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AN EDITION OF FOUR MIDDLE ENGLISH DEBATE POEMS.

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AN EDITION OF FOUR MIDDLE ENGLISH DEBATE POEMS

DISSERTATION

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the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By

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* * * * *

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1977

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TABLE 1. CATCHWORDS AND SIGNATURES IN THE VERNON MS.  19
The four medieval debate poems which are edited here are all found in the Vernon Manuscript. They were each previously edited twice, but numerous flaws in those editions justify the re-editing of these works. "Jesus and the Jews" was first edited by Carl Horstmann in 1875, using the version in the Vernon Manuscript. Four years later, he printed separately only the variants from the version in the Simeon Manuscript in an 1879 volume of the Archiv. "Mary and the Cross" is found in three manuscripts, Vernon, Simeon, and B.M. Royal 18.A.x; Richard Morris edited the Vernon and Royal versions for his EETS Legends of the Holy Rood in 1856, but the Simeon version has until now never been edited or collated. Horstmann edited the Vernon version of "Good Man and Devil" for Englische Studien in 1885. "Christian and Jew," which occurs only in Vernon, was edited by Horstmann in 1878.

All four of these poems were re-edited in two volumes for the Early English Text Society by Horstmann and F. J. Furnivall in 1892 and 1901, but circumstances have robbed us of the notes and scholarly apparatus for these poems. A projected third volume, scheduled to have come out in 1901,
would have contained the glossary, notes, introduction, and explanations; in fact, it was never published. All the various existing volumes mentioned above provide at most a text, variations from other texts, a marginal paraphrase, and occasional unexplained emendations. They contain no analysis of the works, no descriptions of the manuscripts containing these works (although several recent articles elsewhere of various quality have described the two manuscripts as wholes⁷), no scribal analysis, and in the case of "Mary and the Cross," they do not even contain all the manuscript versions. The versions and variants are not all easily accessible. In short, it is high time for these debate poems to be re-edited.

Yet even in unsatisfactory editions, the poems and the manuscripts continue to be scholarly foci. For instance, Nita Scudder Baugh, in her analysis of B.M. MS Additional 37,787, suggests, in passing, that John of Northwood, who copied that manuscript, was probably the Vernon scribe as well.⁸ Through analysis of the graphemic and orthographic characteristics of the Vernon Manuscript, I am now able to show that John of Northwood cannot be the Vernon scribe, and that there is not even the sort of similarity between their practices which would suggest the same scriptorium. These debates have been cited in reference works like Whiting's compendium of proverbs,⁹ and dictionaries like Mayhew,¹⁰
Stratmann, and the Middle English Dictionary. In the MED, for instance, the only citation for the word bem-cyled is Horstmann's edition of "Mary and the Cross." The word, in fact, does not occur in the manuscript; it is Horstmann's dubious emendation that is noted in MED. It is not at all impossible that future emendations might be based on this erroneous citation since such references are much more likely to be accepted without question by scholars than critical statements would be. Another peculiar error occurs in Horstmann's "Good Man and Devil." In line 77, he read "pe wikked god," but actual examination of the manuscript reveals that the scribe wrote "gost." In this case and others where the ink has faded or the scribe made corrections or erasures, ultraviolet light, which was not, of course, available to Horstmann and Furnivall, made it possible for me to recover the original words. Because of these problems with the previous editions, we need an edition of the four debates, which, as far as possible, is accurate, supplies the gaps I have noted, uses modern techniques of scrutiny, and gives full information about the editing process.

In addition to this need for an edition of these debates, there is a critical justification for editing the four together. These poems seem to be a representative sampling of the whole debate genre. In the authoritative manual of Middle English, Francis Lee Utley divides religious debates
into three major categories, on the basis of the speakers in each one: "Supernatural Figures," "Abstractions," and "Human Beings Alone." Both "Jesus and the Jews" and "Good Man and Devil" belong in the first group, the former in the subcategory "Heavenly," and the latter in the subcategory "Demonic." In the second group, Utley includes "Mary and the Cross," and in the third, "Christian and Jew." Thus, because the four debates I have edited include an example in every one of these divisions, they seem to provide a basis of types against which to test the critics' analyses of the debate form.

Habitually, critics have distinguished among catechisms, dialogues, and debates. In a catechism, one or more characters ask questions which a more knowledgeable character answers. The relationship between the characters is a vertical one, as between pupil and teacher, and the form lacks the conflict essential to debate. Neither John E. Wells nor Utley defined the two remaining terms, although Wells remarked that "Body and Soul" is not an argument for supremacy, but a dialogue. Utley called three of the Vernon debates "dialogues," including only "Good Man and Devil" in his "Debate" category. Yet "Christian and Jew" is clearly an argument for supremacy as well. Most critics do not confine debates or dialogues to two persons, yet Utley and Wells excluded "parlements" from their chapters. They did include
certain works involving three or more characters, yet in them the characters align themselves on two sides, speaking essentially with only two opposing voices, or the poems become set pieces. Two debaters seem best able to supply the dichotomy and interplay of a true debate.  

Other critics have attempted to categorize debates on the basis of the characters involved, the topic discussed, or the resolution of the disagreement. Utley's distinction between debates involving supernatural powers, abstractions, and humans was intended chiefly as a practical division; many debates fit in two or more of his categories. Kathryn Hume says that human debaters discuss different subjects from the ones non-human debaters discuss. Humans discuss intellectual subjects in such debates as "Altercatio Phyl-lidis et Florae" (and other clerk-knight debates), "De Ganymede et Helena," and "De Presbytero et Logico," although the quality of thought is frequently poor, she says, while debates between non-humans usually arise from innate differences and sink to personal abuse (for example, Sedulius Scotus' "Rosa Liliique Certamen," "Conflictus Ovis et Lini," and the various wine and water debates). However, three poems, "The Cuckoo and the Nightingale," "The Thrush and the Nightingale," and "The Merle and Nyghtingall," defy her division, and she goes on to say, confusingly, that geese which argue about the nature of Christ are merely
"mouthpieces for humans." If every time non-humans discuss intellectual subjects, they are disqualified as true non-humans, her distinction is a circular one which can lead nowhere. In the case of the four Vernon debates, both protagonists are human only in "Christian and Jew," yet all the debaters discuss intellectual issues.

Hume also identifies two possible endings to a debate: a victory for one or the other debater (as in Alcuin's "Conflictus," Theodulus' "Eclogue," and the three debates between humans cited above) or a draw (as in Sedulius' "Certamen," "Altercatio Yemis et Estatis," and "Desputoison du Vin et de l'Iaue"). But irony may be the "informing spirit of the debate ending," as it is, for example, in "Quondam fuit factus festus," and, so Hume argues, in "The Owl and the Nightingale." Of the four Vernon debates, only "Good Man and Devil" ends in a clear-cut victory. In "Mary and the Cross," although the Cross's argument is definitely superior, the two protagonists are reconciled, and in "Christian and Jew," the Jew is converted and baptized. In "Jesus and the Jews," the debate concludes in a draw between the protagonists, although the onlookers have been convinced by Jesus' words. Hume's categories would seem to lump together a debate with straightforward victory, and one with an ironic victory, although the two debates would not actually be similar in form and content.
Edmund Reiss distinguishes between an actual resolution, which may occur in several different varieties, and no resolution.\(^1\) An actual resolution may occur when a character, the narrator, or the reader recognizes the truth, and accepts it emotionally or intuitively rather than logically.\(^2\) (Reiss does not give an example of a debate in which the reader accepts the truth, but I suppose that "Jesus and the Jews" comes close to this type.) Or the resolution may reveal that two apparently contradictory elements are not actually contradictory.\(^3\) Or the conflicting elements may be arranged in a hierarchy.\(^4\) Or they may both be rejected.\(^5\) The narrator learns the hierarchical relationship between "life as he knows it and life in its essence" (but, of course, not all debate poems have narrators).\(^6\) Such emphasis on the resolution, however, may be too great, since Hume has shown that there were conventional winners. In non-religious debates, for example, the clerk or the nightingale usually wins.\(^7\) In religious debates, the characters named "Church" or "Christian" always win, and it is generally clear from the beginning that they will win.\(^8\) Reiss, in particular, seems to confuse the literary debate, where an author controls the text and outcome, with a philosophical debate, which may be a process. A literary debate may reveal truth, but it does not discover it.
The failure of these critics to devise a system of categories which satisfactorily includes all Middle English debates shows, I think, the futility of such attempts. The great diversity of even those debates which have come down to us from the Middle Ages does not lend itself to a monolithic system of interpretation. The debate like the romance or novel is such a rich and fluid genre that it can be contained within a single system only by ruthless Procrustean methods which may well lop off some of the most valuable debates. Furthermore, ultimately such systems tell us nothing about the debates themselves. To say that particular debates lack resolutions while others have ironic resolution, or that some debates are between birds and others between humans does not help us in our understanding of individual debates, unless we can see that these characteristics in some way inform and shape each one as a whole. But because none of the critics has shown that these qualities have any significance beyond themselves, that is precisely where these systems break down. I doubt that such significance can, in fact, be shown. It is better to make use of an avowedly pragmatic system such as Utley's, which separates the vast body of debates into more easily managed sections for reasons of convenience rather than philosophy, and to expend our scholarly energy on the analysis of individual debates. Parts of the preceding theories are interesting and valuable, but we would do
better to use those parts to illuminate that which is un-
ique about each debate, rather than to pick out accidental
similarities which tell us little or nothing about their
individual excellences. Therefore, although an understand-
ing of four poems does not constitute a definitive study of
the debate genre, a descriptive analysis of these four works
considered as debates should highlight areas where further
scholarship is needed and, in so doing, will, I believe,
contribute further to the value of this edition.
NOTES


5 Horstmann, *Sammlung Altenglische Legenden* (Heilbronn, 1878), pp. 204-208.


Utley's subdivisions for the second group ("Death" and "Other than Death") are confusing, since within "Death" he places "Debate of Body and Soul," "Dialogue between Poet and Bird," and other debates concerned with death as a subject rather than as a debater. If this is, in fact, Utley's principle here, "Good Man and Devil" would seem to fit the category, but since this category is anomalous compared to the other ones, I have felt justified in ignoring it for the purposes of my main text. "Dialogues, Debates, and Catechisms" in A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, ed. Albert E. Hartung (New Haven, 1972), p. 684.

John E. Wells, ed., The Owl and the Nightingale (Boston, 1907), p. liii.

Of Utley's 76 debates, 8 have more than 2 participants. They are "Jesus and the Jews" (see Chap. IV, below); "Of the Seven Ages" (in Ernest C. York, "Dramatic Form in a Late Middle English Narrative," Modern Language Notes, 72 [1957], 484-485); "Dialogue between Four Demons and Four Angels" (in "Angels and Fiends Contending for the Rich Man's Soul," Jacob's Well, Part I, ed. Arthur Brandies, EETS, vol. 115 [London, 1900], pp. 138-141); "Disputacion betwyx the Body and Wormes" (in Karl Brunner, "Mittelenglische Todesgedichte," Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen, 167 [n.s., vol. 67] [1935], 29-35); "Vices and Virtues" (in Vices and Virtues, Part I, ed. F. Holthausen, EETS, vol. 89 [London 1888], pp. 110-120); "Debate of the Carpenters Tools" (in Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England, ed. W. Carew Hazlitt [London, 1861], I, 79-90); "Dialogue between Monk, Nun, and Brother Superior" (in Anna C. Pauwes, A Fourteenth Century English Biblical Version [Cambridge, 1904], pp. 1-18); and "Disputation between a Horse, a Goose, and a Sheep" (in The Minor Poems of John Lydgate, Part II, ed. Henry N. MacCracken, EETS, vol. 192 [London, 1934], pp. 539-566). For the first debate, see Chap. IV. The second is really a two-way debate between an angel and a fiend over the soul of a man who speaks only to himself or the audience. In the third, four fiends separately recite lines which condemn a rich dead man; four angels follow who praise God's mercy to sinners. The worms in debate four speak always with one voice. Within "Vices and Virtues," in the section titled "Of mole," six virutes present speeches urging God to be merciful to humankind. They do not engage in debate among themselves. Actually not a religious debate at all, the sixth poem presents arguments about whether the tools should continue to work for the Carpenter, or
desert him because of his drunkenness. Individual tools present repetitive alternating arguments, pro and con. The seventh debate is basically a catechism in which the brother superior answers the respectful questions asked in turn by the other two. Lydgate's Horse, Goose, and Ram (speaking for the Sheep who is too meek to join the debate) each present lengthy formal arguments before the Eagle and the Lion, who act as judges. The Ram's final point in its first speech is that the Sheep is peaceful; the Horse attacks this conclusion, the Ram answers, and then all three speak briefly again on that particular point.


17 Ibid., p. 35.

18 Ibid., p. 41.


20 His examples are Minucius Felix's "Octavius," "Quaestiones Christianorum ad Gentiles," "Quaestiones Graecorum ad Christianos," and so on.

21 The "Altercation Yemis et estatis" is Reiss' only example.

22 Boethius's "De Consolatione Philosophiae," Alain de Lille's "De Planctu Naturae," and Dante's "Commedia."

23 "Parliament of Three Ages" and "Parliament of Fowls."

24 Reiss, p. 869.

25 Clerks win in "Altercatio Rusticorum et Clericorum," "Altercatio Phylilidis et Florae," "Hueline et Aiglantine," and "Melior et Ydoine." In the latter three, the clerk's champion is a nightingale. In "La Geste de Blancheflor e de Florence," the clerk loses and his champion is a lark.

26 Hume, p. 39. On such characters, see, for example, Theodulus' "Eclogue," "De Altematione Ecclesiae et Synagogae," "Disputatio Ecclesiae et Synagogae," "Dialogus inter Judaeum Requirentem, et Christianum e Contrario
Respondentem," and "Disputation Contra Judaeum Leonem Nomin[e] de Adventu Christi Filii Dei." Two exceptions not noted by Hume are the "Disputatio Iudei et Christiani" of Giselbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster (1084-1117), which concludes with the suggestion that the two should talk again, and Sepher ha-Berith (The Book of the Covenant) by Joseph Kimhi (fl. 1150-1170), a dialogue between a believer (i.e., a Jew) and a heretic (a Christian) which the Jew wins. Margaret Schlauch points out that most allegorical Synagogue figures are not convinced. "The Allegory of Church and Synagogue," Speculum, 14 (1939), 456.
CHAPTER I
STATEMENT OF EDITORIAL PRINCIPLES

In preparing this edition, I have had two principles in mind. The text should be as clean and easy to read as possible, and, as far as is consistent with legibility, all manuscript characteristics likely to be of use to future scholars should be recoverable from my edition. I have therefore expanded abbreviations, underscoring the supplied letters. Without any further indication in the notes, I have expanded Ꝧ to and, and Ihu always becomes Ihesu, following the convention that J. R. R. Tolkien cites in his edition of Ancrene Wisse.¹

The Vernon scribe's capitalizations are preserved throughout the text, and the annotations indicate scribal illuminations of the first letter of a line or stanza. An asterisk in the notes indicates that capitalization in Vernon differs from the capitalization in the Simeon Manuscript. Although the manuscript does not distinguish between ꞌ and capital ꞌ, where the letter is now ꞌ, it is so printed. Otherwise the spelling of the manuscript is strictly reproduced.

14
The scribe's word division has been faithfully followed. The manuscript does not contain punctuation but I have supplied it according to modern rules. I have emended the text where necessary, indicating in the notes who first suggested the emendation. In those more frequent instances where I have rejected a proposed emendation, I explain my reasons in the notes.

The notes give all the variations in text between the Vernon and Simeon Manuscripts. In the case of "Mary and the Cross," which occurs in a third manuscript, B.M. MS Royal 18,A.x., the system became unworkable. The variations, not merely of lines and words, but even of line and stanza order, were so great that it proved impossible to indicate them intelligibly. Royal "Mary and the Cross," therefore, is printed in full in Appendix A.
NOTE

The Vernon Manuscript is the largest manuscript owned by the Bodleian Library, Oxford. The closed volume measures 23 inches by 15 1/2 inches, and 5 3/4 inches thick, while the individual vellum pages are 21 1/2 inches by 15 3/8 inches. The manuscript is dated at some time after 1382 on the bases of article 157, a poem mentioning the rising of the commons (1381), the earthquake of 1382, and a pestilence (1382?); but the binding is a nineteenth-century library binding of Russian leather. There are 349 leaves remaining, including the unnumbered index and treatise of Ailred de Rievaulx and several leaves left unnumbered. We can tell that we have lost at least 70 leaves, and probably not more. The missing pages are f. 37, ff. 57-64 and ff. 81-88 as quires of eight, ff. 106-113, and ff. 127-166, which is the largest single group missing, and part of the "Miracles of the Virgin" in which each miracle begins with an illumination. Mary Serjeantsen presumes that these leaves were cut out for the illuminations. Since the number of missing pages is forty, or five times the normal number of sheets per signature, and since nine illuminations remain on the three pages preceding the lost section,
I believe that whatever happened to the pages, they were removed or lost as signatures and not cut out separately. Also missing are ff. 389-391 and f. 402. Only half a page of f. 406 is left, but no text is missing. Apparently a blank half page between the poetry and prose sections of the volume was cut away. The final page, f. 413, is also only half a page or less (about 5 1/2 inches across), and some critics have counted this as a folio and then also as a missing folio. Since the last signature is stitched between ff. 5 and 6, we have lost many more pages if we wish to count in that way. But in fact no text is missing; f. 413 was left blank by the scribe and now has written on it only some information concerning the sixteenth-century owner of the manuscript, Sir Edward Vernon.

The gatherings are mainly in eights, and every complete gathering ends with a catchword. For a graphic breakdown of the signatures and catchwords of the Vernon Manuscript, see Table 1 on page 19.

The area in which the scribe wrote is about 16 1/2 inches from top to bottom and about 10 1/2 to 10 7/8 inches across. The pages are carefully ruled in two different
# TABLE 1.—CATCHWORDS AND SIGNATURES IN THE VERNON MS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sig.</th>
<th>last f.</th>
<th>Catchwords</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s5</td>
<td>viii</td>
<td>Introductory Section</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G36</td>
<td>xvi</td>
<td>he song bat I heuene was</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D30</td>
<td>xxiii</td>
<td>þof seuenese seint oswold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E8</td>
<td>xxxii</td>
<td>þe sechen Jþu Nazaren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F7</td>
<td>xl</td>
<td>ur lord he bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G34</td>
<td>lvi</td>
<td>Aftur bat God to heuene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G9</td>
<td>lxxii</td>
<td>Leue sustres for Godus lous [1 f. missing]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F16</td>
<td>lxx</td>
<td>Of bisschop he seide yeled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L33</td>
<td>xcv</td>
<td>So þetheore fos were stume itake [8 ff. missing]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K33</td>
<td>ciiii</td>
<td>Among bis speche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M33</td>
<td>cxx</td>
<td>In ceste liue est</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N33</td>
<td>cxxvi</td>
<td>teche us vices to do awey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C33</td>
<td>clxxiii</td>
<td>sùme of hem þen gon [40 ff. missing]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M33</td>
<td>clxxx</td>
<td>And you art nowe to me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G8</td>
<td>cxxvii</td>
<td>ffor from a wolf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R33</td>
<td>cxc</td>
<td>ffor euerye more swynke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S33</td>
<td>ccv</td>
<td>to leue þe lawe of heye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T33</td>
<td>ccxiii</td>
<td>In to þat þopr scale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ú6</td>
<td>cccxx</td>
<td>Wepeth povl and Iwelen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V8</td>
<td>cccxxxviii</td>
<td>þe clene vtu of chastite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W8</td>
<td>cccxlvi</td>
<td>hit is an offys of gret</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X7</td>
<td>ccliiii</td>
<td>Biddeþ his wyf [1 f. missing]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y35</td>
<td>clxxii</td>
<td>Wherfore þe ffend</td>
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<tr>
<td>P3</td>
<td>cclxx</td>
<td>And helle amidde eorþe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F5</td>
<td>cclxxviii</td>
<td>Of conscience þat neu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AA8</td>
<td>cclxxxvi</td>
<td>Ac whon I speek of soule</td>
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<tr>
<td>BB8</td>
<td>ccxcixii</td>
<td>þe pridde heus and on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GG6</td>
<td>cccii</td>
<td>þat knowes boþe good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DD6</td>
<td>ccx</td>
<td>cû tibi sunt nati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EE6</td>
<td>[cccxvii]</td>
<td>Incipit tétat cud titulus DDr stimul] amous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FF6</td>
<td>[cccxv]</td>
<td>þerfore heo meltep and relenteþ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G6</td>
<td>cccxxxvi</td>
<td>envye to almonkynde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HH6</td>
<td>cccxxiii</td>
<td>þat þe Iner hauynge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II6</td>
<td>ccxlii</td>
<td>wþuch gþe properli is charite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KK6</td>
<td>ccccl</td>
<td>And a coroune of bornes of his</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LL8</td>
<td>cccclvii</td>
<td>speche In delytyng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MM8</td>
<td>cccclvi</td>
<td>pauciloquas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NN8</td>
<td>cccclxxii</td>
<td>bow hast I cauht him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP6</td>
<td>cccclxxviii</td>
<td>[no catchword; next f. cccxci]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QQ7</td>
<td>ccccxviii</td>
<td>Ich asente be seynt Jem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RR7</td>
<td>[406]</td>
<td>Bi Wæt undâ a wilde wode [1 f. cut out; final f. cut off, 5 3/4-7 3/4&quot;. Catchword on it]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SS7</td>
<td>[412]</td>
<td>[final f. jaggedly cut off about 5&quot; wide]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
fashions, for prose or poetry. Those of prose, ff. 1\textsuperscript{r} to \textsuperscript{xxxv} and 319-406, have two columns, each about 5 1/2 inches across. Double lines 1/8 to 1/4 inch apart on the three unbound sides mark off an area from 1 1/2 to 1 5/8 inches smaller on each side than the vellum page. A single line about 1 1/8 inches from these double lines marks the boundary of the writing area. The first line of the column is written between the two double lines at the top and the text is continued in the 78 lines between top and bottom margin. An unruled central column about 9/16 inch wide stretching from the top of the page to the bottom separates the left and right ruled columns. About 1 5/8 inches from the double line at the bottom of the page are two more lines about 3/16 inch apart, between which the last line of the text is written. The areas above the double lines at the top of the page, between the double lines and the single margin line at the side of the pages, and between the double lines at the bottom are used for decorative foliage, which scarcely a single page lacks, for paragraph marks, illuminated capitals, and other marginalia. The page number is found in red on the verso of each page, usually on the top double line between the vertical double and single margin lines, but occasionally between the two horizontal lines in the same place, and sometimes when decorations require below the double lines and to the left of the vertical double line.
On every page of text from the outer line of the top double line to the outer line of the bottom double line, an area about 20 inches long, there are 81 holes, about 1/4 inch apart. The holes would seem to have been used in some way for drawing the lines for the text, since they usually fall near the lines, though not on them. At the bottom of the page, about 3/4 inch below the lowest line, one hole occurs on each of the three outermost vertical lines. Slightly to the right of the last hole are four more, evenly spaced about half an inch apart, ending about 2 3/4 inches from the outside line on the center column. Four other holes occur in the same position to the right of the center column at the top of the page. These holes, too, appear to have been an aid to laying out this rather complicated manuscript page, but it is hard to know just what their function was since they are near no lines.

The pages which contain poetry (ff. lxxxix to 318) and the first eight pages of the Index and "Information to Alfred's Sister" have three columns on each page. The columns are each 3 1/2 inches across and about 16 1/4 inches long and contain 80 lines of text. Between the center column and each of the other two is a narrow 1/4 inch space. These spaces are free of text and lining for the text; they seem reserved for paragraph marks and illuminated letters. The 1 1/8 inch area between the outermost column and
two lines, 1/8 inch apart and 1 1/2 to 1 5/8 inches from the page edge, provides space for more extensive decorations. Although it it impossible to tell whether the edges closest to the binding also have these double lines, they do have the foliage and other decorations connected with the beginning capital letter of each item. The pin-holes seem to be more sensibly distributed on the double column pages; each hole is near a line and almost every line has a clearly visible hole. I conjecture that these holes were made by pins around which string could be tied to aid the scribe in setting up his page, but that explanation does not account for, in particular, the four holes at the bottom of the triple page.

The scribe wrote a particularly clear modified court hand, carefully distinguishing between u and n, b and y. He was also very careful with his text, and there are very few errors or corrections in it. His black ink has faded to brown, but he wrote a number of title or chapter headings in red. Apparently space was left for them to be written in after finishing the text, for the titles stop at f. 367, although space for them is carefully left at the head of each succeeding item. For the illuminator who came after him, he indicated with two short diagonally slanting strokes in the margin where illuminated capitals and paragraph marks should go. The illustrations contain flowers
and borders very like the decorative initial in the MS. If we can assume that the same man did the illustrations and the illuminations, we can state positively that the scribe was someone different--some of the illustrations contain writing in a hand quite different from the scribe's. The illuminator did not always follow the directions given by the scribe, however. In "Good Man and Devil," there are many places where the scribe has indicated markings which the artist did not put in. The illuminator uses a black ink for his basic sketch and then fills in with red, green, blue, brown, white, red-brown, red-purple, and, of course, gold.

Illuminations

Originally many more pictures than are now extant illustrated the manuscript. Each of the nine "Miracles of the Virgin" still remaining in the manuscript is preceded by an illustration, and it is likely that the same was true of the thirty-three missing miracles. In addition to these illustrations of the miracles, seven portray episodes in the life of Mary from Annunciation to Nativity as described in the text, an "ypeynted" table illustrates the Lord's Prayer, and one elaborate initial accompanies the prayer beginning "The Prick of Conscience." The Pater Noster table (f. 231) is an ingenious and decorative chart explaining and developing the prayer. Across the top the columns
are headed "VII Peticōnes," "VII Dona sēc stĪ," "VII Virtu-
etes contra VII Vicia," and, vertically, the columns list these items in both Latin and English. If the chart is read horizontally, the Latin phrases of the prayer are on the left. Each Latin phrase is first translated into Eng-
lish. This petition, the chart explains, "ledep a man to" a particular spiritual gift, which leads in turn to one of the seven virtues, which "is a sēst" one of the seven dead-
ly sins. All the spaces left blank by the words are filled up with red and green boxes containing geometric designs, leaves, or maze drawings reminiscent of Irish illuminations.

Interestingly, the English translations contain several th's, a construction found nowhere else in the texts of the manuscript which I have examined, but only in the index and initial item which are in a different and later hand.

The illuminated initial, a thorn, is located in column 3 of f. 265r, 48 lines from the top of the column and 10 from the bottom. It measures 4 9/16 inches from top to bot-
tom and 2 7/8 inches across, not quite filling the column. Along the right side of the initial are ten lines of text, a benediction, beginning "The Prick of Conscience." The initial contains within it a drawing of the Crucifixion. God the Father supports the dead Christ on the cross while a white-robed monk kneeling in the lower right corner holds a banner of prayer. In the right upper corner a red and
orange triangle intertwines with the corner of the thorn to form a Star of David. This illustration does not specifically relate to the poem which follows it, although the poem does argue that men should love God because he took man's nature on himself and died for their sakes.

The illuminations accompanying the experiences of the Virgin, however, are specifically illustrative. The first illumination portrays the Annunciation (f. cvi?), which is described in the text immediately above and below the picture. It is 3 1/2 by 2 5/16 inches, in the second of three columns and is about two-thirds of the way down the column. Gabriel kneels at the left with a banner proclaiming "Ave sanctissima." A stylized lily in a pot stands at the center, and Mary sits at the right, haloed, hands crossed on her breast. Both figures are faceless, and a shield which hangs from a decorative branch at the bottom of the page is blank. The background is gold, patterned with stippled designs, and the foreground is a grassy knoll. The artist has attempted a primitive perspective in all these pictures; and the illumination is framed with quarter inch borders on only three sides, the lower side being left open, and the Virgin's halo overlies the upper frame. The second picture illustrates the meeting of Mary and Elizabeth, "her nece ... þat is in elde feole þere." Both haloed, they embrace in the center of the picture. They are in the
immediate foreground, the one wearing a blue robe is placed against a red background and the one in red against blue. A thin gold border surrounds three sides and two extremely stylized, fleshy-looking trees stand to either side of the women. The illumination is 3 1/2 by 1 15/16 inches and is located in the third column, 31 lines from the top of the page and 26 lines from the following picture of the angel and Zachariah.

The picture of Zachariah is on the same folio, only two lines from the bottom. Swinging a golden censer, a tonsured Zachariah kneels before an orange and gold altar. The angel approaches him holding a banner on which only "credidisti" can be read. The two figures are faceless, and I am unable to tell whether the faces were left unfinished or were erased. Three sides are bordered with a decorative trim 3/8 inch wide in blue, orange, pink, and white. Only the left side is unframed.

On the verso side of the same leaf are four more pictures illustrating scenes connected with Christ's birth. The first, in column one, 65 lines from the top and 7 from the bottom, is the christening of John the Baptist (3 1/2 by 1 1/2 inches). Elizabeth on the left sits in bed holding the baby, a central female figure (perhaps Mary?) stands, and an old bearded man sits to the right holding a book, presumably Zachariah writing the instruction to name
the baby John. Elizabeth and John both have faces, but the central figure's face has been scratched out, and Zachariah's has been erased. This picture has a 1/16 inch gold border on the top and right side and a red background. The next picture is in column two, 54 lines from the top and 18 from the bottom. It is slightly larger (3 9/16 by 1 9/16) and has no border. Joseph sleeps underneath two trees, holding some sort of stick (perhaps a walking stick?) while an angel holding a scroll approaches him. Joseph wears a beard and pink robe; his feet or shoes are visible below the robe. The angel wears blue and the background is gold. The last two pictures in column three portray the Nativity and the Angels' Visititation to the Shepherds. The Nativity is 30 lines from the top of the page and 28 from the illumination portraying the Visitation, which is at the bottom of the column with no text beneath it. A Bodleian book on English illumination reproduces the Nativity picture, describing it as a "crude little version of the nativity." A haloed Mary at left rests her head on the same orange and white cushion she sat on the picture one. She holds the baby, also haloed and wrapped in gold swaddling clothes. In the center an ox and donkey watch the scene over a reed wall, and to the right Joseph, seated and leaning on a cane, watches mother and child dubiously. The scene of shepherds in the same column concludes the poem describing the birth of Christ. A disreputable looking
shepherd holding a shepherd's crook and wearing a cap stands at bottom center. He appears to be waving to the angel with the banner at upper left. A small dog at the lower left barks at the angel, the face of another seems to grow from the grass at far left (I suppose he has been sleeping on the ground and was awakened by the angelic choirs), and three infinitesimal sheep are staggered on the lower right. A mysterious figure stands at right; he appears to be wearing white collar and bands. The blue background is decorated with white flowers and firework-like swirls. Although these illuminations are crude, they show a refreshing energy. Each illustrates quite accurately the adjoining text.

The final collection of illuminations illustrates the nine remaining individual Miracles of the Virgin. The first rather large one (about 5 1/8 by 4 1/8, with protruding spears and a church tower 4 inches taller) in column three portrays an abortive attack by Rollo on the city of Croteye. The townsfolk were going to surrender, but Bishop Waltelinne brought forth the church's most prized relic, the curtel of the Blessed Virgin, and blinded the Northmen. The illumination shows the moment when the bishop comes to the city wall with a follower carrying the curtel on a spear like a war standard. The Northmen are apparently in the process of being blinded, since a short man in green at the left,
Rollo I expect, is squinting nearsightedly at the city gate. A double frame 1/8 inch of blue and 1/8 inch of gold surrounds the picture on three sides, but some of the setting is beginning to break out of the frame and to dovetail with the text. On the verso of the same leaf two pictures expand this kind of frameless or extra-frame treatment. One of these illustrates an analogue of Chaucer's "Prioress's Tale." Several scenes from the story seem to be jumbled together: three townspeople, including the boy's mother, sit and stand at lower right. A small building without walls contains the pit (remarkably like a privy, which is not indicated in the tale), two burghers struggling with Jews, and a third burgher beckoning to another Jew.

Simeon Manuscript

The Simeon Manuscript, B.M. MS Additional 22,283, measures 2 1/4 by 17 1/2 inches and is 4 inches thick. It is strikingly like the Vernon both externally and internally. The decorations, handwriting, numbering on the verso, and page set-up are quite similar. The pages are somewhat larger, however, measuring 23 by 15 inches, and the writing area is 18 5/8 by 11 3/16. The number of lines of text varies, from 85 to 90 lines (apparently dependent in some fashion on which of the scribes was working). The volume contains many fewer pages than the Vernon: only 172 folios now remain, although originally there were at least 379,
The missing folios are 1-177, 179, 211-213, 262-263, 275-282, 307-314, 318-319, 336, 344-345, 367, 370, and 377. Since there is no index for the Simeon as there is for the Vernon, it is impossible to determine completely what is missing, although several scholars have attempted a reconstruction on the basis of the parallel contents in Vernon.

The Simeon's pages have either two or three columns of text. Generally the three-column pages (178, 180-274, 317\textsuperscript{v}-335\textsuperscript{r}) contain poetry, while those with two columns (283-317\textsuperscript{r}, 337-379) contain prose, although several poems with long alliterative lines ("Piers Plowman," for instance) are sensibly written in two columns. On the poetry pages the three columns range from 3 1/4 to 3 3/4 inches wide, separated by empty spaces about 3/8 inches wide. The side margin is about 1 1/16 inches from the end of the third column, the bottom margin about 1 1/2 inches from the text and 1 5/8 inches from the edge of the page, and the top margin 1 1/4 inches from the edge. The text begins with a double line at the top and ends with a double line at the bottom.

Guideline pinpricks like those in the Vernon occur along the edge of the page. Some pages (ff. 286-287) are actually ruled, as well as pricked, for both two and three columns. On the two-column pages, columns range from about
5 7/16 to 5 3/8 inches with the lines dividing them about 5/8 inches apart. The first and last four lines in each column are ruled fairly consistently across the entire page; there are no other marginal lines. On the whole, the Simeon does not seem to have been as carefully laid out as the Vernon was. For example, the lines drawn within each column for the text often stop before the end of the column, leaving a blank space, or extend beyond the column into the space left for decoration. That almost never happens in the Vernon. The Simeon in its present form contains no illuminated pictures, although it does have many initials and paragraph marks (\textpullquote). And the text of the manuscript is in at least three hands. All three are remarkably similar, as would likely be the case if the scribes were all trained at the same place and working under one supervisor, but they are visually distinguishable by their slant and the size of the writing. Scribe one, who wrote ff. 1-61, 118\textsuperscript{v}-131\textsuperscript{va}, and 152\textsuperscript{rb}-172, has a loose, large hand, and generally uses an ink which has faded to brown. Scribe two, the same one who wrote the entire Vernon Manuscript, was responsible for ff. 62-118\textsuperscript{r} and 135-152\textsuperscript{rb} (black ink). Two lines apparently in his handwriting were inserted into the text written by scribe one; this might indicate that scribe two was a supervisor responsible for overseeing the entire work. Scribe three, who wrote a tall upright hand in black ink, did only ff. 131\textsuperscript{va}-13\textsuperscript{m}. 
NOTES

1 Sajavaara counts 342, Kane 341, and Serjeantson 344, but my analysis of gatherings and catchwords (pp. 14-16) conclusively proves the count of 349. Some of the disagreement on number of pages may be due to the scribe's method of numbering. He wrote Roman numerals between two margin lines at the upper left corner of the verso side. Serjeantson, for example, renumbers so that facing pages both possess the same number, followed by A or B. This method might lead to confusion since it leaves some pages without numbers, such as the first one. A more modern hand has numbered the pages as we have them now straight through on the right corner. My method was to use the scribal numbering, adding my own recto or verso designations. Analysis of signatures and gatherings support my count. Kari Sajavaara, "The Relationship of the Vernon and Simeon Manuscripts," Neophilologische Mitteilungen, 68 (1967), 428-440; George Kane, ed., Piers Plowman: The A-Version (London, 1960), p. 17; and Mary S. Serjeantson, "The Index of the Vernon Manuscript," Modern Language Review, 32 (1937), 222-261.

2 The foliation which is in the scribe's hand makes f. 105 appear to be missing, f. 106 not missing, and ff. 107-113 missing, which I was hard put to explain. Actually, however, f. 105 exists, misnumbered 106, and the entire signature 106-113 is gone.


