The Northern Passion.

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The Northern Passion

FRENCH TEXT, VARIANTS AND FRAGMENTS, ETC.

EDITED BY
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OF BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

INTRODUCTION
OLD FRENCH PASSION
VARIANTS AND FRAGMENTS
NOTES AND GLOSSARY

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FOREWORD

Volume I of The Northern Passion, published in 1913, contained readings from nine manuscripts. In this volume will be found specimens of five others, which were not discovered until the texts in Vol. I were already in type. Of these five, Rawlinson C. 655 and Rawlinson Poetry 175 deserve special mention: the former, because it adds several hundred lines to the normal text of the poem; the latter, because it is in some respects the best MS. of the expanded version.

The texts here, as in Vol. I, reproduce the manuscripts without correction; I have followed the originals in capitalization, and even in the matter of word division, preserving forms like "be gin," and "a wey," instead of hyphenating them: "be-gin," "a-vey." Contractions are expanded according to the usage of the particular scribe: for example, "wordσ" is printed "wordys" in Camb. Univ. MS. Ii. 4. 9 and Ashmole MS. 61; "wordis" in Camb. Univ. MSS. Dd. 1. 1 and Gg. 5. 31, and Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 31,042; and "wordes" in Harleian MSS. 4196 and 215, Cotton MS. Vespasian D. IX, and Rawlinson MSS. C. 655 and C. 86. The stroked n (w) is represented by ne, except in Camb. Univ. MS. Ii. 4. 9, where the stroke appears to be part of every final n. The MSS. are left without punctuation, except in the case of Harleian MS. 4196, where, for the convenience of the reader, modern punctuation is supplied.

In concluding, I wish to express my thanks to Professor R. T. Holbrook, of Bryn Mawr College, for assistance with the Old French poem; to Mr. W. A. Craigie, Mr. Henry Bergen, and Professor I. Gollancz for information about unusual words; to Dr. Samuel Moore of the University of Wisconsin, Mr. John Munro of Oxford, and Professor Lane Cooper of Cornell University for suggestions in regard to the proof; and especially to Professor Carleton Brown, of Bryn Mawr College, for his constant assistance and his kindness in reading the entire set of proofs.

My thanks for courtesy and assistance are also due to the authorities of the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the Libraries of Cambridge University; Trinity College, Cambridge; Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; St. John's College, Oxford; the Fitzwilliam Museum, Saint-Brieuc, and Bryn Mawr College.

F. A. F.

Bryn Mawr College
June 1914.
ERRATA IN VOL. I

Page 7, col. 1, v. 41, delete period after amang.
,, 8, ,, 2, note 38, for fede read sede.
,, 9, ,, 1, v. 74, delete period after payd.
,, 13, ,, 1, v. 104, ,, ,, dedes.
,, 13, ,, 2, v. 113b, ,, comma ,, ane.
,, 17, ,, 1, note 6, for pepe read yeve.
,, 19, ,, 1, ,, 2, ,, supplied read supplied.
,, 19, ,, 1, ,, 4, ,, vair ,, 4vair.
,, 27, ,, 2, v. 242, ,, have ,, haue.
,, 29, ,, 1, v. 270, delete period after isse.
,, 30, ,, 1, v. 287, ,, for that read that.
,, 31, ,, 2, note 19, v. 237e, for evangeliste read wangeliste.
,, 35, ,, 1, v. 317, delete period after mee.
,, 39, ,, 1, v. 384, for frendes read srendes.
,, 42, ,, 1, v. 413, ,, de3e ,, dere.
,, 43, ,, 1, note 13, for 3 read 13.
,, 51, ,, 1, ,, 8, ,, fonde read 8 fonde.
,, 52, ,, 2, v. 528, delete period after thoghte.
,, 52, ,, 2, v. 532, ,, ,, fayle.
,, 61, ,, 2, note 16, for londe read loude.
,, 64, ,, 1, v. 616, delete period after may.
,, 66, ,, 2, v. 659, ,, ,, leueande.
,, 69, ,, 1, note 7, for halte you read [s]halte þou.
,, 69, ,, 1, ,, 13, ,, gound ,, gound.
,, 70, ,, 2, v. 689, delete period after fyr.
,, 70, ,, 2, v. 692, ,, ,, Ihesu.
,, 72, ,, 2, v. 704, ,, ,, gane.
,, 82, ,, 1, v. 811, for the[y] read the.
,, 88, ,, 1, v. 876, delete period after felonye.
,, 89, ,, 1, v. 876, ,, ,, felony.
,, 101, ,, 1, v. 1000, for maunchyng read manechyng.
,, 102, ,, 1, v. 1010, delete period after made.
,, 117, ,, 1, v. 1137, for leu read len.
,, 120, ,, 1, v. 1188, delete period after thore.
,, 122, ,, 1, v. 1193, for turuid read turuid.
,, 125, ,, 2, v. 1210d, ,, þai ,, þai.
,, 127, ,, 1, v. 1229, delete period after me.
,, 127, ,, 2, v. 1236a, for þousall read þou sall.
,, 130, ,, 2, note 28, ,, 1368a ,, 1268a.
,, 130, ,, 2, ,, 28, ,, 1368b ,, 1268b.

vii
ERRATA IN VOL. II

Page 3, fifth line from bottom, insert comma before according.

5, line 18, for Bernhard read Bernard.

6, second line from bottom, insert comma after 'e. g.'

10, line 13, insert comma after inserted.

19, seventh line from bottom, for are read is.

24, line 16, for 286 read 285.

37, paragraph 17, insert period after pple.

38, first line, for makes read make.

48, note 15, 727 729.

55, eighth line from bottom, for creante read creiante.

76, note 2, for 1718 read 1719.

77, 4, 920k 1920k.

80, 7, 438* 430*.

81, line 1, for available read accessible.

89, ninth line from bottom, for Legendary read legendary.
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The Northern Passion

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

The Northern Passion is one of a number of poems written in the North of England at the close of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century with the purpose of instructing the laity in matters of religion. At a time when the minstrels were delighting the ears of the people with the great secular romances of Alexander, Julius Caesar, Greece and Troy,¹ it was obviously desirable that the stories of sacred history should also be presented in popular form. To meet this need the Cursor Mundi ² was written, the lives of the saints were translated into English verse,³ and the story of the Passion was related for the South of England in the Southern Passion ⁴ and The Passion of Our Lord.⁵ In the North of England, the story of the Passion, which had been included as a section in the great Cursor Mundi,⁶ was narrated in a separate poem, translated from an Old French original into octosyllabic verse,⁷ in the early decades of the fourteenth century. The title in the MSS. is merely “Passio domini nostri ihesu christi,” ⁸ but in order to distinguish it from the Southern Passion Horstmann⁹ has styled it the Northern Passion.

The author of this translation is unknown. The fourteenth-century MSS.

¹ See the opening lines of the Cursor Mundi, E. E. T. S 57, pp. 8 ff.
² Ed. by Rev. Richard Morris, E. E. T. S 1874, etc.
³ The Early South-English Legendary, E. E. T. S 87; see also Horstmann, Alteenglische Legenden, neue Folge, pp. xlv. ff.
⁴ See below, p. 18, n. 7.
⁷ It was no unusual thing for an Englishman to turn to French for his material when he wished to instruct: Robert of Brunne translated his Handlyng Synne from William of Wadington’s Manuel des Pechie; (ed. by Furnivall, E. E. T. S 119); Dan Michel, in his Ayenbite of Inwyt (printed by R. Morris, E. E. T. S 23; see preface), reproduced Friar Lorens’ Le somme des Vices et de Vertues, and the author of the Cursor Mundi adapted French poems as parts of his history (E. E. T. S. ed., pp. 13² ff., and see Napier, E. E. T. S. 103, pp. xxiii. ff.). Sometimes, as in the Mirror of Life (see below, p. 5), the translator acknowledged his indebtedness; more often, as in the Northern Passion, the dependence is discovered only by a comparison of the texts.
⁸ Camb. Univ. MS. Gg. 5. 3; F. Passio domini; A. Passio domini nostrii.
⁹ Alteengl. Leg., n. F., p. lxvi.

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Introduction.

give no evidence by which his name can be determined. Names subscribed after the poem in fifteenth-century MSS. are apparently signatures of scribes, not of the author: Robert Thornton, the well-known scribe whose name occurs in Additional MS. 31,042, lived a century after the composition of the poem; and Gilbert Pilkington, whose name is written after the poem in one of the late and bad MSS., was likewise probably only a scribe. In consideration of this scarcity, or rather this absence, of evidence, the poem must be accepted as the work of an unknown clerk. Even the date at which he wrote is uncertain. The poem had already made its way from the North to the South of England during the first third of the fourteenth century; and before 1350 it was expanded and in part rewritten. The original translation, therefore, may safely be dated early in the fourteenth century.

The French poem chosen as the basis of the Northern Passion was well suited to purposes of entertainment and instruction: the narrative was brief and not overloaded with homiletical passages, and the legendary matter copious enough to relieve the soberness of the Biblical narrative, though not so grotesque as to shock by its extravagance. Nevertheless, the French poem was not thought by the English author to be beyond improvement: he rearranged the narrative, omitted some extra-Biblical incidents, and added several new traditions which had sprung into popularity during the hundred years since the composition of the French poem. It is not easy to discover the principle which governed the translator in making these changes. Obviously he was not actuated by a desire to conform to the canonical Scriptures, for though some legendary details are omitted, others are introduced; and while parts of the narrative are rearranged in accordance with the customary order of events, others are rewritten in a form which is even further from the Gospels than is the French poem. One fact, however, is clear—namely, that the author treated his material more and more freely as he advanced in his work: the opening portion of the Northern Passion may fairly be called a translation of the French Passion; the second half is an adaptation. Yet throughout the author preserved in his rendering the popular characteristics of the original poem, so that the highly coloured narrative, for the most part unadorned by homily, enforces its lesson by example rather than by precept.

Such a narrative, though admirably fitted to instruct the laity in the story of Christ’s life, was not the usual form of discourse delivered from the mediæval pulpit. A more common type, consisting of a narrative from the Gospel, explanation and exhortation based thereon, and a tale to point the moral, is exemplified

1 Cf. The Thornton Romances (Camden Society, 1844), p. xxv. ff. 2 Fol. 50a.
3 Camb. MS. Ff. 5. 48, fol. 43a. 4 See below, p. 14.
5 G1 (fourteenth century, first third, see below, p. 9) is in Southern dialect.
6 See below, p. 3.
in a series of discourses for the Sundays of the Church year. This *Northern Homily Collection,*\(^1\) included in two MSS. which contain the *Northern Passion,*\(^2\) was translated or adapted from the French\(^3\) in the North of England at about the same period as was the *Northern Passion.*\(^4\) Widely used as the number of extant MSS. proves it to have been, its popularity did not save it from addition and alteration: sermons were needed not only for Sundays but for other feast days, for Ash Wednesday, for Good Friday, and even for certain weekdays. Poems were already composed which might serve for some of these occasions, but manifestly it would be more convenient for the clergy to have this material brought together and arranged in its proper order. This is the plan which was followed in the expanded version of the *Northern Homily Collection* preserved in Cotton Tiberius e. vii. (T) and Harleian 4196 (H).\(^5\) The text of the homilies is in large part rewritten, but the more significant change consists in the addition of discourses for certain saints’ days in the Christmas season and for many weekdays throughout the year.\(^6\) The fresh material is, in at least two cases, adapted from earlier English poems: *viz.* the homily for the feast of Corpus Christi,\(^7\) and the discourse for Good Friday, which is none other than an expansion of the *Northern Passion.*

The date 1350 given by Horstmann\(^8\) for this expansion was based on the supposition that T and H are MSS. of the middle of the fourteenth century. Though most authorities now date T about 1400 and H a little later,\(^9\) the approximate correctness of Horstmann’s date is evidenced by Rawlinson Poetry 175 (P), a middle-fourteenth century MS. containing the expanded *Northern Passion.*\(^10\) Since this text in turn was copied from some older MS. of the complete collection, the date of the expansion is probably a little before 1350.

