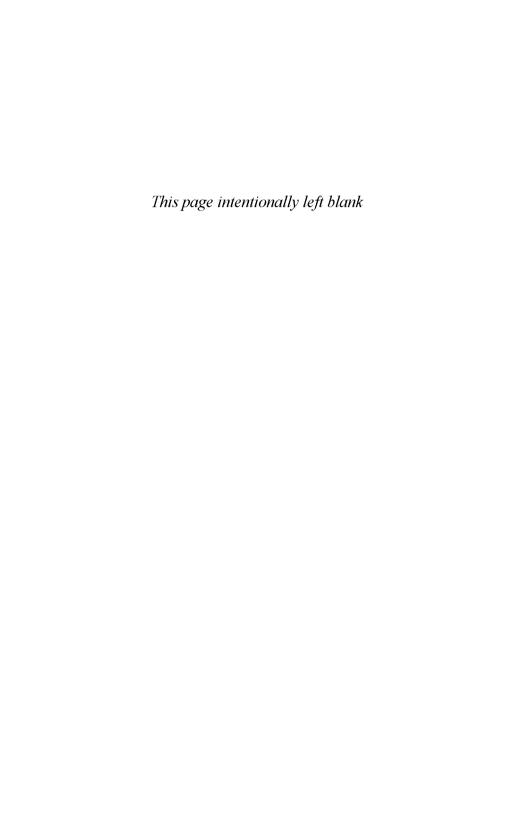
wrote, v. turn up (earth), grub, burrow 23281.

wrobely, adv. angrily 3958.

wroperhēle, n. bad fortune, no good 21923.

wrōperhēle, adv. in sorry plight 6125; unfortunately 7335; counter to, contrary to 16477.

Zamazīnis, n. pl. Amazons 7043.



INDEX OF PERSONS AND PLACES

Most proper names are cited in the Index of Persons and Places, excepting the following, which occur very frequently:

- 1. references to heaven, Hell, Paradise, the three persons of the Deity
- common titles.

see Labdon

3. major nationalities and religious groups.

Other proper names, such as books of the Bible, religious festivals, special groups or categories of persons, may be found in the Glossary if the word is unfamiliar.

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

For conventions of emendation, abbreviation, and alphabetical arrangement, see the introduction to the Glossary.

Lines numbered A1-A60 replace CM 10835–906.

Aaron, Aarons¹ Abel, Abelle, Abelles Abel, son of Adam and Eve Aaron, brother of Moses 1044b, 1054, 1055, 1059, 1071, 5605, 5837, 5845, 5887, 5894, 5901, 1074, 1094, 1100, 1123, 1183, 1193, 5936, 5972, 6061, 6132, 6303, 6414, 1213, 1218, 1348 6427, 6896, 6947, 8278, 14422 [Abesan] Aaron² see Ezebon Ram (Vulg. Aram), son of Hezron; Abimalech in the line from Abraham to David Abimelech, King of Cades; in the 7853 time of Abraham Abacuk 2962, 2971 Habakkuk, one of the prophets Abisay Abishai; urged David to let him kill 18369 Saul Abdyas 7717 Obadiah, one of the prophets Abva Abijam, son of Rehoboam and [Abdon] grandson of Solomon

9143

Abyuth Abiud, son of Zorobabel; in the Virgin Mary's genealogy 9237, 9238	9387, 9396, 9406–9453, 9768–9784 14427, 16943, 17869, 17925, 17949 18114, 18194, 18225–18287, 18303
9237, 9238 Abraham, Abrahame, Abram Abraham 137, 1426, 1427, 2305–2399, 2424– 2479, 2511–2595, 2607–2645, 2650 ⁿ , 2651, 2693, 2704–2764, 2917, 2959, 2995, 3003–3037, 3042, 3083, 3087, 3119–3127, 3139, 3183, 3212–3215, 3328–3400, 3786, 4028, 5030, 5348, 5473, 5724, 6868, 7839–7859, 10331, 12151, 19090	18379, 18433, 18624–18628, 2056: Adonay Adonai; name for God 17826 ⁿ [Aeneas] See Enea Affrik, Affryk, Aufric, Aufryk Africa 2089, 2098, 2109, 5119, 8533 Agar, Agare
Achaz Ahaz, son of Jotham; one of the kings of Judah 9175, 9177	Hagar, slave wife of Abraham 2594, 2598, 2604, 2605, 2619, 2629 2635, 3047, 3061 [Ahaz]
Achay Achaea 20999	see Achaz Ayoth Aioth; one of the Judges of Israel
Acheldemach Akeldama; the potter's field bought with Judas Iscariot's 30 pieces of silver	7005 Albane in CM town in Armenia where the apostle Matthew was martyred 21109
16539 Achialon Elon; one of the Judges of Israel 7053	Alexandre, Alisaunder, Alisaundre Alexander the Great 3, 7048°, 22331 Alexandrie
Achim son of Sadoc; in the Virgin Mary's genealogy 9241, 9242	Alexandria 21252 Alphe, Alphei, Alpheus Alphaeus, husband of Mary
Acres Acre; city in the Holy Land; identified by CM with Joppa 19802 see also 3op	Cleophas 12668, 12669, 19491, 21127 Amadas hero of medieval romance
Adam, Adames, Adams Adam 134, 402, 405, 514–598, 608–696, 710–790, 810–870, 932–993, 1045, 1111, 1183, 1186, 1206–1237, 1328, 1368, 1399, 1413–1491, 1557, 1988,	20 Amalec, Amalek ¹ Amalek; fought against Joshua and the Israelites 6404, 6410, 6422 Amalec ² Amalekite
2211, 3214, 3979, 5027, 5341, 5474,	Amaickie

7790ⁿ

8499, 8505, 8982, 9002, 9258, 9259,

A1	Amenamiat Amenamiat Amenamistic
Ambrose	Antecrist, Antecryst, Antecristis, Anticrist, Anticristes, Anticristis
St. Ambrose of Milan 19881	
	Antichrist
Amynadab, Amynadabbe	213, 1475, 1478, 18396, 21975-
Aminadab, son of Ram; in the line	21995, 22004, 22006, 22074, 22217-
between Abraham and David	22270, 22363, 22370
7854, 7855	Antiache ¹
Amon ¹	Antioch
Ammon, son of Lot	20901
2951	Antioch ²
Amon ²	Antiochus IV of Syria, despoiler of
Amon, son of Manasseh; one of the	the temple? Antioch the city?
kings of Judah	21997 ⁿ
9185, 9189	
Amos	Apolym
Amos, the prophet	see Constantine Apolym
9168	Apollo, Apolyne, Appolyn
Ananias, Ananyas ¹	Apollo
Ananias; died for deceiving the	7020, 13619 ⁿ , 22285
apostles	Arabye
19216, 19237, 20887	Arabia
Ananias, Ananyas ²	2105
Ananias; baptised Saul (Paul) in	Aram
Damascus	
19658, 19665, 19683	Haran (Vulg. Aran), brother of
Andreu, Andrewe	Abraham
St. Andrew the Apostle	2306, 2311, 2333, 2367
13274, 13486, 18871, 20215, 20859,	[Aram]
20995, 21215	see Aaron ²
Anna ^l	Aramathi, Aramathy, Aramathye,
erroneously mentioned as daughter	Arimathy, Armathie
of Rebecca	Arimathea; home of Joseph of
3426 ⁿ	Arimathea
Anna, Anne ²	16817, 16850, 17287, 17309, 17327
St. Anne, mother of the Virgin Mary	17422, 17599, 17610, 17781, 17799
154, 10147–10193, 10367, 10410–	17816
10499, 10507–10575, 10938, 12660,	see also Ioseph ⁷
12694	
Anna ³	Aran
prophesied before the infant Jesus in	Haran; home of Laban, Jacob's
the temple	father-in-law
11356	3769, 3827
Anna ⁴	Archelaus, Archelayus
Annas, the high priest	Archelaus, eldest son of Herod the
17515, 17653, 17759, 17782, 17811,	Great
18493	11849 11906 11922 13008

Archetricline, Architriclyne person presiding over the marriage at Cana of Galilee 13358 ⁿ , 13399, 13403, 14444	Babilone, Babiloyne ¹ Babylon 2106, 2108, 2203, 7052, 9207, 22096 Babiloyne ²
[Armenia] see Ermonye	Babel
Arphaxat Arphaxad, son of Shem and grandson of Noah 2157	2265 Balam ¹ Balaam, regarded by <i>CM</i> as son of Bus and grandson of Nahor, Abraham's brother
Arthour Arthur, King of Britain	2309 Balam ²
Asa son of Abijam and great-grandson of Solomon; one of the kings of Judah	Balaam; prophesied the Star of Bethlehem 11389 ⁿ Baltizor
9145 Asine Ashkenaz, son of Gomer and grandson of Japhet	Balthazar, one of the Magi 11502 ⁿ Baraban, Barabas ¹
2186 Asy, Asye Asia	Barabbas; criminal released in preference to Jesus 16382, 16391, 16441
2089, 2097, 2099, 21035 see also Masye Assener	Barabas ² Barsabas; surname of Joseph, candidate for election as an apostle
Aseneth, wife of Joseph, Jacob's son 4668	18899 Barach
Asser Asher, son of Jacob and a concubine 3902	Barrack; one of the Judges of Israel 7017
Aufrik, Aufryk see Affrik	St. Barnabas, companion of St. Paul 19727, 21217
Augustus Augustus, the Roman emperor 11186, 11194, 11277	[Barpanthar] see Parpantera Barsabe, Bersabe ¹
Austyn, Austyne St. Augustine of Hippo 360, 587, 22583 ⁿ , 23011	Bathsheba, wife of King David 7884, 7910, 7960, 8341
[Azariah] see Osyas	Bartelmew, Barthelmew, Barthulmew St. Bartholomew the Apostle
Azor son of Eliakim; in the Virgin Mary's genealogy 9239	13289, 18872, 21105 ⁿ Batriane Bactria (Afghanistan) *21096