5 Angus McIntosh, "A New Approach to Middle English Dialectology," English Studies, 46 (1963), 1-11.
CHAPTER III
DIALECT AND SCRIBAL PRACTICES

Dialect

No extensive studies have been done on the dialect of the Vernon Manuscript, but there is a general consensus among scholars that the scribe wrote in the Middle English of the southwestern Midlands. Serjeantson analyzed only the Index, on the grounds that it might be the best clue to the place of compilation of the manuscript, the dialect of which might have been contaminated by the original dialects of the various pieces. She placed the dialect in the South Shropshire-South Staffordshire area.\(^1\) Allen found that contemporary notes in the Vernon suggested that the manuscript had been copied in the area of Lichfield, and she referred for support to Jordan, who had first suggested Lichfield as the probable location of the dialect.\(^2\) McIntosh's analyses of two other manuscripts undoubtedly from Lichfield (MS Trinity College Cambridge R.3.8. and MS Rawlinson A.389) "cast grave doubt on any theory that the Vernon Manuscript belongs to Lichfield."\(^3\) Baugh had already pointed out the similarity in the contents of Vernon and B.M. MS Additional 37,787, which the scribe John of Northwood copied at Bordesley Abbey, about six miles southeast of Bromsgrove in northeastern
Worcestershire. Sajavaara saw a "rough" similarity in the dialectal features of the two manuscripts, but suggested a more southerly location within northern Worcestershire. Later, in his edition of Grosseteste's Chateau d'Amour, one of the items in Vernon, Sajavaara selected Worcester and Lichfield as possible sources for the manuscript and, after contrasting the dialectal features of the two places, concluded that the manuscript was from the area just north of Worcester. Unless further evidence turns up, the manuscript probably cannot be more definitely localized. All of the proposed locations, even Lichfield, are within a small area well inside the Southwest Midland dialect region.

Scribal Practices

Study of the individual scribes' idiosyncrasies, as several scholars have argued, may one day enable us to identify scribes and the manuscripts on which they worked. I offer the following analysis of the Vernon scribe's practice in the four debate poems under study as a contribution to that millennium when it will be possible to make valid comparisons between scribes and manuscripts.

Long-form and Round-form R

The scribe uses two forms of R, a long form which resembles the modern printed R with the down-stroke lengthened into a descender (γ), and a round form which resembles a printed Arabic 2 with a similar lengthening (γ). The
round form follows b, o, and p, which end with high finishing strokes, while the long form is used everywhere else. In "Good Man and Devil," the round form is used once following capital G, but the long form is also used once. Long-form r also follows capital G once in "Jesus and the Jews"; tentatively, I conclude the two forms are in free variation in that environment. The long form is used twice in "Jesus and the Jews" following initial p, twice in "Christian and Jews" following initial p and once following sp, once in "Mary and the Cross" following initial p and once following initial b. These few exceptions to the rule stated above seem to be "errors"; they are overwhelmingly outnumbered by instances in which the other form is used, so that free variation is unlikely.

Long-form and Round-form s

The scribe's practice concerning long-form and round-form s shows less consistency. Long-form s generally precedes p, ch, t, o, q, and k, although "Good Man and Devil" contains one round-form s before k, one before p, two before ch, and two before t; "Mary and the Cross" contains one round-form s before t; and "Christian and Jews" contains two before o, nine before ch, and one before q. "Good Man and Devil" also uses long-form s following l, and either before or after y. Elsewhere long-form s before y occurs only once in "Christian and Jews." Environments where long-form s is randomly used, apparently in some kind of variation with the
other form, include before a (four times) and before e, either initially (eleven) or medially (twelve). It occurs three times before i, twice before o, and twice before u. Long-form s occurs only twice in a word-final position, both times in common monosyllables. The scribe makes one interesting distinction concerning the double s. Strictly speaking the word misseye does not contain a double s, since the first s belongs to the prefix, the second to the root. His solution is to write the first with round form and the second with long form, presumably because it precedes e. It seems likely that in many environments the Vernon scribe uses the two s forms in a system of free variation, using the long form as emphasis in important words, or as additional decoration with decorative capitals or abbreviations.

U, V, and W

U and v are in complementary variation, as expected in a Middle English document. U is used word-medially and word-finally with only two exceptions in the four debates: avaylep and avise; in each of these a space occurs between a and v, suggesting that the scribe considered the v word-initial. V is used word-initially, with two exceptions, ut and uirga, both occurring in the Latin lines in "Jesus and the Jews." U and w are freely varied in now; elsewhere w appears where it would be expected: atwinne, serwe, halwed, wib, wombe, whi, was, swettore, and consistently in borwh/ borw3.
I and J

The scribe seems to be striving for a distinction between i and j; only two graphemic forms occur, a minuscule and a majuscule, but the majuscule occurs consistently where we now use a small j, even in at least one case word-medially. However, the scribe's habit of capitalizing nouns for emphasis obscures the distinction, if in fact any consistent distinction is there. Three times in "Jesus and the Jews" a fancy majuscule, which occurs in none of the other three poems, begins the name Isaiah.

Minims

The scribe also consistently distinguishes in his handwriting between letters which are similarly formed from minims, and thus shows an unusual concern for the clarity and readability of his manuscript. Small u and n are made from paired minims which join at either the bottom or the top; they are always clear unless the ink has faded on the crucial ligature. Small i's are often dotted in cases where confusion might result, where, for example, either m or n makes sense in context.

Capital N

In three of the debates the scribe uses a loose but recognizable one-line capital N, thus: \( \mathcal{N} \). In "Good Man and Devil," he employs two other forms in line-initial positions: \( \mathcal{Y} \) and \( \mathcal{R} \). The former is used in \( \mathcal{N} \) nine times (as opposed
to two for the latter, and ten for the customary form), No (four times), Nedde (twice), Nouber (twice), and Nix (once).
The latter form is used once in No and once in Nolde.

Abbreviations

The scribe uses seventeen different abbreviations. Although he abbreviates when he lacks space, he also abbreviates when he has extra space. On six occasions he abbreviates twice in the same word, three times using two tildes in one word (בזיג, encübremêt, and comaudemêt), three times using different abbreviations within the same word ("pduu," "plemêt," and ʃtōd). "Good Man and Devil" contains the greatest number of abbreviations, appropriately enough considering it is more than four times as long as "Jesus and the Jews" but has less than twice the space. But "Christian and Jew," which takes up 320 lines in four columns of text, uses only twenty-one abbreviations, while "Jesus and the Jews" with 215 lines in the same space uses sixty-nine.

Part of the use of abbreviations is dependent on the text because the scribe is careful not to abbreviate to the point of impenetrability. He seldom abbreviates an n or m, for example, between two vowels; such abbreviations would be more likely to produce an unrecognizable word than an abbreviation between a vowel and a consonant. The scribe is likely to use the same abbreviation in consecutive lines, especially in rhyme words, as if the abbreviation would be fresh in his
mind and that of his reader (see, for instance, "Mary and the Cross," lines 447, 449, 451, and 453).

The most frequently used abbreviation is a horizontal line or tilde representing n or m. It occurs 236 times, 181 for n and 55 for m. It is always placed over a vowel, 83 times over the concluding letter of a word. Of these tildes, 184 occur in "Good Man and Devil," 11 in "Jesus and the Jews," 16 in "Christian and Jew," and 25 in "Mary and the Cross." The next most frequently appearing abbreviation is a symbol composed of a dot and an arc ('). This symbol is used 74 times to represent er and 4 times in "Jesus and the Jews" for re, in each of the latter cases following p. It occurs 58 times in "Good Man and Devil," 6 in "Jesus and the Jews," once in "Christian and Jew," and 13 in "Mary and the Cross." In two cases in "Jesus and the Jews," it is connected with the crossbar of the final t in the Latin words "mater" and "pater." Easily confused with this symbol but actually different is the wave (−), used by the Vernon scribe to signify ur. To complicate matters further, the scribe may abbreviate the same word differently with these symbols, perhaps in error, but more probably in the same disregard for consistency that his orthography shows. For example, the er abbreviation completes ou three times to produce ouer, but once the abbreviating mark is definitely a tilde, producing ouur, a permissible variation of the word,
but one not occurring written out in the lexicon of the four poems. Except for pater and mater, the er abbreviation always occurs over a word, while the tilde occurs about two-thirds of the time after the word, although they both occur word-finally in roughly the same percentage of cases.

Elevated letters occur 167 times in the four debates, but it is best to treat them as four different graphemes. One of them is not an abbreviation at all; be, occurring eight times, is no different from be. In sixty-three cases following b, an elevated t stands for at; in thirty-nine cases following w it means ith. The latter case is an interesting anomaly since I have been able to find th written out nowhere in the Vernon Manuscript and only once in the Simeon. Yet the symbol following w is clearly a t, not a p. The instance is a salient warning not to rely on a scribe's customary spelling for assistance in deciphering his abbreviations. In fifty-seven cases an elevated u following p symbolizes pou. In "Good Man and Devil," pe occurs seven times, pt fifty-three times, wt eighteen times, and pu forty-two times. In "Jesus and the Jews," pe occurs once, pt three times, wt seven times, and pu twelve times. In "Mary and the Cross," pe does not occur, pt occurs five times, wt four times, and pu twice. An abbreviation for and, which is often the most common abbreviation found in Middle English, is used only forty-three times, thirty-three in "Good Man and Devil," five in "Jesus and the Jews," and five in "Mary and
"the Cross." And is written out in full many times in the four debates. The name Jesus is abbreviated ïhu every time it appears, twice in "Good Man and Devil," twelve times in "Jesus and the Jews," and five times in "Mary and the Cross." Ironically, the name Jesus is never used in the quasi-theological debate between Christian and Jew. A barred p (ρ) is found seventeen times, six times in "Good Man and Devil," twice in "Jesus and the Jews," and nine times in "Mary and the Cross." It is expanded per.

Six abbreviations are used fewer than fifteen times each in the Vernon Manuscript. A raised vowel indicates a missing r; raised i occurs five times in "Good Man and Devil," three times in "Jesus and the Jews," once in "Christian and Jew," and once in "Mary and the Cross." Raised a and e each occur twice in "Good Man and Devil." One symbol (ʒ), used fourteen times in all, six in "Good Man and Devil," seven in "Mary and the Cross," and once in the title of "Jesus and the Jews," is used word-finally to indicate us. It is used four times for the genitive noun inflection. Eight times it follows an n or m. Similar to it is an abbreviation which occurs only in conjunction with a final long-form r (ϡ). This is used five times in "Good Man and Devil" and seven times in "Mary and the Cross" to mean a following e. Although similar to the abbreviation for bat, bou, and with, I believe this is a separate grapheme because it can be mechanically expanded in the same way in each case. The
elevated abbreviations mentioned earlier depend on a knowledge of three discrete common words, and cannot be mechanically expanded. Pro is abbreviated nine times as ρ, five times in "Jesus and the Jews" and three in "Mary and the Cross," in connection with the words prophet, prophesie, and so on. Once in "Jesus and the Jews," it is used in proved.

Scribal Errors

The Vernon scribe made only sixteen detectable errors in the 2050 lines of the four poems. I have divided them into six types: rewritten letters, inserted letters, letters omitted, words omitted, lines omitted, and uncaught errors of some other kind. The first category of scribal error was discoverable only by the use of ultraviolet light not available to earlier editors. There is one case of a letter rewritten by the scribe, in line 370 of "Mary and the Cross," where he changed the u in defouled to a y. Three times the scribe caught his own omission and corrected it by insertion. In "Good Man and Devil," line 115, he inserted heb above the line. On line 865 he did the same thing with to. In "Jesus and the Jews," line 114, he or perhaps someone else added a to complete the word among. The scribe twice omitted letters. In "Good Man and Devil," he wrote ey for eny on line 445, and on line 58 of "Jesus and the Jews," he wrote ffo instead of ffor. Twice the scribe seems to have omitted whole words. In "Good Man and Devil," line 581, when the Devil speaks of a person's vain slavery to his possessions, he says he travels
and "ofte and mony a tyme heore catel and heore lyf." Sense and meter both demand Horstmann's addition, "lesen heore catel." In "Christian and Jew," line 31, the poet says the Jew will not change his religion "for no gold pat mihte him seue." Horstmann suggests "me" following "pat"; because of the rarity of narrative intrusions, I prefer "men" inserted in the same place. Lines 32 and 82 are completely omitted from the Vernon "Good Man and Devil," but are included in Simeon, indicating that at least for this poem Simeon could not have been copied only from Vernon; at least two lines are omitted following line 666 in both manuscripts.

The largest category of errors is those which do not fall into any of the other groups. Six times the scribe made an error other than omission which he did not catch. Earlier editors identified many more scribal errors than the six I accept; in some cases they misread the manuscript, in some they misunderstood the word the poet was using, and in some they simply demanded a greater degree of consistency in grammar, spelling, and logic than I believe justified. Each rejected emendation will be discussed fully in the textual notes. In "Good Man and Devil," line 939, Good Man says that a righteous person will give to the poor "of pat is on by bord." The pronoun should probably be "his" to agree with its antecedent, but the poet may be using anacoluthon to make his message more direct. In line 409, both Vernon and Simeon refer to wrath as "he" rather than "hit," and in line 417 they
describe a man who tried to "sCHilde" himself from guilt for sin when the word should rhyme with "be-tyde." Horstmann suggested "hyde." Both the Vernon and Simeon scribes wrote "No mon hap so muche good, bat I wolde he hedde more" in line 335, an obvious moral error. The meaning is clear if we substitute "holde" for "wolde." In "Christian and Jew," similarly, Vernon has "wolde" for "molde," meaning "world" (line 64). In line 14, the scribe substitutes i for the final vowel of "mihte," thus making an adjective where a verb is wanted. On the whole, the Vernon Manuscript has remarkably few errors, amounting to less than one-tenth of one per cent of the total number of words in the four poems.
NOTES


2 Hope Emily Allen, "Manuscripts of the Ancren Riwle," TLS, Feb. 8, 1936, p. 116. Allen was probably referring to Richard Jordan, Eirentumlichkeiten des Anglischen Wortschatzes in Anglistische Forschungen, 17 (1906), although I have been unable to find such a statement there.


8 I have used Francis's methodology of graphemic analysis as a basis, although I present here only those factors which resulted in potentially illuminating comparisons.

9 In cases where I have not mentioned all four of the debate poems, it is understood that there are no occurrences of that abbreviation in the unmentioned debate.

10 Also discoverable only with ultraviolet were the Simeon scribe's errors. He three times erased parts of words, each time in "Good Man and Devil." In l. 533, he changed -falle to simple -falle, and in l. 635, he erased che twice, changing -lihtliche and gladliche to lihtli and gladli. A similar erasure was performed on baldeli(che) and schomeful-li(che) in ll. 373, 374.

CHAPTER IV
THE DEBATE BETWEEN JESUS AND THE JEWS

"The Disputison bitwene Chi[l]d Jesus and the Maistres of the lawe of Jewus" is 215 lines long in eight-line stanzas rhyming abababab. Lines 25-40 preserve the same rhyme words for a sixteen-line stanza as do lines 57-68 for twelve lines. Lines 174-175 and 192 are in Latin. Each line (except the Latin ones) has four stresses, and, according to Utley, "about half the lines alliterate on two to four syllables."¹ J. P. Oakden counted 112 lines without alliteration, 53 lines with two, 36 with three, and 14 with four stressed syllables alliterating. He concluded that "48 per cent of the lines have, therefore, alliteration," and placed the "Disputison" with the group of Middle English poems in which alliteration is no longer a structural element but has been degraded and overused as mere ornament.² My own count found that 105 lines have no alliteration, although 10 of these lines have similar sounds on unstressed syllables.

The poem follows "King Robert of Cicyle, how pride dude him begyle," beginning halfway down the third column of f. 300v in the Vernon Manuscript. The title precedes the first
line of the poem and continues in the right margin of lines 1 and 2: "Her is a disputison bitwene chid / Jhū & Maistres of pe lawe of Jewus." The scribe inadvertently omitted the l from child and abbreviated and, Jesus, and Jewus. The e in be is written above the line. The first letter is a large red illuminated L on a background of blue and gold.

Throughout the poem, the illuminated capital letters do not divide the stanzas. Rather, the letters seem designed to mark the dramatic movement between speakers rather than the poetic or stanzaic characteristics of the work. All illuminations after the first mark the beginning of speeches by Jesus; of these, in turn, all except one are in fact illuminated first letters of the word Jesus. Colored paragraph marks set off the beginning of speeches by the doctors and the entrance of Mary. Line 54 ends the first page, line 135 ends the first column on f. 300v, and the poem is made to end simultaneously with that column. This simultaneity is achieved by expansion and contraction: the scribe begins to add alternating red and blue wavy lines to fill out each line to the edge of the column, and he also crams the last five lines of the poem into three lines of the manuscript. The poem is followed by "Christian and Jew" which begins at the top of the next column.

The version in the Simeon Manuscript begins in column 2 of f. 274v, and is also preceded by "Robert of Cicyle,"
but neither poem is titled. Two lines are left blank preceding the "Disputison," as if for the title to be filled in later. Line 14 ends column 2, and line 104 ends column 3 as well as the Simeon version of the poem because the following pages are lost. The first four words of line 105, however, are known to us from the catchwords at the foot of the page.

In "Jesus and the Jews," the narrative introduction takes fourteen lines. It includes the cause of the conflict: the Child Jesus has entered the temple, seated himself, and begun to teach about the Trinity. The Masters as a group speak challengingly to the boy, and then a single Master speaks for sixteen lines. In this case, although the opposition is definitely but vaguely plural, the Masters speak either as a group or as interchangeable characters with the same thoughts. The poet has no problem with the alternation of replies; he does not distinguish between the Masters, and thus any one can speak for them all. The Master is insulting to Jesus, and uses some of the strongest language found in these debates. Jesus responds briefly in kind (eight lines) and poses a question to them all. The Master blusters and refuses to answer (six lines), and Jesus in the longest speech so far answers his own question (twenty-two lines). Two Masters respond to this speech one after the other, and, struck by the boy's learning, begin
to be convinced (forty lines). Then Jesus explains the Trinity, and the Masters raise objections. The debate is proceeding in a very informal, realistic fashion, the Masters responding in each case to an uncommon situation or a revelatory speech. They do not offer contradictory information in their speeches, because they do not have any. Initially they respond to the usurpation of their position and the affront of a presumptuous child. When Jesus has answered his own question, they react to his response. They are unwillingly impressed, but they conclude that he may have been taught by demons, using a kind of ad hominem argument because they cannot refute his facts. When Jesus moves to the Trinity and His identity with the Messiah, they begin to raise definite objections; this is their own territory, and they offer prophecies which contradict Christ's arguments. Jesus responds; the altercation has here become a "true" debate if by that one means a dialogue limited to a direct response to the other debater's words, rather than a more comprehensive response to the conflict of ideas, actions, and words. The Masters marvel and apparently are intellectually persuaded before political considerations enter their minds. Then, fearing they will lose their positions and followers permanently, they almost perceptibly harden their hearts. Until this point, the debaters have alternated speeches nearly equally in total lines, eighty-eight for Jesus, seventy-one for the Jewish
Masters. Then Mary enters, and she and Jesus talk, returning to the Biblical narration. When they finish, the Jews have determined to reject Christ, but some nearby Romans recognize and honor Him. The last two lines are a prayer for us all.

In this debate, the poet had to include and work around the given facts. The Jews could not accept Christ's teaching because historically they had not; yet neither could they refute Him. So the poet showed them weakening, being persuaded by the teachings, and finally resisting them, not because they could intellectually deny the arguments but because they had thought of sordid and worldly concerns.

From the beginning the resolution between the debaters was known; complete victory for either side was impossible. The poet introduced a third group, the Romans, who had had no part in the debate except as listeners and who, presumably, were unbiased. Their evaluation and belief provides Jesus with a moral victory, thus neatly combining the demands of history, religion, and literature.

Summary

When Jesus is twelve years old, He goes to the temple "to lere / Wrangful wrecches bat wroust outrage" (11. 11-12). The Masters, not unnaturally, resent the boy and advise Him to run along and play. One of them suggests
Jesus responds to the jibe by asking them either to tell why A comes before B in the alphabet or to accept His teaching. The Master answers only with jeers and threats of a beating. Jesus, averring "I com not hider for to fiht" (l. 48), points out that they have not answered his question and proceeds to answer it Himself.

A is prys wip oute pere.

Lettrure of ñreō and is o ping

Ñreō partyes a hap lettrure. (ll. 54-57)

Since A is three parts knotted together, it is like the Trinity, and it is "most of dignite" (l. 68). The Master appears impressed but cautions Jesus that He still has much to learn. The lessons that He is teaching are not found in Moses' law; He has "wit," but it is mixed with folly. This nonsense about the Trinity is further proof that Jesus is young and should be put to study under some sage teacher, like, perhaps, the Master himself, who is so grieved by Jesus' errors and the evil laws which He is preaching. Another Master joins the fray. He too is unwillingly impressed by the child's learning but suspects that Jesus has been taught by devils. He adjures the boy to forsake His error, and toward that end, he attempts to humiliate Him before the
crowd by asking Him to explain the Trinity. Jesus is eager to explain. He refers to Isaiah's prophecy about the child born of a virgin and likens the child to a sunbeam which came to the Virgin Mary without sin or corruption. Just as the sun cannot be separated from the sunbeam, so God the Father cannot be separated from Jesus the Son or from the Holy Spirit. If people will accept this teaching,

Den is mon a praised preisle
Dat to be Trinite dop no greef. (11.148-149)

The Masters accuse Jesus of preaching the devil's lore, because, according to prophecy, the Christ was to be born of a maiden. Old Joseph wedded Mary; therefore, their son cannot be Christ. But Jesus reminds his listeners of Isaiah's word that "be Mylde Mooder of Messye" (1.165) will be wedded without peer. In addition, Isaiah said that Christ would be born within the law, and that must mean within a marriage. Otherwise, Christ's law would be lost.

Joseph uirga floruit fatu Ysaye
Coniumx lex ut monuit mater fit Messye.

(11.174-175)

The Masters and Jews marvel at Christ's learning and His opposition to their learning. Those who see their own wit failing begin to withdraw from the listening group and go away.
At this moment Mary comes into the temple and when she sees her son, says "Now is my Bale myd boote I bet. . . . Ego et pater tuus dolentes querebamus te" (l. 189, 192). Jesus answers that He has been doing His father's will, un-binding what was bound and preaching eloquently to both friend and foe. He has been sent to fulfill God's law and to save the world. In the audience, Romans who are knowledgeable about theology agree that Jesus is Christ and honor Him for "his miht and his maistrie" (l. 214). May we follow the example of the Romans "To geten pe gle in his glorie. Amen" (l. 215-216).

Analogues

"The Disputation bitwene Chi[l]d Jesus and the Maistres of the lawe of Jewus" amplifies the Biblical story, in which the Holy Family goes to Jerusalem for Passover (Luke 2:41-52. See p. 58). When they leave, Mary and Joseph assume that Jesus is elsewhere in the caravan, but after a day's journey they realize He has been left behind. They return and find Him teaching the learned doctors in the temple. The obvious question is, what was Jesus teaching them? The Middle Ages answered, "Christian theology, particularly the doctrine of the Trinity." The Biblical story and the medieval embellishments were developed in two ways: in the debate genre of "L'Enfant Sage" (Wise Child) and in the play cycles.
The Wise Child was a recognized subgroup among the debates, in which a child, often Christ or Epictetus, astounded hearers with his knowledge of theological problems. In "Ypotis," a debate poem occurring in fifteen medieval manuscripts including the Vernon, the child Ypotis (or Epictetus) answers the questions of the Emperor Hadrian. In the end Ypotis succeeds in converting the Emperor and then reveals that He is Christ. The poem attempts to cover a wide range of dogma and to make it interesting or at least acceptable by embedding it in a narrative framework. But, in fact, the debate is not sufficiently motivated and is less debate and more catechism since Hadrian, from the beginning, asks only respectfully phrased questions which imply that the boy will know the answers. Therefore, by virtue of the conflict in both, "Jesus and the Jews" is more closely related to the plays.

The plays about this episode are found in five play cycles forming two families. The first version occurs also in the York, Towneley, and Chester plays, but is most fully developed in the Coventry Corpus Christi Plays, the civic cycle. This play begins with the preparation of Mary and Joseph for the trip to Jerusalem. Joseph is comically portrayed as an old man complaining about his young wife. The Towneley play begins with three Jewish doctors arguing about Habakkuk's prophecy of the rod of Jesse. The
York and Chester plays begin only with the discovery that Jesus is missing. All four plays portray the initial contempt of the Masters for the boy and their questions concerning the Ten Commandments (each play has a slightly different set of Commandments). He astounds them with His understanding, and in each case the third Master fears that the people will no longer respect his wisdom after they have heard the wondrous boy. Then the searching parents see Jesus and engage in a comic conflict about who shall go to get Him. Joseph hangs back on account of his poverty and lack of education but at last follows Mary to the temple dais. The conclusion closely follows the Biblical text, except that the doctors in each play vainly ask Jesus to stay with them. In the Coventry play, although they agree that He has wisdom, they put off further discussion for another day.

The second version is found only in the Ludus Coventriae. It emphasizes the discussion with the doctors rather than the searching parents. In fact, the two doctors discuss their learning and position in a thirty-two line preamble before Jesus appears to tell them that they should thank God for their learning. They order Jesus away with contempt, but He arrests them with a question about the creation of the world and its duration. When they cannot answer, He explains the Trinity, comparing it to the
sun which gives splendor, heat, and light. The second person of the Trinity must come to redeem Adam's sin since Adam was tempted with the Son's quality, "connynge," rather than the Father's might or the Holy Spirit's goodness. The two doctors immediately recognize the child's wisdom and ask Him to teach them more. Why, for instance, was Mary married? To fool the devil by hiding Christ's birth, Jesus answers, and to provide a companion for Mary on the flight to Egypt. Mary then enters, reproaching Jesus. He promises to be obedient and go with her, and the doctors, desirous of yet more knowledge, accompany them. This version lacks a comic Joseph, the third doctor, and an account of the Ten Commandments. At the end, the doctors follow Jesus.

The debate poem exhibits an interesting similarity to the Ludus Coventriae play. Although the poet restored Joseph to the episode, he did not portray him in comic fashion. He omitted the lengthy discussion of the Commandments and concentrated instead on the questions about the Trinity and Mary. In the poem, however, Jesus' answers to these questions differ from those in the play. The metaphorical analogy between the Trinity and the sun is made in both the poem and the play, but it seems to be an obvious and common comparison. In fact, most of the explanations in the debate are less clear and forceful than those in the
play except for Jesus' effective analysis of the letter A in response to the taunts of the teachers. The alternation of set speeches in the poem emphasizes the conflict: even the shorter initial speeches are longer than those in the drama, and Jesus' final speech is nearly eighty lines long, obviously a longer speech than would be workable on the medieval stage. These longer speeches build up a conflict which necessitates a conversion or a victory in the end. And, in fact, there are both. The Jewish doctors are forced to admit Jesus' victory before they withdraw, and the Romans, conveniently introduced at the last minute, are converted.
Luke 2:41-51

[Biblia Sacra, vulgatae editionis (Lugduni: Andreae Laurens, 1732)].

41 Et ibant parentes ejus per omnes annos in Jerusalem in
die solemni Paschae. 42 Et cum factus esset annorum duodecim,
ascendentibus illis Jerosolymam secundum consuetudinem diei
festi, 43 Consummatisque diebus, cum redirent, remansit puer
Jesus in Jerusalem, & non cognoverunt parentes ejus. 44 Ex-
istimantes autem illum esse in comitatu, venerunt iter diei,
& requirebant eum inter cognatos, & natos. 45 Et non inven-
ientes, regressi sunt in Jerusalem, requirentes eum. 46 Et
factum est, post triduum invenerunt illum in templo, seden-
tem in medio doctorum audientem illos, & interrogantem eos.
47 Stupebant autem omnes, qui eum audiebant, super prudentia
& responsis ejus. 48 Et videntes admirati sunt. Et dixit
mater ejus ad illum Filii, quid fecisti nobis sic, ecce pater
 tua, & ego dolentes quaeremus te. 49 Et ait ad illos:
Quid est quod me quaerebatis? nesciebatis quia in his, quae
patris mei sunt, oportet me esse: 50 Et ipsi non intelle
xer-
unt verbum, quod locutus est ad eos. 51 Et descendit cum eis,
& venit Nazareth: & erat subditus illis. Et mater ejus con-
servabat omnia verba haec in corde suo.
NOTES

1 J. P. Oakden, *Alliterative Poetry in Middle English* (Manchester, 1930), I, 238.


Lustneb lorde, leave in londe
Sobri saves I wol you telle
Of gentyl Jhesu I understande
be ffalse ffel fonded to felle.

5
for we ne wrake he wolde he wonde
Of Trinite trowe to Jwes telle.
He sat in sec he rolde not storde
As best of harnes bat bar be Belle.
be gospel seib in his manere

10
Whon Jhesu was of twelf yer age
In to the Temple he com to lere
Wrangful verracches bat worlost outraghe
Mystres wondrede bat her were
bat lawes lerede in hoore langage

15
And seide, "Childe, what destou bere?
bat sittest stalled in vre stage."
A Master seide to Jhesu,
"Iou scholdest lerne and nou3t teche
bou spillest speche what serston.

20
bi wrangful wordes worcheb wrecche
bou remanest in pres a fraye se prou
As proued prophete be people proche
Sturt a stounde bi save of Cru
bi wit to teche may not reche.

25 bou schuldest lerne A be
ffor be savle afoundement
bou tellest tales of Trinite
In wonderouse bi wit is went
3if bou wolt lerne bou miht phe

30 ffor wonder vit or be is sent
Of Bales foute bou miht be
3if bou meore In errour hent."  
Jhesu seide, "I may wel se
bi sok is blyst and bou art blent

35 bou farest foule so bynkem me
ffor lowed lore on be is lent.
Whi is A bi forest?
Tel me bat spekest in present
Or I schal tvael teche be

40 bi desen rabe bi schal regent."  
be Maister whel wikked wille
Spak in pres of people a bliht,
"Jhesu, bou art a crameful sille,
I Rede fabe bou lerne a bliht

45 Ami bote bou stonde a stounde stille
Te byynge fere bou schalt be diht."  
Ouap Jhesu, "bat is no skille
I com not hide for to fiht,
3it," ouap Jhesu, "of muw askynge

50 bou me giuest nor onswere
I am ful old beih I be zing
A lovely lore I wol be lere
Tak bis tale of my techynge
A Is prys wib outhe here.

55 Lettre of breo and is o bing
breo pertyes A hab knet I fare
Bi A Eidinneb be lettrure
ffo A is lvk be Trinite
breo pertyes A hab of Measure

60 Knelt in knotte on A wol be
3if bou wolt lerne bou miht hure
Hou A is lvk be feite
be feite is bis is sure
breo and on In Maieste

65 And ever her after heo schul cure
In departable alle bre
Nou hastou lerned tac bou cure
Nou A is moest of dignite."
be Maister seide in bat stourde,
"Wha artou lettrure to lere?
Bi Moves lawe his not founde
be laves bat bou tellest heere
bou seist in bis ilke grounds
bou art old and 3onq I seere
75 bi save sobli his not founde
berfore bou art me no ping dere
Stond3 bou stille swipe I seye
And lonely lustne to mv lore
And bou mith bi alle weye
80 Beful wvs for ever more
bou hast wit In memorie
And wel 3onq bi wit is core
Hit is medlet wib ssolve
And bat greeb me qrinly sore
85 Of Moysevs vr lave we had
And now neve bow volt teche
Of bi save swibe am I sad
Of be Trinite to smille speche
bou greeuest me I am not glad
90 With luber laves bou luber loche
bou spekest of godhe4 as child al mad
fforber pen bi wit wol reche."n
A nober Mayster reide in h i3e,
"Child, her is a wonder ping
95 bow kennest comeli Clergye
And 3it to teche bou art to 3yng
bou hast not lerned as men seye
Bou hastou benne bi connynng
Deules demeb Mon to dy3e
100 bi tonge hab tast of heere teching.
bw wrongful wordes worcheb wrake.
bow seist bat god is on and bre
I Bede biin errour bou forsake
bou spekest of ping pat mai not be
105 As ouer come bow worth of take
bat al bis peple hit schal schal se
bis qquestion to be I make,
Tel me what is be Trinite?"n
Jhesu as best bat bar be belle
110 holde wite rint a non
3if he coube o ping telle
Of prechynge prophetes wonder won
pat seide crist scholde dwelle
Her on eorbe a mone his son
115 Alle 3or laves to fullselle
bis wol 3or laves euorichon
"Crist is liht of god Almiht
And of Godes liht I core
Ysave spac her of a nilht
120 Of A Mayden he scholde be bare
Pou midt wel vite hit is riht
He schal busse bat is for lore
God is be ffaeder Crist sone and liht
be sone is gotten wib outen bore

ffor as be Sonne Siuep his leem
3if he wib cloures is not let
So com Crist as Sonne Seem
In to bat Quirde bat Bales bat

3if bou take wel good Beem.
Pou be Sonne Seem euere is set
Undeparted so is be strem
Of Crist with God mid knottes knet.
Now tak herto good entent

be ffaeder liht in be sone schal be.
be ffaeder liht sit his nou3t blent
Al is o liht In Neite

ben is hit proved hi Argument.
pat ffaeder and sone o liht beob he

be holy spirit wib hem present.
Peo preo beob God In Trinite

ffor be Trinite I be seve
A is lettre of alle cheef
berfore he is in alle weve

Put bi fore her is good preeef
be Trinite bei schal seo wib e3e
Alle Men bat ben him leof

ben is mon A praised prei3e
pat to be Trinite dob no greef."

be Maistres seide, "of be lawe
pat deueles taunte him clerue
A Mayde bei seide hi prophete sawe
Schal bere crist kyng of glorie
Wel we witen and vel is knawe

pe Olde Joseph webedt Marie
Ober record cunse we non drave
Me nis not crist bi orphodie."

Juesu spac with Mvilde chere
To Jewes bat gonne grece and crie,

"ffareb feire ffrende deore
3e ffareb soule wib folye
And o bing a non 3e schul heere:
What seib be prophete Ysaye.
Neo schal be wbedet wipoute pere

be Mvilde Moider of Messye.
Ysave seib a rober bing
Crist in be lawe schal be bore
And bat mot ben In weddung
And elles cristes lawe is lore.

Prophetes specke of his comynge
At Jesse bi non be more
Bit hab crist no bi qynnynq
Al pan? bat crist be mon I core
Joseph uigwa floruit fatu Ysavo
Coniunx lex ut nonuit mater fit Messye."
be Mayostros and Jewes mo
Of Jomac Xhegu bedde mercuyle
Hou bat he was comen hem to
Wip wit and clercye to assayle,
Of hem bedde Xhegu mony a fo
ffor heora wit om sone tayle.
Monye with drawe and donne go
Whon heora clereye hem holde tayle
In to be Temple com Marie
Heo savy hire sone In see was set
And tau3te be peple bi clercye
Of loucli lawe wib oute let.
For upploun scheweb be a shrine,
To him heo seide Niht in heise,
"Now is my Byle myd boote I bet
bi ffader and I wol sorie
be haueb sou3t and nou2wher met
Ego et pater tum dolentem acurehamus te."
Xhegu seide in bat stounde,
"Mi ffader ville is bat I do
I wol vn bynde bat was bounde
Mi ffader wolde bat hit beo so
be peple I preche wib facounde
And I tech e sfrend and fo.
Mi sarmoun is bobe sob and sounde
On me is ffader and sore also
Mi ffader lawe 1 wol fulfelle
berfore I am hider I sent.
Doubtter and moder to be I telle
Elles weore be world I schent.
Mi ffader wol with oute dwelle
bat I tech e ow In present
be ffe nde fare down to elles
bat hab with wrong be world went."
Renayns ber were wonder won
bat cunynge were of Clereye
Bi prophatie heo wusten when
bat he was crist with outen lye
Honourede him for crist anon
ffor his miht and his maistrie.
Praye we crist bat we so don
To geten be gle in his glorie. Amen.
TEXTUAL NOTES

1 "Jesus and the Jews" begins in col. 3, f. 301V (V), and in col. 2, f. 274V (S). In both MSS it follows "King Robert of Sicily." L illuminated in V and S.

2 sobelisobly.

3 gentyl]gentil; vnderstonde]vndurstonde.

4 false]false; ffei]fei; fonde]fonde.

5 wonde]wonde.

5-7 "He" in l. 5 is the devil; "he" in l. 7 is Jesus.

8 beren the bell: to be the best, take the prize, be victorious. An emphatic redundancy: Jesus is the best of the best.

9 Diagonal marginal lines in V.


12 wrangful]wrangful.

13 maystres wondere]maistres wondere pat.

14 End of col. 2, f. 274V in S.

17 A illuminated in S.

19 seystou]seist pou.