The author of the expanded *Passion*, according to the title-page of P, was Richard Rolle of Hampole; but since this title-page is a late addition to the MS., and since it also ascribes to Rolle all the poems of the MS., including the *Seven Sages of Rome*, it cannot be treated as trustworthy evidence. The author of the expanded *Passion* is manifestly the same person who expanded the *Homily*

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\(^2\) Camb. Univ. A SS. Gg. 5. 31 and Dd. i. i.

\(^3\) G. H. Gerould, in *Modern Language Notes*, XXII. pp. 95–6.

\(^4\) Horstmann, *Allengl. Leg.*, n. F., p. lix; *Cat. of Rom.,* III. 320.

\(^5\) A second expansion is preserved in the Vernon MS.; cf. Horstmann, pp. lxxi. ff.

\(^6\) Cf. Horstmann, pp. lxxx–lxxxii.

\(^7\) Printed by Horstmann, Herrig’s *Archiv.* LXXXII. p. 167 ff; and cf. *Allengl. Leg.*, n. F., p. lxxxiv.

\(^8\) *Loc. cit.*, p. lxxxv.

\(^9\) See below, pp. 17–18.

\(^10\) See below, p. 17.
Introduction.

Collection; the identity of authorship is attested not only by the MS. connection of this version of the Passion with the expanded Homilies, but also by parallels in phrasing. Two other suggestions of authorship have been made: Horstmann, in consideration of the borrowings of the expanded Passion from the Middle English Gospel of Nicodemus, concludes that one man must have written both these narratives. But the parallels do not seem to me to support this hypothesis; they are, for the most part, concentrated in the Joseph incident and confined to the last two hundred lines of the poem. Moreover, the dialect of the poems is slightly different, for the Gospel of Nicodemus preserves a from O.E. ad, and the expanded Passion introduces a few o-forms in rhyme. It is not probable, therefore, that one author is responsible for the two. Finally, the expanded version of the Homily Collection, and therefore of the Northern Passion, has been ascribed by Horstmann to William Nassyngton, quondam aduocati juris Eborací, de Trinitate & Unitate, cum declaracione operum Dei, et de passione Domini nostri Ihesu Christi in the

1 In T and H the Passion forms part of the Expanded Homily Collection; in P the Passion is headed by a rubric which proves that it was copied from a MS. of the Collection; see below, p. 17.

2 Expanded Homily Collection.

Bot for pouer men said he it noght
On his awin wining was his thoght
(Harl. 4196, fol. 65b).

flor þaire spending about he bare
Als men may here forþer mare
(Harl. 4196, fol. 65b).

He thoght to be his maister bane
Bot of his breþer wist right nane
(Harl. 4196, fol. 66b).

Bot never þe les be held him still
Haly wrat forto full fill
(Harl. 4196, fol. 66b).

To wasche þaire fete sitand on raw
(Harl. 4196, fol. 66b).

And on a day als ihesus stode
Omang þa iews of wikke mode
(Harl. 4196, fol. 59b).

þat was þe oyle of mercy right
þat god till oure form faders hight
(Harl. 4196, fol. 14b).

With a heuy stane þe hole was dit
flor no man suld it þeþin flit
(Harl. 4196, fol. 86a).

3 Herrig's Archiv, LVII. p. 73.

4 See below, pp. 77–8.

5 An exception is the episode of Pilate's wife, 1061 ff.

6 See below, p. 36.

7 Yorkshire Writers (London, 1896), II. p. 274.

8 For Nassyngton see Dict. Nat. Biog.

9 Printed by Perry (Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse, E. E. T. S. 26, pp. 59–71), and by Horstmann (Yorkshire Writers, II. pp. 334–9).
Thornton MS. at Lincoln; and (2) the long *Mirror of Life*, sometimes ascribed to Richard Rolle,¹ which ends in British Museum Royal MS. 17. C. VIII. with the following words:

For freere Iohne saule of Waldby
bat fast studyd day and nyght
And made pis tale in latyn right
Prays also with denucion
For William saule of Nassynetone
bat gaf hym als full besyly
night and day to grete study
And made pis tale in ynglys tongue.²

This ascription, however, rests on a misconception: Horstmann says, "To the same William Nassygton is generally ascribed the long poem *Mirror of Life*, a translation of Joh. de Waldeby's *Speculum Vitæ*; although in some MSS. (Ll. 1. 8) the Engl. poem is ascribed to R. Rolle. The oldest, and probably original MS. of the *Mirror* is Tiber. E. VII, of about 1350. . . . Now the same MS. Tib. contains, after the *Mirror* fol. 1–82, three more poems: the *Lamentation of St. Mary on the Passion* (after St. Bernard); a versification of R. Rolle's *Form of Living*; and a metrical version of the tract titled *Spiritus Guidonis* . . .; then follows a set of homilies and legends in verse, which is a revised and greatly augmented edition of the *Evangelia dominicalia* in Northern verse. . . . I have no doubt that the three poems mentioned—all translations—have the same author as the *Mirror of Life*, viz. William Nassygton, and to him I also ascribe the additional parts in the homilies and legends of the same MS."³ The latest authorities, however, date Cotton Tiberius ⁴ later than Camb. Univ. MS. Ll. 1. 8,⁵ which likewise contains the *Mirror*; therefore, any hypothesis based on the early date of the Cotton MS. falls to the ground. Furthermore, the dialect of the five poems, though Northern, differs in the treatment of Old English a. In the *Mirror* it is constantly represented by Middle English a,⁶ but in the *Lamentation of St. Mary* ⁷ and the *Passion* ⁸ we find a mixture of a and o. Therefore, since neither the MS. evidence nor the dialectical peculiarity supports the hypothesis, Nassington's authorship of the expanded *Northern Passion* may be dismissed from consideration.

The changes and additions made in expanding the *Northern Homily Collection*

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² Fol. 335b; quoted in D. N. B., article "Nassington."
³ *Yorkshire Writers*, II. 274.
⁴ 1400; see below, p. 17.
⁵ End of fourteenth century, see *Englische Studien*, VII. p. 416.
⁷ Kribel, in *Englische Studien*, VIII. p. 82.
⁸ See below, p. 36.
Introduction.

are not, in general, of a homiletical character. Exhortation does indeed play a small part in the additions to the Northern Passion; the introduction, for example, urges all Christian men to meditate on Christ’s Passion; but the additions more frequently consist in the introduction of fresh material from the Vulgate and the insertion of new legends, or in the expansion of those already present.

Of the popularity of the Passion, especially in its original unexpanded form, there can be no question, copied as the poem was for two centuries, sometimes in the North of England, sometimes in the South. The reason for its popularity might seem from the MS. evidence to lie in the legendary material, for opposite the stories of the Cross, the Making of the Nails, etc., the scribes have added marginal notes, such as “Visio Johannis,” “Of what wodde the Crosse was made of,” “Miraculum Maxilla,” “Sibilla Regina,” “De Fabro.” Yet, as a matter of fact, these legends have left almost no traces on literature written in England: the story of the Smith and the nails is found only in the Cornish Passion, where it may well have been borrowed from a French source; the Northern Passion Cross legend, either in short or long form, appears nowhere else; and the Vision of John, though frequently met with, shows no traces of influence from the Northern Passion. Attractive as the legends may have been, they are evidently not responsible for the popularity of the Passion. The use made of it in Middle English poems shows that its popularity is chiefly due to its rendering of scripture; for it is in narratives and plays of the Gospels that we find the phrasing of the Passion reproduced.

But before speaking of the poems which show the influence of the Northern Passion, it will be well to consider the evidence for literary borrowing. Two poems, based ultimately on the Biblical story, may show a direct relation (1) by parallels in arrangement of the events drawn from the different Gospels, (2) by the selection of the same legendary incidents from the vast store available in the Middle Ages, or (3) by agreement in phraseology. The significance of any one of these three types of parallels is lessened by frequent occurrence in other poems: e.g., the mere presence of the Healing of Longinus is no evidence of borrowing, since this extra-Biblical incident is found in most accounts of the

1 Horstmann says: “Die Zusatzstücke enthalten bloß das Evangelium und dessen Deutung; öfter fehlt eine besondere Expositio und die Deutung beschränkt sich auf einzelne Stellen des Evangeliums; keins der Zusatzstücke hat eine Narratio. Überhaupt liegt in dieser Sammlung der Schwerpunkt mehr auf den Evangelien selber; die Erzählung der h. Geschichte bildet die Hauptsache, das homiletische Element tritt mehr zurück; die Deutung selbst ist mehr historischer, wie allegorischer Art” (Alteng. Leg., n. F., p. lxxxv).
2 Vv. 2/1 ff.
3 Camb. Univ. Gg. 5. 31; see below, pp. 10–11, 14.
5 E.g. the French Passion, and see below, pp. 64–65.
6 Except the few lines borrowed in the Canticum de Creatione; see below, p. 8.
7 See below, pp. 62–63.
crucifixion. The same reasoning holds true of the Harrowing of Hell and of
the tortures which accompany the crucifixion,¹ two non-Biblical traditions widely
accepted among mediæval writers. Furthermore, in considering verbal parallels,
much the same situation confronts us; for while great variety is possible in
translating any phrase of the Vulgate, and while the necessities of rhyme tend to
diversify renderings even more widely, certain stories appear again and again
accompanied by the same phraseology, and even by the same rhymes. For
example, the following lines of the Towneley Conspiracy ² are so close to the
Northern Passion as to suggest immediately a direct relation:

She weshyd hym with hir terys weytt,
and sen dryed hym with hir hare;
This fare oyntment, hir bale to beytt,
apon his hede she putt it thare,
That it ran aß abowte his feytt;
I thought it was a ferly fare,
The house was fuß of odowre sweytt;
then to speke myght I not spare

Doune scho fell and wesche his fete
With ÿe teres þat scho grete,
And seþin scho dried þam with hir hare,
And for hir sins scho murned sare.

(H. 107–110).

Als scho enoynt him, heued & fete,
And honord him hir bales to bete,

(H. 117–118).

for þat oygnement was full swete
þat scho oyled with ihesu fete.

(Gs. 117–118).

Yet a comparison of these lines with the Northern Homily Collection,³ the South-
English Legendary ⁴ and the Cursor Mundi ⁵ shows that several Northern poets
related the story in strikingly similar language. The presence of the same
rhymes in these poems proves that we are dealing with stereotyped phrases which
are not reliable evidence for direct relationship between any two of the poems.
But though verbal parallels, unsupported by agreement in arrangement or in the
selection of legendary incidents, are an unsatisfactory proof of direct influence,
and though, even given striking parallels, the impossibility of dating many Middle
English poems makes it uncertain in which direction the influence worked, the
following parallels prove that several poems owe part of their phraseology to the
Northern Passion, or, to state it more cautiously, that these poems belong to a “school” of which the Northern Passion is one of the older examples.

The Northern Passion, as noted by Dr. Peebles,⁶ appears to have influenced the
Lamentation of Our Lady and Saint Bernard,⁷ in the Longinus incident, which is
an addition of the English poem to its source.⁸

¹ See below, p. 66.
² Ed. E. E. T. S. LXXI. p. 212; see Modern Language Notes, XXVI. 169–71.
⁵ vv. 13986 ff.
⁶ The Legend of Longinus (Bryn Mawr College Monographs, No. IX.), p. 99.
Introduction.

Be-syde þe Roode þen stod a kniȝt,  
Blynd he was and lome also,  
Alle þei seide Longeus he hiȝt:  
Vnder þe Roode þei dude him go.  
"þei token him a launce good  
And sette hit to my sone syde,  
[þe Iewes on him were criand  
Put up, Longius, now is þe tide].  
(613–618).