Batuel, Batuele	Borffora
Bethuel, son of Nahor, Abraham's	in CM burial place of James, son of
brother, and father of Rebecca	Alphaeus
2308, 2310, 3287, 3344	21175
Bede	Boz
the Venerable Bede	Boaz, son of Salmon; in the line form
507	Abraham to David
Bedleem	7857
Bethlehem	Bruyt
7348, 7349, 8538, 9137, 10750,	Brutus; legendary founder of Britain
10829, 11180, 11184, 11200–11289,	7
11466-11488, 11561, 12518, 14790,	Bus
14794, 14864, 22088	Buz, son of Nahor, Abraham's
[Beersheba]	brother
see Bersabe ²	2308
Belsabuk	Cabal
Beelzebub; appellation of Satan	Jabal, son of Lamech; in the line of
18230 ⁿ	Cain
Beniamyn, Beniamynne ¹	1512
Benjamin, youngest son of Jacob	Cadades
(by Rachel)	Cades; country of Abimelech
3904, 4808, 4850, 4984, 5013, 5023,	2961 ⁿ
5051, 5118, 5124, 5159, 20938	Caiphas, Caiphe, Cayphas
Beniamyn ²	Caiaphas, the high priest
the tribe of Benjamin	14503, 14508, 14526, 15119, 15121,
7008, 7012	15394, 15874, 15887, 16017, 16039,
Bersabe ²	16569, 17515, 17653, 17759, 17782,
Beersheba; home of Abraham	17811, 18493
3207	Caym, Caymes, Kaym, Kaymes ¹
Betanye, Bethany ¹	Cain
Bethany; home of Martha, Mary, and	1044a–1075, 1102, 1114, 1123, 1161,
Lazarus	1202–1223, 1350, 1446b, 1496,
13969, 14077, 14138, 14229	1497,1507–1559, 2071
Betel, Bethel	Caym ²
Bethel; place where Abraham built	error for Cainan; in the line of Seth
an altar	1459 ⁿ
2388, 2441	Caynan
Bethany ²	regarded by CM as grandson of Shem
Bithynia	and great-grandson of Noah
20877 ⁿ , 21211	2159 ⁿ
	Calamynee
Bethsaida	in CM a city in India where the

apostle Thomas was martyred

21101

town in Galilee

20861, 21079, 22101, 22106

2113, 8534

Calef	Cephura
Caleb; leader of the Israelites with	Keturah; wife of Abraham after
Joshua	Sarah's death
6929, 6993, 7001	3388
Calmana	Cesar ¹
wife of Cain	Caesar; Roman emperor at the time
1501	of the Crucifixion
Calvory	16026, 16036, 16366
Calvary	Cesar, Cesare ²
16601, 16674	Caesarea
Cam	19804, 19916
Ham (Vulg. Cham), son of Noah	Cethim
1629, 2025, 2053, 2069, 2089, 2136,	Kittim, son of Javan and grandson of
2191	Japhet
Canaan ¹	2187
land of Canaan	,
2365, 2368, 2480, 3236, 4805, 4821,	[Cham] see Cam
5388, 5470	
Canan ²	Chananew
Canaan, son of Ham and grandson of	Canaanite; epithet of Simon the
Noah	Zealot
2192	21165
Cane	see also Symeoun ⁵
Cana of Galilee	Charles
13362	Charlemagne
Capados	15
Cappadocia	Chebron
20877 ⁿ	see Ebron
Capharnaon, Capharnaoun, Capharnaum	[Chorazin]
Capernaum; town in Galilee where	see Corozaym
Jesus ministered	[Christiana]
12488 ⁿ , 13246, 22107	see Cristiane
Carius	Chus
raised from the dead; gave account of	Cush, son of Ham and grandson of
the Harrowing of Hell	Noah
17833, 18452, 18492	2192, 2193, 2195
Carmeny	Ciprioun
error for Armenia	Cyprus; regarded by CM as city of
21154 ⁿ	St. Barnabas
	21218
see also Ermonye	Cirillus
Carthaga	tried to steal the Cross-wood
Carthage 2113, 8534	8880 ⁿ
4113.033 4	3000

Cyrinus	Damask, Damaske
Cyrenius, governor of Syria;	Damascus
organised the census at the time of	19612, 19657, 19732
Jesus' birth	Dan, Dane, Danes
11196	son of Jacob and a concubine;
Claude	regarded as ancestor of Antichrist
Claudius, the Roman emperor	3902, 21975, 22011, 22013
18524	David, Davy
Cleophas	David, King of Israel
second husband of St. Anne; father of	147, 6943, 7370, 7407–7493, 7520-
Mary Cleophas	7593, 7604–7698, 7701–7795, 7802-
12663, 12693	7881, 7910–7990, 8021, 8114, 8148.
Cleophe	8221, 8285, 8327, 8447, 8513–8539
surname of Mary, wife of Alphaeus	8831, 9005, 10162, 10191, 10730,
12549 ⁿ , 16752	10740, A8, 11157, 11256, 14430,
see also Mary ⁴	14789, 14864, 15055, 15071, 17330
Constans	18098, 18132-18149, 18345, 18881
in CM, Roman emperor in the Last	18994
Days	Delbora ¹
22317	wife of Seth
Constantine Apolym	1449, 1502
Constantinople	Delbora ²
21216	Deborah; leader of the Israelites:
Cornelius, Cornely	associated with Barrack
Cornelius; official at Caesarea	7017 ⁿ
19806, 19812, 19823, 19894, 19907,	[Delilah]
19917, 19922, 19927, 19936	see Dalida
Corozaym	Didimus
Chorazin; town in Galilee	surname of St. Thomas the Apostle
22101, 22105	14218, 21089
Costantyn	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
Constantine, the Roman emperor	see also Thomas
21213	Dismas
Cristiane	the repentant thief crucified with
Christiana; name given to Maximilla	Jesus
8920	16738 ⁿ
see also Maximilla	Dyna
Dalida, Dalidam	Dinah, daughter of Jacob and Leah
Delilah, wife of Samson	3899, 3910
7188, 7190, 7235, 7249	Domiciane
Damas	the emperor? a city?
Damascus in Canaan; home of Moab	21997 ⁿ
and Ammon, sons of Lot	Domycion
2955	Domitian, the Roman emperor
see also Themas	21036

Dorca Dorcas; other name of Tabitha	6177, 6230, 6935, 10341, 10524, 11588, 11746, 11766, 11797, 21171,
19761, 19778	22959
see also Thabita	Egyas
Dothahim	condemned St. Andrew to crucifixion
Dodanim, son of Javan and grandson	21001
of Japhet	
2188	E3eb
Dothaym	Horeb; where Moses saw the burning
Dothan; place where Joseph's	bush
brothers were herding their sheep	5736
4104	Elayn
Draussyan	Helen of Troy
widow raised form the dead by the	7049, 7081
apostle John	Eliachim
21053	Eliakim, son of Abiud; in the Virgin
[Eber]	Mary's genealogy
see Heber	9238
Ebron, Chebron	Eliazar ^l
Hebron; valley in the Holy Land	Eliezer, servant of Abraham
406, 1416, 2483, 3212, 4035, 5339,	2561
5474, 9397	Eliazar ²
Econyas	Eleazar, son of Aaron
see leconyam	6948
Eden	Eliazare ³
Eden, where Cain fled	Eleazar, son of Eliud; in the Virgin
1500	Mary's genealogy
Edmounde of Pounteney	9243 ⁿ
St. Edmund of Pontenay	see also Leuy ²
20057 ⁿ	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
Edon	[Eliezer] ⁴
Edom; the land which Esau inherited	see Elyaser ⁴
4036 Effrain, Effraym ¹	Elizabeth
Enrain, Enraym Ephraim, son of Joseph, Jacob's son	Elizabeth, mother of John the Baptist
5236, 5437, 6932	3427, 10151 ⁿ , A47, 10937, 10997,
5236, 5437, 6932 Effrem ²	11011, 11018, 11027, 11037, 11117
Ephraim; town to which Jesus	Elizeus
withdrew for a while	Elisha, the prophet
14536, 14556	9159
Egip, Egipt, Egipte	[Elim]
Egypt Egypt	see Helym
163, 2400, 2582, 3080, 4178, 4240,	Elisa
4627, 4684, 4810, 5007, 5042, 5186,	Elishah, son of Javan and grandson
5192,5205–5237,5370–5395,5409,	of Japhet
5479, 5492, 5930, 5979, 6090, 6116–	2188

Eliud	Ermonye, Hermonye
son of Achim; in the Virgin Mary's	Armenia
genealogy	1869, 21110
9242, 9243	see also Carmeny
Ely, Elye ¹	Esau, Esaue, Esaues, Esaw, Esawe
Eli, the priest	Esau, son of Isaac and brother of
7264, 7277	Jacob
Ely, Elyas, Helie, Hely, Helyas, Helye ²	140, 3492, 3499, 3518, 3519, 3598,
Elijah, the prophet	3599, 3652, 3662, 3680, 3686, 3700,
1477, 9149, 9161 ⁿ , 9346, 9348,	3720, 3726, 3765, 3794, 3954, 3971,
12780, 12811, 17546, 17688, 17689,	3973, 3994, 4003, 4009, 4020, 4035,
18392, 22362 ⁿ	5036, 5357
Elyaser, Elyezere ⁴	Esrom
Eliezer, son of Moses	Hezron (Vulg. Esron)
5712, 6440	son of Pharez and grandson of Judah;
[Elon]	in the line from Abraham to David
see Achialon	7851
Emanuel	Ethiopye, Ethyopy
Emmanuel; name of Christ in	Ethiopia
Isaiah's prophecy	2115, 8132
9286	Eufrate, Eufrates
Enea	Euphrates; river in Paradise
Aeneas; healed of palsy by Peter	1038, 1317
19753	Europe
Engelonde	-
England	2090, 2098, 2123 Eue
8, 235	
Enok	Eve
Enoch, son of Jared; in the line of	757, 830, 932, 933, 1047, 1186,
Seth; taken up bodily to Paradise	1211, 3980, 5028, 5342, 9387, 20565
1467, 1482, 1483, 18390 ⁿ , 22362 ⁿ	Ezebon
Enos ¹	Ibzan; one of the Judges of Israel
son of Seth and grandson of Adam	7045 ⁿ
1451, 1457	Ezekias
Enos ²	Hezekiah, son of Ahaz; one of the
Enoch, son of Cain	kings of Judah
1504, 1509	9178
Ephesim	Fison
Ephesus	Pison (Vulg. Phison); river in
21069	Paradise
[Ephraim]	1317
see Effraim and Effrem	Fyton
Ercules	Pithom; city which the Egyptians
Hercules	built using the Israelites as labourers
7028	5529