21-23 You fight against our profit in the crowd, preach to the people like a praised prophet. Delay for a time your Greek proverb.

afoundement afoundement.
pow.
poufgou; miht phelmist be. "phe" is from "been," v. to thrive. If you will learn, you might thrive.
mihtmiht.
J illuminated in V and S.
blyntblynd.
pynkebpinkeb.
b]*.*.
patpat; presentpresent.
tymelitymely.
ResonResun.
with. Diagonal marginal lines in V. * illuminated in S.
spackspac; peoplepeople; plihtpliht.
Holthausen emends "gille" to "grille," n., annoyance, or venomous cricket. Stratmann glosses "gille" as "clown," from French, citing this line.
*rede; *rape; a Rihtraiht.
a stoundestounde.
TelTo.
QwapQuap.
hiderhidere.
5 illuminated in V and S.
pouthird.
peihseis; bebeo; singsyng.
techingtechyng.
pryspris. End of col. 3 and f. 301r in V.
ping|pyng.

party|partys; kmet|kmut; fere|feere.

Beginnew|*.

ffol|ffor.

party|parties; A|he.

kmet|kmut; knotte|knot.

lerne|leorne; pou|pou.

Deite|*.

her after|heer aftur.

now|now; tac|tak.

stounde|stounde. Paragraph mark (¶) in V and S. ¶ illuminated in S.

artou|art pou.

By|By.

pou|pou; here|here.

grounde|grounde.

feere|fere.

sopli|soply.

pou|pou.

pou|pou; seye|feere.

pou|pou.

core: ppl. of "chesen," q.v. (glossary).

medlet|*: adj., mixed, blended; folye|folye.

O illuminated in S.

pou|pou.

swipe am I sad|am I swipe sad. sad, adj., sad or sated.
spille]speche: "spillen" can mean to spill or lose, or it can mean to speak.


pou]pou.

fforper]fforbur; wol]may.

A nober]oper. Paragraph mark in V and S. A illuminated in S.

her]here.

pou]pou.

pou]pou; syng]sing.

hastou]hast pou; connyng]cunnyng.

dysel]dye.

teching]techyng.

P illuminated in S.

pou]pou.

Bede]rede.

ouer come pou worþ]ouercome pou worþ. Catch-word in S. End of poem at end of col. 3, f. 274v in S.

I will ask you this question to take away your value by overcoming you [in argument].

J illuminated in V.

wite: from "witen," v., to know.

wonder won: wondrously plenty.

The G in "among" is squeezed in as an afterthought, and the ink used has feded differently from the ink on the rest of the page.

Cf. n. 82, above.

Isaiah 7:14.
The son was begotten immaculate.

leem-leme, n., light, radiance.

buride: the Virgin Mary.

End of col. 1, f. 301v in V.

Then is man a valued pray-er. preise: prey?

Paragraph mark in V.

J illuminated in V.

There is no such statement in Isaiah. Perhaps the poet was thinking of Matt. 5:17.

Isaiah 11:10, the root of Jesse. Heb. 7:3.

The rod of Joseph flourished, according to Isaiah; his wife, as the law warned, became mother of the Messiah.

Paragraph mark in V.

Paragraph mark in V.


I and your father, sorrowing, sought you.

J illuminated in V.

Matt. 5:17.

My father wants me to teach you now without delay.

Holthausen emends "went" to "iwent" for sake of rhyme.

The scribe begins to add flourishes at the end of each line. L. 212 continues to "him," l. 213 extends from "for" to "maistrie," and l. 214 to the "Amen." The poem ends in V at the bottom of col. 3, f. 301v, and is followed by "Christian and Jew."
"The Dispute between Mary and the Cross," 530 lines long, occurs in three manuscripts: Vernon, Simeon, and B.M. Royal 18.A.x. In the Vernon, the dispute begins on f. 315r halfway down the third column, following a verse "Stations of Rome." Space was left for a title, but nothing was filled in. Probably for that reason, the work is not included in the Vernon Index. It ends two lines short of the bottom of column three, f. 316v, and precedes "Susannah."

The Simeon version begins in column two, f. 325v (p. 124b) and ends in column two, f. 326v (p. 125b) between the same works as in the Vernon; it, however, has a title statement:

Her bygynne A lamentacion pat ur
lady made to be Cros of hir soone.

The rhyme scheme is very complicated. Schofield says it is "written in almost the same metre and dialect as The Pearl." I have not found this to be true, however; the poem is organized in forty stanzas and ends with a two-line Latin prayer. The first and last stanzas contain seventeen lines, the others thirteen lines each. The rhyme scheme of the two odd stanzas is aab aab aab aab cddc, the a and b lines containing
two stresses, the c and d lines three or four. The other stanzas rhyme abab abab cdddc, the c lines usually with three stresses, and the others with four. The stanzas do not always represent units in the action or dialogue, but several times shifts in speaker coincide with the opening of stanzas. In Vernon the first letter of each stanza is illuminated. In Simeon the first capital of each stanza except 38 is illuminated, and a space has been left there for it; the illuminator has merely omitted it. According to J. P. Oakden, eighty-three percent of the lines of "Mary and the Cross" alliterate, a very high percentage, but he dismisses it as merely ornamental.²

The Royal version of "Mary and the Cross" begins on f. 126v. It too has no title and follows a collection of Saint Bernard's sayings. This manuscript contains no illuminated capitals, but many red or blue paragraph marks: Q. These seem to occur at random intervals, unconnected to stanza divisions or shifts in speaker. The debate ends on f. 130v and is followed by a Latin work, "Deo vérò rocunda sit laudado." This version contains only 372 lines; it is incomplete and quite different from both Vernon and Simeon. It begins with a thirteen line disclaimer, rhyming abab abab cdddc, of the idea that a tree could actually speak. (Vernon and Simeon have a similar disclaimer at the end which Royal also contains.) Then it begins with the first line of
the other MSS. Wells noted that Royal omits stanzas 11, 16, 17, 19, 22, and 24-32. It also omits parts of stanzas 2, 3, 4, 15, 23, and 38, and places stanza 23 after stanza 15. The concluding Latin tag is left off, and even many lines which carry basically the same meaning are inverted, use synonyms, or employ a varied word order.

Of the four debates, "Mary and the Cross" probably contains the least non-debate material. Except for a three line introduction and a forty line resolution, the poem is entirely made up of alternating speeches by the two debaters. No other characters appear except as they are quoted by either Mary or the Cross. Each speaks three speeches, Mary always going first. She directly reproaches the Cross for its part in the crucifixion (consisting of 105, 32, and 108 lines), and the Cross defends itself (117, 46, and 74 lines). This is more akin to the abusive personal language of the meistersingers' débat, for example, than to the other three debates where the speakers do not attack each other. Yet at bottom Mary and the Cross are discussing ideas, alternative interpretations of the death of Christ. When Mary and the Cross are "accordet" (l. 486), she understands the doctrine of the Atonement, and she willingly consents to her part in it. The debate is probably intended to touch its hearers with compassion for Mary, yet the poem is not entirely satisfying. It is not clear why the Cross's third speech
convinces Mary when the first one did not. Her accusations
do not directly repeat themselves, but her change of heart
is not gradual, as was the Jews' in "Jesus and the Jews."
The Cross convinces her because it is right, not because it
is persuasive. The poem concludes with the narrator's moral,
prayer, and summary of the Crucifixion (145 lines).

The character of the Cross is unlike that of any other
debater in the four Vernon debates. The Cross has the better
viewpoint, the one which ultimately triumphs, and the
debate certainly turns on intellectual issues; yet the
Cross's tone is not that of a human. It is not merely re-
spectful to the Virgin as any human might be, it is humble
and self-effacing because it has not the claims which a hu-
man has. The Cross cannot sin, it does not possess the
fearful freedom of will that humans do, but neither is it
an object of concern to God. The Cross is part of the in-
animate universe, it never fell except insofar as all things
shared in the human Fall, and it will not share in the ul-
timate judgment. The poet has nicely captured this ambi-
valence of position in such things as the contrast between
Mary's passionate attacks and the Cross's patient responses,
and, as poets of the bird debates did, made the Cross's
main argument its usefulness to humankind. Because of its
nature, the Cross can instruct the Mother of God without
any impropriety, in a way which no person could do. It
seems clear that the identity of the debaters greatly influences the structure and the resolution of the debate, although in a more subtle fashion than Utley or Hume have seen.

Summary

"Mary and the Cross" begins rather abruptly, at least in Vernon and Simeon, with three lines prefacing a speech by Mary:

Oure ladi freo,
On Rode treo,
Made hire mon. (ll. 1-3)

In Royal, the poem appeals to all to listen attentively, briefly describes the debate to come, but warns that it is

A good ensaumple and a bryst;
But Apocrifum pei holde it ri3t,
For tre spak neuer wip moupe. (ll. 11-13)

Mary speaks first, reproaching the Cross for the things that it did to her son. At one point she seems to be addressing Christ, when she says, "Chyld, whi artou not a schamed / On a pillori to ben I piled?" (ll. 22-23), but in general she blames the Cross for giving the lord of life a drink of death (ll. 35-36). She refers to Christ both as her fruit and her bird, thus setting up the analogy for the Cross's later argument. She points out that the Cross was meant to be an instrument of punishment for thieves and evil-doers, "to bere fooles, ful of sinne" (l. 45), not to bear her son
who was innocent of all "tripet ne truit" "ryot and ruit" (11. 41-42). She contrasts her love for Christ with the behavior of the Cross whom she calls "mi sone step Moder" (1. 71). She gave him milk from her breasts; the Cross gives vinegar and gall (1. 75). She rocked and lulled him, wrapped in cradle bands; it holds him high, naked but for bleeding bonds. She often kissed his hands and feet, now crossed and held by cruel nails. Ranging from lines which echo Biblical verses, such as

Foules fourmen heor nestes in þe eyr,
Wolves in den reste þei fynde,
Bot Godes sone, in heuene heir,
His hed nou leoneþ on þornes tynde (11.87-90)

to ones of simpler more human sorrow and frustration,
Cros, þou holdest him so heih on heip,
Mi fruirite feete I mai not kis.

... 
Ði Jewes from þe Cros me keiþt,
On me þei made heore mouyes amis,
Heore games and heore gaudes. (11. 98-99, 102-104)

Mary expresses the emotions both of heaven's queen and of a mother. It is clear, however, that she does not understand the purpose of the crucifixion; the Cross must tell her that. Mary concludes,
Then the Cross answers. It does homage to Mary and briefly concurs with her description of Christ's suffering on the cross, but it points out the purpose of it all,

Then begins a series of analogies ranging from the plausible to the ingenious. Mary is the grapevine, Christ the grapes, and the Cross the winepress. Not until the grapes have been pressed does the red wine run. The Cross is the table on which Mary's fruit is served, and the knife with which it is carved. The Cross is the support of a bridge going from humans to God, a way which no one could go until God had died.
Christ is Moses' white lamb, the lamb of love, and "flesch for folkes feste" (l. 166); the Cross is the platter on which the food is served. Christ was a sign of pardon, written in red and blue letters and nailed to a stick, a book written in blood, spread open and nailed to a stand. The Cross briefly summarizes its best arguments and asks,

What is perdoun vpon to minne?
Hit is forgiuenes of dedly sinne;
Whon blod was written on cristes kinne,
Pardoun was fulfilled. (ll. 222-225)

In Mary's second speech, she shifts her position somewhat. She knows the prophets who cried,

... Lord, send us pi lomb
Out of pe wildernesses ston,
To fende vs from pe lyon cromp, (ll. 240-242)
but she still does not see the need for the crucifixion.
In fact, she perceives it as a thwarting of Christ's mission:

Sin monnes sone was so nedi,
To beo lad wip lomb mylde,
Whi weore gylours so gredi
For to defoule my faire childe? (ll. 252-255)

And why was the Cross so ready to do its horrid part? Without the customary narrator's line signaling the shift in debaters, the Cross responds, "Ladi, to make pe deuel dredi
..." (l. 258). Until Christ's death, all were doomed to hell, but afterwards they were free:

At houre of his none,

Þe lomb of loue seyde his þouȝt:
"Nou is folfuld þat wel is wrouȝt,"
A Mon is out of bondes brouȝt
And heuene dores wndone. (ll. 273-277)

The devil has been destroyed and hurled into hell, "Þe lomb hap leid þe Lyoun a doun; / þe lomb is lord in eueri toun" (ll. 288-289). It too claims a share in this victory. God is the shepherd who has driven the wolf away from his herd, and the Cross is the staff with which He beat and thumped the wolf. Mary resumes the debate by recounting the tale that three Jews told about the crucifixion. Each one tells the part which to him was most frightful or pitiful. The third one was most struck by the sorrow of the Mother, which was like a sword stabbing through her breast. The point of this passage seems to be that if even the Jewish observers were moved to compassion, then how much more strongly should Christians feel at the sight of the sacrifice made for them. Mary begins to lament again and points out that her grief was twice that of other parents who lose a child because she was both mother and father to Christ. She was father "of his flesch," apparently meaning that from her body came all of Christ's humanness, since God is all spirit. Furthermore, she grieved on behalf of his Father:
In þe fader mihte non a byde,
For he was euere in reste and Ro,
Joyned in his Joyes wyde. (ll. 357-359)

Because God is the well of joy, she says, He can feel no sorrow. In answer to her grief and to the cruelty of the Jews who danced about the Cross, the dead woke, day turned to night, the temple walls shook, and the temple veil tore.

Cros, whi noldestou not crake,
Whon rihtful blod on þe was ronne

Whon my fruit on þe was fast,
Cros, whi weore þou not a gast? (ll. 388-392)

Given these actions of the natural world told to us by St. Denys, a heathen clerk, Mary asks how the Cross could not react, too, by refusing to perform its foul function. The Cross patiently answers that it was performing a function not for itself but for humankind. Now it makes the comparison between Adam's apple and Christ:

Wip blod God bouste his broþer;
Won Adam Godes biddyng brak;
He bot a bite þat made vs blak,
Til fruit weore tied on treo wip tak,
0 fruit for anoþer. (ll. 416-420)

Do not blame me, begs the Cross, I was following God's plan.

It bore the fruit which Mary had already born, and which was
to bring baptism. Mary was queen of heaven and empress of hell, the Cross a shining relic. On Judgment Day both will testify to Christ's great gift of Himself, and the world will acknowledge its rightful King. Convinced, Mary kisses the Cross. She knows now that together they have accomplished God's holy will and rescued all people from hell. Actually, though, the narrator informs us that all of this never happened. Christ's cross was deaf and dumb, and Mary never laid blame on it. The concluding stanza summarizes the Atonement and warns that on Judgment Day, people will go to heaven or hell: Christ's cross, Christ's blood, and Mary's prayers offer us a choice of grace.

Analogues

The "Dispute between Mary and the Cross" belongs to the genus "Planctus Mariae." Found in Greek, Latin, and many vernaculars in the Middle Ages, the planctus were derived from a single Biblical verse, John 19:25, "But standing by the cross of Jesus were his mother, and his mother's sister, Mary the wife of Clopas, and Mary Magdalene." Although sometimes the next two verses in which Jesus charged John to care for his mother were included in the motives of the planctus, generally the poems were imaginative extrapolations of how the mother must have felt to see her Son unjustly suffering. By the ninth and tenth centuries Mary was given a speaking part in the liturgy. Laments arose in
the twelfth century with the growth of the Mary cult and were sung in church after matins on Good Friday. E. K. Chambers theorized that the planctus developed backwards by analogy from the quem quaeritis, and was part of a desire to represent the crucifixion. Several of these liturgical laments are in dialogue, some between Mary and Christ. Chambers further suggests that the planctus was the germ of the Passion drama. Here George Taylor does not agree; although laments do occur in four play cycles (York, Towneley, Chester, and Coventry) and one play, The Digby Burial of Christ, in all but the last the planctus could be removed without destroying the play. Planctus became carols, lyrics, laments from the Cross, laments by Mary, the latter two sometimes in dialogue, appeals by Christ to humankind, philosophical meditations upon the subject of the Cross, and so on.

Taylor lists twenty-five English planctus. In an effort to trace influences, he identifies thirty-three motives which occur in at least two of the planctus, finding nine in "Mary and the Cross." It contains, for example, allusions by Mary to the childhood of Christ, as do three other of the works, the lyric "Filius Regis Mortuus Est (I)," "The Compleynte of the Virgin before the Cross," and The Digby Burial of Christ. Other motives which occur are the wounds and suffering of Christ, Christ's innocence,
Mary's sorrow and her wish to kiss Christ, and allusions to the Jews and to the wonders which took place at Christ's death. The debate also mentions the prophecy by Simeon that the sword of sorrow would pierce Mary's heart (Luke 2:35) when the Infant Christ was dedicated at the temple. The final motive which Taylor sees in this work is one which I find differs in the other planctus. In "Mary and the Cross," Mary says that she was both father and mother to Christ (l. 350). According to Taylor, this or something similar occurs in "The Sorrows of Mary," "The Medytacyun of the sorrows that Oure Lady had for the wunde in her sone syde," and "Filius Regis Mortuus Est (II)." In fact, however, what occurs in these poems is the opposite: Mary says, "My fader my spouse mi childe artow"; "He was my broper, my mayster, my spouse"; and "Mi fadir, my bropir, my spouse, he was, / My modir, my socour, & al that ys!" This difference in emphasis I think indicates again the poet's desire to glorify Mary, by emphasizing her care of Christ, rather than His care of her. In the overall analysis of motives, Taylor finds no clear lineage of influence, nor is there even a consistent grouping of poems. The motives seem to occur randomly throughout the entire collection of planctus.

At least three of the twenty-five English planctus which Taylor identifies can be considered debates. The first of these, "Stond wel moder under rode," he called
the most typical of the three of the debate class because of its "exact and even balance of part against part." It is perfectly balanced: Christ speaks the first three lines of each stanza of dialogue, beginning "Moder," and Mary speaks the last three, beginning "sone," and for that very reason the exchange becomes mechanical and lacking in passion, more like a catechism than a debate.

"The Lamentation of Mary to St. Bernard" is basically a monologue. St. Bernard asks Mary to describe her sorrows, so his heart will be softened. She agrees, and Bernard asks specific questions about the Passion from the Crucifixion to the Resurrection which she answers. There is no true conflict between the two speakers; his questions are designed to elicit her description, not to oppose her argument.

In "Mary and the Cross," however, we have, it seems to me, a true example of the planctus as a debate. By using the Cross as one of the debaters, the poet has increased the tension; readers can no longer be sure which participant will win, as they could with a debate between Christ and Mary. The Cross, however, is a lowly object, and its words to Mary are always reverent. It consistently addresses Mary as "Lady" and "Queen," while she addresses it generally as "Christ's cross." The poem is a variation on the vertical debate, where the more knowledgeable debater
instructs one vastly above it in the earthly or heavenly social scale. The manner of the poem is unusual for a vertical debate; the distraught Virgin verbally attacks the Cross, and it defends itself against her charges calmly and with rhetorical skill. In the end the Cross wins the debate in the best way, by persuading Mary to be reconciled, even to see the Cross finally as her ally.

The portrayal of Mary too is affected by the substitution of the Cross for Christ. It is clear that the Cross represents Christ, yet it is not Christ. In many planctus, Christ rebukes Mary for mourning and asserts that her tears are the hardest burden He has to bear. Here Mary is free to blame the Cross and to mourn without being made to look as if she is adding to the suffering of Christ's passion. Yet she is certainly not "of one mind with Christ in seeking the salvation of the human race." As Father Baier analyzes the Franciscan interpretation of Mary's function at the Cross, she was the "co-Redemptrix." She freely gave up her maternal rights and offered her Son as "Divine Victim." He quotes St. Bonaventure,

Quando enim Christus passus in cruce ad persolven-
dum pretium istud, ut nos lavaret, purgaret et re-
dimeret, tunc Beata Virgo fuit praesens, acceptans
et concordans voluntati divinae; et placuit ei quod
pretium uteri sui offerretur in cruce pro nobis.

In this debate Mary lacks the knowledge which the lowly
Cross has. Only after it instructs her through the medium of the debate does she understand and freely agree with the divine will.
NOTES


5. Hosea 13:14, "O grave, I will be thy destruction."


8. Taylor, "English 'Planctus Mariae.'"


10. Taylor, "English 'Planctus Mariae.'"


15 Taylor, "English 'Planctus Mariae,'" p. 608.


18 Ibid., p. 13.
Oure ladi treo,
on Rode treo,
made hire mon:
Heo seide, "on be
5 be fruit of me
is wo higo,
Mi fruit I see
in blodi bleo
Among his son,
10 Serve I see,
be veines fleo
from blodi bon.
Cros! bon Rest no troube;
On a pillori my fruit to pinne,
15 We hab no spot of Adam sinne.
flesch and veines nou 'leo a twinne,
Wherfore I rede of routhe.
Cros, pi bondes schul ben blamed,
Mi sayfre fruit bon fast bi avled;
20 be fruits Rooder was neuer a lamed,
Mi wombe is feir, founden vn fuyled:
Chyld, whi artou not a schamed
On a pillori to ben I piled?
Grete Jewes bus wcore arumed,
25 And dyede for heorc wrekhes wyled;
In mourynyng I may melte;
Mi fruit bat is so holi halved,
In a feeld is fouled and falwed;
Wib grete Jewes he is galwed,
30 And dyeb for Monnes selte;
For grete Jewes salves were greibed,
bat eu to Nobbyng Henne ry:
Whi schal my sone on be beo leid,
bat neuer nybed mon nor wyf?
35 A drinke of dep sobliche sied,
Cro, pou 3euest be lord of lyf:
His veynes to bursten vib bi breid,
Mi fruit stont mon in a strong stryf;
Blod from hed is hayled.
40 ffo leu is my favre fruit,
bat neuer dude tripet me fruit.
Wip beues pat loueden rvot and ruit,
Whi schal my sone be nayled?
45 To bere fooler, ful of cinne:
Mi sone from be schuld be ensoynet,
And neuer his blod vpon be rinne;
But mon is trupe wip tresun teye net,
Wib beoues to homo, fer in 'tensse;
50 Wip fecle nayles his limes ben teye net,
A careful Xoder mon tay me konne,
In Bales I am bounde;
bat fruit was of a 'avden born,
On a beoues tre it al to torne;
55 A Droche borv out his brest bon
His holi herte hab wounde:
Tre, bon art loket bi be lawe
beoues trai tour on be to dye,
But now is troube wib tresun drawe,
60 And vertu falleb in vices weye;
But love and treupe, in sopfast sawe,
On a treo traytours hem teye.
Vertu is wip vices slawe:
Of alle vertues my sone is keye,
65 Vertu cweitore pen spicvs;
In fote and hond bereb blodi prikke,
His hed is ful of bornes bikke,
be goode hondebs a mong be wixke,
Vertu dyeb wib vices:
70 Tre vnkynde, bou schalt be kud,
Mi sore star Moñer I be calle:
Mi fruit was born wib heestes on bed,
And be my flesch my flour gan falle,
Wip my heestes my brie I fed;

Cros bon Jesuest him Evsel and Galle!
Mi white Rose Bed is spred,
pat fostred was in a fodderes stalle;
Feet and sayre bonde,
pat now ben croised I custe hem ofte,
I lullad hem I leid hem softe:

Cros, bon holdest hem heise on loft;
Boude in bludyn bonde;
Mi lune i lollad vp in pe evr,
Wip cradel bong I can him bynde.

Cros, he stikeb nou on bi steir,
Naked a byyn be wylde wynde:
ffoules fourmen heor restes in be evr,
Wolues in den reste bei funde,
Bot Godes zone, in heuene heir.

His hea nou leoneb on boners tynde.
Of Mournynq I may myyne;
Godes bab hab reste non,
But leornep on his scholder bon;
be borse bonwh his flesch gon,
His wo I wyte hit sinne:

Cros, to sten hit is bi sleiht,
Mi favre fruit bou berest fro blis;
Cros, bou holdest hit so hein on hei3b,
Mi fruites feet I mai not his;

Mi moub I pulde, my sweore I strei3t
To curse his feet, sob bing hit is:
be Jewes from be cros me kei3t,
On me bei made heore noules amis,
Neore games and heore gardes;

be Jewes wrouiten te ful wo:
Cros, I fynde bou art mv fo,
bow berest my brié, beten blo,
A mong beose fooles frandes:"

Cristes cros Bat onswere:

"Ladi, to be I owe honour,
bi hrikte valnesh nou I bere;
Mi schyning scheweb borv bi flour,
bi faire fruit on me dinnen tere;
bi fruit me florischeb in blod colour

To winne be world bat lav in lure;
Pat Flosae bloomed vp in bi hour,
Ac not for be al one,
But for to winne all bis world,
Pat swelte vnour be deuoles swerd:
Bowt feet and hon God let him gerd,
To A mende monnes mone:
Adam dude ful huge harmes,
Whon he hot A bite vndur a bouh,
Wherence bi sone hab sprad his Armes,

On a treo tyed wib teone I nouh;
His flesch is smite wib debes harmes,
And sweltew heer in a swemly swouh;
His Breste is bored wib debes swarmes,
And wib his deeb fre deeb he drouh

Alle his leouc frecondes;
As Ozie spac in urohhecie
And seile, "bi cree, seinte Marie,
His deeb slow3 deeb on Caluarie,
3af styf wib outen endes.'

be stipre bat is wnder be vynet set
May not brinse forb be crane;
beih be fruit on me bee kaet,
His scharpe schour haue I not schape:
Til graves to be presse beo set

ber renneb no red vyn im rane;
Neure presse pressed bat,
I presse wyn for kniht and knape:
Vp on a 3lodi brinke
I presse a crane, with strok and strvf,

be Rede wyn renneb rvyf:
In Samaritane God 3af a wyf
bat leof licour to drvynke:
Ladi, louse dob be to aleone
bi fruit is prikked wib spares ord:

On Cros, wib outen knyues ede,
I kerue fruit of coden hord:
Al is al red, Rib and Pugge,
His bodi blered a 3eyn be hord;
I was pilier and bar a brugge,

God is weie, witnesse of word;
God seib he is sopfast weve;
Mony folk slod to helle slider,
To heuane mihte no non pilier,
Til' god dyed and tau3te whider

Men'drawn when pri dye:
Moyses hab foured, in his fiqure,
A whit lomb, and non oher beste
Schulde be sacred ve saeour,
And be mete of mistes meste;

I was bat cheef chargeour,
I bar flesch for folkes feste;
Jhesu crist ve saeour
He feded hobe lest and meste,
Rosted a3eyn be sonne;

On me lay be lomb of loue,
I was plater his bodi a bowe,
Til feet and honedes al to cloone,
Wip blood I was hi ronne:
3it Moyses in fulle hab rad,

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We schulde etc vr lomb in sour verceous;
Sour verceous mai make vr soules glad,
To serwe sore for sunnes ous;
Sour verceous schal make be devel a drad,
ffor he flecheb fro godes spous;

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3oo a staf stondeb sad,
Whon 3e forcen flesch in godes hous,
bat staf is Cristes Croche;
Stondeb stilbi bi bat stake,
Whon bat 3e forcen flesch in Cahe,
pen schal no teond maystrei make,
Soure soules for to touche:
Wip navl and brede on bord is smite,
Rede lettres write he lyne,

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2lune klake a mong men pite:
Vr lord I like to his signe,
His bodi vpon a bord was bite,
In Priht blod his bodi can schyne;
Hon vo him was may no mon wite,

190

Red vp on be woodo;
Vr perdoun brede, from top too to,
Written hit was vib wonder vo,
Wib Rede wounedes and strokes blo,
Vre Book was hounden in bloode:

195

Adam stod vp in stede,
In Bitter calle his gost he dreint;
A 3eyn bat calle God 3af vs mede,
Wib swete Merci Bitter is quynt;
His Bodi was Book be Cros was brede,
Whon crist for vs per on was quynt:
No mon gat perdoun wip no bede,
Weer he neuer so selv a seynt,
Til book on bord was spread
Wip sharpe navles dunte and drive,

200

Til feet and honedes al to riue;
His herte blod vre book hab lune,
To make vr gostes glad."
Cristes Cros bit spac bis spoche,
"ffurst was I bresse wyne to wringe,

205

I bere a Brucce, wei to teche,
ber sorely Angules sitte and syngue,
Lord of love and luyes leche
ffor he was set selv sacryne,
To winne be world bat was in wreche;

210

be Cros was brede, perdoun to bringe,
Fardoun In book is billed;
What is pardon vpon to minne?
Hit is forsiuence of deadly sinne;
Whon blod was written on cristes kinne,
Pardon was fulfilled."

Oure ladie seide, "Cros, of bi werk
Wonder be not, he?3 I be wrethe.
Bus seide Poule, Cristes clerk,
be feolle Jewes, vib false obe,
Jewes ston hard, in sinnes aerk,
Beoten a lomb vib outen lobe,
Softur ben watur vndur serk,
Meode or Milk mediied lobe;
be Jewes weoren harde stones;
Softur ben watur or any licour,
Or dew3 pat lip on be lilic flour
Was cristes bodi in blod colour.
be Jewes volden ha broken his bones:
And mony A prophet gan make mon,
And seide, "Lorde, send us bi lomb
Out of bi wildernesses ston,
To fende vs from be lyon crow."'
Of mylde mount of Syon
Be common, In a Maydens womb,
Made a bodi, vib blessed bon,
In a Maidens blod bi bodi lomb:
At Barreres weore debate;
borw3 stones In be wilderness
Men mitte better ha crepet I wis,
pen bored in to heuene blis,
Til blod brac vp be 3ate:
Sin monnes sone was so nedi,
To beo lad wib lomb mvld4,
Whi weore avlours so credi
Ifor to defoule my faire childe?
Cros, whi weore bou so redi
To renede my fruit, feor in fylde?"
"Lad, to make he devuel dredi,
God schop me a scheld, schame to schilde,
Til lomb of lowne dyede;
And on me Bela be most wi3 vois;
I was chose a Pelik chois,
be signe of Jhesu cristes crois,
per dar no devuel a byde:

Moni folk I fende from heore fos."
Cristes Cros bit vawes seide:
"Heuen3 Bates weore closed clos
Til be lomb of lowne dyede,
his is write in text and clos:

Aftur Cristes deb prophetes preide:
Til be lomb of lowne dyede and ros
In helle pyne monkyné was teyde:
At hour of his none,
be lamb of loue seyde his bou3t,

'Non is solfuld pat wel is vrou3t.'
A Mon is out of bondes brou3t
And heuene dorou vndole:
Wib be Vader bat al schal solfullle,
His sone to heuene is an help,

I was piler and stod ful stille:
After obur Bistes now costes 3elu,
be send bat al bis world wolde kille,
His sword he rulte vp in his kele;
To helle he horode from bat hille,

Beeryrge as a Scoure whelp:
A beore is bounden and beted;
Crístes Cros hab cracked his crow,
be lamb hab leid be Lyoung a doun;
be lamb is lord in everi tour.,

So Crístes blod hap vleted:
In holw wriht bis tale is herde,
bat goode Bistes god vs 3af;
God sibb his self he is schépherde,
And vche an heerde bi house a staf;

be Cros I calle be heerdes 3erde,
ber wib be Deuel a dunt he 3af,
And wib be 3erde be wolfe he werde,
Wip duntes drow him al to draf."
be Cros bis tale tolde,

bat he was staf in be heerdes bond,
Whon schep broken out of heore bond,
be wolf he wered out of lord
bat devoured crístes solde:
3it seide be Meke Marie,

"Roode, bou reended my Rose al red:
beo Jewes coomen from Caluari
bat day bat Jhego boled dde,
Alle bei seiden bei wewe sori,
For dolled in a druknyng drød.

bei tolde hen alle wherfore and whi
Heore hertes were colde, as lumyno led;
be furste heore tale tolde:
'Whon Crist was knit with corte on a stók
His bodi blode a 3ein pat blok,

börw feet and hones nayles can knok,
bën gan myn herte to colde.'
be Secounde seide, "nav, not bat
bat dde serwe in to myn herte schete;
But whon be Roode ros end doun was squat,
be nayles renten him bondes and fecte,
börw out his helm be harde hat
be borne in to his flesch gan crepe,
His Joynes un Jovnet I toke good gat;
po woop I water and teres leete,
To care I was enclyned;
In clotheres of blod his her was clunce,
be flesch was from be bones swoneg,
Druide drinkeles was his tonge,
His lippes to clouer and chyned.'
be bridle seide, "his boutte me lest
Of peose nevynes and oher mo.
bis peyne boutte me peyne most:
Al his flesch he lot of clo,
His Mylde Moder stod him nest,
Loked upword And hire was vo,
A sword swapped hire borw be brest:
Out of be cros be knyt com bo,
bis silt sauk I my seluc;
be sword of love borw hire gan launce,
Heo swaote on swownyno borw bat chaunce;
To scornen hire bei gan daunce,
Jowes bi ten and twelue:
Sin Jowes made so muchel mon,
To seen av bрид, boughden in breere,
In sad servyng neste I son
To seen blodi av chyldres chere:
Faaires and Modres bat walken in von
Schul love heore chilredre heo stilles clere;
peose two loues woore in me al on,
For faeder and moder I was here,
bis two loues in me woore dalt;
I was faeder of his flesch,
His moder hedde an herte nesch,
Mi serve flowed as water fresch,
Weopyne and wo I walt:
In me woore tacched serves two,
In pe faeder winte non a bayde,
For he was empe in reste and fo,
Joyned in his Joves wyde,
I servel sore for to sei so:
I say whon bat av derlyng die,
Wip duntes he was to depo i do,
Vo on a tre his bodi was sovled;
Whon troupe is told and darted,
Of alle Jowes God is welle.
ber winte no serve in him dwelle,
I served sore as Clerkes telle,
Mi pyne was not departed:
be hattore love be caldore care,
Whon frendes wylde heore fruit despose;
be dispitous Jowes holde not spare,
Til trie fruit weore tore and tovled;
Neuer Sayden bournede mare,
I sauh my child ben curted and soyled,
Myn herte to clef wip swerd of care;
I sauh3 my brid with blox ben ovled.
As Symeon seide heo forn,
Be swerd of serwe, scharp I tounde,
Schulde 3ine myn herte a wounde;

In more wo ben I was hounde
Neuer buirdhe heb born:
pe dede worbily gan wake,
be dain turnd to rihettes donne,
be Werke "One gan Mournyng make,
be lyht out leop of pe sonne,
be temel walles gan chinege and schake,
Veiles in be tempel a two hei sponne:
Cros, whi noldestoun not crate,
Whon rihftful blox on he was ronne.

And kuyndes losten heore kende;
Whon my fruit on he was fast,
Cros, whi weore pou not a gast?
bow stol stif as any mast,
When lyf left vp his ende:

Whon bat Prince of Paradys
Bledde bobo brest and bak:
An hebene clerk was saimt Denys,
He seide bis world wente al to wraek,
He saub be planetes passen out of here pris,

Be brihte some gan waken blak;
Be Clerk bat was so wondery wys
Wonerd werdes ber he spak,
Denys bis grete Clerk seide,
'pe day of doom drawen to an ende,

Al vr kuyndes hab lost vr kende;
Til God bat aied for vch a kuynde
For Monnes kuynde deyde:
Poules fallen out of heore flght,
Beestes gan selewe in eueri binne.'

Cros, whon Crist on he was cliht,
Whi noldestou not of mournyng minne?"
Be Cros seide, "Ladi briht,
I bar,ones bi fruit for monnes sinne,
More to amende monnes riht

Ben for any welbe bat I gan winne;
Wip blox God louste his brober;
Whon Adam Codes biddin brak;
He bot a bite bat made vs blak,
Til fruit weore tied on treo wip tak,

O fruit for anoher:
Sin Cristes Cros bat kepeb Zifte
Graunted of be faderes graunt,
I was loked I schulde vp lifte
Godes zone and maydenes faunt.