Other parallels are the following:

"On Cene þursday wip-Inne þe niȝt  
Cayphas him nom, him þhouste gome,  
Wip swerde and wip lanternes briȝt,  
(177–179).  
þat was I-sene, he ladde him oute  
And dude him to þe Iewes honde.  
þe Iewes þrongen him a-boute,  
(261–263).

The Canticum de Creatione (c. 1375) 2 shows the influence of the Northern Passion in a few lines of the Cross story:

Bote god, þat wot of alle dede,  
Honourede þat tre for mannès nede:  
Betwixe ondren & non  
God sente eche day an angel briȝt,  
And to þat tre he wente riȝt,  
þe water þanne sterede ful son.  
And who so myȝte in þat water тiȝt  
Bathen him after þat angelis flīht,  
What siknesse þat he had,  
Sone he wax hol ywis.  
(1123–1132).

The principal interest of the Northern Passion, however, does not lie in its intrinsic merit, which, viewed by modern standards, is slight indeed, nor in its influence on minor poems of the fourteenth century; but rather in its relation to the Middle English drama. Three of the great cycles of miracle plays, York, Towneley and Hegge (the so-called Ludus Coventria), used the Passion at some stage of their growth. By their influence, a poem written for use in the pulpit was carried out of the church and brought home to the people through a new medium, the stage. By the use of this fresh medium, the purpose for which

1 All quotations from the Northern Passion for which no MS. is named are from Camb. Univ. MS. Cg. 5, 31.
2 Printed from Trinity College, Oxford MS., 57, by Horstmann, Altengl. Leg. (1878), pp. 124–35. The poem is based on the Cross Legend (cf. below, p. 234, n. 20), and the Vita Adam et Eve (cf. below, p. 257, n. 27). Another poem influenced by the Passion is noted below.
it was originally written was not frustrated, but merely extended. The relationship between the Northern Passion and the cycle plays will be discussed in detail in Chapter VI: the recognition at this point that the Northern Passion directly influenced the drama is in itself sufficient to justify a critical study of the poem.

CHAPTER II

MANUSCRIPTS OF THE NORTHERN PASSION

The MSS. of the Northern Passion may be divided into two classes: eleven MSS. of the original version, and three MSS. of the expanded version written for use on Good Friday as part of the Expanded Homily Collection. In the following list, the manuscripts are arranged chronologically under these two headings, except that among the MSS. of the short version, the two fragments are placed at the end.

§ 1. The Original Version.

G₁. Camb. Univ. MS., Gg. 1. 1, ff. 122a–134b.

A parchment MS. of 633 leaves, 125 × 152 mm., double columns of 38 lines; large, but somewhat careless hand;¹ a few illuminated initials, many in red or blue; written in the South of England in the first third of the fourteenth century;² owned by Bishop Moore, inscribed in the seventeenth century, “Bought of Mr. Washington” (fol. 1).³

G₁ contains 44 articles, described by M. Paul Meyer in Romania XV. (1886), pp. 283 ff., of which all but six are in French; three of these are Latin, and three English, namely: The Proverbs of Hendyng,⁴ the brief songs in Pierre Langtoft’s Chronicle,⁵ and the Northern Passion. The English poems show certain peculiarities which lead to the conclusion that the scribe was more accustomed to write French than English. Chief of these is the confusion in regard to the letter ʒ, which appears pleonastically with þ or th, and sometimes replaces them.⁶

¹ The letters c and t, e and e, þ and y are often confused. See below for the use of ʒ.
² Romania, XV. p. 283, the printed Catalogue of Camb. Univ. MSS. (1858, III. p. 1) dates it “the former half of the fourteenth century”; and E. D. Grand (Revue des Langues Romanees, XXXVII. p. 17), end of the thirteenth century.
³ Romania, XV. p. 283.
⁴ Ff. 476b–479b. Printed by Mätzner, Altenglische Sprachproben, I. 304–11; see also Romania, XV. 334.
⁶ 1352 both; (bough); 1589 switʃe, 1691 þþefes, 1411 fort; (forth) and see 1299 braunch(e), 1343 nech; 1597 þþratten, etc.
M. Meyer’s remark as to the ignorance displayed by this scribe\textsuperscript{1} applies with special force to the English pieces.\textsuperscript{2}

\textbf{C. MS. Rawlinson C. 655, ff. 1a–50a.}

A paper MS. of 50 ff., 105 × 167 mm.,\textsuperscript{3} 20 to 28 lines to a page, in a clear hand; written in the South of England, perhaps at Wells, about the middle of the fourteenth century.\textsuperscript{4} On the margin at the top of fol. 1 is written, “Suum cuique. Tho: Hearne / Aug. 4. O.IO. DCC. XXVIII. / This MS. concerning the Sufferings of our Saviour was given me by/Peter Davis, Esqs. Recorder of/Wells.” In the margin of fol. 406 is written: “Edwardus di gracia” and “Edwardus,” probably referring to Edward III (d. 1377).

The Passion proper is preceded by 196 lines of introduction which narrate the Baptism, Temptation and Preaching of Christ. A few corrections have been inserted, apparently by the original scribe.\textsuperscript{5} Since this MS. was pointed out to me by Professor Carleton Brown after the parallel texts were printed, I give extracts in \textit{Variants and Fragments}, No. 1.

\textit{G₅. Camb. Univ. MS.} Gg. 5. 31, ff. 149a–171b.

A parchment volume of 171 ff., 241 × 165 mm., double columns, 45 to 50 lines each, clear hand, a few large initials in red, the first letter of each line stroked with red; written in the northern part of England toward the end of the fourteenth century.\textsuperscript{6} The contents of the MS. are listed by Horstmann.\textsuperscript{7} The Passion has been corrected by a second hand at vv. 142/56\textsuperscript{8}, 1730, 1616, 1673, etc. A paragraph mark is placed in the margin opposite vv. 29, 71, 97, 121, 145, 178, 205, 271, 321, 405, 455, 501, 545, 559, 583, 669, 769, 817, 867, 915, 969, 1019, 1061, 1139, 1180, 1275, 140/1\textsuperscript{9}, 145/280\textsuperscript{9}, 1551, 1667, 1717, 1897, 2001. Marginal notes occur on fol. 151b v. 273, \textit{visio Johannis}; fol. 161b, v. 1296, \textit{lignum vitae}; and a little below in a later hand, \textit{Of what woode the Crosse was made of;} fol. 164a, v. 145/252\textsuperscript{9}, \textit{Mirauculum de Maxilla}; fol. 164b, v. 145/279\textsuperscript{9}, \textit{Sibilla Regina}; fol. 165a, v. 1448, \textit{De fabro}.

\textbf{D. Camb. Univ. MS. Dd. 1. 1, ff. 6a–21a.}

A parchment and paper MS., originally 552 ff., 140 × 391 mm., of which ff. 1–5, 8–11, 13, part of 18, 26, 34–36, 61, 66, 72, 86, 116, 166, part of 173, 179,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1} “Le copiste était peu instruit. Il a fait beaucoup de fautes dont plusieurs montrent qu’il lisait mal son original” (\textit{Romania}, XV. p. 283).
\item \textsuperscript{2} See vv. 1316, 1320, 1322, 1359, 1363, etc.
\item \textsuperscript{3} Ff. 47–50 are 177 mm. long.
\item \textsuperscript{4} According to the opinion of Mr. F. Madan, Librarian of the Bodleian Library. See also \textit{Catalogue} (Oxford 1878), V. 2, p. 333.
\item \textsuperscript{5} See below, p. 40 n.
\item \textsuperscript{6} According to the opinion kindly expressed to me by Mr. Alfred Rogers, Assistant Librarian of Cambridge University Library. Horstmann (\textit{Altengl. Leg.}, n. F., p. lxv) dates it in the second quarter of the fourteenth century; the printed \textit{Catalogue of Camb. Univ. MSS.} (1858, III. p. 199), followed by Gerould (\textit{The North-English Homily Collection}, Lancaster, Pa., 1902, p. 6), places it in the early fifteenth century.
\item \textsuperscript{7} \textit{Op. cit.}, pp. lxv–lxvi.
\end{itemize}
196, 237–239, 248, 249 are lacking;¹ single columns of 50 to 54 lines; large initials in red or blue; written in the Southern Midlands during the first half of the fifteenth century ² by Staundon,³ who may be of the family of Stauntons living in Worcestershire,⁴ and Gloucestershire ⁵ in the fifteenth century. The contents of this MS. are listed in the printed Catalogue of Camb. Univ. MSS. (1856, I. p. 1 ff.), which may be supplemented by Horstmann’s description.⁶

The Passion lacks vv. 1–560 (ff. 1–5); 777–1178 (ff. 8–11); 1275–1360 (fol. 13); 1815–1828 and 1863–1878 (lower part of fol. 18). A later scribe has gone over part of the poem, dotting the i’s; and a comparatively modern hand, perhaps the same, has underlined difficult words and written in the margin explanations in English or Latin. In the following list the underlined word is given, followed by the gloss: fol. 6a: and 571, if; fere 592, companion, yfere, comitatus; ferde 604, did; fol. 6b: tene 631, trouble, sorow; withsaye 647, contra; steuene 662, voice; vol 672, valde; fol. 7a: bewrayst 695, accusest; fol. 7b: tobrayde 740, atbraydan; samen 757 togither; fol. 12a, vnspede 1214a, in miseria eiy f (?); fol. 12b: vnwynne 1242 laden; fol. 14b: tyne 1464, lose; fol. 15a: smythe 1495, in fabriam, forge; fol. 16a: mote 1582, speak (deleted) contend, strive; boris 1618, holes; fol. 17a: eyesl 1722, vinagre; fol. 17b: hende 1729, ngh (deleted with two other words) kind; fol. 18a: beteche 1805, committ; fol. 18b: hende 1855, next hand (deleted); fol. 19b: wakin 1933 watch; ageyn 1971, towards. The following marginal notes are by another hand; fol. 6b, v. 663, Mar 14 62; fol. 14a, v. 1391, Jo 5 2; v. 1407, the tree; fol. 14b, v. 1440, nailles; v. 1449, smyth; fol. 15a, v. 1491, the smiths wyfe made the 3 nailles; v. 1529, Luke 23 27; fol. 19b, v. 1949, 4 knygates.


A paper MS. of 183 ff., 274 × 206 mm: the early part ⁷ in double columns of 36 to 43 lines, coarse hand; ⁸ the large initials in red; a few drawings in the

¹ MS. note in the printed Catalogue of Camb. Univ. MSS. (I. p. 1) at Cambridge.
² According to the opinion of Mr. Alfred Rogers, Assistant Librarian of the Cambridge University Library. In the printed Catalogue of Camb. Univ. MSS. (1856, I. 1) this MS. is assigned "to the latter half of the fourteenth century"; Horstmann (Altengl. Leg., n. F., p. lxvii) dates it about the middle of the fourteenth century, and in this opinion is followed by McKnight (E. E. T. S. 14, 1901, p. liv); Kribel dates it beginning of the fifteenth century (Engl. Stu., VIII. p. 67), and Gerould (N. E. Homily Collection, 1902, p. 6) toward the middle of the fifteenth century. A terminus a quo is furnished by the mention of the year 1345 on fol. 544 (Catalogue, 1856, I. 3).
³ "Dominicalia evangelica et miracula valde bona et notabilia in lingua Anglicana, quod Staundon. Dives divittias non congregat absque dolore, Non tenet absque metu, nce descrit absque dolore, quod Staundone," (fol. 225b) quoted by Horstmann, Altengl. Leg., n. F., p. lxvii.
⁴ Harleian Society, XXVII. 131.
⁵ Harleian Society, XXVII. 131.
⁶ Altengl. Leg., n. F., pp. lxvii.–lxviii.
⁷ Ff. 1–50a, including the Northern Passion. Other parts of the MS. in double columns are ff. 121a–168b, 181a–183b.
⁸ U and n, p and y are indistinguishable.
margins, etc.; written about the middle of the fifteenth century ¹ by Robert Thornton of East Newton, Yorkshire,² who signed the Northern Passion.³ John Nettleton, whose name occurs at the top of fol. 49a in a fifteenth-century hand,⁴ is perhaps to be identified with John Nettleton of Thornhill Lees, Yorkshire, son of John Nettleton and Elizabeth Holgate, who were married in 1420.⁵ The contents of Ad are listed in the printed Catalogue of Additions to the MSS. in the British Museum (1882), pp. 148–51.