Fraunce	Gesmas
France	the unrepentant thief crucified with
246, 22254	Jesus
Frigie	16739 ⁿ
Phrygia	Gessen, Iessen
21083	•
Gabriel, Gabrielle	Goshen; the part of Egypt in which
Gabriel, the archangel	Jacob and his descendants lived
10816a, A2, A21, A58	5421, 5963, 6026, 6056
Gad	[Gideon]
son of Jacob and a concubine	see Gedeon
3902	[Gihon]
[Gaetulia]	see Gison
see Ienile	[Gilboa]
Galathie	see Gelboe
Galatia	
20877 ⁿ	Gison
Galile	Gihon (Vulg. Gehon); river in
Galilee	Paradise
10164, 10818, 10825, A5, 11925,	1317
12698, 13253, 13361, 14559, 14786,	Gog
14798, 14861, 15553, 15559, 16147,	country, with Magog, from which an
16150, 17385, 17426, 18773, 18962,	evil people will rise in the Last Days
20862	22331
Gamaliel	Golias, Goly, Golye
one of those who interrogated the	Goliath; Philistine giant killed by
resurrected Carius and Lenthius	David
17813, 18494	148, 7443, 7487, 7553, 7575, 7577,
[Gawain]	14431, 17328
see Wawayn	Gomor ¹
Gedeon, Iudeon	
Gideon; one of the Judges of Israel	Gomorrah
7021, 7027	2469, 2843
[Gehon]	Gomer ²
see Gison	Gomer, son of Japhet and grandson
Gelboe	of Noah
Gilboa; mountain where Saul and	2183, 2185
Jonathan were killed	[Goshen]
7756, 7804	see Gessen
Gena	Grace, Grece
Javan, son of Japhet and grandson of	
Noah	Greece
2183, 2187	5, 7033, 7037, 7064, 22228 ⁿ , 22320
Gersan	Gregore, Gregory
Gershom, son of Moses	Pope Gregory the Great
5712, 6440	22041, 22400, 22596, 22888, 22914

3op, 3open	Heroude, Heroudis ²
Joppa; city in the Holy Land where	Herod Antipas, son of Herod the
Peter preached; identified by CM	Great; had John the Baptist executed;
with Acre	king at the Crucifixion of Jesus
19760, 19816, 19825	13002, 13013, 13014, 13025, 13033,
see also Acres	
	13048, 13072, 13168, 16153, 16158,
[Habakkuk]	16159, 16165, 16167, 16183, 16188,
see Abacuk	16205, 16219
[Hagar]	Heroude ³
see Agar	Herod Agrippa, grandson of Herod
[Ham]	the Great; had James son of Zebedee
see Cam	executed
[Haran]	12701, 21016
see Aram	Herpolie
[Havilah]	Hierapolis; city in Phrygia
see Ielula	21083
Heber	[Hevila]
Eber, son of Salah; in the line of	see Ielula
Shem	[Hezron]
2163	See Esrom
[Hebron]	
see Ebron	Hispanye, Speyne
[Helen of Troy]	Spain
see Elayn	2103, 20948, 21013
Helie, Hely, Helyas, Helye	[Hyrcania]
see Ely ²	see Irtane
Helym	Homer
Elim; place where Moses found the	8531
three rods	[Horeb]
8009	see Ezeb
[Henoch]	[Hosea]
see Enok and Enos	see Osee
[Hercules]	[Huz, Vulg. Hus]
see Ercules	see Vs
Hermonye	
see Ermonye	[Jabal]
Herodias	see Cabal and Iobal
wife of Herod Antipas	Iacob, Iacobes, Iacobus ¹
13012, 13020, 13032, 13070, 13153,	Jacob, son of Isaac and brother of
13228	Esau
Heroude, Heroudes, Heroudis, Heroudus ¹	140, 3493, 3537, 3623–3698, 3719–
Herod the Great; king at the birth of	3798, 3836–3892, 3903–3973, 4004–
Jesus	4037, 4237, 4754–4778, 4806, 4845,
161, 172, 11440, 11454, 11473,	4929, 5005, 5161, 5187, 5199, 5216-
11481, 11526, 11538, 11547, 11582,	5250, 5311–5379, 5420–5491, 5658,
11591, 11798, 11799, 11911, 13004	7850, 10337, 10519, A29-A32

Iacob ² Jacob, son of Matthan; father of	prophet Jeremiah; in the Virgin Mary's genealogy
Joseph, the Virgin Mary's husband	9197, 9233
9247, 9248, 12746 ⁿ	[Jehoram]
Iacob, Iacobus, Iame ³	see Ioram
James the Less, son of Alphaeus; one	Ielula
of the Twelve Apostles	Havilah (Vulg. Hevila), son of Cush
12670, 12671, 12689, 13299, 18873,	and grandson of Ham
19491, 21127, 21169	2193 ⁿ
Iacob, Iame ⁴	Ienile
James the Great, son of Zebedee and	Gaetulia
brother of John; one of the Twelve Apostles	2116 ⁿ
12700°, 13284, 15591, 18871,	lepte
19494, 21009, 21011, 21019	Jephtha; one of the Judges of Israel
Iame, Iames ⁵	7041 ⁿ
James, eldest son of Joseph, the	Ieremye, Ieromye
Virgin Mary's husband	Jeremiah, the prophet
12521 ⁿ , 12528, 12537, 12546 ⁿ ,	9195, 9333, 9345, 11648 ⁿ , 22439 ⁿ
21148 (identified with James ³ the	Iericho, Ierico
Less)	Jericho
Iapheth	12303, 12333, 21154 ⁿ
Japhet, son of Noah	Ierom, Ieronym
1630, 2029, 2031, 2059, 2090, 2122, 2135, 2181	St. Jerome
2133, 2161 Iare	20789, 22441 ⁿ , 22595, 22987
Jair; one of the Judges of Israel	Ierusalem, Iherusalem, Ierusaleme,
7035, 7039	Ierusalemes
Iareth	Jerusalem
Jared, son of Mahalaleel; in the line	2146, 2536, 7599, 7878, 8198, 8581, 9203, 10367, 10545, 10559, 10749,
of Seth	11069, 11290, 11436, 11487, 11643,
1463, 1465, 1553	12583, 12691, 12796, 12957, 14230,
Iasper	14568, 14937, 17643, 17713, 17791,
Jasper; one of the Magi	17821, 18399, 18457, 18752, 18865,
11493 ⁿ	19333, 19480, 19492, 19541, 19600,
[Javan]	19610, 19722, 20698, 20946, 21128,
see Gena	21137, 21170, 22117, 22264, 22356
Idoyne	lesse
Ydoine; heroine of medieval	Jesse, father of King David
romance	7347, 7360, 7380, 7381, 7383, 7390, 7858, 7860, 9269, 9282, 10190,
20 Jaconyan Eganyas	10721, 10727, 10731, 15072
leconyam, Econyas Jehoiakim (elsewhere Jechonias),	Iessen
son of Josiah; king in the time of the	see Gessen
son of Josiah; king in the time of the	see Gessen

letro	Ion, Ione, Iones ⁴
Jethro, priest of Midian and father-	St. John, the Apostle and the
in-law of Moses; also called Reuel	Evangelist; the person married at
6433, 6444	Cana of Galilee
Illerike	12703, 13284, 13430 ⁿ , 13434–13443,
Illyria	15245, 15591, 16745-16757, 16845-
20947	16871, 18871, 19045–19055, 19190,
Inde	19494, 19542, 19597, 20055, 20067,
India	20101, 20133, 20283-20299, 20315-
2105, 21096, 21102, 21108	20399, 20415, 20428, 20489, 20501,
Indie	20551, 20711, 21009, 21019, 21035,
	21276, 21296, 21321, 21329
Numidia 2116 ⁿ	Ion ⁵
	St. John the Divine; author of the
Ioachim, Ioachym	Apocalypse; equated with John,
Joachim, father of the Virgin Mary	Apostle and Evangelist?
154, 9251°, 10144°, 10158–10192,	22056, 23194, 23202
10227–10277, 10300–10377, 10409,	(Kyng) Ion ⁶
10560, 12659, 12750 ⁿ	King John
Iob	19
Job, regarded by CM as son of Huz	Ionas
and grandson of Nahor, Abraham's	Jonah, the prophet
brother	9168
2309	Ionathan, Ionathas
Iobal, Tobal	Jonathan, son of Saul
Jubal, son of Lamech; in the line of	7647, 7652, 7758, 7800
Cain	Ioram
1512, 1516 (confused with Jabal),	Joram (also Jehoram), son of
1519	Jehoshaphat; one of the kings of
Ioel, Ioele, Iohel	Judah
Joel, the prophet	9157, 9163
9167, 9346, 18978, 22964	Iordan, Iordon, Iordone, Iurdan, Iurdane,
Ion ¹	Iurdon, Iurdone
Yonec; hero of medieval romance	River Jordan
19 ⁿ	168, 2465, 2866, 3773, 3929, 6957,
Ion, Ione, Iones, Ioon ²	7996, 8186, 12333, 12832, 12880,
John the Baptist	12917, 17926, 17962, 18468, 18477
167, 171, 3429, 10154, 10934,	Ioseph, Iosephes, Iosephs ¹
10965, 11007–11095, 11113, 11115,	Joseph, son of Jacob and Rachel
12714–12785, 12806–12891, 12907,	142, 3904, 4042–4090, 4109, 4172,
12917, 13001–13098, 13100–13192,	4193, 4195, 4200–4270, 4328–4381,
13215–13256, 14467, 17902–17919,	4411–4498, 4502–4587, 4613, 4650–
18755, 19952	4659, 4730–4750, 4814, 4823, 4863,
Ion ³ (gildenmoup)	4886, 4923–4967, 5038, 5047
St. John Chrysostom	(restoration), 5052–5075, 5132–
11380, 11393	
11200, 11273	5177, 5204–5249, 5364–5396,