425
No Mon hedde scheeld of schrifte;
be deuel sted lyk A lyon raunnaunt,
Mony folk In to helle he clihte,
Til be crosse dunt 3af him a daunt;
Si dedes ar bounded and booked;

430
Alle be werke bat I haue wrought
Weore tounde in be fadres fore pouht.
berfore, ladi, lakkeb me nought,
I dude as me was looked:
born Blod and Nature cristendam was wrouht,

435
Holy writ witesseb hit wel,
And in wille of sobfast pouht,
A Mon mai be cristened skil;
bat blod bat us alle bouht
Dione cristened can vs sel;

440
At cristened crist for 3at vs nouht,
His blessed blod when vs gan fel:
Maiden, Moder, and Wyue,
bi fruit hab Line vs bapt'en,
Cristened we were in Bel rem,

445
Whon his bodi bleede on be neem,
Of Cipresse and Olyue:
As Jhegu seide to Nicodemus
But a Barn he twybes born,
Whon domus day schal blowen his bremus,

450
He may elles ligeser loddere for lorn,
Purst of a wombe, ber roupe remus,
Sibbe in a font, ber synne awev is schorn.'
I was cros to monnes queymus,
I bar pe fruit bow bar bi forn,

455
For bi bervagh al one;
But 3if I hedde I boren him oft,
From riche reste mon hedde beo ref't
In a loren logge I left,
Ay to crunte and crone:

460
bou art I Croune.d heuene quene,
born be burbe bat bow beere,
bi garlond is al of greces grene,
Helle Empresses in heuene Empere:
I am a Relvaky pat shineb shene,

465
Men wolde wite wher bat I were,
At be reglement wel I bren,
On domes day prestly a pere;
Whon Jhegu schal zoeve riht pere,
'Trevely vppon be loode tre

470
Mon, I dyede for be;
Mon, what hastou don for me
To beon my frendly feere?
At be parlament shul puyten vp pleynyng,
How Maydenes fruyt on me gan sterue,
Shul prie to bat rihtful kyng:
Vche mon schal hau as be a serue,
Flihtful schul ruy to riche restynge.
Tryt and triset to helye shal sterue:
Mayden Meoke and Kyldo,
God hab taken in be his leachly trene
I bar bi fruyt leobi and leue
Hit is riht be Soode helpe to a rene
Wrecches bat wrabbe bi clyldo.
Be queen a cordon wib be cros
And a 3eyn big spak no more speche;
Be queen 3af be CROS a cros,
Be ladi of lone lone gan seche,
Pei3 hire fruyt on him were di3t to dros,
Whon remydung remyd gan him reche:
Cristes cros hab kept vs from los,
Maris preyers And God vr leche,
Be queen and be CROS a corde
Be queen bar must be cros afterward,
To fecche folk from helleward,
On holy stavers to steyen upward
And regne wib God vr lorde:
Be Clerk bat fourrde bis lineour
Of Maris wo to vite som,
Pe saih hig self pat harde stour,
Whon codes Armys weore rent aroun;
Be CROS is a cold Creatour,
And enuere 3it hab ben def and don.
Bei3 bis tale beo florisched with faire flour,
I preue hit on Pocrarium,
For witnesse was neuer foundet,
Bat neuer Cristes cros spak,
Oure ladi leide on him no lak.
Lot to pulte pe dewel a bak,
We speke hou Crist was woundet:
In Plesshy wade
God gan him hede,
Of Kyldo May
Was borne to blede,
As Cristes Crede
Sobly wol say;
On a stokky stede
We God we Pede,
In Red Artay;
ifrom dewelos crede
bat buyk vs ledo,
At domes day:
Whon peole schal perte and pace,
525
To heenee halle or to helle woode,
Cristes cros and Cristes blode
And Marie prieers, bat ben ful woode,
Grant vs be lyf of grace Amen.
Explicit disputacio inter Mariam
530
et Crucem Secundum Apocrafiun.
TEXTUAL NOTES

1 freo]fre. 0 illuminated in V and S. This poem begins near the bottom of col. 3, f. 315\(^V\) in V, and in col. w, f. 325\(^V\) in S, in both following "The Stations of Rome." V: no title. S: "Her bygynne\(\) A lamentacion pat ur / lady made to be Cros of hir soone."

1ff V: ll. 1-3 written as one line in MS; "on" and "made" not capitalized, "Rode" capitalized. S: ll. 1-6 ("Cure . . . is") written as one line.

2 treo]tre.

3 hire]hir; mon]mon.

4-6 Written as one line in V; "pe" and "is" not capitalized.

6 bigon]bigon.

6-8 "wo . . . in" written as one line in S.

7-9 Written as one line in V; "in" and "among" not capitalized.

8 in]in.

9 Among]among.

11 veines]veynes.

13 bou]bou.

14 pillori]Pillorie.

15 sinne]synne. Rom. 6:23. Mary's argument seems to be that her son should not have died, since He had not sinned.

16 fflesch and veines]fflesche and veynes; a twinne]a twynne.
C illuminated in V and S.

mi fayre]my feire; bou]bou; bi gyled]bigiled.


Chyld]Child; artou not]art bou nout.

weore]were. Cf. 1. 31.

dyede]died; wyled]wiled.

mi]my; pat]pat.

Line omitted in S.


dyep]diep.

For]For; galwes]galles; were]were. F illuminated in V and S. This line is cited in MED under "grete," meaning angry, violent, vituperative, haughty, insolent.

bat euer]bat euur; Ronne ryf]runen rif.

beo]be.

neuer]neuur.

sopleiche]sopeliche.

Christ is the "lord of life," because He is Lord of the living (Rom. 14:9) and because He overcame death and gives life. Ironically, Mary calls Jesus lord of life but does not see that He had to die to gain that title.

wip]with.

fayre]feire.

pat]pat; dude]dud.

pat]pat; and]and. Matt. 27:38.


sinne]synne.
47 neuere]neuer; blod]blood.
48 trupe]trupe; wip]with.
49 wip beoues]with be beoues.
50 wip]with; feole]fele; limes ben]lymes bene.
51 Moder]Modur; mai]may. End of col. 2, f. 325v
52 in S.
53 End of col. 3, f. 315v in V.
55 bon]born. Horstmann corrects V to "is born," for the sake of rhyme and sentence structure. It seems likely to me that "born" modifies "broche," which is the subject of the verb "hap wounde."
56 holi herte]holy hert.
57 T illuminated in V and S.
58 traitours]traytours.
59 wip]with.
60 vertu]vertu.
61 and]and; sopfast]sopfast.
62 a treo]tre.
63 vertu]vertu.
66 and]and.
67 hed]hedde.
68 a mong]amonge.
69 dye]dye.
70 bou]bou. T illuminated in V and S.
71 Moder]modur.
72 wip beastes]with bestes.
These lines describe a suffering and more human Christ in line with the increasing emphasis on individualism. See Colin Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual, 1050-1200* (London, 1972).
mouþ] mouþ; sweore] swire.
cusse his] kus hit; sob] soþe.
from] from.
amis] amys.
C illuminated in V.
pouþ] pou; brid] bryd.
onswere] unswere. C illuminated in V and S.
honour] honoure.
 brihte] briht; bere] bera.
flour] floure.
feire] feire; ginneþ] gynneþ.
florisãþ] floresãþ.
þat] pat; lure] lure.
þat Blosme] pat blossom.
þat] pat; swerd] sword.
and] and; God] gord.
A] *.
dude] dud; huge] hoge. A illuminated in V and S.
bite] bit; bouh] bouht.
hap] has; Armes] *.
a] om.; wib] with.
smite] smyte; wib] with.
heer] here.
Breþel brest; wib] with.
wib] with; fro] from.
This "z" is the only one in the four poems. The line could refer to Hosea 13:14.

seinte Marie

Galuarie*. End of col. 1, f. 316r in V.

Endes*.

stipre bat; vnder; vyne*.

End of col. 1, f. 316r in V.

End of col. 3, f. 325v in S.

scharp.

and.

strok and stryk*.

Rede*; rif*.

God*.

These lines seem to refer to the miracle at the wedding in Cana, which is not, however, in Samaria, but in Galilee. John 2:1-11.

dop*.

with speres.

with outen kniues.

Omitted in S.

sopfast weye*.

mihte*.

when.

in*. M illuminated in V and S.

lomb and; ober*.

and.
172  and] and.
174  3 illuminated in V and S.
176  mai] may; vru] ure.
177  serwe] sorwe; sunnes] synnes.
179  fro] from.
188  and] and.
193  Briht blod] riht blood. In S, this line reads "riht blood his bod blod his bodi gan // schyne." "schyne" is written on the preceding line.
194  him] hym; wite] wyte.
196  too to] to too.
198  wip] with; and] and.
199  bounden] bounden.
200  A illuminated in V and S.
201  Bitter] bittre.
202  bat] bat.
204  Cros] *.
206  wip] with.
207  weor] were; neuere] neuer.
209  wip] with] scharpe; and] and.
210  and] and; riuue] ryue.
herte

vr

C illuminated in V and S. End of col. 2, f. 316r in V.

wyn

Brugge

Aungeles

and

Omitted in S.

Pardoun In book

perdoun vpon to minne

donne vp to mynne.

sinne

bloed

Pardoun

Oure ladi

Poole

wip

sinnes

wip

End of col. 1, f. 326r in S.

softer

medled

watur

pat

haja

prophete

And

send us

lomb
243 mylde mount]Milde Mount.
244 Be com]become; In]}; Maydens]maydenes.
245 wip]with.
247 Barreres]`; weore]were.
248 pơrw/]porw.
249 mîste better hai]mîht bettre a.
252 monnes]. S illuminated in V and S.
253 beo]be; wip]with.
254 gredi]gredi.
255 faire]feire.
256 pou]pou.
261 wip]with.
263 Jhesu]∗.
266 Cros]∗; pis]pise.
269 write]wrete; and]and.
270 Cristes]∗; preide]preyede.
271 and]and.
274 seyde]seide; poust]pouht.
275 Now]Now; folfuld bat]fulfuld bat.
276 broust]brouht.
278 fadur]fadur; folfille]fulfille. W illuminated in V and S.
282 send bat]fende bat.
283 pulte]put.
284 pat]pat.
286  and] and.
287  Cros]*.
288  Lyoun]lyon.
289  I illuminated in V and S.
290  \wifte}siftes.
291  himself]hym self.
292  With this line the scribe begins to fill out
293  the written lines with alternating red and blue
294  wiggly lines in V.
295  wib] with.
296  wib] with.
297  wib] with; him] hym.
298  hond] honde.
300  lond] londe.
301  Meke]*. 3 illuminated in V and S.
302  pou] pou; Rose]*.
303  coomen] comen; Caluari]*.
304  pat] pat.
305  weore] were.
306  dronkmyng] droukmynge.
307  and] and.
308  were] weere; lumpynge] lumpynge.
309  furste] furst.
310  bledde asein] bled aseyn.
311  and] and. End of col. 2, f. 326r in S.
312  ben] penne; hert] hert.
317 pelyE; Secounde]secunde. Þ illuminated in V and S.
320 renten him]renten his.
321 helm]helme.
323 vn Joynet]vnjoyned; tok]toke.
324 water]watur; teeres]teres.
326 clunge]clonge.
327 from]from.
328 druise drinkeles]druyed drynkeles.
329 lippes]lyppes; and]and.
330 þouhte]þouht. Þ illuminated in V and S.
331 þeose]þise; and]and.
335 And hire]and hyr.
337 knyf]kniht.
339 hire]hire; launce]launce.
340 swownyng]swonyng; chaunce]chaunce.
341 hire]hir.
343 S illuminated in V and S.
344 in brere]in brere.
345 moste]most.
346 chyldes]childes.
fader and moder\textsuperscript{fadur} and modur; here\textsuperscript{here}. 

fader\textsuperscript{fadur}. 

Moder\textsuperscript{Modur}; herte\textsuperscript{hert}. 

Mi\textsuperscript{My}; flowed\textsuperscript{folwed}; water\textsuperscript{watur}. 

and\textsuperscript{and}. 

In\textsuperscript{IN}. I illuminated in V and S. 

God cannot experience sorrow since He is the fount of Joy, and since God is spirit, he could not beget Christ's flesh. Therefore, Mary was "father of his flesh" (1. 152) and feels the grief of both parents. 

Joyes\textsuperscript{*}. 

seijsey. 

bat\textsuperscript{bat}. 

wib\textsuperscript{with}. 

and\textsuperscript{and}. 

Joyes\textsuperscript{*}; God\textsuperscript{*.} 

mihte\textsuperscript{miht}. 

Glerkes\textsuperscript{*}. 

Mi\textsuperscript{My}. 

care\textsuperscript{care}. \textsuperscript{[} illuminated in V and S. 

fynde\textsuperscript{fynde}; defoyled\textsuperscript{defouled}. "defoyled" corrected from "defouled" in V. 

spare\textsuperscript{spare}. 

and\textsuperscript{and}. 

Mayden\textsuperscript{*}; Mournede\textsuperscript{*}; mare\textsuperscript{mare}. 


ben]be; and]and. I have been unable to find the meaning of "surdeled."


Horstmann emends "ben oyled," found in both V and S, to "bemoyled" and is the sole source cited by the MED (s.v. "bemoiled"). "Ben" + past participle is frequently used in the text (cf. l. 374), and the meaning seems to be that Christ was covered with blood as if it were oil. There may be a connection with other verses which describe Christ's body.

beo forn]biform.

I]*.

hertelhert.

neuere] neuere.

be] PE; worpily] worbili. Δ illuminated in V and S.

dai turned]day turned; nihtes] niht.

Merkel]*; Mournyng] mournyng.

lyht] liht.


Mary seems to be alluding to the philosophic view that the Crucifixion was an illegal act which "broke the law" in the sense of doing away with the Law, or destroying it.

not] nous t.

bow] pou.


bledde] bled; and] and.

St. Denis: Denis the Areopagite who was converted at Athens by St. Paul (Acts 17:34), died c. 95. In the seventh century he became confused with St. Denis of Paris whose tomb was the center of the
Benedictine abbey of Saint-Denis, and it was believed that he was the author of writings which, "from the seventh until the fifteenth century, were among the most valued and admired theological and mystical writings." Butler's Lives of the Saints, eds. Herbert Thurston and Donald Attwater (New York, 1956), IV, 66 (quotation), 67-68.

\[\begin{align*}
398 & \text{wente} \rightarrow \text{went.} \\
400 & \text{brihte} \rightarrow \text{briht.} \\
401 & \text{wonderly} \rightarrow \text{wondur.} \quad \text{End of col. 3, f. 326r in S.} \\
402 & \text{per} \rightarrow \text{per.} \\
403 & \text{Clerke} \rightarrow \text{clerk.} \\
404 & \text{doom} \rightarrow \text{dom.} \\
405 & \text{Al} \rightarrow \text{Alle.} \\
406 & \text{God bat} \rightarrow \text{god bat.} \\
408 & \text{P illuminated in V and S.} \\
409 & \text{Beestes} \rightarrow \text{Bestes; binne} \rightarrow \text{bynne.} \\
411 & \text{noldestou} \rightarrow \text{noldest bou; mournyng minne} \rightarrow \text{mournyng mynne.} \\
415 & \text{weolbe pat} \rightarrow \text{welpe pat; winne} \rightarrow \text{wynne.} \\
416 & \text{God bouste} \rightarrow \text{god bouht.} \\
417 & \text{Godes biddyng} \rightarrow \text{godes byddyng.} \\
418 & \text{pat} \rightarrow \text{pat.} \\
419 & \text{tied} \rightarrow \text{tyed; wip} \rightarrow \text{with.} \\
420 & \text{anoper} \rightarrow \text{jobur.} \\
421 & \text{Cros pat} \rightarrow \text{cros pat.} \quad \text{S illuminated in V and S.} \\
423 & \text{schulde} \rightarrow \text{schuld; lifte} \rightarrow \text{lyft.} \\
424 & \text{and} \rightarrow \text{and.} \\
425 & \text{scheld} \rightarrow \text{schilde.}
\end{align*}\]
Cypress and olyue: Traditionally, the True Cross is supposed to have been made of pine wood. The Catholic Encyclopedia (New York, 1908), s.v. Cross. Perhaps cypress was to represent mourning and death, and the olive wood was a reminder of Christ's kingship.

beoli.
I left ilef.
grunte grunt.
Crouned* ılluminated in V and S.
pat pat; pou pou.
graces greses.
pat shinep shene bat schynep schene.
pat bat; were were.
seye seie; bere bere.
upon upon.
hastou don hast pou done.
beon bene.
shul putten schul putten; pleynyng pleynyng.
Maydenes* sterue sterue. A illuminated in V and S.
spere spere; spounge spounge; and sharp nayling and scharp naylyng.
shal schal.
shul preie schul preye; pat pat.
ryse rise; restyneg resting.
truyt truit; shal schal; sterue sterne.
Maiden maiden; Mylde*.
chylde childe.
with. ılluminated in V. ı is missing in S and a blank has been left for the illumination.
hym hym; morre. End of col. 1, f. 326 in S.
queen queene.
490 ūeis hire] pauh hir; him were diȝt] hym were
diȝt.

491 rendynge ropus] rennyng ropes.

493 preyeres] preyeres; And God]

495 furst] fruit; afterward] afterward.

497 stayres] stayres; steyen] styen.

498 wip God] with god.

499 Clerk pat fourmed] clerk pat format. Þ illum-
inated in V and S.

501 him] hym; pat] pat.

502 weore] were.

503 Cros] *; Creatour] *.

504 euere] euer; ben] bene; and dom] end doum.

505 beo florisshed] be florished; faire] feir.

506 Apocrafum] apocrifum.

508 neuere] neuer.


510 bot] but; pulte] pul t.

511 hou] how. A line of decorative red wiggles
intervenes between ll. 511 and 512 in V.

512 fflesch] flesschely. I illuminated in V
and S.

513 him] hym.

515 bore] born.

516 Cristes] *.

519 Rede] *.

520 Red Array] * *.

blode] bloode.

Marie preiers pat ben] marie preiere pat bene.

Grant] Graunt.

disputacio inter Mariam] disputacon inter Meriam.

CHAPTER VI
THE DEBATE BETWEEN GOOD MAN AND DEVIL

"The Disputisoun bitwene a god man and the deuel" occurs in both the Vernon and the Simeon Manuscripts. In both it is followed by "the ri gest pit of helle." "The Lam­ entation between our Lady & St. Bernard" precedes it in Vernon and probably did so in Simeon, but the relevant pages have been lost. The work is 987 lines long in its entirety; it begins a little way down column three on f. 289r in Vernon, with the title, "A dispitisoun bitwene a god man and þe deuel," and ends near the bottom of column one on f. 291v, which is about four lines shorter than the other columns on the page. The debate is listed in the Index as "A disputison bytwene a god mon and þe deuel and he wente Froward churche." The Simeon version is incom­ plete, its first thirty-eight lines having been lost with the preceding pages. It begins at the top of column one, f. 264r, and ends with a few lines in column one, f. 266r. In Vernon, the first letter of the whole poem is especially large and illuminated. The other illuminated letters em­ phasize the changes in speaker, which also generally stand out because of formulaic lines used to introduce each one. The Good Man's rebuttals always begin, "Þe goode mon wel
nderstod / Dat he seide was not good" (ll. 99-100), with only minor variations. The Devil's speeches begin, "De wikkede gost onswerde þo, / Late we þis tale go" (ll. 135-136), with the same kind of variation. The Good Man's disquisition on pride, an especially long, one, has three illuminated letters, one at the beginning and two others, acting, in effect, as subheadings. Interestingly, in Vernon all the illuminated letters except the first are thorns. Despite its incompleteness Simeon contains more illuminations (sixty-five to eighteen) and illuminations of all letters, and some red and blue paragraph marks (thirty-one). The ¶ marks seem to arise from the exuberance of the illuminator: when the scribe required a capital, he indented the line, but the paragraph marks are in the margin. The Simeon version is certainly more colorful, but the multiplicity of gorgeous capitals actually makes it harder to follow the shifts in debaters which the Vernon's austerer style makes clear.

Perhaps the scribe did not use illuminations for indicating stanza breaks less because he wanted to indicate something else than because he could not find stanza breaks. The poem rhymes in couplets with lines of varying length. George Saintsbury praises the range of metrical lines which he finds in the poem: octosyllabic lines, "showing no liberty except that of anacrusis" (ll. 1-8),
Robert-of-Gloucester fourteeners (11. 9-10), "almost a decasyllabic couplet" (11. 11-12), and even "a pretty complete Alexandrine" (1. 16).\(^1\) Utley observes that Good Man's speech is doggerel, while the Devil speaks in short three or four foot lines.\(^2\) Actually, this remark is not wholly correct. In general, Good Man's lines are longer than his opponent's, but occasionally Good Man drops into the Devil's meter. This is particularly likely to happen at the beginning of a speech (11. 101-102) or when Good Man momentarily becomes as coarse and vulgar as the Devil (11. 269-270). Even when Good Man uses long lines, they are not always ballad meter. Although the rhyming second half of the lines usually has three stresses (but see 1. 70), the first half may have two, three, or four. Using Good Man's first speech (11. 59-76) as an example, we can say that the majority of the first half-lines have three stresses (eleven lines) and only a few have two or four (three each).

Good Man's next speech (11. 101-134) begins with two short four-stress lines, aping the meter of both the Devil's argument and the narrator's transition. Most of the rest of the lines contain three stresses before the caesura and three after (twenty-one lines). Although we cannot know to what extent the concluding F's were pronounced, it is clear that Good Man's lines suggest the norm of the fourteener
without always fulfilling it. The steady three beats in the second half of the line set the standard. Yet even in the second halves, apparent exceptions might have disappointed a listener's expectations. In line 107, for instance, the second part, a pious "ponked be he," could have had two or three or perhaps even four stresses.

The Devil's speeches usually come in four-stress lines with more-or-less iambic rhythm, the same which is regularly used by fifteenth-century devils and vices. Clashing stresses (see line 142, for example) relieve the monotony. Occasional lines, like 139 with two stresses, have fewer than four stresses and seem to take on a greater dignity from the difference. Clearly the poet employed a wide range of meters which he did not, however, always use with the complete consistency to character that Wells and Utley suggested. According to Saintsbury, the poet demonstrates a comfort with rhyme and meter impossible a century earlier or later. He has both "astonishing ease and technical skill" though "without, it may be allowed, very much poetical power."4

"Good Man and Devil" begins with a fifty-six line narrative introduction which elaborately sets the scene. Both the catalyst and the subject of the debate are established. To tempt Good Man away from meditation on the sermon he has just heard, Satan has sent an evil messenger to draw him
into discussion on the sermon. After preliminary challenges during which the Devil proclaims his expertise in the matter of religion (18 lines), and Good Man briefly summarizes the sermon (20 lines), the Devil begins with an attack on the idea that people should or can love God. He follows with attacks on the seven deadly sins (consisting of 22, 56, 83, 66, 36, 84, and 34 lines each). Good Man responds to each attack with an explanation and justification of the orthodox position on that sin (36, 123, 44, 97, 54, 108, and 30 lines each). Good Man's speeches are longer than the Devil's, but they respond directly to various points the Devil has made. The Devil does not answer Good Man's speeches; there is nothing for him to say to such pious and orthodox remarks, and in each case he is forced to go on to the next topic. Each subject is finished before the debaters go on to the next one, and at the end the overwhelming mound of evidence demonstrates that Good Man has won the debate. The resolution of this debate is an interesting illustration of Heiss's theory that the character moves from ignorance to awareness of self and of the world. 5

Somehow, Good Man comes to realize (after more than 950 lines!) that the fair-seeming stranger attacking his beliefs is no ordinary person. In the process of debate, Good Man gradually understands the evil nature of his opponent and has learned his own besetting sin, a lack of wariness. In the conclusion, the Devil sees his defeat even before Good
Man does. The Devil's angry silence arouses Good Man, and he commands, in the name of God, that the Devil appear without disguise. The reality is so horrible that Good Man orders him to Hell, and the Devil's disappearance is a tacit recognition of the Good Man's victory. Good Man goes on his way, thanking God for saving him. "So ouhte he wel," comments the narrator sourly, implying, I believe, that it was not the Good Man's excellence in debate which saved him but God's mysterious favor. Four lines of prayer conclude the debate.

Summary

Prefaced by an introductory statement which warns, "Swipe muche neode hit is / āpat vche mon be war and wys" (ll. 1-2), the narration describes the Good Man going to church and hearing the priest explain God's word. When the sermon is done, the Good Man goes home alone, thinking of the priest's message. The hell-fiend envies the Good Man and sends a messenger to trick him. The Devil appears as a fair rich man, not at all fiend-like, and asks the man where he has been. The Good Man responds, "I com from pe chirche, what woldestou per bi? / Wat pu art and why pu askest, tel me nou, belamy" (ll. 37-38). The Devil explains that he is a wayfaring foreigner, and wants to know what the man has heard in church. He offers to correct what the priest had taught, for, he says,
The Good Man begins to tell, as well as he can, what the priest had taught: that we should love God and our fellow Christians. He also speaks of the seven deadly sins (pride, envy, wrath, covetousness, lechery, sloth, and gluttony) and says that anyone who died in these sins would never get to heaven. The Devil interrupts here and asks how one could love God, "Whon he so ofte wrappe pe / And let pe in suche myschef be?" (ll. 85-86). God lets you lose your cattle, horses, and oxen, he reminds the Good Man in a summary remarkably reminiscent of Job's lot. You get sick, you are unhappy, your head aches:

Loue him not, I rede, i wis.
Hou mistest bou loue him wip skile
Dat mist be helpe and ne wile?. (ll. 96-98)

The Good Man sees at once that this is not right, and he informs the Devil that he will not follow his advice. Whatever comes, good or bad, he says, God has sent it to me. When God sends sorrow, it is for my own good, so that I will be wary; when God takes away everything I have, it is His right since He gave it all to me (and often when He does
take away, He gives more); and when He gives me sickness, it is so I will love Him more and not break His commandments. The priest gave three reasons for loving God. First, God made us; second, He bought us on the Cross, "wip his oune flesch and wip his oune blode" (l. 130), and finally He called us to the eternal celebration in heaven. "For on of pis I ouste to louen him wel aplist, / betere I ouste for alle, and bat is good rist" (ll. 133-134).

The "wikked gost" answers, let us leave this disputing and go on to the next topic in the sermon. If the priest spoke against pride and encouraged "boxumnesse," "He was wod, so art þou ek, / And alle þo þat so spek" (ll. 145-146). In fact, says the Devil, pride is no sin, because it is the way to succeed. If you are wise and rich and have great possessions, even if you lie about it, people will know and give you preferential treatment. And if you act proud, people will think you are rich even if you are not. People will hold you in awe, and you will be able to do anything you want.

þou mayst æl þi bolde beryng
Be proud and riche in æl þing,
And ouur æl maist þou comen and go,
Whon Æa Moppe dasart schal not so.

(ll. 167-169)

If, however, you do not follow my advice, but instead
associate with folk of low fortune and degree, everyone will "lauhwhe þe to bisemare" (l. 184) and know that you are no man at all because you are drawn to wretches. You will be a wretch yourself.

The Good Man knows at once that this is not right. Pride, he says, causes the soul woe and does the body little good. When he thinks of three things, he cannot be proud. The first is the way he came into the world, naked except for a foul red skin of slime. In an aside, the Good Man assures the Devil (and the reader?) of his truthfulness: "Al is soþ þat I saye, þei; I speke in Hym" (l. 203). Not only did he have nothing, but he was absolutely unable to care for himself. The second is the thought of Adam and Eve in Paradise living "in murpe and in wynne" (l. 219) and the consequences of their sin. Because they sinned, he says, we have "wo, serwe and vuel fare / And wonen in þis middel ert in serwe and in care" (ll. 222-223). In nostalgia for Edenic innocence, the Good Man reminds the Devil that since the Fall there has been no truth and much falsehood in the world: "þe sone begileþ þe fader, þe douþter þe Moder, / þe sibbe þe frende, vche mon ober" (ll. 230-231). In contrast is the bliss of paradise, "whon I þenke þeron, me longeþ þider sore" (l. 235). The third argument against pride is the man's knowing that he will leave this world, but knowing not when, nor how his soul will fare.
His soul will be sent to "be weole or be wo" (l. 242) and his body will be placed in the grave to decay. His hair will fall out, his eyes "schulen out renne" (l. 248), his teeth will turn green, and his hands and fingers will rot and stink. Friends will forsake him and fight over his possessions. The Good Man criticizes pride in fashion and ostentatious dress at some length, chiefly men's clothes, but he also takes a swipe at women's hats. Instead, the Good Man says, they should be thinking of their foul souls and of their future life in hell. Then he turns his attention to the Devil's advice to avoid poor men. Wrong, he says; although I am rich and they are poor, yet we are still the same inwardly. If he and the poorest beggar remove their clothes, no one can tell them apart. Their natural clothes, the ones with which they were born, are exactly the same, and therefore the two men must love one another as the brothers which they are.

Again the Devil is overwhelmed by the Good Man's flow of words and wants to discuss another subject, envy or "onde." Only a fool would forbid envy, he says. If you see someone fairer or wiser "or ricchor or baldor or be of beter itold" (l. 324), it would be only natural to blame and envy him for his good fortune. Not so, says the Good Man. No one has so much wealth, beauty, wisdom, or strength that I do not wish him more. God sends blessings
to people as He will, and I have no less because someone has more. No one should be so ungrateful as to complain about what God has given him, "For God wol 3iue to whom his wille is. / Whose hap envye ber to; ffor sophe, he nis not wys" (ll. 349-350).

The demon goes on to wrath. How can one not be angry, he says,

3if eny mon a gult a3eynes be,
Smytep or elle puitep be
Ober seip þat þe is him lob[?] (ll. 357-359)

Do to him as he does to you, or worse if you can! Give him two words for his one, hit him with hand, sword, knife, staff, or stone until his teeth are all broken. If he is too strong for you, take friends to help you beat him and bring him to the ground groaning. This will warn others to respect you and leave you alone. The Good Man says that any anger will vitiate his prayers, and he should seek to be reconciled with his enemy. Wrath drives men mad and causes them to say and do things they later regret. God's laws cannot be broken with impunity; wrong-doers will be judged and punished. If someone is angry with you, be wise and keep silence. Soon his anger will wear itself out and he will seek your forgiveness. "Her of is iwritten a word þat is coub / He keepe a feir castel þat keepe wel his Moub" (ll. 439-440).
The Devil answers him by saying that God forbade no man to be rich, and no man can be rich without covetousness. Poverty is a great evil; a poor person has lean meals, thin robes, and no possessions. He misses all the good things in the world, and the way to avoid this is to get rich by being covetous. Do not sleep too much, but run about the streets, steal and loot, and do not be afraid to keep back your tithe from the priest. When you have gathered riches, many people will try to take advantage of you. Never give anyone anything unless you get twice as much. Let others enrich themselves in the same way you did, or stay poor. The Good Man rejects this argument, too. Covetousness is forbidden by God. If one can get rich without sinning, very well, but no one should rob and rend from others. Unless the rich man uses his riches wisely, he will experience heaven here and hell hereafter. He should take what he needs, tithe, give four offerings per year to the church, help the poor, and give the needy food, drink, and clothes. The earth does not yield fruit as it was wont to do, and many people are poor because of sin. Worldly goods pass away, men die, and the worms eat them. Therefore, do as Solomon advised his son: rejoice in your goods, do good deeds, and give generously to the poor of all you have for the sake of Him that gave it to you. There is no certainty in the world or its goods; they ebb and flow like the sea. No one knows when he will lose
his possessions. If a man values his possessions he is bound in three ways, by thought, dread, and sorrow. He becomes the slave of his cattle because he must wake in the night, travel in rain and snow, sail over the sea, and often die in their service. Rich men are afraid of losing their goods, but they should imitate Job who always blessed God and never regretted his losses.

The Devil says he is "a folted mon" (l. 604) to condemn lechery. Sexual intercourse is part of human nature, and in fact was ordained by God's commandment at the beginning of the world. The Good Man, says the Devil, would bring everyone into marriage, to live in conflict and strife, "for weddyng is þe long wo" (l. 624). A married man cannot leave his wife, but unmarried men can love or forsake. A bachelor can

\[\ldots\] be liht and Jolyf
More þen on þat hap a wyf.
For þi I rede þat men do so
And lete weddynge awaye go. \textit{(ll. 635-638)}

Only a fool, responds the Good Man, would follow your advice and his own fleshly lusts.

His soule schal be ded,
But ȝif he do kuyndely and wip spousedyd fere,
In helle he schal abuggen his flesches
lyking here.  

A man may take a mate "to do wip hire his wille for child-
berynge sake" (l. 652) or live in chastity. But anything
else is "spous bruche." Such sin angers God, and makes
the sinner the Devil's thrall. After death the good go to
God, "be deueles limes to synne" (l. 678). They are con-
demned to the everlasting fire which their own deadly sins
have lighted. "Al pat dop lecherie / In helle fuir schul
pei euere be heore pynes to drie" (ll. 691-692).

The wicked spirit says that sloth was not sin. Men
must have rest. After death, you know not what will happen,
so "While pu mist, make pe glad and muri / Lengor liuep a
glad mon pen a sori" (ll. 704-705). The priest condemned
sloth because he wanted you to attend endless services and
say countless prayers. In fact the church was only made
because of priests' covetousness, so that they could live
off other men without working. They perform the service
quickly and sloppily if few and poor people attend, but
slowly and lovingly if many rich people bring their offer-
ings. The only good things priests do is dispense holy
bread; at least that feeds hungry folk. The Good Man con-
demns the Devil's advice. The body wants ease and merri-
ment, but what about the soul? "Pe bodi and pe soule bep
wel neih euerre wrop / For pat pe bodi lykep wel is to pe
so u le 1ob" (11. 783-784). Those who sleep on earth and do not attend church to say their prayers will suffer in hell. A sin is like a wound: while it is new it can be cured, but an old sin attracts others and gets worse. Here or elsewhere you will weep for your sins, and God will take vengeance. Early matins is a profit to the soul. Though your body complain, your reward will be great. After eating, go to any preaching in town, and understand it well. If there is none, visit the sick. Pray to God morning and night, and work truly in your work, whatever it is. "Loke in al þat þou seist and dost þat God be euere apay / And lef sleupe and al oper synnes as Ich haue Isaid" (11. 883-884).

The Devil condemns the priest's teaching on gluttony. Without eating and drinking man cannot live. When you fast, you become faint and idle. Eat a great deal and be ready to fight and brawl and "swynke" (1. 901). A real man, "3if he beo a stout sweyn / He eteb til hit come vp æyeyn" (11. 907-908). The Good Man knows this is wrong. Men must live by eating and drinking in moderation. Gluttons live like beasts, except that the animal is merely following his nature and the glutton is going against his. Meat and drink are like a salve, and too much salve will kill. Men should eat and drink moderately and give the excess to the poor. That is a worthy treasury, but to
hoard food in your stomach is foulness. Gluttons will be forced to consume hot lead and brass in hell, and pitch and brimstone will be poured down their throats.

The Devil grows so angry that he cannot speak, because he knows that he is beaten. The Good Man at last understands that he is a devil, and commands him in God's name to appear in his true guise. The Devil becomes foul and black with a horrible stench. The Good Man makes the sign of the cross, "bifore, behynnde he blessed him fast" (l. 973), and the Devil flies away to hell. The Good Man goes home and thanks God for saving him from the Devil.

Jhesu Crist such grace vs sende
Hym to serue to ure lyues ende,
And kep vs from þe synes seuene,
And graunt vs alle þe blisse of heuene.

(11. 983-986)

Analysis

Utley includes this dispute in a small subcategory, "Demonic." None of the other four debates in this group are related to the "Disputison bitwene a god man and the deuel," except insofar as they include a devil as a character. The connection of the dispute's subject matter with other medieval literature about the seven deadly sins has already been amply documented by Bloomfield.
This dispute remains one of the most interesting of medieval debates. Although the Devil bows quickly in each case to the Good Man's point of view, he has already been allowed to present a fairly good argument for his own side, and occasionally a very good argument. The Good Man responds directly to the Devil's remarks; that is, they are engaged in a real debate with each other, not a mere exchange. William Schofield calls the Devil's arguments "subtle," and Bloomfield sees them as "persuasive" and as a recognition of the "attractiveness of certain sins and complexity of the problem of sin." I believe the Good Man's defense to be orthodox although personal. The Devil's arguments often begin well only to deteriorate as, for example, in his defense of gluttony where, after saying that man cannot live without eating, he adds that food gives people the strength to brawl and bicker. Bloomfield says that the poet implies "in some way . . . a criticism of the concept" of the seven deadly sins. I see the work as a defense of the church's attitude to the sins, with enough opposition from the Devil to make the debate interesting, but not enough to disturb the faith of medieval people who must have heard all these arguments often before.

Although the Good Man's arguments are conventional ones, his transition from one subject to another is often
especially skillful. For example, he condemns current fashions under "Pride" and moves then to the foulness of the soul and body under those elegant garments, and thence to the sameness of naked bodies, whether rich or poor. Sometimes his speeches move abruptly (in at least one case because of missing lines), but more usually they are smooth and polished. Another interesting characteristic of this debate is the humor which the dramatic irony creates. The audience is told immediately that the fair gentleman is the devil's crony. The poet seems to suggest in a few places that the Good Man should know as well: the emphasis in the beginning on being "wary" and the fact that the Good Man is "abascht" when he at last perceives his companion's true identity. But his naivete is essential for the continuing of the debate; no one debates knowingly with the devil. The Devil offers to explicate the priest's sermon because he knows more than the priest about "wherefore Men schule go to helle" (l. 56). The Good Man calls the Devil "belamy" in his first speech, a word meaning fair friend, but also defined in the Middle English Dictionary as "rascal, knave" and said to be used "often to enemies or inferiors as an expression of contempt." If I am right in my interpretation of these ironic statements, they would seem to heighten the tension in the dispute. Although the audience knows, as in most medieval debates,
which disputation will win, some suspense is maintained by
the author's hints that the Good Man may be partly blamed
for his blindness, and his occasional suggestions that
Good Man may be gradually perceiving the Devil's true
nature through his fair seeming.
NOTES


4 Santaysbury, pp. 133-134.


6 Presumably this was what Professor Utley meant by "gruesome physiological details," p. 690.

7 Morton W. Bloomfield, The Seven Deadly Sins: An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept, with Special Reference to Medieval English Literature (East Lansing, 1952).