The Passion is the third in a series of poems on Sacred History: (1) a selection from the Cursor Mundi (vv. 10630–14933) on the childhood of Mary, early life and ministry of Christ, ending with the promise of the Passion from “another boke” ;⁶ ff. 3a–32a. (2) Cursor Mundi 17111–17188, A Discourse between Christ and Man,⁷ beginning

Ihesu was of Mary borne
fiir synfull mane pat was for lorne (fol. 32a)

ending

That we may whene we hethyne wende
Come to thi Ioye with owttene ende. Amene.

Amene Amen Per charite Amen Amen.

Et sic procedendum ad Passionem
domini nostri Ihesu christi que incipit in
folio proximo sequente secundum
fiantasiam scriptoris. (fol. 32b)

(3) The Northern Passion (ff. 33a–50a); (4) the alliterative Siege of Jerusalem ⁸

¹ Ward, Catalogue of Romances, I. p. 928.
² For the identification of Thornton see Halliwell, The Thornton Romances (Camden Society, 1844), pp. xxx–xxvi.
³ Fol. 50a.
⁴ Cat. of Addit. MSS. (1882), p. 151.
⁶ 14913 fiir faste now neghes to þe nede
14914 fiir to suffre his passyoute
14915 Anothir boke spekes of þat rawnsoune
fiir now I thynke of this make ende
And to þe Passyoute wiþ I wende
Anothir boke to by gynne
And I may to my purpose wynne
14931 And þatt I it tiþe ende may brynge
I beseke oure heuene kyng
Als I this tiþe ende hafe broghte
he grante me grace þat me dere boghte
14932 Tiþ his honoure and haly kirke
14933 he lene me space this werke to wirke
Amen Amen that it swa bee
I pray;ow aſte þo praye for mee
þat takes one hande þis begynnyne
he brynge me vnto gode endyng. Amene. (fol. 32a)

See Cat. of Addit. MSS. 1882, p. 148.
⁷ The printed Catalogue does not note that this section is from the Cursor Mundi.
⁸ This poem has been printed from MS. Laud Misc. 650, by G. Steffler, The sege of Jeru-

salem, Marburg, 1891.
Manuscripts of the Northern Passion.

(13a. 50a–66a). Though drawn from various sources, these pieces have evidently been arranged in this MS. so as to form a continuous narrative, beginning with the Apocryphal story of the childhood of the Virgin and continuing to the Destruction of Jerusalem by Vespasian. One gap occurs in the Northern Passion: the text breaks off abruptly in the middle of column 2, fol. 41a, in the Cross story, and begins again on fol. 43a, omitting much of the sending of Seth to Paradise. 1 Probably the scribe's copy lacked a leaf at this point, and he left the blank space to be filled in when he should find the missing lines.

I. Camb. Univ. MS. II. 4. 9, ff. 1a–42a.

A paper MS. of 197 leaves, 239 x 170 mm., single columns of 24–28 lines, clear hand; occasional large initials in red, on ff. 1a–2a and 16a–18a the initial of each line struck with red; written in the East Midlands during the fifteenth century, 2 probably by Thomas Bareyle of Norfolk. On fol. 195 in the same hand as the explicit of the Northern Passion 3 is written:

This is the boke of S Will Trew [n] witnesse where for I thomas bareyle hauyng knowledge there off haue putt to myn signe.

Below this in a later hand: “John Cuttyng worsted in comitatu,” and in a still later hand, “This is the boke ser Robt Hawe.” These marks of ownership point to Norfolk as the county where the book was written. Worsted is a parish of Eastern Norfolk eight miles north-east of Aylsham, and the families of Trew, 4 Barrel, 5 Cutting 6 and Hawe 7 are all mentioned in Norfolk records of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The contents of this MS. are listed in the printed Catalogue of Camb. Univ. MSS. (1858), III. 448 ff.

1 The missing lines would correspond to the Latin Legend, §§ 3–7; see below, p. 70, n. 10.
2 Catalogue of Camb. Univ. MSS. (1858), III. p. 448.
3 “here endyth the Passyon of oure lorde cryste Ihesu / lorde Ihesu pi blyssyd lyfe. helpe and / conforte oure wrecched lyfe Amen” (fol. 42a).
4 William Trew was mayor of Lynn, 1504 (Blomfield: History of Norfolk, VIII. p. 532); John Trew, Rector of Twyford, 1493 (Blomfield, VIII. 284); John Trew, Rector of Crostwick, 1503–10 (Blomfield, XI. 12); John Trew was priest in Sloley, 1524 (Blomfield, XI. 62); notice also that Thomas Trew was appointed sword-bearer for life in Norwich, 1437 (Blomfield, III. 146). Ser prefixed to the name does not mean that William Trew belonged to the peerage, since the title was often applied to parsons (Encyclopaedia Britannica, article “Dominus”).
5 John Barrell was rector of Gedleston in Norfolk in 1393 (Blomfield, VIII. 8). For other notices of the family, see Blomfield, III. 665; IV. 438.
6 I find no record of John Cutting of Worstead (the earliest entry in the unprinted Parish records is 1558, according to Burke's Key to the Ancient Parish Registers of England and Wales, London, 1908, p. 161). John Cutting was rector in the neighbouring parish of Westwick in 1417 and Nicholas Cutting in 1431 (Blomfield, XI. 81); William Cutting died in East Dereham, 1599 (Blomfield, X. 213), and Giles Cutting, attorney, of Belagh, is mentioned in 1670 and 1689 (Blomfield, VIII. 305; VI. 312). John Cutting of Westwick lived too early to be the owner of I, but the man who inscribed his name on fol. 195 may be one of his descendants.
7 Robert Hawe was Rector of Thetford, 1473–81 (Blomfield, V. 433). Alice Hawis of Walsham was the grandmother of Thomas Smith, living in 1563 (The Visitation of Norfolk, Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society, Norwich, 1878, I. p. 90).
Introduction.

A later hand has marked with dots the cæsural pauses in vv. 1–196 of the Passion. A late hand (perhaps the same) has made the following marginal notes: fol. 26b, v. 1297, David planted whereon Crist hangd; fol. 28b, hand pointing to v. 1400; fol. 29a v. 1426, pe crosse olyf the tree cedyr; fol. 30a, hand pointing to v. 1479; v. 1483, pe smythes wyfe made pe naylis.

F. Camb. Univ. MS. Ff., 5. 48, ff. 11a–43a.

A paper MS. of 140 leaves, 205 × 143 mm., single columns 27–37 lines each, careless hand;¹ the large initials, brackets joining the lines of each couplet, and the strokes through the initial letters of the lines in red; written in the West Midlands during the fifteenth century.² It is signed by the scribe³ on fol. 43a:⁴

"Explicit Passio domini / nostri ihesu christi Quod Dominus Gilbertus / Pylkyngton Amen / finis adest mete venit explicit ergo valete."

Nothing is known of Gilbert Pylkyngton.⁵ The Pilkingtons of Lancashire were prominent from the twelfth century;⁶ branches of the family were settled in Yorkshire,⁷ Nottinghamshire⁸ and Hertfordshire⁹ in the fifteenth century. The West Midland dialect of F makes it probable that the scribe belonged to some branch of the Lancashire Pilkingtons, but the family records contain no mention of Gilbert. The contents of F are listed in the printed Catalogue of Camb. Univ. MSS. (1857), III. p. 505 ff.

The Passion is divided into sections which begin with a large initial and a line of bolder writing underlined in red. Vv. 189–280 are wrongly placed after

¹ The letters o and e are often indistinguishable.
² According to the printed Catalogue of Camb. Univ. MSS. (1858), III. p. 505. It is dated middle of the fifteenth century by Murray (E. E. T. S. 61, p. lviii), and the end of the fifteenth century by Brandl (Sammlung Englischer Denkmaler, 1880, II. p. 1). By Halliwell (Shakespeare Soc., 1845, p. 56), on the other hand, it is placed early in the fifteenth century, by Wright (Turnament of Totenham, London, 1836, p. ix) as early as Edward II.; Sir Sidney Lee (D. N. B., article "Pilkington") calls it fourteenth century, and Warton (History of English Poetry, 1840, III. 98) thinks it as late as Henry VIII.
³ That Pylkyngton was the scribe and not the author is the opinion of Sir Sidney Lee (D. N. B.); see also Hartshorne, Ancient Metrical Tales (1829), p. x; Catalogue of Camb. Univ. MSS. (1857), II. p. 505.
⁴ The D. N. B. (XV. 1909, p. 1179) states that Pilkington's signature is found with the Tournament of Totenham, its sequel The Feest and the Tale of Robin Hood in the same MS.; but the only signature of Pilkington appears to be that following the Northern Passion.
⁵ Bedwell (The Turnament of Totenham, London 1631) surmises that Pilkington was Pastor of Totenham (see title-page) in the fourteenth century, and wrote the Passion, Tournament of Totenham, The Feest and the Tale of Robin Hood, all in F (see Preface). None of these details are supported by contemporary evidence. Sir Sidney Lee in the D. N. B. recognizes Pilkington as the scribe rather than the author of the MS., but dates the MS. in the fourteenth century, and gives Pilkington's floruit as 1350. On the date of the MS. see the references above in note 2.
⁷ History of the Pilkington Family, p. 68.
718. Evidently a folio was misplaced, but since the break occurs not at the end, but in the middle of a page, the confusion already existed in the MS. from which F was copied. The following marginal notes occur: fol. 11a, ihesu mercy; fol. 12a, Lady helpe; fol. 14a, Sancta dei Genntrix virgo Semper maria; fol. 16b, ihesu; fol. 17a, mercy; fol. 32b smyth d / godless d / vice d / west d / Cinwude (?) v d; fol. 33a, ihesu mercy; fol. 41a, crist Amen; fol. 43a, ihesu mercy.

A. Ashmole MS. 61, ff. 87b-105b.

A paper MS., 161 leaves, 420 × 117 mm., single columns of 50 to 56 lines, coarse clear hand; a fish drawn after many of the articles; the large initials in red, and the lines of each couplet connected by a red bracket; written in the Midlands "in or before the reign of Henry VII"1 by Rate or Rathe.2 The contents of the MS. are listed in the Catalogue of Ashmolean MSS. by Black (1845), pp. 106-110.

The Longinus episode from the Passion (vv. 1829-96) is printed by Dr. R. J. Peebles in The Legend of Longinus, pp. 97-9.3

R. MS. Rawlinson C. 86, ff. 2a-30b.

R consists of two distinct parts, the first (ff. 1-30) contains only the Northern Passion, the second (ff. 31 ff.) is written on paper of a different size in a different hand. For a description of the entire volume and list of contents see Sir F. Madden, Syr Gawayne, p. lxiv.4 The Northern Passion is partly on paper and partly (ff. 1, 10, 11, 20, 21, 26, 27) on vellum, 203 × 280 mm. Each page contains 34 to 38 lines written in a clear hand. On the back of fol. 1, opposite the beginning of the Passion, is a picture of the crucifixion; the large initial at the beginning of the poem is illuminated and the decoration continued as a border around the page; large initials in red; the long letters in the top and bottom lines are often lengthened into ornamental scrolls. The MS. was written in the Southern Midlands at the end of the fifteenth century.5 After the explicit of the Northern Passion the owner's name is inscribed: "Iste liber constat

1 According to the Catalogue of the Ashmolean MSS. by Black (1845), p. 106. This MS. is assigned to the end of the fifteenth century by Hales and Furnivall (Bishop Percy's Folio MS., London, 1868, II. p. 411), H. Gruber (Zu dem mittelenglischen Dialog 'Ipsiis', Berlin, 1887, p. 5), M. Kahuza (Libeaus Desconus, Altenglische Bibliotheck, V. Leipzig, 1890, p. x), and A. Treichel (Englische Studien, XXII. 361); to the end of the fifteenth century or beginning of the sixteenth century by Zupitza (Herrig's Archiv, LXXXII. p. 210); to the beginning of the sixteenth century by G. Lüdtke (The Earf of Toulouse and the Emperef of Almawyn, Sammlung Engliher Denkmäler, Berlin, 1881, p. 1); to the middle of the fifteenth century by Harts-horne, Ancient Metrical Tales (London, 1820, p. xxiii); and to the second quarter of the fifteenth century by Ziellke (Sir Orfro, Breslau, 1889, p. 22).