5408-5496, 5505, 6186, 6187, 6961,	Iosias, Iosyas
6964, 10339, 10522	Josiah, son of Amon; one of the kings
Ioseph ²	of Judah
see Iosephat ¹	9189, 9197
Iosep, Ioseph, Ioseps ³	Iosue
Joseph, husband of the Virgin Mary	Joshua; successor of Moses as leader
9248, 9253, 10749–10777, 10817,	of the Israelites
10827, A7, A11, 11123–11199,	6407, 6926, 6931, 6950, 6951, 6956,
11270, 11511-11595, 11621-11669,	6993
11732, 11739, 11912–11995, 12009–	Iothan
12086, 12103, 12169, 12173, 12269,	Jotham, son of Uzziah; one of the
*12282, 12290, 12304, 12387, 12394,	kings of Judah
12400-12499, 12509-12586, 12608,	9171
12736, 12746 ⁿ , 14785	Ire
Ioseph ⁴	Ur of the Chaldees; original home of
citizen of Capernaum who	Abraham
encountered the child Jesus	2367 ⁿ
12492	Irtane
loseph ⁵	Hyrcania? region of Persia
Joseph, son of Joseph ³	21095
12546 ⁿ	Isaac, Isaake, Issac, Ysaac, Ysaake, Yssac
Ioseph ⁶	Isaac, son of Abraham and Sarah
Joseph, son of Mary Cleophas	137, 2152, 3009–3041, 3116a–3128,
12670	3164, 3211, 3216, 3241, 3267, 3338-
Ioseph, Iosephs ⁷	3396, 3410–3439, 3514, 3555, 3595,
Joseph of Arimathea; provided burial	3619, 3731, 3786, 4025, 5033, 5351,
for Jesus' body	5354, 5473, 7849, 10518, 19090
•	Isacar ¹
16817–16876, 16913, 17287, 17289, 17309–17359, 17410–17423, 17598,	Issachar, son of Jacob and Leah
	3897
17610–17685, 17703, 17707, 17775, 17781, 17812, 18496, 18513	Isacar, Ysacar ²
Ioseph ⁸	Issachar, the high priest; rejected the
•	offering of Joachim
Joseph, surnamed Barsabas; candidate for election as an apostle	10233 ⁿ , 10255, 10288, 10320, 10418
18899	Isaias, Isay, Ysay, Ysaye
	Isaiah, the prophet
Iosephat ¹ , Ioseph ²	706, 9167, 9266, 9297, 9817, 10716,
Jehoshaphat (also Josephat), son of	10719, 17877, 18105, 18117, 22440
Asa; one of the kings of Judah	Ismael, Ismaelle, Ysmael
9147, 9157	Ishmael, son of Abraham and Hagar
Iosephat, Iosephathes ²	2629, 2638, 2695, 2698, 3023, 3043,
Jehoshaphat (also Josephat); valley,	3074, 3381, 3386
supposedly in the Holy Land	Ismaria
20694, 20772, 22969, 22974, 22979,	sister of St. Anne
22985, 22988	10148 ⁿ , 10149

	1
Isombras	ludas ⁴
hero of medieval romance	Jude, also called Thaddaeus; one of
19	the Twelve Apostles
Isoude	13288, 13298, 18873, 21147
Isolde, heroine of medieval romance	(identified with Jude ⁵)
and mistress of Tristan	Iude ⁵
17	Jude, son of Joseph, the Virgin
Israel, Israeles, Israele ¹	Mary's husband
Israel; name given to Jacob	12546 ⁿ
3949, 5193, 5213, 5476, 5577	Iudeon
Israel, Israele, Israelis, Israelle ²	see Gedeon
Israel, the nation	lules
5477, 5499, 5713, 5759, 5785, 5847,	river in Paradise
6027, 6100, 6144–6162, 6228, 6285,	1038°
6291, 6300b, 6432, 6436, 6994,	Iulius Ceasar
7006–7046, 7283, 7797, 7939, 7997,	
10440, 11098, 11318, 11342, 11472,	Julius Caesar
12011, 13005, 15053, 15067, 17514,	4
17555, 17558, 17603, 17655, 17726,	[Jupiter]
17827, 17896, 19086, 21240	see Iubiter
Italye	Iurdan, Iurdane, Iurdon, Iurdone
Italy	see Iordan
20879 ⁿ	Kay
[Jubal]	Sir Kay; Arthur's seneschal
see Iobal	13
Iubiter, Iubitere	Kaym, Kaymes
Jupiter	see Caym
6997, 22285	[Keturah]
Iuda, Iude, Iudea ¹	see Cephura
Judaea	[Kittim]
T	see Cethim
2106, 11466, 11468, 11923, 14158,	Laban
14186, 14560, 14566, 17477, 21121, 21158	son of Bethuel and brother of
Iudas, Iudam ²	Rebecca; father-in-law of Jacob
	2310, 3323, 3770, 3789, 3828, 3840,
Judah, son of Jacob and Leah	3847, 3851, 3860, 3869, 3879, 3881,
3898, 4182, 5240, 5580, 5658, 7850	3892, 3917, 3921, 3925
ludas ³	Labdon
Judas Iscariot; the betrayer of Jesus	
8840, 11904, 13300, 14554, 15217,	Abdon; one of the Judges of Israel
15379, 15383, 15386, 15403–15491,	7057, 7083
15504, 15513, 15723–15775, 15868,	Lameth ¹
15880, 15961, 15969, 16459, 16489,	Lamech, son of Methuselah and
16517, 16525, 18882, 18905, 21155	father of Noah; in the line of Seth

1487, 1489, 1492

see also Scarioth

21106

Lameth ²	Lid
Lamech, son of Methusael; in the	Lydda; town in the Holy Land where
line of Cain	Peter preached
1511, 1513 ⁿ	19750, 19768
Lazar, Lazares. Lazaroun, Lazarus. Lazer	Lya
Lazarus, brother of Martha and Mary	Leah, first wife of Jacob 3872, 3873, 3889, 3895
193, 13963, 13968, 14081, 14127–	3072, 3073, 3009, 3093 Longeus
14199, 14219–14236, 14294, 14300, 14349–14377, 14448–14483, 18040,	Longinus; soldier who pierced Jesus'
18057	side with a spear
Lentheus, Lenthius	16835 ⁿ
raised from the dead; gave an	Loth, Lothis, Lothus
account of the Harrowing of Hell	Lot, son of Haran and nephew of
17833, 18495	Abraham
Leuy ¹	2312, 2364, 2377, 2443–2437, 2505,
Levi, son of Jacob and Leah	2527, 2762–2795, 2805–2849,
3897, 5583, 5586, 5601, 6624, 10936	2913–2952
Leuy ²	Lucas, Luk, Luke
Levi, son of Eliud; also named	St. Luke the Evangelist 12581, 13442, 13977, 21195, 21275,
Eleazar; in the Virgin Mary's	21294, 21320, 21325
genealogy	Lucifer, Lucifere
9244 ⁿ , 9245, 12738 ⁿ , 12744	Lucifer; name of Satan before he fell
see also Eliazare ³	442, 473, 480, 516
Leuy, Leuye ³	Lumbardye
Levi, teacher who disputed with the	Lombardy
child Jesus	20880 ⁿ , 20974
12170, 12178, 12179, 12183, 12185, 12212	Macedonea
Leuy ⁴	Macedonia
Levi; after the Crucifixion reported	21122
Simeon's prophecy about Jesus	Madan ¹
17716 ⁿ	Madai, son of Japhet and grandson of Noah
Leuy ⁵	110an 2183
Levi; an earlier name of the apostle	Madan ²
Matthew	Medan, son of Abraham and Keturah
13291, 21118	3389
Libie, Libye	Madian ¹
Libya	Midian, son of Abraham and Keturah
2110, 7019	3390
Lichaony	Madian, Madyon ²
Lycaonia; region in central Asia	Midian; land to which Moses fled
Minor	after killing an Egyptian