9 Bloomfield, p. 169.

10 Ibid.

11 See textual note 38.
Swipe muche neede hit is
bat wche mon he war and wvs
To kepe him from be fendas lore,
ffor he fondeb more more.

5 And bat we maken alle I witen
As hit is in be tok I wren,
I wol ow telde, as I con,
Now be fende tempteb a Mon.
Hit was vpon an haly day
In an heil feste of be 3ere,

10 Muche folk was to churche son
Godes word for to here.
be Prest of be churche vnule be gospel
And lerede his peris chens, as he coube wel,
And had hem openly ryme good Peme
Hou bei scholden god wel queene

15 And schenden he soule fnd of helle,
bat fondeb eure iliche monng soule to swelle.
whon be prest heede I spoken and don what he volde,
be folk vented hamward, as riht was bei scholde.
A good mon ben was, bat hamward mon rake.

20 And bouste ful 3eorne of bat be prest spake.
He eode be him one vip oute fere berne,
ffor no mon of his benkyng schulde hym wern.
And hastiliche sende to him his sonde.

25 His Messager redi was forte don his ville,
\[\text{P}^2\text{wikked fende of helle berof heode onde}\]
Nim to bi swyke, oucuyteliche and stille.

In be wei he hym mette
And feire bonne he hym crette.
Was he no fende i lyche,

30 But as a mon feir and riche.
\[\text{P}^2\text{be gode mon was not war}\]
Of be deucl, bat con bar.
Quap be wikked Counsayler:
"ffelawe, wel I met her!

35 Sei me, as nou mote bou be,
Wer hast bow now I be?"
"I com from be chirche, what woldestou ber bi?
What bou art and whi bou askest, tel me now, belamy!"
"I am a ferreg mon and a wev servys,

40 Spek wib me feire, wib outen orucchys!
Hastou atte churche I herd eny sarnoun,
Ndovynge of be gospel or of lessoun?
I preyde be, gode felawe, 3if bi ville he,
Al pat bou herdest, tel hit nou to me!

ffor I con my self, beo my levete,
Of alle maner lore art plente.
I con wel I knove, I sei be, for bi,
Wer hit were wisdum pat he spact, or elles foli.
Wys bow schalt ivnde me and hende;

50 ffor, 3if he out fals hap seid, I schal hit amende.
paub bow to me have no trist,
I con more ben be preest,
And better I vot, forsope I wys,
How men schulen come to blis,

55 And also more I con telle
Werherefore 3en schule go to helle."
\[\text{PE goode mon bicox his tale}\]
bat obur Serne con luste;
Al coupe he not telle
But rude bat he wuste.
"Ouer alle ping he vs tauhte
To loue cod, ful of miht,

60 And siben vre euencristene
As we ousten vip riht.
He spac of deuli synnes
And seide ber weore seune,
And whose dyede ber Inne
Scholde heuere comen in heuene:
Pruide is be furste
Envye is bat ober,
Wrape is be pride
bat mon lab to his broher,
be feorpe is Countysse
    be fyfbe is Locherie,
be sixte is Sloube
    be seuebe is Glotonye.
Rest he speke, and lered more and lasse
fforto leue upide and love Buxunmesse;
ffurst, abowt alle bine, wib al wre mait
Worschipe and louen god, bobo day and niht,
And louen wre kunrede, as be lave wil;
And alle crioste men, as hit is skile.
ffor alle we schulen wib riste louen vchon obur
wib al wre mite, as suster dop be brobur;
ffor breberen we are and sustren, as we schul al leue,
Alle pat enere incomen ben of Adam and of Eve.
BE wikked cssst was ful 3are
And 3af be gode mon onswere:
"bow spekest," he seide, "of louynge,
pat mon schulde furst of alle bine;
pat love god schal eueri mon,
And siben his neihebor, as he con.
Note bow mistest bou trewe love
Haue to him pat is aboue,
When he so ofte wrobep pe
And let be in muche myschef be?
Be let bi catel from be dalle,
Hors in stable and Oxe in stalle,
And ober bing away let go,
And surfrep be he brou3t in muche wo.
Sif bou art sek in syde and Ribbe
pat vnnepes mai3t pou libbe,
Or pin hed sore akeb
And al bi bodi for serve quakeb,
borw him be comeb al bis.
Love him not, I rede, I wis!
You mistest bou love his wib skile
pat miste be helpe and ne wile?"
BE goode mon wel understod
pat he seide was not good.
"After bi red wol I not do,
ffor be prest ne had not so.
I wot of alle bine, be hit what so hit be,
Bobo beter and wors, my lord sendeb to me.
I wot of alle bine, be hit what so hit be,
Bobo beter and wors, my lord sendeb to me.
Man I obur while haue I had wo,
borw god pat hit sende hit hab over so;
Hit was for my ode (bonked he he)
He wolde bat I scholde bi bat I war be.
pau3 he me he roue anou to my Ribbe,
pat I haue vnnebe wher wib to libbe,
We wol I not be wrob before, ne no ri3t hit mis:
ffor al bat I haue, al hit is of his.
Al bat I haue, he leneb me, I wis,
He mai taken hit aȝeyn, whom his ylle is.

So he hab don ful ofte (I blessed mot he he)
And ȝaf me wel more ben he birafté me.
And bauȝ he of yyne me in selnesse sore,
Hit is for mv gole, I love him be more;

bat wih he me warnep his comandement to breke,
And sent me such teone him for to breke;
I mai ben amende me of bat I haue don ille,
And beeter bat I haye auilt aȝein codes wille.
breo bindes ben beb, as I haye herd telle,
Seide me be prest in his lore spelle,

ffor whom I ouȝte loue ðegu ful of miȝte,
And worschive him as I con, as me vel iȝte:
be furste bing of þe pre, is bat he me wrouȝte
After him self, as hym best pouȝte;
bat obur, bat he houȝte me on be sweete Rode
wip his oune flesch and wip his oune blode;
be pridde, bat he cleped me to his oune feste
In to be blisse of louene, bat ever schal i lestë.
ffor on of bisë I ouȝte to louen his vel auȝst,
Betepe I ouȝte for alle, and bat is good riȝt.

bë wikkeode cost onswerde bo:
"Lete we his tale go,
Leue we pis disputyng
And speke we of obur bing.
bov spekest aȝeyn pruȝde

And per of takest muche hyde.
Aȝeyn be riȝte is bat bou savs,
And perfore me mis days.
þou seist þe prest, þat synche Messe,
Lered be to Boxumnesse;

He was wod, so art þou ek,
And alle bo bat so speik.
Leef þou nouȝt pat hit be sob!
Hit nis no mon bat so dob.
I sigge bat pruȝde nis no sygne:

ffor per borwȝ comew worldes wynne.
bat maiȝt þou witen, I vis,
Whom þou vost what hit is.
3if þou be known for wys
And holden art of muche drys

And bat þou art riche non and wlonȝ
And of richesse hast inouȝ:
þauȝ þou lyfe, as þony non Rob,
Men wolle þe wene þat hit be sob,
And clepe þe torp for hoore everynge,

Ei foren hem bat habbeb no bing.
3if þou art proud and Modi
And berest be bold and hardi,
Men bat stondeb be aboute
beene of be wolen haue gret doute,
165
wib be wolen bei comen and speke,
bi loute to haue and hem to wreke.
beu may3t for bi holde beryng
he proud and riche in alle bing,
And oure al mai3t beu comen and go,

170
Whom A Hoppe dasart schal not so.
As a lord schalt bou be cald,
per obere schul stonde be hynde vn bald,
And cueral per bou cost aboute
be schal folowe ful gret route.

175
Of he schal vche mon stonde gret eise,
Wher bou wolt, beu mai3t go pleve.
Do nou as I haue I counsevel be:
Proud and stout ever pat bou be!
ffor 3if bou draue be to cuuaimy

180
Of pore wrecches bat wone be by,
Vche a Mon bat beo be wey gob
Of hem schalt bou be swipe lob,
And alle wolle beo ful sere
Lauhwhe be to hisemare

185
And sioe, "lo, Zen more wel se
What Mon bat he benked to be!
A wrecche some vol he ben,
To wrecches he draweb, as alle mon sen;
Wel Men mav see alle bi ban

190
bat never more vol he beo man.'
PE gode Mon understod
bat bat be toburg seide was not good.
"Do wei," he seide, "bi lore
ne spek no more of pryde:
Hit dop be soule mucho wo
And helpeb pe bodi luyte.

195
When I benke on binges bre
. Bobe niht and day
Pruide ne worldes blisse
Glade ne ne mav.
Pfurst, when I beo benke me
And am wel I ware
How I com in to his world
Bobe naked and bare.

200
Bedde I to myn hod house ne hod,
Ne Bobe to my bac, bedde ne good,
But a foul rea clout, bat I was bornen In,
bat tok I of my Moter, and was a foul skvn
(al is sob bat I seve, be3 I sneke in Km)
bei coruen hit of me and worsch awei mi slvm.

205
In to bis world bus com I wrecched and bare,
And so, vol I wel, I schal heopen fare.
bei wounden me in cloutes, for cold and for schame,
ifor I ne scholde forfarr, bei hulede mi licame.
Al Maner quyk bigo bat is borr Codes miht,
210
Whon hit comem hurst forh, con him self riht,
Hop of him self kyndeliche wode,
And con him self purchase mete to his reyne,
215
And hab borr kynde miht for to son.
ber kynde of mon hab riht non,
Fute va mi3ti wrecches alle are we.
You scholle I be proud, whom I bis se?
220
bat obyr is, whom I benke on Adam and Eve,
You bei vereen in paradys wel and nib love;
ber wib outen sygne bei mi3te haue ben in blis,
Sif bei needen a cult abeyn god i wis
ber bei mi3ten haie I wonet in nurpe and in wynne:
225
But some beis drwen out, for bei hie sinne.
And begrere ha we muche wo, serve and wuel fare,
And woman in hie niddel ert in serwe and in cary.
wellaweii and veilwoi, bat syghe was I wou3t!
In muche peyne for sinne are now men I brou3t;
Alle wo and sekmes bat any non is inne,
Al is, for he hab i grenet ofte god wib syghe.
ber is in his world muche falsi3e,
230
ber is no trebe wel nei3, in word ne in dea,
be some be abile be fader, be dou3tm be moder,
be sibbe be frende, vche be mon ober.
Nis no worlde blisse bat nul owur so,
235
Ne owur so nurie on corpe bat his mevnt wib wo,
But be blisse of verades, bat lasteb ever more.
When I benke beon, me longeb diber sore.
You scholle I benne be proud for any bigo,
Or any ober mon, bat is in longyn?
PE bri3de bigo is bat I benke, bat I schal wende3ynne
240
Out of his world, but wot I neuer whenme,
Ne wot I who3y mi soule schal, bfore sore i drede:
ffor after mi werkse are, schal hit haue mede;
Riht as I haue dese3nt, pe wole or be wo
Certeinliche schal I haue, i mai not fle ber fro.
245
Beo 1 in mi put leid, ber wermas schul eten me,
Warpe to nou3t schal I benne, as neuer hede I be;
be her ofynn hed, Seleu3 so be wex
Schal dwynen a wex so do3 be drex,
Mi feire euen schulmen ou3t renne,
250
Mi white teb schulen soule grette,
Mi feire hondes and tirlens longe
Schul rote and swnke swibe stronge.
Men wol for mi good make strynyn
And buyte me out of a my bigo.
255
bulke bat weren I wont ofte me to grete,
bei wol not her bonkes wib me meete.
Alle be frendes bat I now haue,
ffor me gladliche wol beI don al bat I craue;
Weore I in mi craue, out of heore siht,
LuIte wolde beI for me do, be dai or be miIst.
Nedde I neuer so muche good, al hit wolde no,
Whon mi soule and mi bodi ar verted a two.
Mi bodi schal leueI her, mi soule faren benne,
Al beI worldees pride luIteI helpeI benne.

Vtterde hodes and Clokes also,
Al bat vile pride schal don hem ful wo;
beI struve codes cods ber wib
And torne hit to fen,
bat muche mihte helpe
Sely pore men.

Now is non worb a fart,
But he bere a baselart
I honoet bi his syde,
And a swynes dawe, and al is for pride.
Godys craue, stirap on his cappe is knit,
bat an vache hab he not on for to sit;

 Muche meschef and gret colde
On his hers he has,
Men miIte, 3iI his broch weore to tore
Soon his senitras.
And also his wylmen
bat muchel haunteI pride,
Wib hornes on heore hed
Pinned on wch a syde,
Maad of an old hat
And of a luytel tre,

Wib selk scleyres I set aboue
Apparisaunt to be;
Heore Reuersede cydes
On hem are streyt drauwe.
But al be of be newe aget
Hit is not worb an hawe.
bei wemen a ben ful feire
And wonder foul beI be;
And a wollen be benken hem
Of heore priuete

And hou foule beI are
In soule and in bodi,
bei ouste wib heore wpyng
Make heore chekes rodi.
But bei leue oude, and obyr swanes mo,
Schortly to telle, to helle schul bei go.
Whon I benke her vppon
Mi care is wel be more;

Luytel wonder is hit
baub I sike sore.
Hou scholde I be proud or elles modi?
Alle ou3te we to be for svene sorj,
3it bu counseildest me a luytel while ere
bat I scholde not be pore mennes fore;

bou seidest I scholde ben holden an vn mon.
No mon wol sije so bat any good cor.
bau3 I ang a pore Mon, bat beggeh his fode,
we not I liche riche of be worldes fode,
Men mai seo be sobe and be skile ri3t

Hou we schule hitwene ve vre lone di3t:
3if I do mi clobug of axon to my liche
bat I am iclobed in, bat heb gode and riche,
And a pore beggere, bat hab muche wo,
Wip cloutede clobes dude also,

And we stode raked boben I tere:
Bobe mi3te we benne ben obures vere;
Hose vs sa3e and knowe ve neiper,
benne mi3t beit vene bat ve vere breber.
benne most I loueg him, and he louen me,

When vre kynde roches hep of o ble:
bo are be hobes we were vib I bore.
At we liggen and rote, ne worb bei to tore;
Let us be lyx in sum pingle, as wel I vot we are,
Al ba3 I be riche, and he vore and hare."

bE wiked gost onsverde bo
And baad let bat tale go,
"Lete ve bis disputvng
And speke we of another pingle.

bou speskest and scist be prest hab forbode
Wrabbe and onde, borw biddyno of gode.
Hit was neuer forbode of no wys mon,
But of sum folte, bat no good ne con.
3if bou seest bi brobur or bi kun or a nobur
bat he be seiror beu bou be, or wisor beu bou oubur,
Or ricchor or baldor or be of beter i told:

bau3 bin herte be wo
and of binke bat hit is so,
Who mitte be blame?
Wel mi3t bou benne binke schame

And vuel may hit pe like
bat he schal be so hei3

. And bou not so riche."

bE gode mon wel understod
bat hat be tobur seide was not good.
"Aftur bi counseil wol I not do,

ffor pe prest seide not so.
No mon hab so muche good
bat I wolde he hedde more,
Ne so feir ne so strong ne so wys of lore,
Hit of puncheb we nouht
Ne per to haue I mon onde,
ffor al be godes bat mon hab
Is of godes sonde.

God, por for whom comeb alle bing
Con ful good skile,
Alle worlde wyne
Ne sendeb, whon he wil.
Whi scholde I for moynes god haue sortinesse,
Whon I have for him neuer be leese?
God deleb his dole
To pore and to riche,

And 3ineb wight and auhte
But not alle I lyche.
Whon he hab I 3iuen his bing
As Ichaue I scyd,
Vche mon of his del
Schulde holde him paid.
No mon schulde crucchen
Of oberes wel fare,
And 3if he dop, for sobe
He mischavch god bare,

ffor god wol 3iue
To whon his wille is.
Whose hab envye her to
ffor sobe, he nis not wys."
BE false schrewe answerde bare
And had hym since so nomore.
"pou speakest of wrabbe in bi tale
And seist hit is a3eyn soule hale.
bat is not sob, but falschede;
Wrabbe was neugre synful dole.
3if eny mon a gult a3eynes be,
Smyteb or elles quitet pe,

Ober seib bat pe is him lob,
Ne most bot begne nedes be wrob?
3if Mog mis seib pe or dep be schame,
3if pou be wrob, ho schal be blame?
As he dop bi be, ni?t and day,

Quit hig wEL, Sif bat pou mav;
3if pou mowe, worse ; in eny wyse
Loke pou 3elde him his servusse;
3if pou forherest O bisemare,
He wol 3iue pe two ful 3are.

A3eyn o word sei bou two
And mak hig wrob, ar bou go,
And spek wip hym baldeliche
And mis seye hym schomefulliche!
3if eny Mon be mis deb,

Smyt byn hond winder his tep,
Wip Sword, Knyf, Staf or Ston
Lei on faste, and bat anon,
And bet him wel vip be beste,
bat his teb al to breste;
380
Or on be hed ponne hard,
bat he go wryjinge begneward.
3if he is strong or of miht heiz,
bat bou ne miht comen hym nei?
Tac be felawes be by syde
385
(be hardiloker maist bou abyde),
And go sech him be wei and strete,
Stint bou noust til bou him mete,
Lei on faste, spare no bing,
To arounde some bou him brenda,
390
bat he perfors arunte and grone,
And warne al opere bi him one!
ben may bi word springe aridt
bat bou art hardi mon and wiht;
Alle men of be begne schule be fret
395
bat hitorc wolde mis seve be in bi bert;
begne mi3t bou no lobe quit and sker
Wher bou wolt, fer and neer."
be goode mon wel understood
bat his coungseil was not good.
400
"3if I be wrob and sore auren
Vib eny mon aluye,
Ich ouȝte seche pees of hym
fful hastiliche and bluye.
Mi Pater noster no my credo
Ne myn Aue Marie biddynge,
Whyle ich am in wrabbe
Avayleb me no bhynge.
3if Mon be wrob, hym is be wors
And bat on mony syde
405
bat schul 3e vите bat hit is sob
3if 3e vollep abyde:
Wrabbe and vuel wordes: Old sore neweb,
And makeb to do be dede: bat eft ful sore neweb
Wrabbe is a wikked bing
Hit mergeb be herte blod
And makeb mon ofte out of wit
bat he con no good.
410
He makeb mon ofte do be dede
bat eft torneb to grove,
Bete Mon and ofte sle
And do ful muche schame,
Wounde men and herne men
Robben and to reuen;
And euge are bei in serwe and wo
A Morwen and at Fuen.
Whon he is wel a wreken
Aftur his wille,
\[415\] ðen he is wel apayed
And dorp forp wel stille.
He wend to here ber of
No more taping:
Fote ðe synne ber after
Schal him to schome brynge
Ne schal he him no wyse
So wel him schilda,
ðat he ne schal for be synne
Sum schome be tyde,
\[420\] But hit heo bory schrift
And be prestes rede
ðat be synne he bet
And a Xended be deede.
ðe heille kying of heuene
Is riistful Justice,
Alle folk schal he doe
Bobe foles and wyse;
He hab set his lawes
No Mon scholda hem breke,
\[425\] ðat no mon in his wrappe
Scholde him self wreke.
Sit on opur wyse ofte mon is wrope
And scib to his brobup bing bat him is lob.
ðe wysere of hem two
ðen schal holde him stille
And suffre be more fol
Siggen al his wille.
\[430\] ffor he bat chyde ab al one
Hit wol some awey care,
Hit wol not longe lasten
Wip outen onsware;
Whon he hab al seid
bat he sigge ville,
He wol ben in pes
And cuinne be more skile,
And for 3iuen his wrappe
bau3 bei duder ille,
\[435\] And commen his felawe more bonk
ffor he heold him stille.
3if eny wikked wordes or dedes
Bi fore weren I wrouht,
ðei schul penne bory wrappe
Pen al out I brought;
Al ðe worste bat bei cuinne
penne vol bei speke,
And dele grete strokes
ffor to ben a wreke.
\[440\] Her of is I writer a word bat is coup:
"He kepe a feir castel bat kepe wel his moue."

Bþ wikke schewe onswerde pon,
bus to be cote mon:
"We forbed he neuere
bat I be plihte,

Mon to be riche
3if he miht:
Hou mihte men on ey wise
Pe riche wib outen countysse?
Pe riche Mon, wher he is,
Holden is hobe 3op and 45s.

ffor he hab good mony fold;
He is holden of muche pris,
And al for good bat is his.
Pe pore Mon al bat schal misse,

Wap he non such worldes blisse
His keelles are ofte lene
(Luitel hit helpeþ, pau3 he him mene),
His Fobes are bade and binne,
Luitel he hap of worldes wynne.

Purueye be wel on vche a sude,
bat such teonce be ne be tude!
3if pou ne corst, I vol be teche
Hou pou schalt good to be riche
And riche mon bi come and wlohu.

And haue of alle goodes I nouh,
And wip outen euy synne
Geten 1 nou3 of worldes wynne.
Beo peny pound bi twene two
þou mai3t gedeere mo and mo,

Al wip queyntise and wip dinne
Muche good mai3t bou wynne.
Slep bou nou3t to muche a miht,
But win be good, hou pou miht;
Ren a houte bi be strete,

Bi wey and bi weonlete;
3if pou seost in euy wyse
Wher env bi 3ete wol aryse,
Tac sum, and lef I nouh
(bou3 bou do so, hit his no wouh).

Hawe þou no houte, I rede, of bas,
No mon wot ho hit was.
þauh Mon make muche fare,
ber of haue bou no care,
We dred no bing be prestes curs:

berfore bou schalt neuere be be wors.
Be spare non, ber þou Gest,
Kouber be persun ne be prest;
Tac þe part of heore typinge
And here hit hom to bi wonynge.
And so bou miȝt muche good take, 
And be riche monnes make.
Whon bou hast bus wel bi gonne
And muche good hast I wonne,
bat bou hast, kre hit wel,
berof ȝif bou neuer a dèl;
But men bringe two for on,
3iue hem not, but let hem gon!
ber vol come to bin hous
Mony on ful courteous,
ffor to haue of bi pince,
To ber a wei, and nuȝt to brynge.
So wol al deu ol fët sone;
Let hem gon riht as pei come;
Let hem secche here owne biȝete
As boû dudest, or elles letc;
Let hem rare meer and ferre
And for he neuer be be nerre!"
bl gode mon wol understoð
bat at obyr seide was not good.
"Couetyse is not good
ffor hit is forhode,
So seip be prest on his bok
bør gode bydëüns of gode.
Men mowe wel be riche
Whose hit may wynne
Wip rihte and treupe
And wip oute syrme;
Wip trewe craft and Marchaundise
Wel wynnen he may,
But Robbe na to reue
Nouber niht ne dav.
Mony on wip falymesse
And wip õker also
Hap so muche good
bat he not wher hit do;
bat may ben here his heucne.
At his endeynge
In to be put of helle
Sone hit wolde hyn bringe.
3if Mon hab any Bing
Bi ñete wip trewenesse
Of worldly good
More ober lesse,
Tac to his nedfulnesse
ber of what he wil;
And do to holi chirche
bat riht wolde and skile:
Of al bat neweb him be ñere
Do his tibingc,
525 And foure tvme in be 3ere
3if his Offringe;
be pore schal he helpe
Also, bat hap mede,
3if hem mete and drinke
And clope hem wip wede.
Mose vol not tibe
bat god his hab I lent,
His lyf and his soule
Bobe schul be scheat;
530 He schal for be synne
Hauc Godes curs,
And eke alle his goodes
Schul fare wel be wør;
His godes schuler at falle
And faste a wev go,
And for bat ilke synne
Mony on hauew wo.
bat is in tonne and folde
Seene, sikerli,
535 bat fewe aren ir londæ
bat liuen rihtfuli:
be eorbe 3eldeb not fruit
As hit wont was,
Of Corn of be feld
Me of po medewe Gras,
Ne non ober cunne fruit
be folk for to frore.
I wis, hit is for synne
bat mony Mon is more.
540 Hauç þou neuer so muche
Of worldes good here,
Al schal passen a wey
As fantum hit were.
ffor to hauæ bin herte
To muche ber Inne,
Of þi mo to make þi god
Hit is dedly synne.
And 3it, ar þow war be
ffrom be wol hit fare,
545 þegne schalt þou hauæ berfore
Bobë serve and care,
And 3it at bin ende
Gret stryf in cas,
And pruote be out
Of al þat bin was.
þin Excuteurs schultake
þi goodes at hoore wine
And lete þi soule ligge
In ync ful stille.

Beo pou in bi put i brouüt
Wormes schul eten be,
And some schult bou be for beten
Siker mayst bou be.

Perfore I rede, as Salamon his sone bad,
Pat wche Mon skilluli of his god mak him glad,
Mete and drynke and clop
Catel and ober byne

Pat needful is to haue
Wip outer wastvng;
Be pore schal he helne
Wher pat is rede,
Of pat god hap his sent
Don his Almes de,de,
3if him mete and dryrck
And clobe him wip weco.
In al bi werkset, be be syker
Be better schalt bou speede;

3if him of bi Cupue
Of pat is bcr in,
Water to dryrke
Ale ober Wyn;
And 3if he hab nece
Clephe him be neer
And make him sitte and warme him
Bi byn hote fuyr.
Bedde hym esvliche
3if bat he seek he,

And servse him wel, for his loue
Bat al hab 3euer be.
Worldes wele is wonderfull
Wel may I seyr,
Lyk he se pat floweb
And ebbep a seyr;
Per hys no sikernesse
In his worldes won,
No mon not whon hit wolc
A wei from him g0n,

Ne how longe hit wol last
Ne how luytel while;
3ulke bat hit loueb most
Ofte hit dop hem gyle.
Ne pat loueb catel wel
And bounden is in Couetyse,
Ne schal hen I bounden
In breo kynne wyse:

Bouūt and drede are be two
Pat schul bynden hym faste,

Be priddle is muche serwe
bat evermore schal laste.
Ofte for his catel
Mon moote wake of slepe,
Trauaylen in reyn and in snowh
Beo he wyjes neuer so depe,
ffrom toune to toune
Bope for and neer,
As Chanmer mote don
To heore mestecer.

580
Ouer be salte see ofte poi fare
ffor heor Marchaundise, in great peril and care,
And ofte and mony a tyme
heore Catel and heore lyf
And makeb vucl to fare
Bobe Chylde and Wyl.
Ober Men dyke and belue
And gon to be plouh,
To Cart and to preschynpe
And obur swynk I nouh.
Whon he wip his swynk
Hap wonne gret be 3ete,
Euere he is afert
bat he schal hit forleete;
And 3if he hit leten schal
Hym is wo perfere,
And is so sori benne
bat euer was he bore.

590
boult and drede and sorinesse
Aren Monnes fo.
He ou3te neuere loue
bing bat dob hym so wo.
3if he loose eny bing
And he gret good con,
Beo henk hym of Job
bat was a good mon.
He hedde of alle richesses
Swibe muche won

595
And in a luvtel while
He nedde riht now;
ypo he hedde riht nou3t
But al was a go,
Ne seide he for his harm
Enes 'he is wo,'
But louede God wel
And þurkeðe hym bon
(He duðe as be wyse
So schulde eueri mon).

600
Molde he not for his los
Noping sori he,
'God,' he seide, 'hit me 3af
And bi raft hit me;'
Ne quyched he nouȝt, but bokeð gode miste(n)
And seide 'blesset be his name, in watter and
in londe.'"

Be wikked gest onsverde bon
And seide þat he was a folteð mon.
"þou spokest of Lecherie
And of fewe wordes makest monve;
þe fãlse wordes wolt þou leene and here hem aðali
þou röst what þou menest, i sigge be sikerli!

Of luytel wit hastou Mynde;
Ne mot a Mon don his kynde?
Hit was ordeyned beþw Godes bidding
At þe worldes be gymnyng.
Beo bi tale wæst woldest hit bringe
Al to gedere in to spousynge
Or elles leue bat gæme,
þat me nedde of God blame.
Whose aftur bi counsêl dou,
Repente him schal, I seï for sôb:

He bat taketh þum to spousynge,
Mai not lyuen for no þing,
Bote holden he mot to his wyf
And ben in Guntœk and in stryf.
Betere him were dihte and go,
ffor weddyna is þe londe woe,
Whon he hab a wyf I take,
He mai hire nouȝt forsake;
He þat hab a schreue to wyue,
Of vche a day him pinkeþ ynde;

ffor vche Mûrbe he schal misse
And euer he serue and neuer blisse,
þer anober mai leue and take
Wher he wolde, and eke forsake;
Lihtliche and glad may he go,

Whon he þat is bounden schal be ful woe,
And be liht and Jolyf
More ben on þat hab a wyf.
ffor bi I rede þat mon do so
And lete weddynge a wyf go."

þe goode Mon wel understod
þat his counsêl was not good.
"He is a þol and nobing wyv
þat folæwen bi hæd;
þe Mon þat folæwen his flessches lust
His soule schal be ðed.
But 3if he do kuynedly
And wip spoused ferre,

In helle he schal a benen
His flessches lyking here.
per beop borw godes laven
Ten Comaundemens,
pat vche mon ouste kepe
Elles he breked his defens.
Spous bruche, forsoke
Is be orettest of alle.
po pat aren I weddet, kep hem wel
bat bei her Inne ne falle;
He bat wol folowen his flessches lust
And be lave broke,
Ne binke him no wonder benne
hans god on hym a wroke.
Mon in Godes lave
Mai wel have a Make,
To do wib hire his wille
ffor childishynyng sake,
And loven ciber ober
Whon tyme is and leue,
655 And holde hem wel to geder
As Adam ane and Eue.
But hit beo in weallac
In alle wyse lef pat game
And live in chastite
And he wib cuten blame!
Gret schome hit is and synne
I swere be be heuenne,
To spende pi tyue witteres
In eny of be synnes seuen,
660 pat God be hab I Ziuen
And pine lymes alle,
ffor to kepe be wip
In synne bat bou ne falle.
A foul chaunge hit is, forsope
And a gret vuel,
To chaunge heuene for helle
And God for be deuel;
665 pat dosto, as ofte as bou syngest deel
And breked godys comaundemens and dost a gret foli.
be deuele bral bou be comest
Whon bou dosto bi niht.
To foule bi cleere soule
Bi god or be niht
Niht and day he studeb
And casteb his synne
How he may bi alle wyces
A wommons love wynne;
670 Nil he neuer sturten
He swrop his op,
Ar he haue his wille i don
Be god neuer so wrop.
And heo wol have him, heo seip
Euermore to dwelle,
Fader þen heo hym for go
Ben in be put of helo.
But wusten heo what hit were
be letzte pyne þer Inne,
ffor al þe good in corpe
þei holde don dealy synne!
ffor þei holde not be war
Er þei come þarco,
In pyne schul bei euor be
In serce and in car.
þo þat aren code
LIuen in muche wynne;
þe code con a Godeshalf
þe deuclis lines to synne.
Whon þei comen to gader
Riber on ober wynkeb;
þat þei ne hedde heor synne i do
Lone þer to hom binkep.
Whon þei sco heorc tyme
Wol þei not longe dwelle,
Bote þei do be code
bat echeb þe fuir of helo.
þe fuir þat is in helo
Is euer brennynge,
þe synful wrecche soules
þer Inne pynynge;
þe Mo þat are þer Inne
þe hattore is þe lye,
And þe pyne hardcore
þat þe soules ðrve.
Heo beob grete folos
ffor sobe I siuge, I wis,
þat makeþ þe pyne more
And hattore ben hit is.
þulke þat brekeþ godes vord
bore heor hedly synne,
þei lihten be fuir
þat þei schulen brennen Inne.
Godes Comaundement þei breke
. Al þat dro decherie:
In helo fuir schul þei euor be
þeore pynynge to drie."
þe wikked cost answereþe þo
And seide þat hit was not so.
"So þou seist as falsþe men do:
þat Sleæbþ is synne, and is not so.
Men mot haue, 3if þei may,
Ese and reste, aist and day,
In Bedde, in Mete heo al at his ese
And mak be bodi euer wel at ese. 
After bi deb wost bou not what,
What bou schalt haue, peynk wel on pat!
While bou mist, make he glad and muri!

Lengor lineb a glad mon ben a sorri.
Al knowe I wel bi resun
And what be tokneb bi lessun:
ffor Men scholde to chirche gonge,
To here Matins, Lasse, and Evensonge.

Hear pater nostro to signe, fue Marie, and Crede,
And ete of prestes holy brede.
What, wenest bou for such ping
bi soule in to heuene bring?
Ho bi gon furst to worche,
And whi was maad, holichirche?
Of Prestes couetise hit was biounht
bat chirche was furst I wrouht,
ffor he wolde haue offryng
And lijue bi outro tennes bing.

He wolue a Morwe belle rynge,
And benne wol he Matynys synne;
And 3if ber luite folk comeb berto,
He wol hide taste and have I do;
And 3if ber suche folk come, I sigge he,

He wol make gret solempnite:
Reuesten him benne wolue he vel
Wip riche pal and sendel,
He wol don on his canter cope
And gon as he were a Pope;

Siben he wolue wip springel stikke
Siuen holy water a bouten pikke,
And symen loude wip schil pære,
And seib hit is be soule note
bat be prest seib and dop,

be folk wenene bat hit he sob;
Bi fore his Auter he wol stonden
And holde vp an hei3 robe his honden,
Pe wol syrve mony a brewe,
Sum time heise and sum time lowe,

He wolue him turne and take good hede
3if eny mon him bringe made.
3if muche folk come and bringe
Offringe faste him to brynge,
He wolue anende faste his song:

bat tyne binkel him not long.
And whon beu wolue him no bing brynge,
Lust him no bing for to syrve,
ffaste he hiseb hym to speide
And Siueb hem of his holy brede,
pat is be beste of al his oode,
flor hit help••3 to monres node;
•3au3 hit be luv ••3el, hit turn••3 to code,
flor hit help••3 to monres foode.
When he hap al I do,
He 3ineb heom leue and let hen go;
But ever a mon al opur heode
His ome erende wol he bede,
•3at bei brynge heore offrynge
To Chirche, and heore tubinges.
Wel bou worst bat his is sob:
Al for his owne oode he hit do••3;
Keyeb he nouv of heore comynge,
But 3if bei wole him oni good bringe.
But, 3if beu wolt on eny wyse
At Chirche here bi seruwe,
A tone bou mai3t tul wel abyde
Til he have seid be laste tyme;
And 3it mai3t bou lenoore dwelle
And come be tyme be gospelle;
A tone mai3t bow do good node
And come to be Masse crede;
And 3if be luste ri3t wel slope,
Cum whon he doo of his Masse cope;
And bei3 bou ne come, ne 3it no tale,
Til he halibred be ginne to dale;
•3enne mai3t bou ben al 3are,
And how wib bi nei3ehors fare.""
3If men loue to slepe
Whon be[i] scholde wak[e,]
\[\text{penne schal be soule}
In stude or Jove haue wak[e.}
Monnes lyf his bote schort
Sone wol hit go,
Bote be selv soule
Duyreb ever wo;
be soule schal fare his wev
be hodi schal a byde
And not nou3t of be soule
What hit schal be tyde.
But wel I wot, and sop hit is
After wonnes s[ede],
Whon he is forp fare[n
He schal hauen his me[de];
3if be have loued god
And k[eit his biddyng,
be blisse of heuene schal be haue
Wip outer endynge;
Oupyr in to peyne schal be be brou3t,
3if he have ber aftur wrou3t.
berfore is ned on alle vyse
Men to go to Codes seruyse
And wake be more and slepe be lasse,
To here Matyns, Buxsong, and Masse.
Whon m[e]n han a3ev[. god
In dedly synne falle,
Meo ou3ten for to wepe
And Merci to God calle,
And we[n]der to be prest
Hastiliche and sone
And tellen him in schrit
What synne he hab i done.
A fool he is bat a hyde[n
Env gret stounde,
Til ber come more sor
And cleue to be wounde.
Also hit farep hi synne
I wot wip outer wene,
As dop be be wounde
While hit is newe and grene.
be leche clanesob be wounde
Clene in be ground
And leib salue a houe
And makeb hit hol and sound;
Mon may for a wounde
Or for a luitel sor,
Bote hit be sone I heled
Be worse and wel nor:
3if o sor come to anober
   benne are bet two,
And 3if he longe a byde
   ben wol bet be mo;
820  His owne bone mai hit be
   Longe for to ahnde:
before I rede, soch leche craft
   Soone, what he tyde.
Also hit fareb hi synne
   3if hit I hud is;
Bote hit be to be prest
   Soone I told, I wis,
Hit draweb hem to helle grounde
   And byndub hem to penyes stronge;
825  be hardore beyne schal he haue
   3if he ber Inne liache longe.
be lenoor bat men a byde
   be latere comb be bote;
bei stonde wel be fastore
   Whon bei haue take rote.
830  3au3 Men fallen in. synne
   Gret wonder hit his;
But ligge stille ber Inne
   bat is wonder gret, I wis!
3if bow liqnest in be fui
   And brenneste on eny wyse,
Who is fer to wyte
   bi sel: wolt nou3t arise?
Mynde hab he non
   Of God bat hym wrouhto
And on be hoode tre
   Wip his passion hym bouhte.
Wel hit is I see
   bat bei are ful slove
835  bat to be prest all not
   Heore synnes ben a knowe,
And luyetel bounk bei cunne God
   ffor his gooode servyse,
Whon bei wole not for his louse
   Out of synne aryse.
pinke no mon vonder
   bauh God wip him be wrob
And take vengeaunce on hem
3eo hem never so lop!
840  Schriueb ov be tyne
   ffor lone or fer freer,
ffor God takeb wreche
   Neer or elleswher;
Bi weopub Zoure synnes
   And cri3eb God Merce,
And to alle his werkes  
Beop euere redi!