2 Rate is signed after articles 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 38, and Rathe after 29.

3 Bryn Mawr College Monographs, Monograph Series, vol. ix (1911).

4 Bannatyne Club, London, 1839; see also Catalogue of Rawlinson MSS. V. 2 (1878), pp. 27 ff. (no. 11951), and Hammond, Chaucer, A Bibliographical Manual (New York, 1908), p. 185.

5 Madden, loc. cit.; Catalogue, p. 28.
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[would erased] / Wyllielmus Aylesbury Monachus / Sancti Salvatoris de Bermundesay." 1 The priory of St. Saviour's, Bermondsey, near London, was founded for Cluniac monks by Alwin Child, a citizen of London, in 1082. 2 No William Aylesbury is mentioned in connection with it, but the owner of R may be one of the family of Aylesbury living in Buckinghamshire, 3 Warwickshire 4 and Northamptonshire 5 in the fifteenth century. At a later period the MS. belonged to Randall D . . ., Wm. Howard of Naworth, and Knox Ward, Clarenceux King-of-Arms. 6

Since this MS. came to my notice after the text of the Passion was already partially printed, I am not able to include the variant readings in footnotes. The loss, however, is not great, for the text of R has undergone so much modernization that few good readings are found which are not also in other MSS. Excerpts from the MS. may be found in Variants and Fragments, No. 2.


On the last folio of the MS., which contains Latin letters of Thomas à Becket, etc., and the Evangelium Nicodemi, 7 are vv. 300–438 of the Northern Passion. Fol. 161 is of parchment, 186 x 143 mm., 29–30 lines on a page, written in the South of England in the fifteenth century. 8 Each line in the MS. contains two lines of the Passion—the second verse of one couplet and the first verse of the succeeding couplet. This arrangement may be explained by supposing that the scribe began by writing a couplet to the line, but at some point skipped a verse which stood in his original. vv. 357–8 are written twice by mistake. The scribe is peculiar in his occasional use of ih for ; : 308, 338 ihe ; 361 ihore, and cf. iow 365.

This fragment, which was pointed out to me by Professor Carleton Brown when the text was already partially in proof, is printed in Variants and Fragments, No. 4.


Two leaves of the Northern Passion are bound up with various historical and other pieces in Cotton Vesp. D. IX. For a description of the MS. see Ward,

1 Fol. 30b.
2 For an account of St. Saviour's, see The Victoria County History of Surrey (London, 1907), II. p. 64.
5 Collectanea Topographica (London, 1841), VII. 256.
6 Catalogue of Rawlinson MSS. (Oxford, 1878), V. 2, p. 28.
7 This narrative is printed from other MSS. by Tischendorf (Evangelia Apocrypha, Leipzig, 1876), pp. 333–416.
8 According to the opinion kindly expressed to me by Mr. David T. Baird Wood, Superintendent of the MS. room in the British Museum.
Catalogue of Romances (1893), II. p. 539. The fragment is on paper 135 × 197 mm., single columns of 27 lines, and was written in the Midlands about 1450.

This fragment, which was pointed out to me by Professor Carleton Brown after the text was partially in proof, is printed in Variants and Fragments, No. 5.

§ 2. The Expanded Version.

P. MS. Rawlinson Poetry 175, ff. 55b–76a.

A parchment MS., 136 ff. and a title page, 203 × 283 mm., double columns of 44 lines, clear hand; lines of Latin and a few large initials in red; written about 1350 in the North of England, "owned in 1630 by Christofer Fauell, perhaps earlier by Raphe Wormoud. The MS. came to Rawlinson from the Thoresby Collection." The contents of the MS. (listed in the Summary Catalogue of Bodleian MSS. III. p. 321) are all ascribed to Richard Rolle of Hampole by the late title page.

Though the Passion is here separate from the expanded version of the Northern Homily Collection, it is preceded by the same heading as in T and H. "In parasceue domini / Passio domini nostri Iesu / christi secundum Marcum / Matheum Lucam t / Iohannem" (fol. 55b).

The MS. was pointed out to me by Professor Carleton Brown when the text of the Passion was already partially printed. I regret that the earliest of the three MSS. of the expanded version should not be incorporated in the text, but a list of the variants will be found below.


A vellum MS., 281 ff., double columns of 48 lines, written in two hands, clear and much alike: A. (ff. 1–81) The Mirror of Life, B. (ff. 82 to end) including the Northern Passion; large initials in blue and red, lines of Latin in red. Through injuries received in the Cottonian fire, the outer portion of the pages is destroyed, especially towards the bottom, so that the ends of many lines in the second col. of the recto as well as the beginnings of many in the first col. of the verso of each folio are lost. The pages, which now measure about 289 by 167 mm., are mounted on paper.

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1 This fragment describes the Agony in Gethsemane, not the Transfiguration as Ward states.
2 Large initials in the Passion occur less frequently than in T and H, namely at vv. 2/1*, 271, 432a, 635, 817, 149/11*, 157/475*, 161/607*, 1439, 248/1*.
3 Madan, Summary Catalogue, III. 321.
4 Madan, loc. cit.
6 See Variants and Fragments, No. 3.
7 The first scribe is distinguishable by the use of the tailed r and long-stemmed f's and s's.
Introduction.

T was written in the North of England about 1400. The contents are listed in Ward’s Catalogue of Romances (1893), II. 740.

H. Harleian MS. 4196, ff. 67a–86a.

A vellum MS., 258 ff., 380 x 277 mm., double columns of 48 lines each; four scribes: A. (ff. 2–131) the Northern Homily Collection, including the Passion, a careful hand; B. (ff. 133a–164b) the first part of the Legend Collection; C. (ff. 165–205) remainder of the Legend Collection, copied from T; D. (ff. 206–58) the Gospel of Nicodemus and Prick of Conscience; initials of red, blue and gold, Latin lines in red; written in the North of England at the opening of the fifteenth century. The MS. was owned by William Browne, the poet, in 1622, and by Wanley in 1725. The contents of this MS. are listed by Ward. Vv. 146/1506 of the Passion are printed from this MS. by Morris (E.E.T.S. 46, pp. 62–86) and vv. 1840–248/10* by Horstmann (Herrig’s Archiv. LVII. 78–83).

CHAPTER III

DIALECT

§ 1. Introductory.

The title Northern Passion, by which our poem is conveniently distinguished from the Southern Passion, a slightly earlier poem written in the South of England, is one which was first assigned it by Horstmann. With the MS. evidence before us, however, it is necessary to consider again the question of the dialect in which the poem was originally composed. It is to be observed in the first place that only two of the eleven MSS. of the original poem are written in the Northern dialect; that Camb. Univ. MS. Gg. 1, 1, and Rawl. C. 655, the two earliest MSS., are Southern, and that it is not till the second half of the fourteenth century that a MS. appears in moderately pure Northern


2 See also Horstmann, op. cit., pp. lxxviii ff., and Yorkshire Writers, II. 274.


6 Catalogue of Romances, II. 739; see also Horstmann, loc. cit., and Hulme, E. E. T. S., C. pp. xxvii–xxviii.

7 A poem of long lines found in some MSS. of the South English Legendary. A fragment from Laud 108 is printed by Horstmann (Leben Jesu, Münster, 1873), and an extract from Harl. 2277 by Professor Carleton Brown in Modern Language Notes, XXVI. pp. 15–18. See also Dr. R. J. Peebles, The Legend of Longinus (Baltimore, 1911), pp. 93–96.

8 Horstmann, Altengl. Leg., n. F., p. lxvi.
Dialect.  

The Camb. without For See always the a app. Southern end-rhymes due only Sprache, portance showing are original South indiscriminately the are supported the MSS. material with England. This conclusion, based upon the evidence of language, is supported by the close connection of the poem with Northern literature. Not only does it occur in two MSS. in close proximity to the Northern Homily Collection, but in the fourteenth century it was incorporated in that collection as the sermon for Good Friday. Furthermore, the playwrights of the two Northern cycles of Miracle Plays, York and Towneley, prove their familiarity with the Passion by their use of it in the plays. There is no doubt, therefore, that the poem is rightly designated the Northern Passion.

The determination of the original home of the Northern Passion affords material assistance in dealing with the questions of dialect which the several MSS. present. In the case of some of these MSS., Northern and Southern forms are almost equally numerous: the Northern 3 pers. sing. pres., ending -es divides the field with the Southern -eth, and both forms of the infinitive ending appear indiscriminately: without final -n as in the North, and with final -n as in the South and Midland. Under these circumstances we may assume that the original poem contained the Northern forms, and that the Southern forms are due to a Midland or Southern scribe. If a MS. presents a uniform dialect, end-rhymes agreeing with usage in the middle of the line, the dialect is probably that in which the poem was written; but when Northern and Southern forms are mixed, we may regard the Northern forms as survivals of the original dialect showing through the Southern colouring which the transcriber has given to the text. Furthermore, the fact that the original poem was Northern, gives importance to every distinctly Southern form that appears: a participle with the Southern prefix y- or the rare occurrence of initial w- for O.E. hw- is enough to show that a Southern scribe has at some time transcribed the text.


In determining the dialect of each MS. I have made use of the following principles:

1. O.E. ā remains unchanged in the North, but in the Midland and South becomes o.

1 For the evidence in detail see below, § 3.

2 Camb. Univ. MSS. Gg. 5. 31 and Dd. 1. 1.

3 See above, p. 3.

4 The tests are adapted from the lists of Kaluza (Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache, Berlin, 1907), II. pp. 12-14, and Morsbach (Mittelenglische Grammatik, Halle, 1896), pp. 12-24.
2. In Kentish e frequently represents O.E. ā, which elsewhere becomes a.
3. For O.E. ā before r in adverbs and verbs, we generally find a in the North, in the North Midland o, in the rest of the Midland and the South usually e, rarely a.
4. For O.E. a, ea before ld, the North has a, the Midland and South (except Kent) o, and Kent e.
5. O.E. y, ȳ in the North and Midland regularly becomes i; in Kent e, in the South-west u.
6. For O.E. c (k), the North regularly has k, the Midland and South generally ch.
7. O.E. hw in the North becomes qu, in the Midland wh, in the South w.
8. In Kentish the initial voiceless spirant f- becomes v-.
9. As the plural ending of substantives, the North uses -es almost exclusively; the Midland and South use both -es and -en.
10. The personal pronoun of the feminine singular in the North is sco, scho, in the Midland zhō, zhe, scho, sche, in the South heo, he; the third plural personal pronoun in the North is ūai, ūair, ūaim or ūam, in the Midland ūei, her, hem, in the South hi, here, hem. The plural of the demonstrative pronoun appears in the North as ūir, ūer, elsewhere as ūese. In the North we find slīk, suilk, for swich and such.
11. The preterit plural of strong verbs in the North has usually taken over the vowel of the singular, while in the Midland and South the distinction in vowels is for the most part preserved. Preterit-present verbs have usually one form for 3 pers. sing. and pl. in the North (sall, may, wate, etc.), but in the Midland and South the vowel of the 3 pers. pl. is different from that of the sing. (schal and schul, may and move, wote and wite, etc.).
12. In the second conjugation weak the derivative suffix -i- has disappeared in the North and Midland, but is frequently retained in the South.
13. The final -n of the infinitive and preterit plural had wholly disappeared in the North at a time when it was still generally preserved in the Midland and South.
14. The final -n of the strong preterit participle was regularly retained in the North, but usually disappeared in the Midland and South.
15. The O.E. prefix ge- in the preterit participle was no longer used in the North at a time when it was still frequently retained in the South as i- or y-.
16. The personal endings of the pres. ind. are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>North</th>
<th>Midland</th>
<th>South</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 sing.</td>
<td>-es</td>
<td>-es, -ep</td>
<td>-ep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>-es, -e</td>
<td>-en, -e</td>
<td>-ep</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
17. The present participle in the North has the ending -and, in the Midland -end(e), later -inge, in the South -inde, later -inge.