5680, 5731, 6433

Miriam, sister of Moses and Aaron

Maria, Marie, Mary, Marye, Maryes²

the Virgin Mary

Magdalene, Maudelene, Maudeleyn

189, 13967ⁿ, 13995, 14232, 16751

Mary Magdalene

see also Mary³

Magogl

Maria¹

155, 8497, 9252, 9366, 9970, 9976, son of Japhet and grandson of Noah 10145, 10355, 10526, 10577, 10657, 10744, 10756, 10777, 10801, 10827, Magog² A10, A15, A22, A35, 11022-11062, land of Magog 11158, 11180, 11202-11275, 11306, 22332 11325, 11369, 11511, 11534, 11586, see also Gog 11597, 11605–11687, 11755, 11777, Magus 11800, 11914, 11952-11965, 12030-Simon Magus; put to death by Peter 12094, 12169, 12173, 12269-12291, 19517ⁿ, 19563, 20891, 22161 12305, 12319, 12417-12489, 12525see also Symon⁶ 12586, 12604-12611, 12734-12751, Mahoune, Maumet, Maumete 13222, 13378, 16858, 16926, 17045, Mahomet 17067, 17075, 17730, 18875, 20303, 2284, 7458, 11754 20630, 20722, 20753 Malalvel¹ Mary³ Mahalaleel, son of Cainan; in the line Mary Magdalene; equated with Mary of Seth sister of Martha and Lazarus; washed 1461 Jesus' feet Malalyel² 189, 13995, 14002, 14070, 14080, Mehujael (Vulg. Maviel); in southern 14083, 14090, 14108, 14111, 14129, version of CM regarded as son of 14140, 14232, 14240, 14245, 14275, Enoch: in the line of Cain 14279, 14288, 14302, 14310 1509n see also Magdalene Malkes Mary⁴ Malchus: Peter cut off his ear and Mary Cleophas, daughter of St. Anne Jesus healed it and Cleophas; half-sister of the 15799, 15815 Virgin Mary; wife of Alphaeus Mambre 12549ⁿ, 12666, 16752 Mamre: mountain in Canaan Marve⁵ 2481, 2705 Mary, daughter of St. Anne and Manasse, Manassen¹ Salomas; half-sister of the Virgin Manasseh, son of Joseph, Jacob's son Mary; wife of Zebedee 5236, 5437 12696 Manasses² Martelle Manasseh, son of Hezekiah; one of wife of St. Peter? Saint and martyr? the kings of Judah 21187n 9181, 9185 Martha Marcus, Marke sister of Mary and Lazarus St. Mark the Evangelist 191, 13966, 14080, 14083, 14088, 13442, 21237, 21250, 21274, 21295, 14090, 14096, 14104, 14129, 14140, 21237, 21250, 21274 14240, 14250, 14274, 14320, 14324

Masye	Mede
Asia	the Medes
20877 ⁿ	21094
see also Asy	[Mehujael]
Matan, Mathan	see Malalyel ²
Matthan, son of Levi, Eliud's son;	Melcha
in the Virgin Mary's genealogy	Milcah, daughter of Haran
9246 ⁿ , 9247, 12745 ⁿ , 12746	2312
Mathe, Matheu, Mathew, Metheu ¹	Melchior
St. Matthew, the Apostle and the	one of the Magi
Evangelist	11497 ⁿ
13297, 13442, 18873, 21107,	Melchisadech ¹
21117 ⁿ , 21227, 21273, 21291,	Melchizedek, priest and king of
21293, 21319, 21323	Salem; another name for Shem,
Matheu, Mathi, Mathias ²	Noah's son
Matthias; chosen as an apostle to take	2142
the place of Judas Iscariot	Melchisedech ²
18900, 18908, 21156, 21159	Melchizedek, priest and king in the
Matussale	time of Abraham
Methuselah, son of Enoch; in the line	2535
of Seth	Menian
1483	one of seven men ordained by the
Matussalel	apostles
Methusael, son of Mehujael; in the line of Cain	19390 ⁿ
1510	Mephaim
	Mizraim, son of Ham and grandson
Maudelene, Maudeleyn see Magdalene	of Noah
Maumet, Maumete	2192
see Mahoune	[Meschech]
[Mauretania]	see Mosog
see Mortaygne	Mesopotany, Mesopothanye
[Maviel]	Mesopotamia
see Malalyel ²	3230, 3253, 21149
Maximilla	Metody
inspired by the Cross-wood to	Methodius
prophesy the Crucifixion in the time	2004 ⁿ
of Solomon	Metheu
8902"	see Mathe ¹
see also Cristiane	[Micah]
Mecheaas, Mechias	see Mecheaas
Micah, the prophet	Michael, Michaele, Mychael, Mycchele
9168, 183354 ⁿ	St. Michael, the archangel
[Medan]	496, 17930, 17941, 18380, 18455,
see Madan ²	20669, 22401, 22405