Whon hit is halyday  
Vche Mon ouhte vip rihte

To heere his seruyse in chirche  
3if he on any wyse mihte,
And not in sleube ligge,  
In bed a tyme abuye

Til be prest haue I seid  
be laste non tyde.

3if bou go at worve  
And Matyns here erliche,
Hit is be soule profyt  
I sigge be sikerliche;

 собой bi flesch grucche  
Lette nouht berfore;
be ofter bow ouercomest hit  
pi Neede schal beo be more.
3if bow herest Matyns and Masse  
And takest haly brede,
To Bodi and to soule  
bow wynnest muchel pode.
After ser e go to be prechynge,  
3if env beo in toune (lette for no byrne),
And pat be preciui prechep  
Vnderstonde hit wel,
And do as he be tacheb  
I rede be, vote a del.
3if þer no prechynge be  
Go visyte pe seke,
Cumforte hem wib bin Almes  
And wib bi wordes Meke.

Aftur, whon þei rynge  
Go to Euensong,
And lette for no campaignye  
bat bow art among;
3if bow do not, for sone  
bou dost be deulese ville,
Whon bow in canalyng and drunkyng  
Dwellest wip hem stille.
Whon Euensong and camplyng bove ben iado,  
Hon to bi souer ben wel mai3t bow co.
I rede bene, ar bow go  
ffulliche in to þi bed,
þonke crist of þat day  
þat bow hast wel I sped;
And 3if þou ou3t hast mis done,  
Aske him merci, I rede, some;

Be tache þi lyf and bi soule  
To God Almihti:
And þenne maiest þou slepe
wel and sikerly.
Whon þow risest vp, bonke god
Inwardliche wib al bi niht;
þat be haf saved from encumberment
Of be sfrere baþ niht;
Be toche al in godes hond
bi preyers and bi deydes,
bi wittes and bi willes
And al þyn ober nedes.
Awise þe in al þi werkes
bow saue be from dedli synne,
And do as I counseyle be
And heuene schalt bou winne.
In what werk, Mon, þat bou be
worche euer trewli,
Or þou schalt haue peine berfore
3if bou worche falsli:
3if bow take here bi fulle huvre
And dost not fulliche bi werk berfore,
In helle or in purgatorie
bi peyne schal be wel be more.
Of what condicion so þou art
Treve in alle þing þou be,
And do so to vche mon
As þou woldest he duke to be;
And loke in al þat bou seist and dost
þat God be euere apayd,
And lef sleupe aþ al ober synnes
As Ich haue I seid!"
þE wikked cost onswerde bon
And seide: "þou art a Mad mon!
þau3 þou voldest now be sinne
And signe þat soltenye were sinne,
Beter be were þi Janglyng lete.
Men scholde dye, 3if þei ne ete,
And boþe bei drinke wel, also;
No Mon mai live wib oter hem two.
To Padde counseil art þou euer 3are,
To ffastynge and to vuel fare.
What good comap of fastyng?
ffeyntysse, Þelnesse, and mon obur bing.
þat maiest bow wel vite be skil.
Whon be fleisch hab Mete and drinke at wil,
þen is he rede to finte and chide
Wib alle boþa pat gon and ride.
Ho mai dure for to swynke,
But 3if he ete wel and drinke.
Hunser makeþ mea þeo bi hynde
In vche a werk, as I fynde.
Gode drinks and notes wel I diht
Are wel I loved, and pat is riht.
3if he beo a stout swyn,
We eteb til hit come vp a3eyn.
Al pauh hit be so pat he caste,
So he mihte, pauh he faste.
Hit nis for no dronkenesse,
But for open soknesse.
Whon he is hele1 of pat sore,
He may ete and drinke more,
And make glad and blibe chere,
Sfor euere is ale and wva good fere.
Et faste and drink wel
And sleep euere a mong:
And penne mayht bow lyue
3eros nonye and long."
be gode Mon, bat in god was stable,
Vnderstol, bat he seide, was fable.
"Wel I wot bat men mote liue
Me Mete and be drynk,
As skile is and resur
And Measure in alle byng.
bei pat liuen as beestes
Aren wib outra lay,
pat erliche eteb and drynkbe
And holdeb on al day.
be beest doh his kynde
And be glotum sune
Doh a3eyn his kynde
bat wol neuer hlynne.
Suche soule glotounes
Doh a 3eyn be lawe.
Ar be wombe be ful
Beo bei never faue;
penne wol bei caiden and fiisten also
Serwe on heore hedes, but bei wol do!
Mete and drynkbe is biuen to mon
As salue to core,
pat neodful is to take beqof
And neuere a del more.
3if bow to muchoe salue
Levst to bi sar,
Hit wol beo bi gap
Tote bow some be war;
So wol hit of Mete end of drinke be:
bi soule born, 3if bow take mon bep meedeb be.
Whon mon hab at meel tymc
Such as he wile,
Tak pat he hab meode of
Be mesure and bi skile,
And parte wip be pore: Of bat is on by bord,
And not in his wombe  
Make al his hord,
Ifor ber is foul tresorie
And al ful of stinke.
Al bat bou takest mor beg neod is
In peyne bou schult of binke.
In pe tox of princotes
Glotons arc Manaseed so:

A3cyn O drauit bei drinke over muche
Bei schul han bro or two
Of hot leid and wailed bras.
Bei schul heo ful wo,
Ffor stykynge brumston and for vich
Bat in heore brotes schal so.
Bus seide bei prest bat god wol take wrecche,
But 3it 3e lene sygne and do as I cv teche.'

bE wikkedede cost, ber he stood,
Wox for wrabbe wel nei3 wood,
Ffor he was over comen and be hynde,
Ffor mo onsweres coube he lot fynde.
Be gode mon penne was a bascht
And lokede on bei wikkedede gast
And seide: "now vot 1, bow art non
Mon mad of flesch and bon;
I understonde wel be pi snelle
Bat bou art be devuel of helle.

I be Comaunde, soule bing,
In be none of heunene kyng,
Bat bow me nopiing drecche,
But bi cum now, soule wrecche,
As foul as bow were

In helle wip bi feere.'
Ne mihte he no lenyryg a byde,
Bote bi com bo also tvde
Ffoul as helle Sathanas,
As Flac as eny rich he was.

How foul he was con I not telle,
But foul he stonk as stinch of helle.
Be gode mon blessed him wip be Crois
And cri3ed on God wip loud vois,
Bi fore, be hynde he blessed him fast,
And Comaundede bat sorl qast
Ffor to weyden
And so he dude bo,
To bat stude bat he com fro.
Pouwer hedde he no lenyryg dwelle,
But vente down rilt in to helle.

Be gode mon wente hom his way,
And servet god wel to pay,
And bonked hit (so ouhte he wel)
pat hit sauede from be del.
Jhesu Crist such grace vs sende
Hym to serve to vre lyues ende.
And kep vs from be synges sevne,
And graunt vs alle pe blisse of heuene!
The Vernon MS. begins in col. 3, f. 288\textsuperscript{v}, preceded by the title, "A dispitisoum bitwene a god man and pe deuel." S illuminated in V.

The poet states his purpose: to teach his readers how to keep away from the Devil's teaching by being "war." He uses a negative exemplum, since one virtue that Good Man lacks is wariness.

Each line of the text is written as two lines, divided at the colon in V.

He went by himself without being afraid because of that.

ffor=so that. Good Man is quickly going home, and is thinking eagerly about the sermon. But his carelessness lays him open to temptation despite his virtues.

The situation here resembles that in the first chapter of the book of Job, and Satan's motive is apparently the same.

Tell me, as now you might thrive.

Good Man's use of the term "beelamy" may be intended ironically by the poet. Literally it means "fair friend," but it may mean rascal or knave, and be used in direct address to enemies or inferiors as an expression of contempt. For example, Chaucer's Host addresses the Pardoner as "Thou beelamy" with what is almost certainly irony. MED, s.v.; The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, ed. F. N. Robinson, 2nd ed. (Boston, 1957), p. 148 (l. 318).

ferren]ferrene; wey ferwng]wei feeryng. The Simeon MS. begins in col. 1, f. 264\textsuperscript{r}.
The Devil's pride expressed in this speech should make Good Man cautious, particularly the last ironic line.

\[\text{wip outen} \text{wip outen; grucchynge} \text{grucching.}\]

\[\text{churchel} \text{chirche.}\]

\[\text{vndoynge} \text{vndoinge.}\]

\[\text{preyse} \text{prese; pelpe.}\]

\[\text{bat} \text{bat; poulpou; noylnow.}\]

\[\text{lewete} \text{leute.}\]

\[\text{maner} \text{naner.}\]

\[\text{I knowe} \text{Iknowe; seilyseye; for \textit{bi}forpp.}\]

\[\text{were} \text{were; wisdam} \text{wisdam}; \text{spac} \text{spak}; \text{foli} \text{folly.}\]

\[\text{bow} \text{bou.}\]

\[\text{fals} \text{false; amende} \text{amende.}\]

\[\text{bauh} \text{souh; bow} \text{now; to me haue} \text{haue to me; trist} \text{trust.}\]

\[\text{better} \text{better.}\]

\[\text{how} \text{houl; comen.}\]

\[\text{also more} \text{more also.}\]

\[\text{schule} \text{schul.}\]

\[\text{goode} \text{gode; mon} \textit{*}. P illuminated in V and S.}\]

Each line of the text is written as two lines, divided at the colon: ll. 57-62 in S., 57-66 in V.

But\textit{*}. End of col. 3, f. 288\textit{v}, at the colon, in V.

\[\text{spac} \text{spak; dedli} \text{deddy.}\]

\[\text{whose} \text{hose; neuere} \text{neuer}; comen in} \text{come to.}\]

\[\text{pruide} \text{pride; furste} \text{firste; Envye} \textit{*}; oper} \text{oper.}\]
This list of the seven deadly sins is based on the Gregorian list, but sloth follows gluttony in the most common Gregorian version. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins*, p. 106.

broper|brobur; béle.

feorpe|ferpe; fyfpe|fifpe.

béle; Sleupe|*; bépe; Seuepe|seuenpe; Glotonye|*.

spac|spak; pride|pride; and|and; lasse|lesse.

fforto|fforte; Buxumnesse|buxumnesse.


worshipen|worshipen; day|dai; and|and.

louen|louen; kunrede|kynrede.

cristene|cristene; skyle|skyle.

bropur|*.

ben|ben; and|of|and.

† illuminated in V and S. Horstmann reads, "be wikked god" and corrects it to "gost," but in fact the MS. already has "gost."

neih|neih wrong.

bote|but; mistest|pou|mihtestou.

him|him.

myschef|mischef.

He|HE. H illuminated in S.

The Devil's remarks in these lines are remarkably like the words of Job's comforters, and his purpose is similar to the advice of Job's wife: "Curse God and die" (Job 2:9). Good Man's answer is an amplification of Job's response, "What? Shall we receive evil?" (Job 2:10).

oper|obur.
The text appears to be a transcription of a medieval manuscript. The transcription indicates that the text is from the Vulgate Bible. The manuscript is illuminated in V and S, as noted in the transcription.

The text discusses the concept of woe being under the control of God, who sent it as a test for Good Man. The manuscript notes that this line suggests God also controls the Devil and that He is permitting him to test Good Man.

The manuscript also includes a note that the word "wreke" is emended to "reke." Additionally, it notes that in which I sinned against God's will. End of col. 1, f. 264r in S.
beþþbeþþ. Þ illuminated in S.
Seide]so said.
ouþe]joute; miþte]mihte. Horstmann emends "miþte" to "mahte."
iþte]ihte. Horstmann emends "iþte" to "ahte."
furste]firste; wrouþe]wrouhte.
Rode]*. End of col. 1, f. 289r in V. Diagonal marginal lines (indicating an initial letter to be illuminated) in V.
wip]with; and]and; wid]wip.
ouþe]joute; and]and.
Þ illuminated in S.
Lete]Let.
disputyng]dispuityng.
obur]obur.
hyde]huide. Horstmann emends to "hede."
Clearly, that is the meaning, but the rhyme demands "hyde" MED gives "hide" as a variation of "hede." OE ð was written ð or ui/uy in West Midland and South-West, according to Fernand Mossé, A Handbook of Middle English (Baltimore, 1952), p. 23 (OE, "gehygd"). "Taken hide" means to take notice of, or pay attention to.

riþte]rihte; þou]þou.
beþþbeþþ; bat]bat.
Boxumnesse]Buxumnesse.
seke]seke.
spék]spék.
Horstmann corrects "wreke" to "reke."
"Reke" could mean either smoke or go. Neither seems helpful here. The line seems to mean that men will seek out those with power for friends and ask these powerful friends to revenge their wrongs, a kind of miniature feudal system, in fact.

\[\text{147 nout} \text{t not.}\]
\[\text{149 pruide} \text{ pride. I illuminated in S.}\]
\[\text{150 porw} \text{ porw.}\]
\[\text{151 witen} \text{ I witen.}\]
\[\text{152 pou} \text{ pou.}\]
\[\text{153 pou} \text{ pou.}\]
\[\text{155 pat} \text{ pat; w lou} \text{ w lou.}\]
\[\text{156 inou} \text{ I no u.}\]
\[\text{157 pau} \text{ pau; pou} \text{ pou.}\]
\[\text{158 pat} \text{ pat; be} \text{ beo.}\]
\[\text{159 evenyng} \text{ equal, peer.}\]
\[\text{161 s illuminated in S.}\]
\[\text{166 Horstmann corrects "wreke" to "reke." "Reke" could mean either smoke or go. Neither seems helpful here. The line seems to mean that men will seek out those with power for friends and ask these powerful friends to revenge their wrongs, a kind of miniature feudal system, in fact.}\]
\[\text{167 pou} \text{ pou; may} \text{ t maist.}\]
\[\text{168 and} \text{ and.}\]
\[\text{169 ouer} \text{ ouer; pou} \text{ pou.}\]
\[\text{172 stonde} \text{ stonde.}\]
\[\text{176 pou} \text{ pou; pou} \text{ pou.}\]
\[\text{177 counseyled} \text{ counselled.}\]
\[\text{178 and} \text{ and.}\]
\[\text{179 ffor} \text{ For; pou} \text{ pou. F illuminated in S.}\]
\[\text{180 pat} \text{ pat.}\]
\[\text{181 beo} \text{ bi.}\]
182 schalt þou be]schaltou beo.
184 Lauhwhe]Lauwhe.
186 Mon]*
189 seo]se.
191 Mon vnderstod]mon wel vndurstod. P illuminated in S.
192 þat]þat.
193 pryde]prute.
193-198 Each line of the text is written as two lines, divided at the colon in V.
197 ffurst]Furst; beo þenke]be þenke. F illuminated in S.
198 how]hou; naked]naket.
201 þat]þat.
202 Moder]#; skyn]skin.
203 seye]seie. End of col. 2, f. 289r in V.
204 coruen]coruen; and]and; wosch]wosschen; slym]slim.
205 and]and.
205-206 Job 1:21.
206 End of col. 2, f. 264r in S.
207 wounden]wunden; cloutes]cloutes.
208 forfare]forfare.
209 maner]maner; grik]guik; þing]þing; bat]bat;
       Godes]god.
210 con]con.
him; kyndeliche wede: each animal is born with an appropriate covering (cf. l. 310).

kynde; mist.

kynde; riht.

bute; misti.

beo.

Adam. ¶ illuminated in S.

weren; in; paradys; and.

synne; mist; haue.

i*.

misten; han; wonet; murbe; and; wynne.

driuen; dude.

vuel fare.

middel*.

synne.

peyne; mony; I*.

and.

I greued; with; synne.

ber; in. ¶ illuminated in S.

is no; in.

be gile; fader; moder*.

bat; ouuer.

meint. Nor nothing so merry on earth that does not forecast woe. Horstmann corrects "no murie" to "so murie"; in fact, however, V already reads "so murie."
235 be\(\text{\foreignlanguage{middle-english}{be}}\).
236 penke\(\text{\foreignlanguage{middle-english}{penke}}\); peron\(\text{\foreignlanguage{middle-english}{peron}}\).
237 be\(\text{\foreignlanguage{middle-english}{beo}}\); ping\(\text{\foreignlanguage{middle-english}{ping}}\).
238 oper\(\text{\foreignlanguage{middle-english}{lopur}}\).
239 wendelynne\(\text{\foreignlanguage{middle-english}{wendene henne}}\). \& illuminated in V and S.

240 whenne\(\text{\foreignlanguage{middle-english}{whenne}}\).
241 whodur\(\text{\foreignlanguage{middle-english}{whoder}}\); perf\(\text{\foreignlanguage{middle-english}{fore}}\).
244 certeinliche\(\text{\foreignlanguage{middle-english}{certeynliche}}\); fle\(\text{\foreignlanguage{middle-english}{ble}}\).
245 mil\(\text{\foreignlanguage{middle-english}{my}}\).
246 hedde\(\text{\foreignlanguage{middle-english}{had}}\).
247 seleus\(\text{\foreignlanguage{middle-english}{seluh}}\).

247-252 Presumably these lines are what Utley referred to as "grisly physiological details."

248 dwynen\(\text{\foreignlanguage{middle-english}{dwynen}}\). I can find no meaning for "drex."

249 es\(\text{\foreignlanguage{middle-english}{\text{\foreignlanguage{modern}{en}}}}\).
250 white\(\text{\foreignlanguage{middle-english}{whyte}}\).
251 hondes\(\text{\foreignlanguage{middle-english}{hondes}}\); fingres\(\text{\foreignlanguage{middle-english}{ffyngres}}\).
252 and\(\text{\foreignlanguage{middle-english}{\text{\foreignlanguage{modern}{and}}}}\).
253 striuyn\(\text{\foreignlanguage{middle-english}{struyng}}\).
254 puyte\(\text{\foreignlanguage{middle-english}{puite}}\).
255 pulke\(\text{\foreignlanguage{middle-english}{pilke}}\).
256 her\(\text{\foreignlanguage{middle-english}{\text{\foreignlanguage{modern}{heore}}}}\); bonkes\(\text{\foreignlanguage{middle-english}{\text{\foreignlanguage{modern}{bonkes}}}}\).
257 frendes\(\text{\foreignlanguage{middle-english}{\text{\foreignlanguage{modern}{ffrendes}}}}\). A illuminated in S.
258 don\(\text{\foreignlanguage{middle-english}{\text{\foreignlanguage{modern}{don}}}}\).
259 weore\(\text{\foreignlanguage{middle-english}{\text{\foreignlanguage{modern}{were}}}}\); graue\(\text{\foreignlanguage{middle-english}{\text{\foreignlanguage{modern}{graue}}}}\).
Luite]Luyte; be dai]bi day; be nist]bi niht.
neuere]neuer.
and]and; perted]parted.
im]my; henne]henne.
pride]pruide.

Vtterde]Vitred. There may be some connection here to "vitremyte," an obscure word apparently referring to a type of woman's cap: Francis H. Stratmann, A Middle English Dictionary (Oxford, 1891), s.v. The line, however, does not refer particularly to women. The simpler form in V seems to be correct: "ut" and "erde" meaning outlandish or foreign.

vile]fyle; pride]pruide.
struye]strie; godes]godes; per wip]per with; torne]tune.

Each line of the text is written as two lines, divided at the colon in V.

pat]pat; mihte]miste; sely]seli.
non]no mon. N illuminated in S.
but he]but if he.

The familiar medieval attack on fashions. "Cappe" must mean cloak, rather than cap; otherwise the next line is nonsense. Lines 278-280 describe the horned headdress popular in the late fourteenth century.

I honget]y; bi]by; his]hys.

and]and; pride]pride.


Each line of the text is written as two lines, divided at the colon in V.
Each line of the text is written as two lines, divided at the colon in V.

End of col. 3, f. 264r in S.
and]and. Þ illuminated in S.
be]beo; gode][goode.
and]and.
how]how; vre[vre.
cop]copes. Paragraph mark in S.
bat]bat I; beo]beo; gode][goode; and]and.
bat]bat.
feere]feere.
miste][mihte; beo]beon.
seise]seise; neiper]neiper.
penne]penne; mist]miste.
penne]pen; louen][louen; him]him.
kynde]kynde; Robes]Robes; beo]beo.
weore]weore; wip]wip.
liggen]liggen; and]and.
in]in.
beo]beo; and]and.
Þ illuminated in V and S.
anoper]opur.
and]and; seyst]seyst.
and]and.
sum]sum; bat]bat.
seost]seost; a nopur][an opur.
beo]beo; wisor]wysur; bou]bou.
richor]richor; beo]beo.
325f  Line found in S, not in V: "põn pôw be bi an hundred fold."

326  þau3|þauh; þinj|þin; herte|herte; be wo|beo ful wo.

326-327  Each line of the text is written as two lines, divided at the colon in S; written as one line in V.

327  and|and; of þinke|for þinke; þat|pat.

328  who mihte|Ho mihte þenne.

329  mísjt|mínt; þouþou; þenneþenne.

330  vuel|uel; þe likeþenne þe lyke.

331  þat|pat; þouþow. Each line of the text is written as two lines, divided at the colon in V; written as one line in S.

332  Mon|*; vnderstod|vndurstod. Þ illuminated in V and S.

333  þat þat|pat; topur|tober.

334  Aftur|After; counseil|counsel.

335  prest|preost.

336  mon|mon; good|god; þat|pat. Each line of the text is written as two lines, divided at the colon in V; written as one line in S. An interesting error found in both V and S: "wolde" should be "nolde."

338  þunchep|þunchep.

338-341  Each line of the text is written as two lines, divided at the colon in V and S.

339  goodes|goodes; is|hit is.

340  Paragraph mark in S. Horstmann emends "whon" to "whom."

341  sendæb|sendæb.

342  scholde|schulde. Paragraph mark in S. End of col. 1, f. 289v in V.
343
neuer\textit{neuer.}

344
G illuminated in S.

344-351
Each line of the text is written as two lines, divided at the colon in V.

345
\[\text{siuep}\text{[si\textbf{p}: auhte]\text{au\textbf{st}e; I lyche]\text{[iliche}.}\]

346
\[\text{whon}\text{[whon}; \text{siuen}\text{[seuen}; \text{bing}[\text{bing}; \text{Ichaue]}\]
I haue.

347
\[\text{mon}\text{[mon}; \text{paid}\text{[payd}.\]

348
\[\text{operes}\text{[operes}.\]

349
\[\text{mispayes}\text{[mispayes}.\]

351
\[\text{whosel}[\text{hose}; \text{envye]\text{[envie}; \text{\textbf{b}er[\text{ber}.}\]

352
false]\text{false. \textbf{b} illuminated in V and S.}\]

353
\[\text{nomore}\text{[no more}.\]

354
\[\text{bou}\text{[bow}.\]

360
\[\text{ober}[\text{opur}.\]

361
\[\text{most \textbf{b}u \textbf{b}enne \textbf{nedes}[\text{mostou \textbf{b}enne \textbf{needes}.}\]

362
\[\text{Mon}[\text{x}; \text{de\textbf{p}\text{[deep}.}\]

363
\[\text{\textbf{z}if \textbf{bou}\text{[beis bow}.\]

364
\[\text{nist}\text{[niht}. \textbf{A} illuminated in S.\]

365
\[\text{Quit him}[\text{Quyt hit him}.\]

366
\[\text{boul}[\text{pou}.\]

367
\[\text{boul}[\text{pow}; \text{him}[\text{him}.\]

368
\[\text{boul}[\text{pow}.\]

370
\[0][\text{x}.\]

371
\[\text{him}[\text{him}.\]

372
\[\text{baldeliche}\text{[boldeli}. \text{S originally had "bolde-lich\textit{e}" but the "-che" has been erased}.\]
mis]mys; hym]him; schomefulliche]schomefulli. S originally had "schomefulliche" but the "-che" has been erased.

mis]mys; dept]deep.

byn hond]bi fust; tep]teep.

Knyf]wīb knyf; Ston]. End of col. 1, f. 26U in S.

Lei]Ley.
bet]bete.
tep]teep.

sif]if; or of miht heis]and hardy.

tak]tak; by]bi.

hardiloker maist pou]baldeloker pou maist.

sech]seche; be]bi.

grunde sone pou]grunde soone pow; bryng]bring.

perfore]perfore.

opere]opure.

pou]pow.

That before would speak evil of thee in they bed (?)..

pennen miist pou]penne miht pow; sker]skeer.
pou]pow.

Mon]x; understand]undurstod. P illuminated in V and S.
counseil]couseil.
400ff  Each line of the text is written as two lines, divided at the colon in V (ll. 400-426) and S (400-
445).

401  þees]þes; fful hastiliche]hastiliche.


402  crede]*.

403  þyngel]pinge.

404  Mon]*; hym|him.

406  vuel]euel. End of col. 2, f. 289v, at the colon in V.

408  mengep]meengep. W illuminated in S.

410  tornep]turnep. Horstmann emends "he," meaning wrath, to "hit." Diagonal marginal lines in V.

411  Men]*.

412  wounde]wounde. Diagonal marginal lines in V.

413  þei]þey.

414  Aftur|After.

416  tepinge]typinge.

417  synne]sunne; bryngelbringe.

418  him schilde]hym schilde. Horstmann queries "hyde?" for the sake of rhyme. He is probably right, but it is interesting that both mss have "shield."

421  be]beo; Mended]mendet.

422  riııftul]riııftul.

423  foles]ffoles.

424  set]I set.

425  pat]pat.

426  sit|It; obur]obur. S illuminated in S. Written as one line in V, two in S.
427 brob]broper; þingþing. Written as one line in V, two in S.
428 þenþenne.
428-445 Each line of the text is written as two lines, divided at the colon in V.
433 cunne]conne.
434 Horstmann wishes to insert "bid" before "for siven"; the sense here is not forgiven, but to give up, or forego. MED quotes Crm: "þu forrisifesst tuss pin wrappe..."
435 connen]cunnen; þonkþonk. End of col. 2, f. 264v in S.
436 Bi fore weren]By foren weore.
437 þenne]þenne.
438 þat þei cunne]þat þey cunne.
440 writen]wryten. Written as two lines in S.
441 castel]#; þat]þat; Moub]#. Written as two lines in S. Cited by Bartlett J. Whiting, Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases from English Writings Mainly before 1500 (Cambridge, Mass., 1968) as a proverb, but this location is the only one given.
442 þ illuminated in V and S.
444 þat]þat.
445 miht]mihte.
446 hou mi3te]how mihte; ey]eny. "ey" should be "eny" in V.
447 Be]Beo.
448 riche Mon]Riche mon.
449 wys]wis.
452 pris]prys.
453 his]hys. End of col. 3, f. 289v in V.
him]him.
wynne]winne.
purueye]purueye.
3 illuminated in S.
þou]pow.
godes]godes.
þou]pow.
quyntise]gweyntise; wip]with.
nou3t]not. S illuminated in S. Interestingly, Good Man gives similar advice in the section on Sloth, but for different reasons. See ll. 790ff.
win]winn; þou]pow.
wey]wei; weonlete]weinileete.
þou]pow.
Tac]tak; lef]leue.
þou5]pauh.
þau5]pau5; Mon]*.
per]per.
neuere]neuer; be]fare.
Tac]tak; tybinge]tipinge. T illuminated in S.
þou mîst]þow miht.
bi gonne]bi gunne.
þ illuminated in S.
coueýtous]couetous.
weis]wey; nou3t]not; brynge]bringe.
wole]wol.
heor]heore; bi3ete]biseete.
505 let[e]lete.
506 neer]nerre.
507 neuer]neuer.
508 mon]mon; vnderstod]vndurstod. \( \phi \) illuminated in V and S.
509 bat]bat.
510ff Each line of the text is written as two lines, divided at the colon in V (ll. 510-517) and S (ll. 510-551).
511 on]in; biddyng]biddynge.
512 whose]hose.
513 wip]with; and]end; treupe]troupe; outen]outen.
514 wip]with; Marchaundise]marchaundyse; wynnen]winnen. End of col. 3; f. 26iv in S.
516 mony]moni.
517 bat]bat.
518 bat]bat; may]mai; ben]ben.
519 hym]him.
520 bing]bing; wip]with.
521 oper]opur. End of col. 1, f. 289r in S.
522 Tac]tak; ber]ber.
524 pat]pat; him]him; be]be.
525 tyme]tymes; in]in; Offringe]offrynge.
528 bat]bat.
530 Gondes (scribal error)]godes; curs]cors. The Good Man does not respond to the Devil's contempt for a priest's curse (ll. 484-485) but instead
threatens him with God's curse. He suggests, too, that someone who does not please God by tithing and sharing his wealth with the poor will soon be poor himself.

531  goodes][godes; be][be.

532  godes][godus; schullen][schullen; at falle][falle;
a wey][awei. An indecipherable erasure precedes "falle" in S.

533  pat][pat; Mony][moni; haue][hap.

534  pat][pat; in toune][in toun; felde][feld;
seene sikerli][I sene sikerly.

535  pat][pat; aren][aren; in][in.

536  eorbe][erbe. P illuminated in S.

537  Corn][*; pe][be; Medewe][*; Gras][*.

538  non oper][non obur; for to][forte.

539  synne][synne; pat][pat; mony Mon][moni mon.

540  bou][bou; neuer][neuer.

541  a wey][awei.

542  ffor to][fforte; Inne][*.

543  mok][*; synne][sinne.

544  bow][bou; ffrom][from.

545  schalt bou][schaltou; þerfore][þerfore;
and][and.

546  stryf][strif.


549  stille][ille.

550  beo þou][beou; i brou[st][broust; wormes][wormes;
sten][lete.

551  schalt bou][schaltou; for seten][for seten;
mayst bou][maistou. 
These lines seem to refer to no specific verses, although they catch the spirit of some in Proverbs, e.g. 14:31, 15:15, 22:2, 9.

These lines seem to refer to no specific verses, although they catch the spirit of some in Proverbs, e.g. 14:31, 15:15, 22:2, 9.

Mon[mon; god]good; him]him.

drynke]drinke; ober byn]obur bing.

Each line of the text is written as two lines, divided at the colon in V.

pat]pat; nedful]neodful; wib]with.

pat]pat; nedelneode.


syker]siker; be]be; better]beter; schalt bou]schaltou. Horstmann emends "be" to "bou."

him]him.


neode]neode; him]him. End of col. 2, f. 290r in V.

him]him; byn]bin; fuyr]fuir.

hym]him; esyliche]esiliche.

bat]bat.

worldes]worldes; wonderful]wondurful. W illuminated in S.

se]se; pat]pat.

from]from.

how]hou; longe]longe; wol last how]wole laste hou.

bat]bat.
572 pat|pat; bounden|bounden; in|in; Couetysel|*.
Diagonal marginal lines in V.

573 I bounden|I bounden; þoo kynnel|pre kunne.

574 þoust|þouht; pat|pat; bynden hym|binden him.

575 serwe|serve; pat euermore|pat euermore.

576 Mon moot|men mot.

576-577 Diagonal marginal lines in V.

577 Trauaylen in reyn|trauailen in rein; in snowh|in snou;
beo pe weyes neuer|be pë weies neuer.

578 from|from; neer|ner.

579 Chapmen|chapmen; don|don; mesteer|mester.

580 Ouer|ouer; see|se. Horstmann reads "séé."

581 gret|gret.

582 mony a tymemoni time; heore Catel and heore|her catel and here. Horstmann emends the first
"heore" to "LEASE." 

583 makep vuel|maken euel; Chyld|*; Wyf|*.

583-601 Each line of the text is written as two lines,
divided at the colon in V.

584 Opera Men dykelopur men dike. O illuminated
in S.

585 Cart|*; preschynge|presschinge; and opur|and
opur.

586 wip|with; swynk|swink; wonne|wonne; be|bi.

587 euere|euer; afert|aferd; pat|bat; schel hit|hit schal.

588 leten|leton; hym|him.

589 solom. þennel|penne; was he bore|he was I bore.

590 sorinesse|sorines; Monnes|*.

591 neuere|neuer; þing pat|þing pat.
592 leose] lese. Paragraph mark in S.
594 alle] al.
595 in] in; luytel] luite.
596 riht] riht. Þ illuminated in S.
597 me is] is Me.
598 þonked hym] þonked him. Horstmann substitutes "praised" for "lovede."
599 eueri] eueri.
600 not] om.
601 and] and.
602 noust] not. Þ illuminated in V and S.
604 Þ illuminated in V and S.
605 þat] om.
606 þow] þow; spekest] spekest he seide; Lecherie]*. End of col. 3, f. 290r in V.
608 ffalse wordes wolt þu leue and] ffals wordes woltou leue and.
609 sikerli] sikerly.
611 Mon] *; kynde] kuynde.
612 ordeynd] ordeynt; Godes]*. Gen. 1:28.
613 be] bi.
614 þow] þow.
615 al to] alto; in]*.
God].
whose]hose; counsel]counsel.

hym]him.

mai]may. Horstmann suggests "fre" for "for."
bote]but.

nou]t]not.

alom.

Muirbe]*.

euere]euere; neuer]neuer.

lihtliche]lihtli; glad may]gladli mai. The scribe has erased "-che" from "lihtli" and "gladli" in S.

pat]pat.

and bai]and he may beo.

a weyjawei.

goode Mon]gode mon; vnderstod]vndurstod.

illuminated in V and S.

Each line of the text is written as two lines, divided at the colon in V and S.

pat]pat; be]beo.

flessches]fflesches.

ou]te]oute.

bruche]*; grettest]gretteste. S illuminated in S.

pat are I wedded]pat are wedden; he]hem.

folewen]folewen; flessches]flesches.


mai]may.
654 oberjobur.
656 wedlac]wedlak; ūat]ūat.
657 lyue]lyue; chastite]#; wip]with.
658 synne]sinne; be]bi. G illuminated in S.
659 synnes]sinnes.
662 foul chaunge]foul chaunge; vuell]euel. A illuminated in S.
663 End of col. 1, f. 290v in V.
665 godus]#; and]and; foli]folly.
667 Horstmann first pointed out that some verses were omitted following this line in V.
667-668 The sudden shift here from "pu" to "he" is probably due to the missing lines, but see l. 939 for a similar shift.
668 gynne]ginne.
669 may]mai; wynne]winne.
670 ūp]oth.
672 him]him; euermore]euermore. Paragraph mark in S.
673 hym]him. Horstmann omits "Ben," but he has misunderstood the meaning. The woman says that rather than give him up, she will have him be in the pit of hell to dwell forever.
674 pyne]peyne. Paragraph mark in S.
675 don]do.
676 bel beo; comme]come.
aren gode| are goode; wynne|winne. ¶ illuminate|inated in S.

goed|good; Godeshalf|godeshalwe; limes|lymes; synne|sinne. deuele|les=followers or agents of the devil.

pei ne hedde heor|bey nedde heore.

Paragraph mark in S.

Bote|But.

fuir|ffuir; Brennyngel|brennynge. ¶ illuminate|inated in S.

synful|sinful; pynynge|pyninge.

Mo|*; lyel|lyse.

Paragraph mark in S.

heor|heore. Paragraph mark in S.

brennen|brennen.

Paragraph mark in S.

wikkede|wikked; onswerede|onswerede. ¶ illuminate|inated in V and S.

synne|sinne.

Men: Horstmann queries "Mon?" but "Men" agrees with the first following pronoun, "pei."

Mete|*.

euer|eure|; at ese|atese.

after|aftur; pou|bou.

pou|bou; benk|benk.

mist|miht.