18. In the North we find the words tané, bus, thethyn, thusgates, omell, till (prep.), whills, at (= that), which do not occur in Southern texts.

The results of these tests are given below in word-lists classified under the several principles of the foregoing list. Since the poem is Northern and most of the MSS. Midland, we should not expect to find such Southern characteristics as the prefix y- on the preterit participle, or the retention of the -i- suffix in weak verbs of the second class, and, as a matter of fact, these phenomena are rare. It has not seemed wise, therefore, to make a list from each MS. of forms which lack these Southern characteristics, but whenever they occur, I have noted them. Before discussing the separate MSS. I have tested the rhyme words in the original version of the poem, in order to present the evidence for the opinion expressed above, that the author wrote in a Northern dialect.

§ 3. The Rhyme Words of the Original Version.

The rhymes of the Passion are Northern. The only exception is that O.E. a, when not followed by w, becomes o. But inasmuch as Fröhlich ¹ has shown that o-forms occasionally appear in the rhymes of Northern poems, the Passion may be assigned to the Southern border of the Northern dialect.²

1. O.E. a final, or before n > o; before w > a: onone: Iohn 10, 179, 611, 618, 1739; so: to 451, 773, 1385; ilkone: Iohn 496, 557; do: alsson 621; onone: apon 735; so: do 945, 1159, 1271, 1481; onone: don 1600, 1642, etc.; but drawe: thrawe 60; felawes: plawes 169; knawe: sawe 521, etc.

6. O.E. c (k) was written k, not softened to ch: seke: meke 98, 146, 301, 530, 539.

9. Hand has the Northern plural hende ³ rhyming with friende 217.


¹ De Lamentacione sancte Marie (Leipzig, 1902), pp. 53–4.
² In the Towneley Plays (Southern Yorkshire) O.E. á > o: wo: jord: floo III. 116; fone: done, III. 99; but before -w it is a: trau: draw: knaw: daw, III. 244. These rhymes are all from the Noah Play, which is definitely connected with Wakefield by a MS. note (The Towneley Plays, E. E. T. S. LXXI. pp. xxii and 23).
³ Cursor Mundi, 3506, 17142, Prick of Conscience, 3214, Towneley Mysteries, I. 262.
Introduction.


16. The pres. 2 and 3 pers. sing. end in -s: iudas: has 552; dedis: dredis 668.

17. The pres. pple. has the Northern ending -ande: hande: travaillande 174; bledande: hande 585.


G1 was copied by a Southern1 scribe. The dialect is in general Southern, but occasional Northern forms survive. The peculiarities of language are in large measure due to the scribe's ignorance of English. Two characteristics occur which are probably typical of the English written by the Normans: (1) the uncertainty in regard to initial h: heuchon 10, 1051; his (vb.) 160; hende 372; hi (pron. first pers.) 532; ham (first pers. of vb. be) 532; hup 567; hille 779, 1033, 1112; hout 938; hanswered 993; hiule 1490, beside is 820, aston 1493; and (2) the avoidance of guttural -gh

2 (abouth 4, noth 5, pith 38, mitht 408, lith 460, rith 562, notht 579, roth 588, ritht 593, potht 697, brothen 932, etc.). The difficulties of a French scribe writing English would be increased by the fact that he was here transcribing a Northern MS.

1. O.E. ð > ŏ: soweles 5; throwe 60; cnowe 264; lore 287b; crowe 409; prove 410; cnowe 732; Owen 884; gon 1319; euchon 1320; anon 1339; more 1365; no 1374; hole 1405; holi 1407, etc.: exceptions: fulaxes 169 (rhyming with plaves), fulace 719; fulaxes 2022 (rhyming with plaves).

2. O.E. õ sometimes becomes e, as in Kentish: meste 156; sein 207 (for setin), setin 209; mest 840.

3. O.E. õ + r > e: weren 1321, 1322; ûer 1324, 1338, 1396; were 1327, 1395, 1404; werin 1330; ûere 1366; 1406, etc.; beside ûar 96, 276, 1321, 1374, 1376; ûare 958, etc.

4. O.E. a, ea before ld > ŏ: solde 129, 833; bold 245, 681; isold 246; mani-

folde 834; soldest 843; toldest 844; holdeth 948; tolden 1346, etc.

1 Horstmann, Altenglische Legende, n. F., p. lxvi.

2 MS. confusion between c and t makes it difficult to determine whether -tht or -cht has been written; but since -cht is a late Scottish form, it is probable that -tht should be read in the majority of instances. Mätzner in editing the Proverbs of Hendyng from this MS. (Altenglische Sprachproben, I. 1867, pp. 304 ff.) always reads -t-, and remarks, "In unserem Texte steht y-sotht nach einer vielfach anzutreffenden graphischen Unart für y-soht, 'sought,' obwohl daneben auch die berechtigten Konsonantenverbindungen erscheinen. Ähnlich findet sich hier: fyght 77, cloth 111, wrotht 112, etc." (p. 305). Horstmann is apparently wrong in reading fichten, dichten, etc. in vv. 2085-6 of the Northern Passion (Altenglische Legenden, n. F., p. lxvi), and throughout the text of this MS. -t- is probably the correct reading in this combination.
5. O.E. y is sometimes represented by u: sturte 266; sullen 415; nulle 424; furst 468; lustet 1019; lustne 1061 (MS. Sustne); burthzen 1567, etc.

6. c (k) is regularly ch: ich 158, 188, 240, 356 (oftener I); seche 537; þonche 738; tristilich 1076; lolich 1099; euchon 1320, 1330; chirche 1342b; wirche 1353; euche 1391, 1397, 1418, etc., beside seke 539 (rhyming with mek).

7. O.E. hw > w: wan 95, 265, 271, 287g, 1343, 1353, 1398; wer 370, 1373; wile 408, 430; wi 928; wen 1394; wo 1399, etc.

8. O.E. f occasionally becomes v: vair 163; veir 176; vadir 449; women 512; vire 683; vader 1791 and cf. ver 845 (= wer).

9. Occasional Southern plurals of substantives occur: eyien 733; tren 1321, 1322; gamen 1328; knen 1887.

10. Among the pronouns we find Northern, Midland and Southern forms: 3 pers. sing. fem.: yo 104; ho 107, 108, 109, 111, 112, 113, 118; ha 105, 689, 691; 3 pers. plural: þai 91, 1026, 1327; þei 1304, 1307, 1318, 1320, 1327, 1342b, 1344; hii 24; hi 62, 604; a 201, 589, 604, 605, 676, 878, 1000; her 18, 21, 23, 31, 1402, 1406; har 1346; hem 1361, 1402; ham 137, 502; suche 150; such 388, 1118; þesilke 649; þilke 39; þes 161, 544, 652.

11. The preterit plural of strong verbs is not like the 3 sing., and pret. pres. verbs distinguish the vowel of the plural from that of the sing. Pret. plural: speken 24, 968, 1032, 1036; setin 207, 209; berin 1354; letin 1360; breken 1629, etc., beside sprange 13; gan 1363. Pret. pres.: vite 32; mowen 64; schule 65; sschulle 139; sschul 377, 414; sschulde 379; schullen 1492; mou 1662, etc., beside ssal 1026.

12. The infinitive generally lacks final -n, and the preterit plural usually keeps it, but there are many exceptions in both cases: inf. late 1298; þrine 1298; sprede 1333; mak 1339; wirche 1353; falle 1360; take 1363; haue 1369; abide 1375, 1377, etc.; beside speken 18; leien 84; criene 178; quellen 416; seruen 1340; risen 1342; baten 1400, etc. Pret. plural: comyn 17; spekyn 24; stodin 639; gonen 640; fellon 862; stoden 1320; berin 1354; letin 1360; sworin 1366; slongen 1372, etc.; beside sprange 13; gon 76a, 93, 198, 1353; come 425; droth 628; con 798; droth 1355; gan 1363; seith 1396, etc.

13. The pret. pple. usually ends in -n: lorn 34; yeuen 130; nomen 386; nomin 1307; koruen 1308; waxin 1332; comin 1409; sworin 1471; forlorn 1472; boren 1541, etc.; beside ibore 287a (rhyming with lore sb.); icome 287c (rhyming with some); ismite 568.

14. The pret. pple. usually ends in -n: lorn 34; yeuen 130; nomen 386; nomin 1307; koruen 1308; waxin 1332; comin 1409; sworin 1471; forlorn 1472; boren 1541, etc.; beside ibore 287a (rhyming with lore sb.); icome 287c (rhyming with some); ismite 568.

15. The prefix i- or y- for older ge- is frequent: ipreisid 96; ibore 287a; icome 287c; ysonped 287g; ismite 568; ydon 1024; idrotht 1343, etc.

16. In the pres. tense, the 3 sing. ends in -it, -it, -eth, -ist; plural -eth, -et, 

1 a as 3 pers. pronoun occurs in Southern MSS.; see Mätzner, Allenglische Sprachproben, II. p. 1.
Introduction.

- en. 3 sing.: seitz 243, 911; havit; 263; goi; 383; bihowit 754; biowit 873; seith 913; biowit 926; holdeth 948; fallit 950; havit 975; reweth 1004, etc. Plural: habit 140; chipet; 357; soffred 369; spedden 384; bact 790; were 1016; penketh 1124; han 1410; gette 1460; stondit; 1546; weneth 2064, etc.

17. The pres. pple. ends in -and, -end or -ing: comind 480; wepend 744; speaping 1097; wasken 441; quakend 442; fleyend 460; wepend 479; straueilling 174; bleeding 585; coming 959; talking 983, etc.

§ 5. C.

The dialect of C is that of the south-western part of England. It is probable that the MS. was written at Wells; for according to the marginal note on fol. 11 it was owned in Wells in the eighteenth century, and a comparison of the language with that of the speech of Caiphas, the Palm-Sunday prophet, which Professor Carleton Brown locates at Wells, reveals many similarities. Peculiarities of this text are (1) the use of u for e in unaccented end-syllables (lawns 11, vertuus 13; Iuus 15; gedered 19; wordus 669, 672, 702; fadur 792; penius 832; platus 851, etc., and (2) the use of ou or ow for O.E. ð (foute 138*, goude 147*, 285, 420, 515; anowpe 294; fowsoupe 665; forpowte 728; fowsoupe 830; soupe 917, etc.). The first of these is characteristic of the west Midlands, and may be due to an earlier scribe; the latter is found in Layamon (goud 6 and goudhe 7).

1. O.E. a > o unless followed by w when it gives a: so 13*; holy 21*, 28*, 35*; stones 44*, 47*; no 65*; ston 65*; go 82*, 102* etc.; beside namore 86*; wam 58; stale 213; saule 178*, 863; prave 60, 635; knawe 521; fvelawe 628a; fvelaw 719; knawe 732; croawe 733, etc.; but krown 409; knoun 614; frow 643; know 644.

2. O.E. æ > e: þere 23*, 85*, 111*, 101, 195; þerein 8; þeron 75; were 141*, 147*, 188*; beside pore (rhyming with sore) 728.