Michal, daughter of Saul and wife of David 7646 [Mizraim] see Mephaim Moab son of Lot 2951 Moise, Moysen, Moyses, Moysy Moses 143, 1428, 5494a, 5587, 5594, 5605-5689, 5705-5783, 5807-5884, 5905-5699, 5705-5783, 5807-5884, 5905-689, 5705-5783, 5807-5884, 5905-6808, 6229-6299, 6301-6390, 6407-6489, 6509-6579, 6627-6666b, 861-6898, 6912-6937, 7998, 8006, 8808, 10225, 11293, 13635, 13712, 13900, 13910, 14408, 14410, 14417, 17767, 17824, 17825, 19421, 19430, 22568** Mortaygne Mauretania 2116° Mosog Meschech, son of Japhet and grandson of Noah 2184 [Naamah] see Noema Nabetheus Nabataeans? a people in Canaan 2453 Nabugodonosor Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon 9209 Nachor¹ Nahor, son of Serug; grandfather of Abraham; in the line of Shem 2172 Nachor, Nacor² Nahor, son of Terah; brother of Abraham 2306, 2307, 2334 Nashon (Vulg. Nahasson), son of Aminadab; in the line from Abraham to David 7855, 7856 Natan, Nathan Nathan, the prophet 7912, 7956 Nazareth 10164, 10826, A6, 11017, 11118, 11128, 11227, 12638, 12646, 13246, 13257, 15751 [Nebuchadnezzar] see Nabugodonosor Nembrot, Nembroth Nimrod, son of Cush and grandson of Ham; built the Tower of Babel 2195, 2199, 2215, 2223, 2283 Neptalim¹ part of Galilee 13247* Neptalym² Naphatiali, son of Jacob and a concubine 3902 Nero Nero, the Roman emperor 20909, 20987 Nichodeme, Nychodemus, Nicodemus; high-ranking Jew and supporter of Jesus; associated with Joseph of Arimathea 14846, 16853, 17294, 17298, 17535, 17563, 17650, 17653, 17812, 18496, 18513 Nichomor Nicanor; one of seven men ordained by the apostles 19390* Nicolas Nicholas; one of seven men ordained by the apostles 19391* [Nimrod] see Nembrot	Michol	Nason
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Mosb	David	Aminadab; in the line from Abraham
see Mephaim Moab son of Lot 2951 Moise, Moysen, Moyses, Moysy Moses 143, 1428, 5494a, 5587, 5594, 5605- 5689, 5705-5783, 5807-5884, 5905- 5993, 6031, 6061, 6099, 6112, 6132, 6163, 6229-6299, 6301-6390, 6407- 6489, 6509-6579, 6627-6666b, 6861-6898, 6912-6937, 7998, 8006, 8008, 10225, 11293, 13635, 13712, 13900, 13910, 14408, 14410, 14417, 17767, 17824, 17825, 19421, 19430, 22568n Mortaygne Mauretania 2116n Mosog Meschech, son of Japhet and grandson of Noah 2184 [Naamah] see Noema Nabataeans? a people in Canaan 2453 Nabugodonosor Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon 9209 Nachor¹ Nahor, son of Serug; grandfather of Abraham; in the line of Shem 2172 Nachor, Nacor² Nahor, son of Terah; brother of Abraham Nathan, the prophet 7912, 7956 Nazareth 10164, 10826, A6, 11017, 11118, 1128, 12272, 12638, 12646, 13246, 13257, 15751 [Nebuchadnezzar] Inebuchadnezzar] Nebuchadnezzar] Nembrott, Nembroth Nimrod, son of Cush and grandson of Ham; built the Tower of Babel 2195, 2199, 2215, 2223, 2283 Neptalim¹ part of Galilee 13247n Neptalym² Naphtali, son of Jacob and a concubine 3902 Nero Nero, the Roman emperor 20909, 20987 Nichodemus, Nychodemus, Nicodemus, Nicodemus, Nicodemus, Nicodemus, Nicodemus; high-ranking Jew and supporter of Jesus; associated with Joseph of Arimathea 14846, 16853, 17294, 17298, 17535, 17563, 17650, 17653, 17812, 18496, 18513 Nichomor Nicolas Nicolas Nicolas; one of seven men ordained by the apostles 19390n Nicolas Nicholas; one of seven men ordained by the apostles 19390n Nicolas Nicholas; one of seven men ordained by the apostles 19391n [Nimrod]	7646	to David
Nathan, the prophet 7912, 7956	[Mizraim]	7855, 7856
son of Lot 2951 Moise, Moysen, Moyses, Moysy Moses 143, 1428, 5494a, 5587, 5594, 5605- 5689, 5705-5783, 5807-5884, 5905- 5699, 36031, 6061, 6099, 6112, 6132, 6163, 6229-6299, 6301-6390, 6407- 6489, 6509-6579, 6627-6666b, 6861-6898, 6912-6937, 7998, 8006, 8008, 10225, 11293, 13635, 13712, 13900, 13910, 14408, 14410, 14417, 17767, 17824, 17825, 19421, 19430, 22568** Mortaygne Mauretania 2116** Mosog Meschech, son of Japhet and grandson of Noah 2184 [Naamah] see Noema Nabetheus Nabataeans? a people in Canaan 2453 Nabugodonosor Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon 9209 Nachor¹ Nahor, son of Serug; grandfather of Abraham; in the line of Shem 2172 Nachor, Nacor² Nahor, son of Terah; brother of Abraham [Nimrod] 7912, 7956 Nazareth 10164, 10826, A6, 11017, 11118, 11128, 12272, 12638, 12646, 13246, 13257, 15751 [Nebuchadnezzar] see Nabugodonosor Nembrot, Nembroth Nimrod, son of Cush and grandson of Ham; built the Tower of Babel 2195, 2199, 2215, 2223, 2283 Neptalim¹ part of Galilee 13247* Neptalym² Naphtali, son of Jacob and a concubine 3902 Nero Nero, the Roman emperor 20909, 20987 Nichodeme, Nychodeme, Nychodemus Nicodemus, high-ranking Jew and supporter of Jesus; associated with Joseph of Arimathea 14846, 16853, 17294, 17298, 17535, 17563, 17650, 17653, 17812, 18496, 18513 Nichomor Nicanor; one of seven men ordained by the apostles 19390* Nicolas Nicholas; one of seven men ordained by the apostles 19391* [Nimrod]	see Mephaim	Natan, Nathan
Moise, Moysen, Moyses, Moysy Moses 143, 1428, 5494a, 5587, 5594, 5605- 5689, 5705-5783, 5807-5884, 5905- 5993, 6031, 6061, 6099, 6112, 6132, 6163, 6229-6299, 6301-6390, 6407- 6489, 6509-6579, 6627-6666b, 6861-6898, 6912-6937, 7998, 8006, 8008, 10225, 11293, 13635, 13712, 13900, 13910, 14408, 14410, 14417, 17767, 17824, 17825, 19421, 19430, 22568n Mortaygne Mauretania 2116n Mosog Meschech, son of Japhet and grandson of Noah 2184 [Naamah] see Noema Nabetheus Nabataeans? a people in Canaan 2453 Nabugodonosor Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon 9209 Nachor¹ Nahor, son of Serug; grandfather of Abraham; in the line of Shem 2172 Nachor, Nacor² Nahor, son of Terah; brother of Abraham Nose of Cush and grandson of Ham; built the Tower of Babel 2195, 2199, 2215, 2223, 2283 Neptalim¹ part of Galilee 13247n Neptalym² Naphtali, son of Jacob and a concubine 3902 Nero Nero, the Roman emperor 20909, 20987 Nichodeme, Nychodemus, Nychodemus Nicodemus; high-ranking Jew and supporter of Jesus; associated with Joseph of Arimathea 14846, 16853, 17294, 17298, 17535, 17563, 17650, 17653, 17812, 18496, 18513 Nichomor Nicanor; one of seven men ordained by the apostles 19390n Nicolas Nicholas; one of seven men ordained by the apostles 19391n [Nimrod]	Moab	
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143, 1428, 5494a, 5587, 5594, 5605 5689, 5705–5783, 5807–5884, 5905 5993, 6031, 6061, 6099, 6112, 6132, 6163, 6229–6299, 6301–6390, 6407 6489, 6509–6579, 6627–6666b, 6861–6898, 6912–6937, 7998, 8006, 8008, 10225, 11293, 13635, 13712, 13900, 13910, 14408, 14410, 14417, 17767, 17824, 17825, 19421, 19430, 22568° Mortaygne Mauretania 2116° Mosog Meschech, son of Japhet and grandson of Noah 2184 [Naamah] see Noema Nabetheus Nabataeans? a people in Canaan 2453 Nabugodonosor Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon 9209 Nachor¹ Nahor, son of Serug; grandfather of Abraham; in the line of Shem 2172 Nachor, Nacor² Nahor, son of Terah; brother of Abraham [Nimrod] 13257, 15751 [Nebuchadnezzar] see Nabugodonosor Nembrot, Nembroth Nimrod, son of Cush and grandson of Ham; built the Tower of Babel 2195, 2199, 2215, 2223, 2283 Neptalim¹ part of Galilee 13247° Neptalym² Neptalym² Naphtali, son of Jacob and a concubine 3902 Nero Nero, the Roman emperor 20909, 20987 Nichodeme, Nychodeme, Nychodemus Nicodemus; high-ranking Jew and supporter of Jesus; associated with Joseph of Arimathea 14846, 16853, 17294, 17298, 17535, 17563, 17650, 17653, 17812, 18496, 18513 Nichomor Nicolas Nicolas Nicolas; one of seven men ordained by the apostles 19390° Nicolas Nicholas; one of seven men ordained by the apostles 19391° [Nimrod]	Moise, Moysen, Moyses, Moysy	
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Nembrot, Nembroth 6163, 6229–6299, 6301–6390, 6407– 6489, 6509–6579, 6627–6666b, 6861–6898, 6912–6937, 7998, 8006, 8008, 10225, 11293, 13635, 13712, 13900, 13910, 14408, 14410, 14417, 17767, 17824, 17825, 19421, 19430, 22568n Mortaygne Mauretania 2116n Mosog Meschech, son of Japhet and grandson of Noah 2184 [Naamah] see Noema Nabetheus Nabataeans? a people in Canaan 2453 Nabugodonosor Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon 9209 Nachor¹ Nahor, son of Serug; grandfather of Abraham; in the line of Shem 2172 Nachor, Nacor² Nahor, son of Terah; brother of Abraham [Nimrod, son of Cush and grandson of Ham; built the Tower of Babel 2195, 2199, 2215, 2223, 2283 Neptalim¹ part of Galilee 13247n Neptalym² Naphtali, son of Jacob and a concubine 3902 Nero Nero, the Roman emperor 2099, 20987 Nichodeme, Nychodeme, Nychodemus Nicodemus; high-ranking Jew and supporter of Jesus; associated with Joseph of Arimathea 14846, 16853, 17294, 17298, 17535, 17563, 17650, 17653, 17812, 18496, 18513 Nichomor Nicanor; one of seven men ordained by the apostles 19390n Nicolas Nicholas; one of seven men ordained by the apostles 19391n [Nimrod]		
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6861–6898, 6912–6937, 7998, 8006, 8008, 10225, 11293, 13635, 13712, 13900, 13910, 14408, 14410, 14417, 17767, 17824, 17825, 19421, 19430, 22568 ⁿ Mortaygne Mauretania 2116 ⁿ Mosog Meschech, son of Japhet and grandson of Noah 2184 [Naamah] see Noema Nabetheus Nabataeans? a people in Canaan 2453 Nabugodonosor Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon 9209 Nachor¹ Nahor, son of Serug; grandfather of Abraham; in the line of Shem 2172 Nachor, Nacor² Nahor, son of Terah; brother of Abraham Nanor, son of Terah; brother of Abraham Nanor, son of Terah; brother of Abraham [Nimrod] Ham; built the Tower of Babel 2195, 2199, 2215, 2223, 2283 Neptalim¹ part of Galilee 13247 ⁿ Nichodemus, high-ranking Jew and supporter of Jesus; associated with Joseph of Arimathea 14846, 16853, 17650, 17653, 17812, 18496, 18513 Nichomor Nicodemus; high-ranking Jew and supporter of Jesus; associated with Joseph of Arimathea 14846, 16853, 17650, 17653, 17812, 18496, 18513 Nichomor Nicodemus; high-ranking Jew and supporter of Jesus; associated with Joseph of Arimathea 14846	6163, 6229-6299, 6301-6390, 6407-	
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Neptalim ¹ 13900, 13910, 14408, 14410, 14417, 17767, 17824, 17825, 19421, 19430, 22568 ⁿ Mortaygne Mauretania 2116 ⁿ Mosog Meschech, son of Japhet and grandson of Noah 2184 [Naamah] see Noema Nabetheus Nabataeans? a people in Canaan 2453 Nabugodonosor Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon 9209 Nachor ¹ Nahor, son of Serug; grandfather of Abraham; in the line of Shem 2172 Nachor, Nacor ² Nahor, son of Terah; brother of Abraham Nortaygne Napat of Galilee 13247 ⁿ Neptalim ¹ part of Galilee 13247 ⁿ Neptalym ² Naphtali, son of Jacob and a concubine 3902 Nero Nero, the Roman emperor 20909, 20987 Nichodeme, Nychodemus Nicodemus; high-ranking Jew and supporter of Jesus; associated with Joseph of Arimathea 14846, 16853, 17294, 17298, 17535, 17563, 17650, 17653, 17812, 18496, 18513 Nichomor Nicolas Nicolas Nicolas Nicholas; one of seven men ordained by the apostles 19391 ⁿ Nimrod]	6861–6898, 6912–6937, 7998, 8006,	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
17767, 17824, 17825, 19421, 19430, 22568" Mortaygne Mauretania 2116" Mosog Meschech, son of Japhet and grandson of Noah 2184 [Naamah] see Noema Nabetheus Nabataeans? a people in Canaan 2453 Nabugodonosor Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon 9209 Nachor¹ Nahor, son of Serug; grandfather of Abraham; in the line of Shem 2172 Nachor, Nacor² Nahor, son of Terah; brother of Abraham Nortaygne Napat of Galilee 13247" Neptalym² Naphtali, son of Jacob and a concubine 3902 Nero Nero, the Roman emperor 20909, 20987 Nichodeme, Nychodemus Nicodemus; high-ranking Jew and supporter of Jesus; associated with Joseph of Arimathea 14846, 16853, 17294, 17298, 17535, 17563, 17650, 17653, 17812, 18496, 18513 Nichomor Nicolas 19390" Nicolas Nicholas; one of seven men ordained by the apostles 19391" [Nimrod]		
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Mauretania 2116 ⁿ Mosog Meschech, son of Japhet and grandson of Noah 2184 [Naamah] see Noema Nabetheus Nabataeans? a people in Canaan 2453 Nabugodonosor Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon 9209 Nachor ¹ Nahor, son of Serug; grandfather of Abraham; in the line of Shem 2172 Nachor, Nacor ² Nahor, son of Terah; brother of Abraham Nasphtali, son of Jacob and a concubine 3902 Nero Nero, the Roman emperor 20909, 20987 Nichodeme, Nychodemus Nicodemus; high-ranking Jew and supporter of Jesus; associated with Joseph of Arimathea 14846, 16853, 17294, 17298, 17535, 17563, 17650, 17653, 17812, 18496, 18513 Nichomor Nicanor; one of seven men ordained by the apostles 19390 ⁿ Nicolas Nicholas; one of seven men ordained by the apostles 19391 ⁿ [Nimrod]	22568 ⁿ	
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[Naamah] see Noema Nabetheus Nabataeans? a people in Canaan 2453 Nabugodonosor Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon 9209 Nachor¹ Nahor, son of Serug; grandfather of Abraham; in the line of Shem 2172 Nachor, Nacor² Nahor, son of Terah; brother of Abraham Nichodeme, Nychodeme, Nychodemus Nicodemus; high-ranking Jew and supporter of Jesus; associated with Joseph of Arimathea 14846, 16853, 17294, 17298, 17535, 17563, 17650, 17653, 17812, 18496, 18513 Nichomor Nicanor; one of seven men ordained by the apostles 19390 ⁿ Nicolas Nicolas Nicholas; one of seven men ordained by the apostles 19391 ⁿ [Nimrod]	grandson of Noah	
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Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon 9209 Nachor¹ Nachor, son of Serug; grandfather of Abraham; in the line of Shem 2172 Nachor, Nacor² Nachor, son of Terah; brother of Abraham Nichomor Nicanor; one of seven men ordained by the apostles Nicolas Nicholas; one of seven men ordained by the apostles 19391° Nichomor 19390° Nicolas Nicholas; one of seven men ordained by the apostles 19391° Nimrod]	Nabugodonosor	
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Nahor, son of Serug; grandfather of Abraham; in the line of Shem 2172 Nachor, Nacor ² Nahor, son of Terah; brother of Abraham Sy the apostes 19390 ⁿ Nicolas Nicholas; one of seven men ordained by the apostles 19391 ⁿ [Nimrod]	Nachor ¹	•
Abraham; in the line of Shem 2172 Nachor, Nacor ² Nahor, son of Terah; brother of Abraham Nicolas Nicholas; one of seven men ordained by the apostles 19391 ⁿ [Nimrod]		
2172 Nicholas; one of seven men ordained Nachor, Nacor ² by the apostles Nahor, son of Terah; brother of Abraham [Nimrod]	- ·	
Nachor, Nacor ² by the apostles Nahor, son of Terah; brother of Abraham [Nimrod]	2172	
Nahor, son of Terah; brother of 19391 ⁿ Abraham [Nimrod]		,
Abraham [Nimrod]		<u> </u>
[,04]		
		•