A variation on the old theme which is even supported by Biblical teachings, Eccles. 3:12-13; 9:7. It has the ring of a proverbial saying, but I have been unable to locate any other reference
to it. The Devil quotes Scripture for his own purposes.

The Devil here expresses fairly typical medieval anticlericalism. He touches on the question of whether one who stood outside a crowded church was yet "morally present" at the Mass.

Euenesongs|euensonge.

prestes holy|preostes holi.

wenest þou|wenestou.

H illuminated in S.

mad|mad; holichirche|holychurche. End of col. 2, f. 290v in V.

couetise|couetyse.

offryng|offring.

obur|obur.

Paragraph mark in S.

þenne|penne.

luite|luyte.

hise|hyse.

Diagonal marginal lines in V.

him|hym; þenne|penne.

canter cope|cantel Cope. Diagonal marginal lines in V.

Pope|*.

wiþ|wiþ. Diagonal marginal lines in V.

holy|hali.
wip[with]. Diagonal marginal lines in V.

sum time]sum tyne; and sum time]and sum tyne.

and]and.

Mon]*.

bringe]brynge. * illuminated in S.

brynge]bringe.


Lust]Luste; ping]ping.

hym]him; sped]speede.

pau[pauh; be]beo.

Monnes foode]monnes fode.

hap]hap þenne.

heom]hem.

B illuminated in S.

bede]beode.

brynge]bringe; offrynes]offringes.

Chirche]churche; tybinges]tibinges.

owne]oune.

nou]not.

him eni]him eny; bringe]bringe.


Chirche]*.

þou mai]þou mayht.

þou[þou.


ri]riht.
193

774  þeiþþei.
776  þouþþou.
778  goode Monþgode mon; vnderstodþvndurstod. 
    þ illuminated in V and S.
779  techynge] techyng.
780  þouþþou; nouþþoúht; þow mistestþþou mihtest.

780-799 Each line of the text is written as two lines, 
divided at the colon in V and S.
782  reste]þ; muri]þ; wymmenne] wymmenne.
783  brynge] bringe; wenden] weenden.
784  bodi]þ; beþþeop; euere] euer. The idea of the 
    antipathy between body and soul here expressed by 
    Good Man is derived from the Greek philosophers 
    rather than Hebrew teachings. Bloomfield, Seven 
    Deadly Sins.
786  þouþþou. End of col. 3, f. 290v in V.
787  þowþþou.
788  Aftur] After. A illuminated in S.
789  euere] euere.
790  slepe] sleepe; scholden] scholden.
792  sone] soone.
793  Bote] But; Duyrep] duirep.
794  faren] faren.
796  monnes dede] Monnes deede. B illuminated in S.
797  mede] meede.
800  ouþur] ouþur; beþþeoe.
801  aftur] after.
802  þerfore] þerfore; ned] neod.
806  synnelsinne. W illuminated in S.
806-853  Each line of the text is written as two lines, divided at the colon in V.

808  wenden]weenden.
809  schrif]script.
810  fool]ffool.
811  wounde]wounde.
812  In the margin of V is written  $\pi$. A illuminated in S.
813  be]bi; grene]greene.
813-823  The poet uses two analogies to medicine: this one comparing a fresh wound to a recently committed sin, and one in 11. 932ff arguing that too much food like too much medicinal salve will kill you.
815  sound]sound.
816  may]mai; sor]sore. Paragraph mark in S.
817  be sone]beo soone; Be]Beo.
818  come]comep.
820  owne]joune; mai]may. Paragraph mark in S.
821  perfor]perfore.
823  Bote]But; be]beo.
824  Paragraph mark in S.
825  Paragraph mark in S. This line in S is followed by "perfore is good pat he craue Godes Merci to vndurfenge."
826  lengor]lengore. Paragraph mark in S.
828  bau3]beih; Men]. Paragraph mark in S. End of col. 1, f. 291* in V.
829  pat is wonder gret, I wis]fforsope gret wonder hit is.
The Middle Ages did not make use of confessional s. Instead, a sinner simply knelt before the priest somewhere in the chancel and usually with a line of waiting penitents nearby. M. Deanesly, A History of the Medieval Church, 590-1500 (London, 1928), p. 206.

Paragraph mark in S.

nil\nyl.

luytel\luitel; goode\gode. Paragraph mark in S.

wib\with. Paragraph mark in S. Horstmann emends "him" to "hem," the word which is used twice in the following line. MED gives both forms as possible variants.

or\and; feer\fer.

God\*.

Bi weo\pe\BI we\pe\pe. B illuminated in S.

euere\leuer.

Mon ouhte wib\mon ou\ste with. Paragraph mark in S.

halyday: Mass was said every day, but people who were not nobility would normally attend only on Sundays and feast days, taking communion usually only at Easter. Before the fifteenth century, laypeople were supposed to go to nine o'clock Sunday Mass only; in fifteenth-century devotional manuals, they were urged also to attend matins and compline. Deanesly, History of Medieval Church, p. 206.

heere\here; seruyse in\seruise in; wyse mihte\wise mi\nte.
non|noon. none-tyde: the time of the saying of "nones," about three p.m.

Matyns|Matins. Parish mark in S.

peih|peis; flesch|flessch; nouht|nou3t. Parish mark in S.

beolbe.

haly|hali. Parish mark in S.

wynnest muchel|winnest muche.

After|Aftter; poul|pou; preachyngel|prechinge. A illuminated in S.

pybge|pinge.

prechur|prechur; vnnderstonde|vndurstond.

Each line of the text is written as two lines, divided at the colon in V and S.

visyte|visite. Parish mark in S.

wip|with; Meke|*

Aftur|Aftter; rynge|*. A illuminated in S.

Mong|*

Parish mark in S.

poul|pou; ganglyng|Janglyng; drynk|drinkyng; wip|with.

and cumplyn|and Cumplin. Parish mark in S.

Hom|hom; ben|ben; poul|pou.

Each line of the text is written as two lines, divided at the colon in V and S.

rede| in to]into ("to" inserted above the line in V). I illuminated in S.

poul|pou.
Each line of the text is written as two lines, divided at the colon in V and S.

sikerly|sykerly. End of col. 2, f. 291r in V.

The idea that all sins are inextricably linked together was an important one in the Middle Ages. Wyclif showed how each of the seven deadly sins was linked to the ones before and after it. Bloomfield, *Seven Deadly Sins*, pp. 70, 190.

Each line of the text is written as two lines, divided at the colon in V and S.
resoun; bynging.
beestes; wiþ outen] with ute.
drynkap]drinkeþ.
kynde]kuynde.
kynde]kuynde; blynne]blinne. End of col. 3, f. 291r in V.
glotounes]glotons.
chiden]chyden; fiþten]fihten. þ illuminated in S.
heore]heor.
drynke]drinke; siuen]siuen; mon]*.

Each line of the text is written as two lines, divided at the colon in S (ll. 932-933) and V (932-935).

Cf. ll. 813-814.
bow]bou.
beol]be; bote bow]but bou.
and]and; drinke]drinke.

Each written as one line in V.
Meel]Mel.

Each line of the text is written as two lines, divided at the colon in V.
pat]pat; Be]bi.

parte wip]perete with; by]bi. Horstmann emends "by" in V to "his"; this may be an anacoluthon to bring the message home.
Matt. 6:19-21.

Each line of the text is written as two lines, divided at the colon in S.
In illuminated in S. The book of priuete: The Apocalypse.

Each line of the text is written as two lines, divided at the colon in V.

And illuminated in V and S.

Phil. 2:10.
ffor to wenden]fforte weenden.
bat]bat.
doun]doun.
Mon]*. Diagonal marginal lines in V.
him]him.
sende]seende. Diagonal marginal lines in V.
Hym]him.
kep]kepe; synnes]synnes.
graunt]graunt. Poem ends in V, col. 1, f. 291v, and in S, col. 2, f. 266r. In both it is followed by "be riste pitt of helle."
CHAPTER VII
THE DEBATE BETWEEN CHRISTIAN AND JEW

"The Disputisoun bytwene a Christenemon and a Jew" is found only in the Vernon Manuscript. It was probably also in the Simeon, but the relevant pages have been lost. It follows the debate between Jesus and the Jewish masters, and it precedes a work on how to hear Mass. The following work seems fitting in light of the dispute's dramatic showing of the importance and power of the Mass. The work is listed in the Index under almost exactly the same title as the one given in the text. Only one capital is illuminated, the first letter of the poem. The first two speeches of the Christian and the first speech of the Jew, which are also stanzaic divisions, begin with colored paragraph marks. The poem begins with a leaf and vine design part way down the third column of f. 301⁷ and ends at the bottom of column three, f. 302⁷. The first two words of line 316 are added to line 315, the rest of line 316 and 317 form one line, and the final two lines are written as one line.

The poem contains 319 lines, twenty stanzas of sixteen lines, rhyming aaab cccb dddb eed. One line is missing in the last quatrain of stanza 12,
Hit was a wonderful siht:
As pei weore quik men diht,
To seo hou pey play. (ll. 189-191)

The b lines have two or three accents, the others four. Some lines are highly alliterative, chiefly those which contain formulaic or proverbial expressions. Both Wells and Utley call the poem "realistic" despite the admixture of romance, magic, and folklore. The relationship between the two clerks, one an Englishman and a Christian, the other a Jew, both students at Paris, is a natural and charming one. The narrator's voice is heard directly twice, once when he assures us somewhat ironically that he will prove how truly the Jewish student held to his faith, and once to exclaim in amazement at his own description of the fairy castle. These intrusions too seem perfectly natural.

This poem differs from other debates in its lack of emphasis upon ideas. The debate within this poem is ended inconclusively about a third of the way through, and the rest of the work is given over to a magical adventure by which the Jewish clerk hopes to win his wager and to convince his friend and rival to admit his superiority. The title, suggestive as it is of a theological debate over the relative merits of Christianity and Judaism, is misleading. Even while the two men are discussing theology, the debate often becomes at worst a slinging match and at best an
argumentum ad hominem. The rivalry typical of a debate is maintained throughout, however, and the debate becomes one of action rather than of words. When the Jew is converted and baptized, it is because he has seen that the power of the Sacrament is greater than his power, and because in some mystical way he has seen a demonstration of the Trinity more convincing than any explanation. Thus, his conversion is more convincing to the audience than the battle of words in which, as Margaret Schlauch has pointed out, the Christian merely cites Biblical authority and the Jew merely raises straw men.2

Summary

In Paris two men meet, both clerks of divinity, both eager to gain mastery over the other. One is an English Christian, and the other is Jewish. They dispute for a whole day without either overcoming the other. The Christian insists upon the divinity of Christ, recounting the familiar history of the virgin birth and the crucifixion and urging the Jewish clerk to admit his error.

Ibore was þat kniht
At þe ȝol ful ȝare,
Al for vr welfare.
Woldest þou læue on my lare,
þi lykyng were liht. (ll. 44-48)
The Jew in his turn insists on a single god, creator of sun and moon, but without any son. Angry, the Christian threatens him with punishment both here and hereafter.

Men schal in baret þe bynde
And bete þe ful blo.
Whon þou schalt of þis world wende,
þou schalt be taust to þe fende
And euermore wipouten ende
In to þe pyne go. (ll. 75-80)

The Jew reacts with a wager; he bets three tuns of wine that he can show him Christ on the cross, a thing which the Christian himself can not do "for al þi clergye" (l. 94). The Christian accepts the wager for the next day and agrees that if the Jew can indeed perform the miracle he promises, he will be the master. ³ Despite the Christian's momentary threatening mood, the two clerks seem to have a friendly, bantering relationship, and they stay up all night, presumably continuing their theological debate. In the morning the Christian says his prayers and goes to Mass, a sensible precaution against the adventure promised for that day. The Jew goes on ahead, gibing,

Haue I don . . . artou diht
For to holde þat þou hiht?
Þis is vr day.
Ober a nay, or a þa?
Soone tel þou me swa! (ll. 122-126)
The Christian finishes his Mass, and, feeling the need of still further protection, decides to take the mass-wafer along, knowing that God will then go with him.

Per nis non enemy in helle
Non so fers ne so felle,
And he here of vre lord telle,
Patre on is in pre:
For al pe gold in pe grounde
He wolde not byde him a stounde
Patre he nolde freschly founde
And awey fle. (ll. 137-144)

Either he already has some idea of what he will experience, or he is determined to be prepared whichever way the day goes. The two clerks then go forth into what is, in fact, the world of romance.

The earth cleaves in front of them, and they go over a stile and down a clean paved street, the Christian nervously wondering "what hit mihte mene" (l. 152). Soon they come to a manor with beautiful carvings and high halls. The place is like paradise, the poet tells us. Bird song and mirth make the longest stay seem short, but Mortimer Donovan has pointed out that the poet mentions by name only the "pres-tel," a bird symbolic of fleshly lusts. The hall is hung with tapestries and "dosers" (l. 169), the richest to be found.
Wyndouwes I pe walle  
Was wonderli Iwrouht.  
...  
Bope pe mot and pe molde  
Schol al on red golde. (ll. 167-168, 173-174)

Beautiful flowers, herbs, and spices grow all around, moving the narrator to exclaim, "Such hedde I non sene, / Forsope, as I say" (ll. 179-180). And the entire Round Table sits and stands around on the grass. The Jew leads them on to an unnamed nunnery occupied by ladies of dignity exquisitely clad. He speaks to one of them and asks that "he welcome be, / Sire Water, my feere" (ll. 206-207). They set a feast before the two clerks, but the Christian (in good wonder-tale tradition) refuses the temptation to eat or drink. Rich meats, mirth, and minstrelsy are offered. In the midst of this feasting, the men become aware of a Cross with a much wounded body upon it, surrounded by saints.

Bi him stod Marie and Jon,  
Wepynde good spede,  
Opur apostles of prys,  
Poul and Peter pe wys,  
And seint Jon pe Baptys. (ll. 230-234)

As they gaze, the man's wounds begin to bleed, and the Jew proudly claims that he has won the wager. The Christian brings forth the mass-wafer and, holding it aloft, addresses
a somewhat confusing speech to either the wafer or the crucified man

\[
\text{3if you be god so fre } \\
\text{Dat for me di3ed on be tre, } \\
\text{Here pi sone mai pou se.}^6 \quad (11. 248-250)
\]

The conditional clause would seem to indicate that the Christian is addressing the vision, and thus referring to the host as the son of the one who was crucified. Here, with a vengeance, is the complicated Trinity the Jew complained about earlier. The efficacy of the mass bread, of course, destroys the demonic vision which the Jew has conjured up. Everything disappears, and the two clerks are left in darkness. The Christian can not resist a gibe reminiscent of the Jew's earlier impatience at his Matins: "Beon þeos þi godes here?" (l. 259); but he does not persist when the Jew abjectly confesses the fiendish source of the visions and begs him for mercy. He is not, however, so abject that he forgets to note, "I haue ilost my wed" (l. 265). They find themselves outside the hill where they first were, and the Jew makes a full confession.

\[
\text{... of blisse I haue be bare } \\
\text{Se þen I was furst born. } \\
\text{Now knowe I wel þat hit mai be } \\
\text{Dat 0 fold god is in þre: } \\
\text{Whuch þat þou brouȝt wip þe } \\
\text{þis day at morn.}
\]
He is vre heuene kyng,

• • •

And schop þe fruit for to spryng,

Bope curnel and corn. (ll. 274-280, 282-283)

The two friends go back to the city and feast, both thanking God. The Jew is christened, and the Christian is identified for us as Sir Walter of Berewyk, who is later made a penitencer at Rome by the Pope.7 Throughout, the Christian has tried to persuade the Jew of his own point of view; he consistently strives not for victory or at least not for victory alone, but for conversion. His palm is not the Roman office, but the speech in which his Jewish "brother" agrees with him about the truth of Christianity (l. 295). In conclusion, the narrator points the moral for his audience:

þe mon þat hæf synne Iwroust
And sipen repentes him oust,
God is apayed, þat vs boust.
Leeue we non oper. (ll. 300-303)

Analogues

"The Disputisoun bytwene a Cristenemon and a Jew" stands at the end of a long artistic tradition portraying the opposition between Christian and Jew or Church and Synagogue.8 Much famous ecclesiastical art represents Synagogue as a blind or blindfolded woman. Early literary analogues compare Synagogue to Hagar, Naomi, or the Shulamite,
and the Jews to the children of an enslaved mother while the Christians were compared to children of a free mother. In addition, Synagogue was Old Law while Church or Ecclesia was the New Law. Pope after pope reiterated the Church's belief that the Jews were not irretrievably damned, but that their blindness would at last be lightened on the day of Judgment when they would become the strongest witnesses to the truth. A stained glass window at St. Denis shows Christ crowning the Church with His right hand, and lifting the blinding veil from Synagogue with His left. Thus logically followed the instructions protecting the Jews from persecution and forbidding their forcible conversion. Most of the literary debates which involved either Church and Synagogue or Christian and Jew were "urbane," according to Schlauch. This urbanity was especially strong in the latter case, since such debates were often based on actual debates between people connected by friendship and respect.

Giselbert Crispin, Abbott of Westminster (1084-1117), wrote down a debate which occurred between him and a learned Jew who were accustomed to debate "amico animo." Guillaume de Champeaux wrote a similar work. St. Peter Damian composed arguments which his friend Honestus could use in conversation with a Jewish acquaintance. In each case one of the major issue was the relationship of the Old Law and the New Law. Why, if God had created the Old Law, was it necessary to supersede it with the New Law? In general the suggested
response was to show how Christ fulfilled the predictions of the Old Testament. By quoting from the Old Testament, which the Jews believed, a Christian could prove his case without becoming involved in pointless sophistries. In most debates, the Christian ignores the Jew's charges that he is twisting simple texts, and the Jew is not allowed to present challenging arguments. The Jewish debater is seldom converted. Similar works by Jewish authors may also describe actual debates, many of which took place in Spain. Before the end of the twelfth century, such works were usually written in Arabic and directed to the East or Mohammedan Spain. But at about that time Joseph Kimhi wrote the Sepher ha-Berith (The Book of the Covenant), the earliest of polemical works written in Hebrew and directed to the West. It is a dialogue between a Jewish believer and a Christian and deals with the interpretations of Biblical prophecies said to refer to Jesus, the questions of original sin and atonement, and the charges against the Jews.11

According to Schlauch the urbane Christian writings culminated in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and, in the later thirteenth century, such work nearly disappeared and physical persecution increased. With the expulsion of the Jews from England, the inspiration for such works was
lost. Although the poet probably knew of debates between Christian and Jew, the work itself borrowed nothing but its title from that tradition.

Sources

The actual sources of the "Disputisoun," as Carleton Brown pointed out, are The Life of St. Wulfram and a story included by Thomas Cantimpre in Bonum Universale de Apibus. In St. Wulfram, a demon shows the saint a palace and throne which Wulfram dissolves by saying, "Si a Deo Cunctipotente facta sunt isla, perpetuo maneant; si autem a diabolo, cito dispereant." This story is obviously only the germ of the later Disputisoun; it is further developed as an exemplum by Cantimpre. In that version, dated 1231, a heretic who had been corrupted by mountain demons called Dusii promises to show a vision of Christ, His mother, and the saints to a Dominican friar (whom Brown tentatively identifies as Conrad von Marburg, d. 1233). The brother secretly brings with him a pyx containing the Sacrament. He is led by the heretic into a grotto of a mountain ("in specu cuuisdam montis") which shines with an amazing light ("quod claritate mirabili reclucebat"). In the grotto is a palace and in the palace are thrones as if of the purest gold ("quasi ex auro purissimo") and a queen and king sitting on them. The heretic at once falls prostrate and adores the vision. When he rebukes the friar for his lack of piety, the dumbstruck
friar takes out the pyx and, presenting it to the queen, promises that he will adore her as the mother of God if she recognizes the host as her son. Immediately the apparitions vanish, and such thick darkness falls that the two men have difficulty finding their way out of the grotto. The exemplum ends with the reconversion of the heretic.

Cantimpre's story is much closer to the Vernon version than the St. Wulfram, so much so that I agree with Brown that it was probably the source. The poet, however, has fleshed out what was only a sketch. He has changed the form to a debate and the characters to a pair of friends, a Christian and a Jew, who wager wine on their theological differences. The experience underground has become a dramatic adventure with the addition of romance and folklore elements, and the final confrontation is intensified by the presence of the crucified Christ.

Romance and Superstition

The fairy world to which the debaters go is derived from the Celtic sid, a hollow hill or mound which contained an underground palace. These palaces were full of music, strong drink, beauty, and love. That King Arthur and his knights should be there was entirely fitting since Geoffrey's story of Arthur's final journey by boat to Avalon is also borrowed from Celtic literature. The Other World is dangerous as well as enticing, however, and the Christian's
refusal to eat or drink is a wise precaution. Many visitors to Faerie never returned because they accepted food or beverage, but sometimes a token from our world protected the traveller from the capricious mound-dwellers. In this poem, the token is a piece of Eucharist bread. Apparently the power of the holy bread was a common medieval belief. J. A. McCulloch cites cases from as early as the fifth century of Christians attributing miraculous cures and rescues to the consecrated host. 13 Although the Councils of Saragossa (380) and Toledo (400) forbade partaking of the Sacrament anywhere but in church, people still secreted the element to use for other purposes. When in 844 Paschasuis Radbertus first enunciated the concept of transubstantiation and later when the concept became official church doctrine, the magical powers of the Sacrament and of the host were enormously increased. When the cup was withheld from the laity in the twelfth century, stories of the power of the host multiplied. Especially popular were stories of the bleeding host, since they showed that both body and blood were contained in one kind. Consecrated bread could repel evil magic and the church regarded favorably its use to drive out demons. It was also used, however, with less justification as a kind of amulet to prevent wounds in battle. Or the bread could itself perform magic. Such use was forbidden but common. Medieval people buried wafers to increase crops, scattered them over their cabbages to drive
away slugs, and used them as love-charms both to gain and to retain love. The "Disputisoun bytwene a Cristenemon and a Jew" does not explain how the Christian obtained the bread since priests were punished for placing the bread anywhere but in the communicant's mouth, and many stories told how the bread clung to the tongue of those who did not swallow it. Presumably his motive was good, and the bread performed its well-known function of dispelling demons and demonic imitations of holy things. Much the same result is achieved in "Good Man and Devil" by the Good Man's speech, but the amulet-like wafer and its mystical power are more suited to the romance atmosphere of this debate.
NOTES


3 It is not clear how the appearance of Christ will win the debate for the Jew; such a miracle would seem rather to support the Christian's point of view. Perhaps the magic would demonstrate the Jew's control of Jesus by forcing Him to appear. Such control would undermine the Christian's argument that Christ is God, and cause him to lose the wager.


6 It has been suggested that 11. 249 and 250 be inverted to make the sense clearer, but the Christian is still implying that the wafer is either the Father or Son of the crucified man, and, I think, aptly demonstrating the mystery of the Trinity.

7 If Sir Walter of Berwyk was a real person and a knight, he may be one of the Sir Walters listed in The Knights of England (London, 1906). There are three Walters included as Knights Bachelor before 1400, and fourteen as Knights of the Bath. The two who were made members of the

8 I am indebted to Schlauch for this discussion.

9 Ibid., p. 462.

10 Ibid., p. 457.


13 J. A. McCulloch, *Medieval Faith and Fable* (Boston, [1932?]).
Alle blibe moto bei be
pat folyes bleboliche mote fle.
How hit biiade bi?onde see,
be sode I wol 3ay sa.

5 In pe town of Parws,
pat is A Citec of prys.
Twey men mette pat waore wys,
And wente bi be way.
bei weore Clerkes of Divinite,

10 Craiti Men in heote deere,
Fiber Taister wolte he,
ifoonlep 3if bei may.
bus bei desputed so faste
While be law withte laste,

15 Noubor ober coube caste,
Beo kintwys lay.
be ton was of Engelonde,
A Cristene Mon, Ich understonde;
Be hedde Isouht over be sonde

20 Wondres to se:
He hedde Iornd of Clergys,
As Mex doth bat heop wvs:
be mon bat most is of prys
Maister moste be.

25 pc tober was a jeus riht,
A Mon muchel of his miht;
To his troube hedde he tiht
Trewe as be tre;
bat wol I avertly preue:

30 Pulke lay bat he on leene,
For no gold bat wibre him 3eue
Chaunge wolde not be.
be Cristene Von seide, as he bou3t:
"Lo 3onde vr god, bat vs bou3t!

35 Oper trouwe bou hit lou3t,
Bi daye nor bi niiht?
Certeynliche, Sonde is he
bat for vs di3ede on be tre
And also bouwed him to be

40 In A buyrde briht,
As heo wemles was,
Sepbe cler as be clas;
Bitwene Oxen and an As
Ibore was bat kriht

45 At be Sol ful 3are,
Al for vr welfare.
Woldest bou leewe on my lare,
bi lykvyng were liht."
be ju3e3e seide bare:

50 "Ar ve fforbere fare,
ber is 0 god, and no mare,
Hei3ly in holde,
And, as I tr0ve, in be tr0ne,
He schop be sene and be done:

55 But he heide neuer no sone
ffor synful was solde.
be grete god calle we,
bat is somely to se:
Ober may ber non be,

60 Jouger me Olde.
Wharto makestoU bi more?
I trouwe, bi wit beo be wone;
Al mis artou gone
Meer on biu wolde."

65 be cristian Von stondeb stille,
And sebben he talkeb him tille
And seib pat "bi wikked ville
Schal vorche be ful wo.

60 be leuest not in be Mes,

70 bat euer God ber in l3:
ffor bi lyvinge is he les
And loren artou so,
And al bi careful kynde
bat euer bicon of his strenge.

75
Men schal in paret be bynde
And hete be ful blo.
Whon bou schalt of his wyrld wende,
bou schalt be taut to be fonde
And euermore vibouten ende

80
In to be pync go;"
bou Jesu bicon him to greue:
"Bat wol I avertly preue,
Bobe of Adam and of Eve
Of hem we weore alle Iwrouht.

85
And I dar wage whp be
Tonnes of wyr bre
bat I schal lete be him se,
bou seist bat be bouht,
Bobe be vuell and be gode:

90
Hou he was don on be Roode;
And alle pat bi him stonde
Whon he to depe was brouht.
So const bou not do
ffor al bi clerige; berto,

95
As haue I reste ober So,
bi reson is noust." be cristien mon yldele gon malt:
"I telle be, truvaunt fortalt:
Men schal in prison be salt

100
And putte be to pync,
But 3if bou lete me him se
bat for vs dyede on be tre.
Sebbe be Maystrie Zene I be,
To be and alle pync.

105
Loke bow holde bat we say!
To morwe, set we bat day,
We schal wende on vr way
To winne vs be wyne.

110
Be Zon bat sayles of his fare,
Al loren is his lare;
He may droupe and dare
bat schal his troube tyne." bus bei woke al be niht,
Til on be Morwe at day liht

115
be cristene men ros riht,
And radly gon say
His Matynes in be Zornynge;
Sebbe his Masse gon he syng,
He bonked vr lord in alle bing

120
As he bat most may.
Soon e poi met te n, as bei m iht.
"Haue I don," he seide, "artou diht
ffor to holde bat you hiht?
bis is vr dav.

125 Ober a nay, or I 3a?
Soone tel bou me swa!"
Him grauntes torto ga,
And went on heore way.
be Cristen mon seide son,

130 Whon his Nasse was don:
"I wol take god me uppon
And here him wib me:
Pobe in lond and in leode
Al be lasse is my drede:

135 be mon bat to him takeb hede
be better he may be.
be cr his non enemy in helle
Mon so fers ne so felle,
And he here of vre lord telle,

140 bat on is in bre:
ffor al be gold in be grounde
He wolde not byde him a stonge
bat he holde freschly founde
And awy fle."

145 forb keo wenten on be ffield
To an hul bei biheold.
be corbe cleuet as a scheld
On be grounds grene.
Sone fond bei a stih:

150 bei went ber on radly;
be Cristene mon heede ferly
What hit mihte mene.
After bat sti3 lay a strete,
Clene Ipauet vip crete.

155 bei fond a maner bat was meete
Wib Murbes ful schene,
Wel cornen and wrouht,
Wib halles hei3e uppon loft.
To a place weore bei brouht

160 As paradys be cleene.
ber was foulene song,
Suche Murpes amone.
Nose lenge wolde long,
fful luitel him bouth.

165 On vche a syde of be halle
Pourpul, pelure and palle;
Wyndouwas I be walle
Was wonderli Irrouht.
ber was dosers on be dees

170 hose be cheef wolde ches,
Pat neuree Ricchere wes
In no sale souht.
Rope pe Mot and be molde
Schon al on red golde.
175
be cristien mon heide ferli of bat folde
bat sider was brouht.
ber was Erbes growen orene,
Spices springynce bitwene--
Such heide I non scene,
160
fforsobe, as I say.
be brestel song ful schille,
He newed notes at his wille;
ffeire ffloures to fille
ffeire in bat effev.
185
And al be Rounge table good
Hou Arthur in eorbe 3od,
Sum sat and sum stod
0 be crounde crey
Hit was a wonderful siht:
190
As þei weore quick men ditt,
To sce hou bey play.
þe jowes sone in bat tyde
He spak þer a word of pryde
Rose wol lenge and abyde
May lusten and lere.
Til a Nonerie þei came,
But I-knowe not be name:
þer was mony a derworhe dame
In Dyapre cerre.
195
Squiers in vch a syde
In þe wones so wyde.
"Meer schul we lenge and abyde,
Auntres to heerc." penne swipe spekop he
200
Til a ladi so fre
And biddeþ pat he welcome be,
"Sire water, my feere."
þer was borderd clobed clore
Wib schiere clobes and schene.
210
Sebhe a wasschen, I weene,
And werte to þe sete.
Riche metes was forb brouht
To alle men, bat good bough.
be Cristen mor wolde mounht
215
Drynke nor ote.
ber was wyn ful clere
In mony a feir maseere,
And ober drynkes pat weore dere
In Coupes ful oret.
220
Sippe was schewed hem bi
Murbe and Munstralsv,
And prayd hem do gladly
Wib kial Rebet.
My be boring vp bei stode.

Or bei forberc Robe,
So wore bei war of a Robe
ful Robe, as I Robe,
And a bodi ber vpon
bat woundes hedde mony on;

Bi him stod Marie and Jon,
Wynende good spede,
Obur Apostles of vrys,
Poul and Peter be wys,
And seint Jon be Baptys

Was douhti of Robe.
Whon he was schewed to be sith,
Robe of leom and of liht
be Mon bat most was of miht,
His woundes gon blende.

be jen? sone seide he:
"Holden is bat I hichte be."
be tober seide,"bat schal I se,
Certevelly, ful sone."
be Cristen Mon heade a derworb binne,

On his Robe he gon hit Evyne
bat a prest schulde wib syrne
Whon Masse schulde be don.
"3if bou be good so fre
bat for me diled on be tre,
here bi some mai bou se."
And heold him abouen.
Whon he was schewed to be sith,
He barst be Puvldynge so briht
Robbe was dark as be niht

Meore sonne and meore none.
Al be gore bat was gay
Was benne Ivasted awav.
be Cristene Mon con say,
"Deon beos bi goodes here?"

be jeuh onswerde him wib may
And ofte Merci con him pray:
"I wol lene my lay
And on bi lore lore.
Sore I doute me of drod.

I have ilost my rod;
bo bat are forb fled
Was fendes in feere,
Non goo?, but al ille."
No more he tented hem tille.

Heo bo stoden one hulle
ber bey furst were.
bus he 3oldes him 3are,
Al for his welfare.
He seide, "Of bliss e I haue be bare.
275 Sebben I was furst born.
Now knowe I wel bat hit mai be
pat 0 fold god is in pre:
Whuch bat bou brou3t wip be
his day at Yorn.
280 He is vre heuene kyng,
Makere of alle byng,
And schop pe fruit for to spryng,
Pope Curnel and Corn."
bus he Rapes of his res,
285 To vre God he him ches,
Let al his luberres,
Was povent to be lorn.
Sebbe bei wente to be Cite,
Acordet, as bei scholde be.
290 Who was paved bote he,
And eiper of ower!
He bonked god his swete sonde
pat he hedde brou3t out of honde,
Wel Iwayne to his honde,
295 Alibely his proper.
Mete and drynke bei hedde at ville,
Wibouten orucchyn or crille
In troube tente bei her tille,
And lafte al bat ower.
300 be Mon bat hab synne twrou3t
And siben repentes him ou3t,
God is apayed, bat vs hou3t.
Leeue we non ower.
What was be Xenge s nome Ilyk
305 But Sir water of Herewyk?
He was wonynae I be Ryk,
At Roome was called.
be pope 2af him pouste,
pat mony mon mihte se,
310 Penitauncer for to be
Of Sone and of olde,
Sebbe to soyle and to schriue
Hope to Mon and two wyue,
Pke to mende heore lvue
315 And to be troube holde.
benne tok bei be neu3
Anon cristeng hym neu3;
bus to vre God he hym kneu3
And 3enly him 3olde.

sée.

citéé.

The scribe wrote "mihti" for "mihte."

A subject is needed for the relative clause in this line. Horstmann suggests "me"; I prefer "men" or "one" on the grounds that the author is careful to intrude as author ("bat wol I apertly preue," l. 29) and would not involve himself as a character offering gold to the Jew.

Paragraph (¶) mark.

An ambiguous line. "Lykyng" can refer to the past with the sense that when the Jew converts, his former (evil) inclinations will become insignificant; or to the future, meaning that the Jew's desire will become enlightened. Neither is entirely satisfactory. Paragraph mark.

Paragraph mark.

heighly in holde: an almost meaningless formula. Formulaic phrases are more common in this poem than in the others. See ll. 94, 133, 138.

who was sold for the sinful.

Horstmann emends "wolde" to "molde," probably correctly. It is worth pointing out, however, that "wolde" makes sense in the context, limiting the Jew's comment to a smaller geographical area than the whole earth.

Paragraph mark.

Furnivall suggested omitting "pat."
Horstmann emends "is" to "es," for reasons of rhyme, but as McIntosh and Nelson have pointed out, orthographic changes need not reflect changes in pronunciation. Probably the poet was here satisfied with the consonance, or perhaps he was emphasizing the word ("bat euer god per in is") by not rhyming it.

End of col. 3 and f. 301v.

Diagonal marginal lines.

Diagonal marginal lines.

Diagonal marginal lines.

Diagonal marginal lines.

End of col. 1, f. 302f.

Diagonal marginal lines.

Horstmann corrects "I" in this and in l. 306 to "In." MED lists "I" as a variant spelling, however, so no emendation seems needed.

Diagonal marginal lines.

The threstel is a bird of sensual pleasure and would be entirely out of place in a garden actually given over to religious visions.

Dressed as if they were alive.

Diagonal marginal lines.

Diagonal marginal lines.

Diagonal marginal lines.

End of col. 2, f. 302r.

Diagonal marginal lines.

There is what I prepared for you.

Diagonal marginal lines.

The scribe has made some kind of correction
here, but even with ultraviolet light it cannot be recovered.

Diagonal marginal lines.

Sire water of Berewyk: If Sir Walter was a real person, he may have been a Walter connected Bishop Hugh of Lincoln. This Walter flourished about 1232 and was a master and a sacred church officer. See n. 7, Chapter VII.

I: see n. 167, above.

Here the scribe has written "two wyue" rather than "to wyue."