3. O.E. a, ea before nd gives o: ysold 86k; ytolde 86l; bolde 245; ysold 246; solde 499; tolde 500; folden 623; holden 624, etc.

4. O.E. y gives u, sometimes e: yhurde 31*; furst 38*, 250, 255; sunful 72*, 104; sunne 109*, 831; purst 186*; sunnis 110; sutt 362, etc.; beside senne 92*, 93*; 104*, 117*, 122, 233; sunful 94*; sweche 763; and synne 10*.

5. O.E. c(k) > ch: euerich 3*; wyslyche 23*; riche 118*; theche 158*; echone 26; ech 116, 120; michel 121; seche 537; foulche 678; techinge 749; wirche 1353, etc.; beside preke 157*; mical 96; seke 98; sek 146; tekinge 753, 790; kerke 1354.

1 See above, p. 10.
2 Kittredge Anniversary Papers (Boston, 1913), pp. 116-117.
4 The citations of C are from Variants and Fragments, No. 1. Line numbers followed by a star refer to the first 196 lines.
5 Morsbach, Mittelenglische Grammatik, p. 15.
6 Ed. Madden Rolls Series, I. 170.
7 Ibid., I. 150.
7. O.E. *hw* usually becomes *w*, but a few *qu*-forms appear: *wat* 4*, 5*, 153*, 32; *wenne* 25*, 86c, 95; *wan* 53*, 69*, 155*, *wanne* 104*; *hoso* 141*; *wam* 58; *were* 177; *vyche* 256, etc.; beside *qwat* 189*; *quat* 2025, 2070; queder 2044; *guen* 2084 and *when* 1999.

8. O.E. initial *f* sometimes becomes *v* : *vor* 2*, 61*, 64*, 91*, 181*; *vorto*, 154*; *pervore* 175*; *vol* 89, etc.

9. Occasional Southern plurals of nouns occur: *honden* 589, 600b; *eizen* 800.


11. The preterit plural of strong verbs has the vowel of the singular, and preterit-present verbs have usually one form for plural and third singular. Preterit plural: *spak* 24, 519; *fonde* 73, 1292; *sawe* 163; *saf* 799; *sate* 998; *bond* 1195, 1201, etc.; beside *seten* 209; *spoken* 1032; *gun* 1281. Pret. pres.: *schal* 105*; *ssal* 135, 143, 184, 235, 391, 414, 429, 666, 791; *may* 137, 264; *maye* 595, etc.; beside *wite* 32, 356; *sulre* 139; *ssulle* 181; *sollre* 185, 187; *mouwe* 222.

13. The infinitive, and the preterit plural of strong verbs are usually without final -n. Inf.: *telle* 4*; *bringe* 6*; *wynne* 9*; *fulfille* 20*; *wone* 34*; *fonde* 43*, 55*, 69*; *bygile* 54*; *drede* 69*, etc.; beside *gone* 25; *don* 42; *sain* 431. Pret. plural: *spredde* 13, 82; *spak* 24, 519; *com* 175; *bygonne* 297, 609; *slep* 484; *swore* 550; *gonne* 677; *gon* 798, etc.; beside *seten* 209; *quoken* 254; *blawen* 516.

14. The preterit participle of strong verbs usually takes -n: *forlorn* 34; *gon* 52; *don* 104, 167; *golden* 142; *wrieten* 143; *bonden* 167; *comen* 191, etc.; beside *bede* 62*; *take* 194*; *forsake* 247; *comme* 245, 374.

15. The preterit participle frequently has the prefix *y*-: *ybozte* 8*; *yhurde* 31*; *ywyrte* 61*; *yfonden* 113*; *ybonden* 114*; *yfallen* 141*; *ysold* 86k; *ytolde* 86l; *ydo* 141, etc.

16. The endings of the third pers. pres. are sing -ęp, plural -ęp. Sing.: *hauep* 8*; *berep* 30*; *lyuep* 49*; *ffinep* 102*; *hauep* 106*, 113*, 37; *saeiep* 107*; *zynepep* 168*; *seiep* 35; *criep* 114; *činkep* 127, etc.; beside *lakes* 34*; *says* 41*; *aues* 62*; *saiep* 101*; *ledes* 165* and *sait* 204; *eilet* 777. Plural: *leuep* 1*; *redęp* 26*; *sofrep* 160*, 161*; *soffreyęp* 170*; *letęp* 25; *hauep* 304, etc.; beside *rede* 103; *lone* 159; *calle* 316; *bind* 591; and *biddet* 345.

17. The pres. pple. ends in -and(e): *travailande* 174; *wakande* 441; *wakande* 442; *fflead* 460; *slepend* 486; *bysettand* 514; *farande* 586; *liuand* 659, etc.; beside *stondende* 66; *comende* 480; *bledende* 585; *spidende* 677; and *slepinde* 467; *wepinde* 479.
18. Northern forms occurring are *til* or *tillé* (prep.): 14*; 422, 520; *als* 167*, 9, 284, etc.

§ 6. C₅.

This MS.¹ preserves the Northern dialect without any serious admixture of Southern forms; the language of this MS. is the nearest of any to that in which the poem was composed.

1. O.E. ā usually becomes o: *one* 10; *euirilkone* 25; *gone* 26; *nokynns* 54; *two* 61; *clothis* 82; *onone* 133; *mo* 234; *sore* 455; *more* 456, etc.; but in many cases O.E. ā is represented by a: *haly* 38, 103; *sla* 40; *waa* 49; *sla* 50; *gane* 52; *nakynns* 53; *na* 54; *whame* 58; *sare* 110, etc.; before w, a is regular: *sawles* 4; *saules* 5; *thrawe* 60, 410; *awne* 146; *felawys* 169; *awne* 189; *knaue* 264; *crawe* 409; *knaue* 521, etc.

3. O.E. ā before r in verbs and adverbs is written a, rarely o: *pare* 8, 10, 31, 60, 74, 76; *war* 52, 74, 126, 252; *whare* 210, 397, etc.; but note *whore* 177; or 386; and *wer* 364.

4. O.E. a, ea before -ld appears as a: *hald* (adj.) 11; *hald* (vb.) 177, 238; *bald* 245; *sald* 246, 829, 843; *faldyn* 623; *haldyn* 624; *vnbdal* 681; *cald* 682; *tald* 844, etc.; beside *sald* 895; *told* 896.

6. O.E. c (k) is written k: *wyrke* 18; *seke* 98, 146, 301; *ilke* 120, 288; *ilkone* 134, 257, 350, 363, 364; *whylk* 143/iir*; *swylk* 143/i33*; *kyrke* 144/215*, etc.

9. The Northern plural *hend* occurs 217.

10. The pronouns appear under Northern forms: *scho* 104, 105, 106, 107, 108; *pai* 17, 19, 25, 41, 47; *paire* 24, 82; *pare* 18; *paine* 22, 25, 41, 83, 90; *pier* 145. Beside these regular forms, we find the 3 pers. plural nom. *pa* 28, 40, 74, 79, 197.

11. The preterit plural of strong verbs has taken the vowel of the singular; and pret. pres. verbs have one form for 3 sing. and plural. Preterit plural: *spake* 24, 25, 376; *gan* 71; *fand* 73, 199; *began* 87, 297; *gafe* 163; *satte* 207; *sat* 209, etc. Pret. pres.: *wote* 32; *sall* 68, 135, 139, 181, 184, 187, 195; *may* 137, 196, 222, 264, etc.

13. The inf. and the preterit plural of strong verbs are without final -n. Inf.: *dwell* 8; *fulfyll* 11; *call* 22; *folone* 28; *abide* 51; *lese* 68; *hafe* 105; *crafe* 106, etc. Preterit plural: *spake* 24, 25, 376; *tuke* 36; *gan* 71, 198; *fand* 73; *began* 87, 297; *gafe* 163; *satte* 207, etc.

14. The pret. pple. of strong verbs ends in -n: *forlorne* 34; *zholden* 142; *written* 143; *comyn* 191, 245; *takyn* 247, 386; *borne* 252; *taken* 325; *forsaken* 326; *wyrinten* 381, etc.

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hase 3, 248; behouys 88, 294, 307, 319; sayse 127; has 141, 246; says 181, 243; uther 261; forgetis 262; berys 309; beris 311; fallys 339, etc.; but methynke 127, 304. Plural: accordys 10; streves 84; redis 103; has 290; suffyr 369; we lat 26; the hafe 304; we pray 345; and see 308; call 316.

17. The pres. pple. ends in -and: standand 66; traunailand 174; wakand 441; quwakand 442; flyghtand 460; wepan 479; comand 480, etc.; beside conyng 959 (rhyming with walkynge sh.).

18. Northern words occurring are tyll (prep.) 56, 59, 202, etc.; at (= þat) 64; to-whyls 430. The forms weyn 70, 198; heynd 197; heyndly 216; freyn 218, are paralleled in the Towneley Plays by heynd VII. 174; feyn VII. 171; weyn II. 132.

§ 7. D.

D is stated by Horstmann 2 and Gerould 3 to be in Southern dialect; but since it lacks many characteristics usually present in Southern MSS. (e.g. nos. 7, 10, 12, 15 in the list of § 2, and -p as ending of 3 plural pres.), it may more probably be ascribed to the South Midland.

1. O.E. ā > o: anon 566, 611, 693, 718, 723; more 568, 743; whoso 569; holy 586; so 612, 633, 773; alone 617; throwe 643; knowe 644; owne 673; gone 673; gon 694; crowe 733, etc.; beside felaw 719.

3. O.E. ā before r becomes e when the word is within the line, but o when the word is in rhyme: were 579, 590, 592, 1194b; there 617, 1521; where 750; per 1199, 1210, 1214, 1386; wherto 1541, etc.; beside thore 728, 1188, 1242a, 1366, 1406; were 750; whore 1242b.

4. O.E. a, ea before -ld gives o: folde 623; bolde 624; bold 681; cold 682, etc.; beside halde 1214b.

5. O.E. y, though usually represented by i, is found as e in sterte 631; ferst 1399; beside styrte 771.

6. O.E. e (k) > ch, or k: moche 572, 1216, 1627, 1652; swich 763, 1463, 1725, etc.; beside ilke 1611, 1728; euerilkon 1267; mekil 636a, 636c, 644, 1568, 1572, etc.

7. O.E. hw occurs as wh: whan 565, 666a, 721; what 633, 675, 691; whos 716, 748; where 750; wher 757; whi 763, etc.

8. F is a voiceless spirant and is not written v as in the South: farin 594; fyre 683; fere 692; face 701; folow 704a; folk 740; fel 768, etc.

10. The pronouns have Midland forms: sche 688, 689; pei 588, 589, 604, 605, 626, 627; hire 667, 1372; hem 632, 752, 759, 765.

11. The preterit plural of strong verbs is found in two forms and pret. pres. verbs have two forms for the plural. Preterit plural: gunne 626; smetin 680;

1 E. E. T. S., LXXI.
3 The North-English Homily Collection, p. 6.
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strewyn 722; smette 1215; drewyn 1622; beside began 640, 1953; gan 1363, 1607, 1614, 1617, 1648; mate 1364. Pret. pres.: schul 642, 666, 1460, 1494, 1538a, 1539, 1545, 1546, etc.; beside schal 1185, may 648a, 706, 767, 1535.

13. The infinitive is frequently found with -n, perhaps more frequently without; the preterit plural of strong verbs is usually without -n. Inf.: cryen 640; gapin 640; casten 643; reysen 646; knowin 648a; comen 666a, etc., beside tyde 633; abide 634; dene 667; crye 672b; chide 700; threte 718, etc. Preterit plural: bond 589; gunne 626; fond 637; stod 639; come 713; felle 1204; smette 1215; mate 1364; gan 1412, etc.; but forms with n occur: smetin 680; betin 1197; sworin 1366; drowin 1411.