Nyle	Osuas Ozios
River Nile	Osyas, Ozias
4752, 4778	Azariah (also Uzziah); regarded as
	son of Joram; one of the kings of Judah
Nynyue	
Nineveh; city in Assyria destroyed in	9163°, 9171
the time of Josiah	Othomel
9191	Othniel; regarded as son of Caleb;
Noe, Noes, Noeus	one of the Judges of Israel
Noah	7001 ⁿ
135, 1043, 1234, 1236, 1424, 1425,	Pantera, Pantra
1489, 1623–1633, 1723–1756, 1802–	Panthar, son of Levi and brother of
1898, 1905–1941, 1988, 2001, 2007,	Matthan; in the Virgin Mary's
2049, 2058, 2081, 2084, 2176, 3983,	genealogy
5029, 5347, 9673, 12222, 23658	9246 ⁿ , 9250 ⁿ , 12745 ⁿ , 12749
Noema	Papilon
Naamah, daughter of Lamech and	a variant spelling of Babylon; in CM
sister of Tubalcain; in the line of Cain	the place where St. Michael is to kil
1524	Antichrist
[Numidia]	22402 ⁿ
see Indie	[Paran]
[Obadiah]	see Pharan
see Abdyas	Parys
Obeth	Paris, the Trojan
Obed, son of Boaz and grandfather of	7049 ⁿ
David	Parpantera, Perpantera
7857	Barpanthar, son of Panthar;
Ozias	grandfather of the Virgin Mary
see Osyas	9250, 9251 ⁿ , 12749 ⁿ , 12750
Oliuete, Olyuete	Parth
Mount of Olives; hill near Jerusalem	in CM, mountain where the apostle
13690, 14940, 15155, 15582, 17483,	Matthew's body is preserved
17544, 17744, 18762, 22981	21125
Olyuere	Parthi
Oliver; one of the paladins of	Parthia
Charlemagne	21094
21910	Paul
Oreb	see Poul
heathen leader in the time of Gideon	[Peleg]
7025 ⁿ	see Phaleth
	Peres, Peris, Pers
Orpheus 7028	Persia
7028	
Osee	2105, 6999, 21094, 22097, 22228
Hosea, the prophet	Perpantera
9167	see Parpantera

Perus, Peter, Petre, Petres, Petrus, Petur ¹	Pharisees, Phariseus, Pharisewis
St. Peter the Apostle	Pharisees; Jewish sect
13274, 13312–13334, 15301–15315,	13577, 13588, 13698, 14824, 19296
15357, 15364, 15495, 15519-15557,	Phelip, Philip, Philipp ¹
15591, 15655, 15659, 15789, 15795,	St. Philip the Apostle
15805-15818, 15883, 15913-15952,	13465, 13466, 13480, 18872, 21079,
15996, 16011, 18871, 188878, 18969,	21183
19015-19085, 19143, 19190, 19233-	Phelipp, Philip ²
19281, 19494, 19542-19597, 19747-	Philip, second son of Herod the Great
19796, 19803–19899, 19903–19989,	13011, 13019, 13042
20377, 20416, 20686–20692, 20723–	Phelip, Phelippis, Philip, Philipp ³
20757, 20859, 20895, 20992, 21080,	Philip the Deacon; one of seven men
21183–21189, 21238, 21249, 22602,	ordained by the apostles
23530–23535	19389 ⁿ , 19509 ⁿ , 19528, 19532,
Perus ² (Maior)	19536, 19553
Peter Comestor	Philistiene, Philistiens
1921 ⁿ	Philistine(s)
Petronelle	6181, 7091, 7094, 7150, 7155, 7161,
St. Petronella, daughter of St. Peter	7165, 7178, 7189, 7439, 7634, 7791,
in <i>CM</i>	7979
21187	[Phison]
Phaleth	see Fison
Peleg, son of Eber; in the line of	[Phrygia]
Shem	see Frigie
2165	Phua
Pharan	Puah; midwife commanded by
Paran; desert where Ishmael lived	Pharaoh ² to kill the Israelite boy-
3082	children at the time of Moses' birth
	5552
Pharao, Phareo ¹	Phut
Pharaoh; ruler of Egypt in the time of	son of Ham and grandson of Noah
Joseph	2192
4512, 4660, 4869, 5101, 5333	Pigre
Pharaon, Pharaone, Pharaons,	river in Paradise
Pharaos, Phareo ²	1038 ⁿ
Pharaoh; ruler in Egypt in the time of	Pilat, Pilate, Pilatis
Moses	Pontius Pilate
5478, 5565–5591, 5762, 5763, 5796,	16023-16091, 16114-16160, 16204
5808–5887, 5906, 5948–5971, 6005–	16239, 16301-16399, 16407-16427
6057, 6179, 6201–6260, 6304, 6436,	16686, 16803–16883, 16901, 17333
6507, 6838, 11789, 14403, 14404	17770, 18515–18524, 19093
Phares	Piscina Probatica
Pharez, son of Judah; in the line from	pit into which the Jews threw the
Abraham to David	Cross-wood

8928n

7851

Piscine	Ragan
regarded as the proper name of a	Reu, son of Peleg; in the line of Shem
stream or pool in Jerusalem where	2167
miraculous cures occurred	
13761	Raguel
cf. Siloe	Reuel, father-in-law of Moses; also
[Pithom]	called Jethro
see Fyton	5706, 5708
Ponce (Pilate)	[Ram]
Pontius (Pilate)	see Aaron ²
18524	Ramatha
see also Pilat	Ramah; home of Samuel
[Potiphar]	7677
see Putifar	Rameses
Poul, Poule, Paul, Poules	Raamses; town which the Egyptians
St. Paul the Apostle	built using the Israelites as labourers
19466, 19684, 19736, 19737, 20925,	5529
21199, 21219, 22219, 22237, 22271,	Ranese
22612°, 22816, 22992	Rameses; part of Egypt given to
see also Saul ²	Jacob and his sons
	5382
Pountenay	
see Edmounde of Pounteney	Rapidym
Pounty	Rephidim; place where Joshua and
Pontus	the Israelites fought against Amalek
21150	6406
Preamus	Rebecca, Rebecka
Priam, King of Troy	Rebecca, wife of Isaac
7037	2310, 3286, 3338, 3346, 3355, 3369,
[Puah]	3375, 3426, 3432, 3667, 4024
see Phua	Regma
Putifar, Putifares	Raamah, son of Cush and grandson
Potiphar; Egyptian official who	of Ham
bought Joseph as a slave	2194
4243, 4249, 4254, 4259, 4363, 4407,	[Rehoboam]
4417, 4621, 5283	see Roboam
[Raamah]	[Reu]
see Regma	see Ragan
Rachel, Rachelle ¹	[Reuben]
Rachel, second wife of Jacob	see Ruben
3831, 3835, 3838, 3856, 3863, 3871,	
3886, 3890, 3894, 3903, 3923,	[Reuel]
10337, 10519	see Raguel
Rachel ²	Riphat
erroneously mentioned as daughter	Riphath, son of Gomer and grandson
of Rebecca	of Japhet
3426 ⁿ	2186