L. 315 continues to "tok," and l. 316 goes from "pei" to "neus."

Poems ends, col. 3, f. 302r.
APPENDIX A

Mary and the Cross (British Museum Royal 18.A.x.)
O litel whyle lesteneap to me
Ententyfly, so haue 3e blys,
Gode ensaumple here schul 3e,
Of noble Mater wrou3t it is,

How Mary spak to be rode tre,
Whan her sone was in angvys;
be Cros answervd bat lady fre,
Pul myldely se3e clerkys wys,
bat pis tale haue made coupe;

bei haue expouned it by si3t,
A good ensaumple and a brv3t;
But Apocrifum bei holde it ri3t,
For tre spak neuere wip moube.
Oure lady fre,

To be rode tre,
Sche made her mone,
And seyde, "on bee
Is fru yt of me
Pull wo bygone:

With blody ble
My fru yt I can see,
Among hys fone:
Of Sorewe I see,
Hys veynes fle

Pro blody bone:
Tre, pou dost no treube,
On pilory my fru yt to pynne,
He hap no spot of Adam synne,
Plessche and veynes fle atwynne,

Wherfore I rede of reube.
Cros, bi bondes schul be blamed,
My gode fru yt pou hast bicyled;
be fruytes modir was neuer famed,
My wombe is faire founde vnfyle:

Child, why art pou no3t aschamed
On pilory to be I pyled,
As grete beuys bat were gramed,
bat deyeden borou3 her werkis wylde?
Blode from hede is hayled,

All to fowled is my faire fruyte,
bat neuer ãvd treget ne truyte
With beuys bat loue ryot vnri3te;
Why schal my sone be nayled?
be grete beuys galowes were areyd,
bat euere to robbe roffen ryfe;

Why schal my sone ber on be leyde?
He noy3ed neuer man ne wyfe.
A drynk of deep sobely seyde,
Cros, pou 3euyf be lord of lyfe:
50
Nys veynes breke with bi breyde,
My fruyte stont in stroke and stryfve:
The faire fruyte of my flessche,
My leue childe with oute lak,
For Adam goodis biddynge brak;
55
Be blood ran on my briddes bak,
Droppynge as dewe on ryssche.
The Iugement haue bei Iouned
To bero foole full of synne:
3it scholde my sone fro bee be soyned,
And neuer hys blood on be rynne;
But now is trube with tresoun twyned,
With a beef to henge fer in fenne;
With fele mayles hys feet be pyned,
A careful modir men may me kenne,
60
In balys I am bounde:
Be bridd bat was of a mayde borne,
On bis tree is all for torne;
A broche borow hys breest was borne,
Hys hert now hab a wounde.
70
Tre, pou art loked by lawe
Pat a beefe and a traytour on be schal deye,
Now is trube with tresoun drawe,
Vertu is falle by vicys weye;
Love and trube and sobefast sawe,
On a tre traytours do teye,
Now is vertue with vyces slawe:
Of all vertues cryst is keye,
Vertue is swetter han spyces,
In foote and honde he bereb blody prykke,
80
Be heed is full of bornes bikke,
Be goode hangeb among be wikke,
Vertue bus dieyb vib vyces.
Cros, vnynde pou schalt be kyd,
My sonys stepmodir I be calle:
85
My bridde was borne with beeste on bedde,
And by my Pleissche my fruyt gan fall,
And with my brestys my brid I fedde;
Cros, pou 3yuest hym eysell and galle!
My white rose rode is spred,
90 Pat floryssched was in fodders stalle;
Feet and faire handes
Pat now be croyased I kissed hem ofte,
I lulled hem and leyde hem softe:
And pou Cros haldes hym hi3e alofte
Bounde in blody bandes!
My love I lulled vppe in hys leir,
With cradel bande I can hym bynde,
Cros, he stikep vpon ði steir,
Naked in þe wylde wynde:

Fowles formen her nest in þe eyr,
Foxes in den rest þei fynde,
But goddys sone and heuenys eir,
Hys hede holdeþ on þornes tynde,
Of moornynge I may mynne:

My sonys hed hab reste none,
But leneþ on þe schuldeþ bone;
þe þornes borow þe þanne is done
Thys woo I wyte synne.
Cros, to sle hym is þi sleibe,

My blody brid þou berest fro blysse;
Cros, þou holdeþ hym híþe on heíþe,
Hys faire feet I may not kysse;
My mouþe I putte, my swere I streché
Hys feet to kys;

þe þewes fro þe cros me kecche,
And on me make her move amys,
Her game and her gawdes;
þe þewes wrouþt on me wo:
Cros, I fynde þou art my fo,

My brid þou beríst beten blo;
Aмон þes folys frawdys.
Cristys Cros þan Jaf answere:
"Lady, to þe I owe honour,
þi bryþt palme now I bere;

My schynynge scheweb of þi flour,
Thy trye fruyt I to tere;
þi fruyt me florysschip in blodd colour
þe worlde to wynne as þou mayst here;
þis blossom blomed in þi bour,

Not all for þe alone,
But forto wynne all þis werd;
þat waltereþ vndir þe deueles swerd:
þorowe foote and honde god lete hym gerd,
To amende manmys mone.

Adam dyd full grete harmes,
He bote a fruyt vnder a bowe,
þerfore þi fruit spred hys armes,
On tre þat is tiþed with tyndes towe;
Hys body is smyte ny þe þarmes,

He swelt with a swemely swoþ;
Hys breest is bored with deepþ armes,
And with hys deep fros deep vs drowe
And all hys goode freendys,
As Isayas spak in prophecye:

He seyde 'þi sone, seynt Marye,
Hys deþe slowe deþe in Caluarve,
And leuep with oute endys*.  
Lady, love dope be alegghe  
Fruite prikkyd with sperys orde:  
I Cros, with oute knyues egge,  
I kerue fruit best of horde;  
All is rede, Ribbe and rigge,  
be bak bledep a3ens be borde;  
I am a pyler and bere a brigge,  
God is be weye, witnesse one worde;  
God seib he is sobefast weye:  
Many folk slode to hell slider,  
To heuene noman cowde bider,  
Til god de3ed and tau3t whider  
Men drawe whan bei deye:  
And Moyses fourmed hys figour,  
A whyte lambe, and noon ober beest  
He sacred so oure sauvoir,  
To be mete of my3tes meest,  
And chosen cheef in honour,  
I bare fleissche to folkys feest;  
Iesu crvst ourg creatour,  
Hys Flessche fe3ep leste and mest,  
Rosted a3ens be sonne;  
On me lay be lambe of love,  
I was plater, hys body above,  
Whan flessche and veynes all to clove,  
With blood I was bironne.  
3it Moyses pis resoun rad,  
'Ete 3oure lambe with soure vergeuous';  
Sowre saws make be sowle glad,  
Sorowe for synnes ourges;  
pat vergeuous makeb pe fende a drad,  
And fer fleb fro goddis spous;  
And bere a staaf and stonde sadde,  
Whan flessche b[e] fedib in goddis hows,  
pis staf is crystis crouche;  
Stonde pou styf by pis stake,  
Whan 3c fonde 3oure fleissche in take,  
pan may be deuyll no maystres make,  
3oure sowles to touche.  
Whan pardoun is schewed with a scrynge,  
With boke on bord with hayles smyte,  
With rede lettres wryten blyne,  
Elewe and blak among me pyte:  
My lorde I likne to pat signe,  
be body was bored and on borde bete,  
In bri3t blode ourg boke gan schyne;  
How woo he was no wi3t may wyte,  
We rede in hys rode;  
3oure pardoun boke fro top to too,
Wryten it was full wonder woo,
Rede woundes and strokes bloo,
Soure boke was bounde in bloo.

200
In holy write his tale I herde,
How riche 3iftis god vs 3af;
God seib hym self a good scheperde,
And evry herde byhoueb a staf;
Be cros I kalle be heardeys 3erde,
Perwith be deuyl a dent he 3af,
With pat 3erd be wolfe he werid,
With dyntes drohe hym all to draf."
Be Coss his tale tolde,
Now he was be staf in herdis hande,

210
Whan scheed borsten oute of hande,
Be wolfe he wered oute of lande
Pat demouride crystis folde.
Oure ladye seyde, "Cros, of bi werk
Wonder na3t bei I he wrobe,

215
Bus seyde Poule, crystes clerk,
To be fikell Iewes, with oute obe,
Iewes stone hard, with synnes merke,
Bei bete a lambe with oute lobe,
Softer pan water vnder serk,

220
Milk or mede melled bope:
Be Iewes were be hard styons.
Softer pan water or mylk lycour,
Or dew bat lithe on lily flour
Was cristis body in bloo colour,

225
Be Iewes brisseĊem hvs bonys.
Sibe mannys sone was so nedy,
To be lad as a lamb so mylde,
Why were gylours so gredy
To fowle so my faire chylde?

230
And Cros, why were þou so redy
My fruite to fowle fer in felda?"
Be cros seyde, "to make be deuyll dredy,
God schope me schelde schame to schelde,
Sibe lombe of love dyede,

235
And on me 3elde hys goost with voys;
Men chose me a relyk choys,
Be signe of Iesu Crystis Croys,
Ber dar no deuyl abyede:
Many folk, I defende fro her foos";

240
Cristes cros bis sawe he seyde:
"Heuene gate was keibed clos
Til lambe of love now he dyede,
It is write in tixt and clos:
For Cristis deep prophetes preyde:

245
Till lambe of love dyed and roos
In hell pyne many folk was teyde:
be lambe of love seide his pou3t
In be houre of hi3est noone,
'All is fullfilled bat well was wrou3t,
Man is oute of bondys brou3t
And heuene dorys vndone';
And I was Cros and kepte bat 3ifte
pat 3eue was of fadres graunt,
I was loked I schulde vp lifte
Goddis sone and Maydones faint,
Noman had schelde of scrifte;
pe deuull stode as lyoun raumpaunt,
Many folk he keichte to hell clifte,
Till pe dyntes of pe cros gan hym adaunte;
My dede is founde and boked,
All pe werke bat I haue wrou3te
It was in pe fadres forpow3te,
Louely lady, lak me nou3te,
I dyd as I was loked.
In water and blood cristenynq was wrou3t,
Holy writ witnessip it well,
And in pe well of worpi pou3t,
Man is cristened to soule hel;
pe blood bat all pe world hab bou3t,
A digne cristenynge he gan me dele;
Cryst in cristenynge for3at me nou3t,
Hy fressche blood whan I gan fele:
Mayde modir and wyue!
Crystis blood 3af me bapteme,
Bystreke I was with rede streme,
Whan Iesu bled vpon a beme,
of cipresse and Olyue.
Iesu seyde to Nichodemus
But a barn he twies born,
Whan domesday schal blowe his bemys,
He schulde lve as man lorn,
First bore of wombe where rewpe remys,
Sip with font synne is schorn:
And I was cros to manmys quemys,
I baar pe fruyt pou bere aforne,
For bi beryng alone;
But I had born hym efte,
Fro riche rest man had be refte
And in a lore logge lefte,
Ay to grucche and grone.
ou were crowned heuene queen,
For pe birben bat bou bere,
bi garlond is of gracious greene,
of hell Emperesse and heuene Empere:
I am pe relyk bat schyneb schene,
Men wolde wyte where I were,
At pe pleyn parlement I schal been,
At domesday prestly to pere;
Whan god schal seye ri3t pere,
'Trewly on bee rode tre,
Man, I dyed for loue of be;
Man, what hast pou do for me
To be my frendly fere?'
At parlement I wil put plevenyg,
How maydenes sone on me gan sterue,
Spere and spounge and hard maynyng,
be hard hede be helme gan kerue:
And I schal crye ri3tful kyng,
Ilk man haue as be segue,
ri3t schul ryse to ryche revnynge,
Truyt and treget to helle schal terve:
Mayde meke and mylde!
God took in be lhy flessch trewe,
I bare bi fruty lele and newe;
It is ri3t be rode to Fue helpe schewe
Man, woman, and chylde".
be queen bus acorded with be Cros,
A3ens hym spak nomore speche;
be lady 3af be cros a cosse,
be lady of love longe loue gan seche,
be queen and be cros acord;
be queen bare first, be cros afterward,
To fecche folk fro hellward,
On holy steyres to sty3e vpward
And reigne with oure lord.
A clerk fourmed bis figour
Or Maries sorwe to sei3e summe,
As he had see in scharp schour,
How cristes armes were rent and rune;
be cros is a colde creatour
And euer 3it was c3eef and dum,
bis tale florissched with a faire flour,
bis poyn I proue apocrifum;
Witnesse was neuer founden
bat euree crystis cros spak,
Ne oure lady leyde hym no lak,
But forto dryue be deuul lak,
Men speke of Cristes wounden.
A clerk fourmed bis fantaseye,
On cristes steruyng stok to ster3e;
bat bare be bodv all blody,
Whan depes dent gan hym dere,
bis Apocrifum is no folly:
In swich a lay dar be na3t dere
bat dope man to seke mercy,
Wikked werkes away to were,
In tixte ful well is write:
A lombe hab larged all his glose,
Plente speche per In to prose,
be counseill of be cros to vnclose
Of Maryes woo to wite.
In flesshly wede
God gan hym hede,
Of mylde may
Was born to blede,
As cristes crede
Sopely to say;
On stokky stede
He roode, men rede,
In rede aray.
Pro dewelis drede
pat duk vs lede
At domesday,
Whan pepil schal parte and passe
To holy heuene and hell be wode.
Now Cristes crosse and crystes blode
And Maries praier mylde and goode
Graunte vs be lyfe of grace. Amen.
a, pron. they

abaischen, v. to lose one's composure, be upset, puzzled, afraid, embarrassed

abascht, ppl. see: abaishen

abuggen, v. to purchase, pay the penalty for (also, to redeem mankind)

addrad, ppl. see: adreden

adreden, v. to have fear, to fear, or dread

afamed, ppl. defamed, slandered

aget, adv. in style, fashionably

aget, n. fashion

a3eyn, prep. in

agilten, v. to be guilty of sin, to do wrong, often with a3ein or toward

agult, ppl. see: agilten

aleggen, v. to alleviate, mitigate, allay, relieve

apayen, v. to satisfy or please, repay

aperently, adv. clearly, distinctly, obviously

apli3t shortened form of i the aplight, i assure you; (used as an emphatic) in faith, for sooth

apparisaunt, adj. visible

arenc, ppl. see: arreinen

aroum, adv. apart, asunder

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arreinen, v. (law) to call upon (sb.) to answer to a charge, try, arraign

assaylen, v. to attack or assault

asserven/aserven, v. to deserve, merit

atwinne, adj. asunder, apart

auntres, n. pl. fortunes, adventures, venture, wonders, a tale of adventures

avisen, v. to take thought, deliberate, reflect

awreken, v. to avenge (a wrong), punish (a sin, etc.)

bald, adj. brave, confident, powerful, mighty

bale, n. evil-doing, harm, misfortune, torment, pain, misery; theol., sufferings (of this world), torments (of hell)

bane, n. something that destroys life and soul

baren pe belle to be the best, take the prize, be victorious

baret, n. strife, conflict, wretchedness, deceit

barreres, n. pl. post or pale in a barrier at the end of a street

barst, p. of bresten

baselart, n. a kind of (fashionable) dagger, worn in an (ornamental) sheath at the girdle

beden, v. to command (sb. to do sth.)

beden erende to deliver a message
beerynge, pros.pl. beating, whipping

belamy, n. fair friend; iron., rascal, knave
(in direct address, often to enemies as an expression of contempt)

beme, n. trumpet, esp. one of the trumpets of Judgment Day

beode, n. of beden

beo my lewete on my honor, upon my word, certainly

bert, n. bed

betechen, v. to commit, surrender, commend to god

beten, v. to atone for (a sin, a crime), repent of, make amends for

beten, v. to overcome

betyme, adv. on time, promptly, in due time

biddynge, n. praying, saying a prayer

bi3ete, n. gain, profit, spoils, property

bigilen, v. deceive, betray, dupe, mislead, lead astray, into error and sin

bigyled, ppl. see: bigilen

billed, adj. entered of record

binne, n. stall or stable

bisemare, n. scorn, contempt, mockery

biswyken, v. to deceive, delude, mislead, lead into sin or to perdition

biten, v. to nail to the cross, to transfix

bithinken, v. to reflect, ponder, remember

blenden, v. to grow blind, lose one's evesight
blent, ppl. see: blenden

bleo=ble, n. appearance, semblance, condition, guise

blinden, v. to grow blind, to blind temporarily

blipe, adj. blithe, cheerful

blynnen, v. to cease (doing sth.), put an end to

blynt, ppl. see: blinden

blyue, adv. actively, rapidly, promptly

book of priuete the Apocalypse

boote see: bote

boren, v. to penetrate, break through (a line of battle)

bote, n. advantage, profit, good, deliverance

bouwen, v. to be obedient or submissive

brech, n. undergarment covering the lower part of the body, drawers or tights

breden, v. to spread out, open

breid, n. affliction, torment

breken defens to disobey (someone's) prohibition

bresten, v. to be broken, fall apart, shatter, to be forced out because of a blow

brinke, n. edge, rim

broche, n. sweat or dart

buggen, v. to buy

buirde, n. a woman of noble birth, damsel; the Virgin Mary

buxumnesse, n. humbleness, kindness, obedience
cacchen, v. to catch

cake, n. figuratively bread of the eucharist
callen, v. to welcome, receive (sh.)
cantelcope  see: cantercope
cantercope, n. a robe worn by the choirmaster or some other priest during mass
cappe, n. cloak, cape
cappe, n. a headdress or hat
casten, v. to drive out, banish
casten, v. (of the body) to expel, excrete, vomit
chere, n. face
chesen, v. to choose
chinen, v. to crack or split, burst open
chyned, ppl. see: chinen
clenchen, v. to make fast with nails
cleped, ppl. see: clepen
clepen, v. to summon, invite; in theol., to choose
clerc, adj. shining, morally pure
clergye see: clergys
clergys, n. learning, knowledge, the clergy
cleuen, v. to split, crack, come apart
cleuet see: cleuen
cleynt=cleint, ppl. see: clenchen

clichen, v. to hold fast, fasten (in or onto sth.)

cliht, ppl. see: clicchen

clingen, v. to stick together, cohere, congeal, harden

cloddre, n. a clot

cloue, ppl. see: cleven

cloute, n. simple or mean garment, swaddling cloth

cloutede, ppl. see: clouten

clouten, v. to patch, mend; (also ppl.), ragged

clungen, ppl. see: clingen

comeli=comli, adj. fitting, proper, agreeable

core, ppl. see: chosen

coruen, v. to cut or pierce, remove by cutting

coup, adj. known, well-known, familiar

crafti, adj. strong, powerful

cromp=cramp, n. hook, claw

crouche, n. cross

cuntek, n. dissension, conflict, quarrelling

cure, n. a charge, cure of souls

dalt, ppl. see: delen

daren, v. to be stupefied, esp. by fear or grief
darten, v. to pierce with; pierce (as with a dart)

dasart, n. a worthless person, a poor fellow

daunt, n. the act of subduing or restraining, a check

dees, n. raised platform, dais, dais at a feast or meal, place of honor

defens see: broken defens

defoylen, v. to trample, destroy, break to pieces, kill

del, n. a division, part, portion, one's allotted portion, lot in life

delen, v. separated, shared

demen, v. to pass judgment on; esp. of Jesus or God, to judge (mankind on judgment day)
demen to dy3e to sentence to die

derworpe, adj. excellent, honored, noble, worthy
dihten, v. to have sexual intercourse with
dihten, v. to rule oneself, to regulate the behavior of (sh., oneself)
dinten, v. to beat with blows, to pierce (body with nails)
dispitous, adj. contemptuous, spiteful, hateful, cruel
di3t to dros to condemn (sh.) to death, pain, suffering
do gyle, v. to cheat, deceive, betray

doser, n. ornamental cloth used as wallhanging or cover for seat or altar
draf, n. rubbish; driven to draf, to reduce
to impotence

drawn, v. to derive (sth. from a source); get
(an idea, evidence, knowledge, etc. from
a book, tale, account)

drecchen, v. to injure, wrong, kill, annoy, grieve
dredi, adj. fearful, afraid, timorous
dreint, ppl. see: drenchen
drenchen, v. to drown, to kill by drowning,
to engulf, overwhelm, plunge (sb. into sth.)
drien, v. to put up with (sb.), tolerate, endure
drouknynge, adj. dejected, downcast
droupen, v. to sink, slump, be downcast, be afraid
dri3e=drie, adj. dry, not moistened or soaked?
dunt=dint, n. a blow of a weapon or a fist
dunted, ppl. see: dinton
duyren, v. to last
dvelle, n. delay
dwynen, v. to shrink, dwindle, languish, pine;
dwynen awei, waste or pine away
dyapre, n. a textile fabric with a repeated
pattern of figures or geometric designs,
or a garment made of such cloth

dyken, v. to dig a ditch; dyken and delven,
work at hard manual labor
echen, v. to increase

ei3e, n. fear, terror, awe, reverence

enes=me enes, adv. not even once, not at all

enjoinen, v. to impose (a duty on), to order charge, direct

en joynet, npl. see: enjoinen

ensoinen, v. to excuse, permit to delay or avoid something

ensoynet, npl. see: ensoinen

entent see: taken entente

euencristene, n. fellow Christian

euencyng, n. alignment, smoothing, comparison

evere a mong, idiom. again and again, from time to time; always; here and there

eyseiaisel, n. vinoar

facounde, n. fluency, facility, elegance of speech, eloquence

fallen, v. to droop, wither

falwed, npl. to lose color, fade, wither

fare, n. material fittings, apparel, feasting

fare, n. success
faren foule, v. to do fouly
faunt, n. a son or daughter
fawe, adj. happy, joyful, pleased
feinen, v. to restrain oneself, hesitate, refrain, hold back
felle, adj. false, wicked
felle, n. wickedness
fellen, v. to slay, kill, to make (sb.) succumb to sin, to overthrow
fen, n. dung, excrement, filth
fenden, v. to defend against, protect from
feole, adj. many
ferly see: haven ferly
feste, n. religious celebration, holy day, secular celebration
fey, adj. possessed of magical powers, enchanted, enchanting
fey, n. a person or place with magical powers
feynet, ppl. see: feinen
feyntyse, n. lack or spirit or courage, faintness
flaumen, v. to radiate (into) or shine (on sb.)
flcchen, v. waver, vacillate, give way, flee or run away
flen, v. to depart, vanish, flinch, turn aside, give way
fleo=flo, v. see: flen
flomb, ppl. see: flaumen
florishen, v. to adorn, decorate, stain (glass), embellish with rhetoric

foddere, n. food for livestock, esp. hay and straw

foilen, v. to pollute, defile, besmirch (usually figurative)

folde, n. the world, the dry land

folte, n. a stupid or silly person

fonden, v. to put to a test, to tempt to evil

fongen, v. to receive the sacrament

for dolled, adj. mentally enfeebled, stupid, unintelligent

forfaren, v. to perish, go astray, be lost

forleete, ppl. see: forlesen

forlesen, v. to lose (sth.) completely, irrevocably

for pi=forpi, adv. and conj. for that, on that account, therefore, consequently

fortalt, ppl. see: fortellen

fortellen, v. to foretell, predict, prophecy

foulen, v. to injure, damage, destroy

founden, v. to seek

freo=fre, adj. noble, gracious

freschly, adv. newly, freshly, boldly

fresen, v. to freeze

frore, ppl. see: fresen
galwed, ppl. crucified

ganglyng see: ganglyng

3are, adj. ready

gat see: taken qat

gaudes, n. pl. a jest, joke, prank, trick

3eem, n. attention (3emen, v. to care for, heed)

3elden, v. to pay, yield

3eleu3-yelwe, adj. yellow (speculative but probable)

3elpen, v. to boast

3eme, n. care

3emen, v. to take care of, observe, regard

3eorne, adv. eagerly

3ep, adj. prompt

3eply, adv. promptly

gerd, ppl. see: girden

3erde, n. rod, staff

3erne see: 3eorne

gille, n. clown

ginne, n. inventive talent, skill, skill in magic or occult science, scheme, plan

girden, v. to strike

gle, n. brilliance, shining brightness, splendor
god gat  see: taken gat

godus grame  God's anger, an oath

3ol, n. Christmas

3olde, ppl. see: 3olden

gon, ppl. travelled, walked

3onde, adv. yonder, there

gonne grede began to cry out, shout, shriek at, revile

grame, n. rage, anger, hatred, hostility

gramed, ppl. done harm to, afflicted, tormented, punished, insulted

grameful, n. full of rage, anger, hatred, grief, remorse, harm, torment

greifen, v. to make, create, build, construct

grene, adj. (of a wound) recent, unhealed

grete=gretet, adj. many, numerous

grete, adj. haughty, angry, violent, vituperative, insolent

grete, n. sand, gravel, small stones

greven, v. to be disobedient or disrespectful, insult, offend God

grille, n. annoyance, anger, ill feeling

grimly, adv. fiercely, terribly, sorely

gru=greu, c. the Greek language

grucchen, v. to murmur, complain (about or at sb. or sth.)

grucchynge from grucchen, as adj.
gyle, n. crafty or fraudulent trick or behavior, treachery

Gylour n. a deceiver, or one who is scornful

Halen, v. to flow, run

Hayled, ppl. see: halen

Halwed, adj. to make holy, purify ceremonially, dedicate, set apart to god

Hardiloker, adj. comp. more bravely, rashly

Haven ferly to marvel, be astonished

Hawe, n. haw, fruit of hawthorn

Hayled, ppl. see: haylen

Haylen, v. to produce hail, figuratively to melt

Haylen=halen, v. to flow, run

Hei3ly, adv. nobly

Hei3p, n. height

Hende, adj. skillful, helpful, clever, crafty

Henten, v. to take hold of, seize, grasp

Hepen, adv. hence, away, from this place, from this earthly life

Hide see: taken hide

Hien, v. to go quickly, travel rapidly, hurry

Hi3e, n. mind, thought, disposition, intention

Hi3e/hy3e, ppl. see: hien
hilen, v. to cover, blot out, clothe
holde, adv. graciously
hore, n. moral foulness, corruption, sin
horlede, ppl. see: hurlen
houue, n. a head-dress, esp. a close-fitting cap; make a houue of glas, to delude
hulede, ppl. see: hilen
hurlen, v. to rush violently, fall with impetus
huyre, n. hire

i
cald, ppl. see: callen
idighten, v. to prepare (a meal)
i diht, ppl. see: idighten
i feere, adv. together, in combination
i greuet see: oreven
i3te see: ihte
ihte, p. of ouen
i hud, ppl. of hiden
ileste, ppl. see: lasten
i lollled, ppl. see: lollen
ilyk, adj. like
indepartable, adj. inseparable, indivisible
i schent, ppl. see: ishenhen
ishenden, v. to shame or dishonor, disgrace, to bring to ruin, to destroy

iwritten, v. to capture, to obtain (one's object), to gain (wealth)

i wonet, ppl. see: wonon

i wonne, ppl. see: written

janglyng, n. quarreling, tale-telling, grumbling

kei3t, ppl. see: cacchen

kelp=kilp, n. a claw-like hand

kende, n. nature, natural or characteristic action

kinne=chine, n. spinal column, backbone

kithen, v. to proclaim, make known

knape, n. boy, servant, rogue

knet, ppl. see: knitted

knht, n. boy, servant, soldier, knight

knitten, v. to fasten by a knot, secure

kud, ppl. see: kithen

kuynnde, n. parentage, stock, breed
lak, n. fault, sin. see also: leien lak on
lakken, v. to disparage, find fault, blame
lare  see: lore
lasten, v. to last or go on existing
laughen to bisemare ridicule or mock (sb.), make sport of
lauhwhen, v. to laugh to scorn
lay, n. laws, religion
leche, n. doctor, healer
lechen, v. to cure
leem=leom, n. light, radiance, brightness
leien lak on reproach
lenen, v. (with God as agent) to bestow (money, wealth, possessions) on (sb.), often with implication that gift is temporary
lengen, v. to stay, dwell, linger
lent, pres.pl. resting
leode, n. people, race, nation
leof=leowe
leope, adj. thin, slender, pliant, flexible
leoue, adj. respected, beloved
lerede, ppl. see: leren
leren, v. to teach, give instruction
leten, v. to leave (sth.), give up, surrender (property, goods)

letten, v. to refrain, forbear, neglect

letrure, n. alphabetic character(s), scripture

leue, ppl. see: leven

leven, v. to believe

lewed, adj. useless, worthless, evil, foolish

lewed, adj. lay, non-clerical

licame, n. living human body, flesh, body as seat of evil passions

liche, n. body

lien in lure to be under the power of (sth.)

liht, n. intense brilliance

listen, v. to listen to, pay heed to

loddere, n. a beggar; as adj., wretched, outcast

loft, n. sky; upon lofte, in heaven, up high

logge, n. small building, rude shelter, fig. the grave

loked, ppl. see: loken

loken, v. to establish securely

lollen, v. to hang loosely, dangle

loren, ppl. (as adj.) forlorn, wretched, broken, wrecked

lore spelle, n. that which is taught in theology or religion, a sermon

lorn, adj. lost
loj, adj. hateful, displeasing, unpleasant
luite/luyte, adj. lovely, of low degree
lumpyng, adj. lumpish, heavy
lure see: lien in lure
luste, ppl. see: listen
luper, adj. wicked, treacherous, deceitful
luper, n. wickedness
lupernes, n.pl. evil deeds, sin
luyte, adj. little in amount, degree, duration
lykyng, n. pleasure, delight
lymes, n. limbs, parts of body

make, n. consort, partner, friend, equal
malt, ppl. see: melten
manasen, v. to menace
marchaundise, n. merchandise
maseere, n. maple-bowl
masse cope, n. cape worn by priest at mass
mede, n. reward
medlen, v. to mix, blend
medlet, ppl. see: medlen
melten, v. to touch or soften the heart, to be overcome (by fear, grief, love); to grow tender
menen, v. to lament
menen, v. to mean, intend
menen, v. to remember
mengen, v. to disturb, trouble
meste, adj. or adv. most
mesure, n. proportion, balance, harmony
meynt, ppl. see: menen (to mean)
mihthes, n.pl. might, power
minnen, v. to have in mind, remember
mis, adv. badly
mispayen, v. to displease
mis seggen, v. to speak evil
mis seip see: mis seggen
modi, adj. spirited, proud
mok, n. muck, filthy lucre
molde, n. ground, earth
moppe, n. fool
more, v. root, stump
mot, n. castle, moat
muchel, adj. much, great, many various things
muri, adj. merry
murpes, n.pl. merrymakings, amusements
nesch, adj. soft, tender
nest=neh, adj. and adv. near
newen, v. to renew, make new
not=ne wat knows not
not nou3t, n. nothing
nuien, v. to annoy
nuy3ed, ppl. see: nuien
nymen, ppl. see: nymen
nymen, v. to take

of pinnen, v. to repent, be displeased
oker, n. usury
onde=ande, n. envy
ord, n. point
ouen, v. to have, own, possess, owe
ouper, conj. or
pacen, v. to die
paien, v. to satisfy, pay
pal, n. a costly sort of cloth
palt, ppl. see: pulten
parten, v. to separate
party, n. part, portion
passen, v. to pass, escape, fig. die
pelure, n. fur-work
penitauncer, n. one who imposes a penance, confessor
pere, n. an equal
perveyen, v. to provide
pillori, n. pillory
plaiden, v. to plead
pleted, ppl. see: plaiden
plihten, v. to engage, pledge; idiom., I be plihte, I promise you
ponne, n. skull, pan
pouste, n. power, ability
prei3e, n. prey, pray-er? praised, adj. praised, valued
pris/prys, n. prize, price, high esteem
priuete, n. secrecy, silence
prou, n. profit, advantage
puiten, v. to put
puiten, v. to push, thrust
purchase, v. to acquire
purvueyen, v. to provide
put, n. pit, grave
puyten, v. to push
pynen, v. to torment

quemus=cweme, n.pl. pleasure
quench, v. to extinguish, quench
quellen, v. to kill
queynt, ppl. see: quench
quik, adj. living
quiten, v. to repay

radly, adv. readily
rake, v. to run, wander, go
rape, n. pomace of grapes left after expression of juice
rapen, v. to rush, hasten
rape, adv. early, quickly
red, n. advice
rehet, n. cheer
reheiten, v. to refresh, cheer, encourage
rem, n. kingdom
renden, v. to rend, tear, lacerate
repugne, v. to fight against
repungnen, v. to fight against
res, n. race, rush, course
reuen, v. to rob, plunder
reuesten, v. to clothe
reuppe, n. repentance
riden, v. to ride, go
rihtwys, adj. righteous
ro, n. quiet, repose
rop, n. intestine
roten, v. to rot
route, n. troop, throng, company
rugge, n. back
ruit, n. noise
ryf, adj. abundant, frequently, openly known
ryk, n. reign, realm, dominion
sad, adj. sad or sated
schenden, v. to harm, ruin, disgrace
schene, adj. beautiful, splendid
scheoten, v. to shoot, throw, send, fall, rush
schete, ppl. see: scheoten
schellen, v. to sound
schire, adj. clear, pure
schour, n. shower, rain
schrewede, n. wicked one, sinner, peevish woman, devil
scleyre, n. veil
sely, adj. happy, blessed, humble, simple
sendel, n. a rich stuff
seppe, adv. ago, since, after, as
sibbe, n. relative, kindred
siken, v. to sigh
siker, adj. secure, sure, trusty
sikernesse, n. sickness
skeer see: sker
sker, adj. scared, timid
skile, n. discernment, reason, skill
slaepen, v. to sleep
sleih't, n. sleight, contrivance
sleupe, n. sloth
slider, adj. slippery
slope, ppl. see: slaepen?
solde, n. wages, hire
sonde, n. land, sand
sonde, n. a message, or messenger
sori, adj. sorry, miserable
soylen, v. to absolve
spillen, v. to lose, to spill, to speak
sponne, ppl. chipped, splintered, broke
spous bruche, n. adultery
spousynge, ger. espousing
springel stikke, n. sprinkling stick, used for holy water
squatten, v. to set down firmly
stair, n. stair, ladder
stallen, v. to place in a stall, locate
sterven, v. to die, perish
steyen, v. to ascend
stih, n. path, way
stint see: stunted
stipre, n. prop, support
stounde, n. moment, hour, time
stour, n. death-pang
strende, n. generation
streyt, adj. pressed tightly, narrow
streyt, n.pl. stretched
stroyen, v. to destroy
struye see: stroyen
stunch, n. odor, smell
stuten, v. to cease, stop, delay
swa, adv. so, as
swappen, v. to strike, move quickly
swarmes, n.pl. swarms
swelten, v. to become faint, die
swemly, adj. swooning
swoere, n. neck
sweyn, n. countryman, young man
swingen, v. to swing, vibrate, beat
swipe, adv. very, greatly, much
swonge, ppl. see: swingen
swouh, n. swoon
swynken, v. to toil, labor

T

tachen, v. to attach
tak, n. class
taken entente to pay attention, give heed, take notice

taken gat to go (one's) way, depart hastily

taken god gat see: taken gat

taken hide to take notice of, pay attention to
tale, n. account, reckoning, talk
tau3t, ppl. thrown, tossed
tenten, v. to stretch, try, tempt
teone, n. vexation, injury

teren, v. to tear, tire, lacerate
teyen, v. to tie, bind
teynet, adj. attained

parmes, n.pl. bowels

been, v. to thrive

beih, adv. and conj. though

berne, adv. because of that

bhe see: been

polien, v. to bear, suffer

pore, adv. there

pringen, v. to press

prove, n. a little while, time, moment

pulke, adj. that, those

tidinge, n. event, tidings, message

tipinge see: tidinge
to bersten  see: bresten

to reue intensified form of reuen, a.v.

toteren, v. to tear in pieces

totore, ppl. see: toteren

treme=traine, n. race

tripet, n. evil scheme

trouwen, v. to believe

truit, n. evil design

truwaunt, n. beggar, vagabond

tyde, n. hora canonica

tynde, n. tooth

tynen, v. to lose

v

vaylen, v. to be well, aid, avail

vergeois, n. sour juice of unripe fruit

vitremite, n. woman's cap

vnbalde, adj. timid

vnndurfangen, v. to seize, receive

vnndurfonge, ppl. see: vnndurfangen

vnfuylde, ppl. see: foilen

vnnepes, adv. scarcely, hardly

vtterde, adj. outward, outer, outlandish
wallen, v. to well, boil
walt, ppl. see: walten
walten, v. to roll, overturn
war, adj. cautious, wary
warnen, v. to forbid
waxen, v. to become, grow, wax, increase
wed, n. pledge, compact
wemles, adj. spotless, faultless
wenden, v. to turn, direct one’s course, go, change
wene see: wot wip outen
wenen, v. to suppose
went, p. see: gon
weonleete, n. wagon road; by anal. from water
te, watercourse
werden, v. to harm, injure
werke, n. wrck, pain
wex, ppl. see: waxen
winnen, v. to strive, contend, acquire, win
wite, n. one who knows, witness
witen, v. to know, take care of, guard
wolde, n. power
wolde, n. wold, open country, country
won, n. and adj. plenty, quantity, many
won see: won
wone, n. habitation, dwelling
wonden, v. to turn aside, fear, hesitate
wonderwyse, adj. wonderfully wise
wone, n. misery
wonen, v. to be accustomed (to do sth.), to be wont
wonen, v. to dwell
wonynge, n. lamentation
wonynge, pres.pl. see: wonen
wood, n. mad, furious
worchen, v. to work
worpen, v. to become
wot wip outen know without doubt
wouh=woh, n. and adj. crooked, bad, evil
wox, ppl. see: waxen
wrake, n. venemence, persecution, injury
wrangful, adj. wrongful; from wrang, crooked, twisted, evil
wrapien, v. to make wroth, become wroth
wreche, n. vengeance, punishment
wreken, v. to revenge
wripen, v. to writhe, twist, turn
wry3inge see: wripen
wuste, ppl. see: witen
wyled, adj. untamed, self-willed, bewildered
wynken, v. to wink, nod, sleep
wynne, n. pleasure, joy, delight
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