Robardes (Seynt)	Salatiel
Robert Grosseteste	Salathiel, son of Jechonias; in the
9516 ⁿ	Virgin Mary's genealogy
Roboam	9234, 9235
Rehoboam, son of Solomon	Sale
9140, 9141	Salah, son of Arphaxad; in the line
Romayne, Romane, Romaynye, Rome,	of Shem
Romes, Roome	2161
Rome	Salem
2125, 8535, 9174, 9176, 14498,	city of Melchizedek; early name of
18522, 20904, 20909, 20915, 20987,	Jerusalem
22231–22269, 22319, 22343	2145
Romulus	Salmana
founder of Rome	Zalmunna; heathen leader in the time
9173	of Gideon
Rouland, Roulande	7025 ⁿ
Rowland; chief of Charlemagne's	Salmon ²
paladins	son of Naashon; in the line between
15, 21910	Abraham and David
Ruben	7856
Reuben, eldest son of Jacob (by	Salomas
Leah)	third husband of St. Anne
3896, 4120, 4147, 4169, 4197, 4793,	12694
4947, 4986, 5014, 5021, 5049, 5117,	Salomon, Salomones, Salomonne,
5200, 5203	Salomoun, Salamon, Salamone, Salmon ¹
Saba	Solomon
Seba, son of Cush and grandson of	Solomon, King of Israel; son of
Ham	David
2193	149, 7962, 8310, 8312, 8383, 8403,
Sabatha	8416, 8444, 8539, 8555, 8565, 8573
Sabtah, son of Cush and grandson of	8580, 8653, 8659, 8748, 8751, 8757
Ham	8792, 8851, 8858, 8871, 8883, 8956
2194	8978, 8988, 9007, 9041, 9075, 9094
Sadoch	9116, 9133, 10216, 14432, 14612,
Sadoc, son of Azor; in the Virgin	14762, 14808, 22121
Mary's genealogy	Samaritanes
9239, 9241	people of Samaria
Saduces, Saducis	19540
Sadducees; Jewish sect	Samary
19123, 19291, 19595	Samaria
Sagabatah	19512
Sabtechah, son of Cush and grandson	[Samgar]
of Ham	see Sanygath
2194	
Salamon, Salamone, Salmon ¹	Samy
•	a prophetess 9184 ⁿ
see Salomon	

Sampson, Sampsons	Scarioth
Samson	Judas Iscariot; the betrayer of Jesus
4298, 7084, 7093, 7104–7192, 7201,	13300, 14554, 15218
7213, 7215, 7250, 7256, 7263, 9003,	see also Iudas ³
10344	[Scythia]
Samuel, Samuele	see Sithi
Samuel, the prophet	[Seba]
7284, 7287, 7301, 7313, 7315, 7343,	• 1
7359, 7379, 7382, 7390, 7676, 10343	see Saba
Sanygath	Sebastians
Shamgar (Vulg. Samgar); one of the	place where John the Baptist was
Judges of Israel	buried
7013	13212
Sara, Sare, Sarra ¹	Sedechias
Sarah, wife of Abraham	Zedekiah; king when the Jews fell
2331, 2401, 2437, 2591, 2603, 2607,	into captivity
2613, 2683, 2716, 2720, 2721, 2963,	9200
2972, 3007, 3026, 3209, 3376, 3387,	Sedek
3404, 3425, 10484, 10517	another name for Shem, Noah's son
Sare ²	2141
Sarah, regarded by CM as the	Seem, Sem
daughter of Haran	Shem, son of Noah
2312	1629, 2043, 2059, 2089, 2092, 2135,
Satan, Satanas, Sathan, Sathanas,	2137, 2139, 2141, 2151, 2153, 2279
Sathonas, Saton, Satone	Seeth, Seeb, Seth, Sey ¹
Satan	Seth, son of Adam
480, 713, 725, 745, 7446, 9052, 9482,	•
11903, 11940, 12023, 12992, 15388,	1204, 1242, 1247, 1249, 1283, 1295,
15521, 16927, 17977, 17993, 18011,	1309, 1323, 1363, 1387, 1415, 1446b,
18025, 18049, 18073, 18080, 18084,	1449, 1464, 1502, 17927, 17937,
18217–18285, 19238, 19884, 22058,	17945
23188	Segor
Saturneus	Zoar; city to which Lot fled on the
Saturn	destruction of Sodom
6997	2836
Saul, Saules ¹	[Seir]
Saul, King of Israel	see Syer
147, 7324–7350, 7406–7493, 7603–	Semare, Sennare
7698, 7703–7780, 7800–7861,	Shinar; land where Nimrod built the
14428	Tower of Babel
Saul ²	2213, 2222
later St. Paul	Sephora
	Shiphrah, one of the midwives
19463, 19465, 19497, 19603, 19617,	commanded by Pharaoh ² to kill the
19633, 19643, 19662, 19686, 19705,	Israelite boy-children
19718, 20925	•
see also Poul	5552

Sephoram	Symeoun ³
Zipporah, wife of Moses	Simon, son of Joseph, husband of the
5710, 6438	Virgin Mary
Serut	12546 ⁿ
Serug, son of Reu; in the line of	Symeoun, Symond, Symound,
Shem	Symounde ⁴
2169	Simon; at his house Mary Magdalene
Seth ¹	washed Jesus' feet
see Seeth	13986 ⁿ , 13990, 14019, 14029,
Seth ²	14031, 14050, 14054
author of a book prophesying the	Symeoun, Symound, Symon ⁵ (Zelote)
Star of Bethlehem	Simon the Zealot; one of the Twelve
11398 ⁿ	Apostles
	13298, 18873, 21165
[Shamgar]	see also Chananew
see Sanygath	Symon (Magus), Symound ⁶
[Shechem]	Simon Magus; attempted to buy
see Sichen	magical power; put to death by Peter
[Shem]	19517 ⁿ , 19530, 19563, 20891 ⁿ ,
see Seem	20903, 22161
Sichen, Sichym	Symon, Symoundis ⁷
Shechem; place in Canaan associated	Simon; host of Peter in Joppa
with Joseph, Jacob's son	19800, 19820, 19895
2380, 5267, 6963	Synay
Siloe	Mount Sinai
Siloam; stream or pool in Jerusalem;	6361, 6459
the scene of miraculous cures	Syon
8947 ⁿ , 13550, 13570, 13815	Zion; hill in Jerusalem
cf. Piscine	19204
Sirie, Sulie, Suly	[Syria]
Syria	see Sirie
2106 ⁿ , 6305, 21105	Sodom, Sodomam
Sithi	Sodom
Scythia	2475, 2531, 2735, 2741, 2766, 2843
20999	Solomon
Syer	see Salomon
Seir; home of Esau	Speyne
4021	see Hispanye
Symeon ¹	Steuen
Simeon, son of Jacob and Leah	St. Stephen Protomartyr; one of
3896	seven men ordained by the apostles
	19389 ⁿ , 19403–19481, 19510
Symeon, Symeons ²	Suly
Simeon; lived to see the infant Jesus	see Sirie
11315, 11327, 11358, 14439, 17053,	[Tabitha]
17721, 17729, 17792, 17886	see Thabita

[Tarshish]	Tiberiade
see Tharsis	Sea of Tiberias
[Tarsus]	13453
see Thars	Tigre
[Terah]	River Tigris
see Thare	1037, 1317
Thabita	Tiras
Tabitha; another name for Dorcas;	son of Japhet and grandson of Noah
raised from the dead by Peter	2184
19762, 19787	Tymon
see also Dorca	Timon; one of seven men ordained
Thadew	by the apostles
Thaddaeus; surname of Judas; one of	19390 ⁿ
the Twelve Apostles	Tobal
13288	see Iobal
see also Iudas ⁴	Togoriens
Thamor	Togarmah, son of Gomer and
one of seven men ordained by the	grandson of Japhet
apostles	2186 ⁿ
19389 ⁿ	Tola
Thare	one of the Judges of Israel
Terah, son of Nahor and father of	7029
Abraham	Traian
2173, 2175, 2305	Trajan, the Roman emperor
Thars	21173
Tarsus; home of Saul (Paul)	Tristram
19662, 20937	Tristan; hero of medieval romance
Tharsis	and lover of Isolde
Tarshish, son of Javan and grandson	17
of Japhet	Troye
2188	Troy, the city
Thebas	5, 7014, 7033, 7056, 7059, 7068
Thebes	Tubal
7004	son of Japhet and grandson of Noah
Themas	2184
Damascus in Canaan	Tubaltaine, Tubaltayne
2520 ⁿ	Tubalcain, son of Lamech; in the line
see also Damas	of Cain
[Thola]	1512, 1518
see Tola	[Ur]
	see Ire
Thomas (Didimus)	Vry, Vrye
St. Thomas the Apostle	Uriah, Bathsheba's first husband 7888, 7889, 7894, 7895, 7897, 7900,
13299, 14218, 18680, 18692, 18695,	7903, 7909, 7943
18699, 18872, 21089	1703, 1707, 1743

٧s Zebedee, Zebedei Huz, son of Nahor, Abraham's Zebedee, father of the apostles James brother and John 2308, 2309 12697, 21010 Vtayne, Vteyne Zebee maidservant of St. Anne Zebah; heathen leader in the time of 10431, 10462, 10470 Gideon [Uzziah] 7026ⁿ see Osyas [Zebulun] Wawayn see Zabulon1 Sir Gawain; Arthur's nephew [Zedekiah] 13 see Sedechias Zabulon¹ Zeno Zebulun, son of Jacob and Leah dead child restored to life by the 3898 child Jesus Zabulon² 12297 Zabulon; part of Galilee [Zion] 13247ⁿ see Syon Zachary, Zacharye, Zakary [Zipporah] Zacharias, father of John the Baptist see Sephoram 10153ⁿ, 10932, 10935, 40946, 10959, Zorobabel¹ 10967, 10987, 10993, 11083, 11086 son of Salathiel; in the Virgin Mary's [Zalmunna] genealogy see Salmana 9236 Zeb Zorobabel² Zeeb: heathen leader in the time of Gideon writer about the Last Days 7026ⁿ 22440ⁿ



Printed and bound in Boucherville, Quebec, Canada by MARC VEILLEUX IMPRIMEUR INC. in April, 2000