15. There are no instances of the prefix y- or i- for older ge-.

16. The 3 pers. sing. pres. ends in -(i)p; plural in -e, -n:* 3 pers. sing.: smytip 568; behouip 581; stondip 641; þenkip 652; hap 672c, etc.; beside dredis 668 (rhyming with dedis) and contynuys 1397. Plural: knowe 571; bynde 591; ley 653; sey 654; bid 1247; beside han 766; seen 1246a.

17. The present participle ends in -ande or -ing: bledande 585; brennand 683; standing 689.

One Southern characteristic of D is the exclusive use of h for gh before t: myhte 572, 574, 633; briht 573; nyht 574, 591; þouht 588, 604.

§ 8. Ad.

Robert Thornton of East Newton, Yorkshire, who transcribed Ad, wrote in Northern dialect, and since the poem is also Northern, we should expect the dialect to be fairly uniform. The presence of many Midland and a few Southern forms, however, indicates that Thornton was copying from a MS. written by a Midland scribe. Likewise in the case of the Morte Arthure in Thornton’s MS. at Lincoln, Morris points out that a Midland MS. lies behind Thornton’s text.

1. O.E. a before w remains a, elsewhere it appears as a or o: saules 4; saulis 5; thrawe 60; awene 146; felawes 169; knawe 264; crauynge 409; awes 761; alswa 9; ylkane 26; fra 39; wa 49; slaa 50; na 54; whame 58; twa 61; haly 103; sare 110; gase 384, etc.; beside holy 10; no 42; ilkone 48; anone 165; fro 342; also 359; gosé 382; two 625, etc.

3. O.E. a before r in verbs and adverbs usually becomes a, but sometimes e: thare 60, 102, 195; þare 101, 283; whare 177; ware (vb.) 252, 364; ware (adv.) 397; beside perfor 131; therefore 222; þerinne 234; weronc 353; were 592.

1 Cf. Ancren RUNDLE (ed. Morton, Camden Society, 1853), riht, ouhte, rihted (p. 2), mihte (p. 4), muhten (p. 8), etc. For avoidance of guttural gh due to French influence, see above, p. 22.
2 See above, p. 12.
4. O.E. a, ea before 1d > a : halde 238; balde 681; calde 682; salde 833, 843; many falde 834; talde 844; haldes 948, etc.; beside olde 11 and solde 129; baulde 245; saulde 246 (cf. haulle 189).

6. O.E. c (k) is written k : ylke 14, 120; ylkane 26; ylkadele 116; mekill 162, 456; seke 301, 530, etc.

7. O.E. hw > wh : whate 32; whame 58; whene 95, 161; what 157; whare 177; whane 203; whan 265; whilke 299, etc.; beside wylke 256 and ware 397.

10. The pronouns are Northern in form: scho 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 111, etc.; thay 17, 26, 57, 201; pay 19, 40, 41, 47, 50, 51; paire 18, 23, 82; thaire 24; pane 17, 19, 22, 41, 62, 81; swylke 150, 196, 340, 763; wylke 299.

11. For the most part the preterit plural of strong verbs has the vowel of the singular, and the preterit present verbs have the same vowel in the plural and 3 sing. The Northern form sall is found with the Midland schall. Preterit plural: spake 47, 249; gane 71, 76, 198, 610; gaffe 163; bygane 297; band 589; byganne 733; gafe 799, etc.; beside spekene 24; begunnene 85; foundene 199; lettene 279; gane 609, 626; bowndene 809, etc. Pret. pres.: wate 32, 358; schall 65, 181, 185, 236, 380; sall 68, 184, 187, 195, 235, 363, 371, 377; schalle 135; may 137, 196, 264; maye 222; schallen 379, etc.

13. The inf. and preterit plural occur both with and without final -n. Inf. duelle 8; calle 22; byfall 32; habyde 51; aryse 53; drawe 59; fynde 65; strewe 81; crye 85; crave 106, etc.; beside takene 68; sellene 160; fillene 262; recordene 288; hauene 340; folowen 380; brekyne 338; rysene 390, etc. Preterit plural: gane 76; gaffe 163; blewe 516; spake 519; felle 531; rasen 535; stude 535; came 548; swore 550; save 555; band 589, etc.; beside spekene 24; bygunnene 85; foundene 199; succene 254; tukene 257; lettene 279; wexene 296; slepyne 484; bowndene 809, etc.

14. The preter. pple. of strong verbs usually ends in -ene: commene 52, 374; bowndene 67; gyuene 130; zoldene 142; wretynge 143, 290; comene 191, 245; vnborne 252; vnwaschen 348, etc.; beside take 247, 325; forsake 248, 326; gyue 365 (rhyming with pres. plural lyue); be 755 (rhyming with inf. see).

15. The prefix y- for old ge- occurs once: ydo 452.

16. The pres. endings are: 3 pers. sing. -es; plural -e, -ene. 3 sing.: thynkes 127, 304; haues 141, 248; says 243; hafes 246; byhaues 307, 318, 319, 452; fyndis 384, etc. Plural: accordé 10; rede 103; hafe 140, 290, 419; hau 304; see 308; bid 345; calle 357; lyue 366, etc.; beside latene 25; sene 231; suffrene 369; spredene 383; fallene 474; comene 764; leuene 804, etc.

17. The pres. pple. usually ends in -ande: standande 66; travellande 174; fleande 460; slepande 467; bledande 585; leuande 659; commande 959, etc.; beside comynge 480; faldynge 623 (rhyming with pret. pple. haldyne) and lykange 960 (rhyming with commande).
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In vocabulary also this MS. shows Northern words: _alswa_ 9, 204; _till_ (prep.) 154; _als_ 284.

§ 9. I.

This MS., which seems to have been written and owned in Norfolk,\(^1\) presents four characteristics noted by Dr. Furnivall\(^2\) as prominent in Norfolk and Suffolk.

1. O.E. _a_ > _o_ : _gone_ 25; _euroychon_ 26; _holy goste_ 38; _slo_ 50; _clothys_ 82; _sore_ 113; _throwze_ 133, 643; _owne_ 146; _knowe_ 644, etc.; beside _thrawe_ 60 (rhyming with _drawe_); _felawes_ 169 (rhyming with _plawes_).

2. O.E. _ā_ before _r_ in verbs and adverbs > _e_ : _were_ 52, 113, 197; _Þere_ 60, 65; _þereon_ 75; _where_ 177, etc.; beside _þere_ 562 (rhyming with _sore_), 1041, and 1087 (rhyming with _more_).

3. O.E. _a_, _ea_ before _ld_ gives _o_ : _olde_ 11; _sore_ 129, 246, 833; _colde_ 682; _sodest_ 843, etc.

4. O.E. _c(k)_ usually becomes _ch_ : _alycye_ 101; _ech_ 219; _whyche_ 299; _myche_ 933; _lothlech_ 1099; _chyrche_ 1353; _secche_ 1344a, _wyrche_ 1354, etc.; beside _mekyl_ 96; _seke_ 98 (rhyming with _meke_).

5. O.E. _hw_ > _wh_ or _qh_ : _whom_ 58, 537; _whan_ 95, 167, 265; _where_ 177, 240; for _qwh_-, see above.

6. The pronouns are _sche_ 104, 105, 106, 107, 108; _they_ or _pei_ 16, 17, 19, 26, 37, 40; _here_ or _her_ 6, 18, 21, 23, 24, 82, 136; _hem_ 17, 22, 26, 38, 41, 81.

7. The preterit plural often retains its vowel distinct from the vowel of the singular, and pret. pres. verbs generally have a separate form for the plural: Preterit plural: _gune_ 71, 198; _foundyne_ 199; _resyn_ 535; _gun_ 869, 965, etc.; beside _spake_ 24; _spokyn_ 47; _gan_ 82; _began_ 87; _zoun_ 163. Pret. pres.: _schul_ 28, 135, 138, 139, 143, 181; _xul_ 65, 185, 195, 236; beside _vote_ 32, 358; _maye_ 196, 222; _schal_ 237; _may_ 264.

8. The inf. and the preterit-plural of strong verbs are found both with

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\(^1\) See above, p. 13.

final -n and without it. Inf.: spekyn 18; leuyn 27; deyne 33; dwellyn 60; sellyn 149; fellyn 150; holdyn 177; byddyn 178; folowyn 184, etc.; beside tellë 1, 7; spelle 2; tyne 6; dwelle 8; blyynne 28; befalle 32; abyde 51; draue 59; wende 64; fynde 65, etc. Preterit plural: spredyn 13; qwokn 254; tokyn 511; resyn 535; comen 548; sworen 550; floorcen 557; quoken 556, etc.; beside speke 24; gune 71; toke 74; gan 82; began 87, etc.

14. The pret. pple. of strong verbs usually has final -n: lorne 34; zolden 142; comyn 191; comene 245; onborne 252; zeuyn 365; comen 374; wrytyn 381; takyn 386, etc.; beside take 325; forsake 326; crowe 409; be 755, etc.

15. The prefix i- occurs in ispytte 928.

16. The endings of the present are, 3 sing. -(e)th, -yth, plural, -en, -e. 3 sing.: thynkyth 127; hath 141; seyth 243; byhoueth 307; beryth 309, 311; behoueth 319; befallyth 339; spekynth 376; gryueth 383, etc. Plural: seen 231; ben 234, 385; done 304; byddlen 345; cleypyn 357; leuyn 366; suffren 369; spredyn 384; comen 502, etc.; beside late 25; haue 140, 290; see 308; seke 530, etc.

17. The pres. pple. ends in -yne: stondenye 66, 660; wakynge 441; fflying 460; glysteryng 515; bledynge 585; furynge 586; leuynge 659, etc.

§ 10. F.

This MS. is West Midland: three of the four distinguishing marks of this dialect noted by Morsbach\(^1\) occur. (1) o for a before nasals: londe 14; honde 43; mon 56; monkynde 68; spronge 119; long 139; longur 153; fonde 155, etc. (2) u for e in unaccented end syllables: gadur 47; lituh 48; mycuH 96, 283; etuth 261; forgetuth 262; odur 294; langus 339; ensawmpull 362; lengur 421; mycuH 456, 508, 556; wakuth 473; soldust 843; toldust 844; wyckud 976a, etc. (3) The West Midland and Northern ending -ande for the pres. pple. appears occasionally along with the later ending -ynge(e) (see above under 17 for citations). The constant use of c (k) for O.E. hard c suggests that the MS. belongs in the Northern part of the West Midlands.

1. O.E. ā > o: sowles 4; also 9; nokyns 54; no 56; moo 61; loth 68; owne 82; sore 113; felowys 169; know 264, 521; crowynge 409; owest 840; ow 873, etc.; beside thrawe 60 (rhyming with draw.)

2. O.E. ǣ gives e in seten 207.

3. O.E. ǣ before r in adverbs and verbs gives e with occasional o: ther 8, 96, 102, 163, 194b, wer 52; wher 177; were 197, 252, etc.; beside wore 68, 180a; whore 240 (rhyming with more); pore 728 (rhyming with sore).

4. O.E. a, ea before ld gives o: olde 11; solde 129, 246; holde 238; holde 245, 681; colde 682; soldust 843; toldust 844; holdis 948, etc.

\(^1\) Mittelenglische Grammatik (Halle, 1896), p. 15.
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6. O.E. c (k) is written k (c): mycell 96, 961; micell 124; seeke 301; everylkon 350; ilke on 363, 364, 484; rek 1146; kyrke 1355; wyrke 1354, etc.; but sich 763, sech 150.

10. The pronouns are for the most part Midland: sche 104, 106, 107, 108, 109; she 144; thei 10, 17, 58, 68d, 798; they 55; thei 49; her 60b, 200b; hem 61, 101, 109, 120b, 137; pes 170; pese 820; swilke 172b; beside the Northern thay 73, and the more Southern such 1118.

10. The preterit plural of strong verbs has the vowel of the singular, and preterit present verbs have, for the most part, one form in 3 sing. and plural. Preterit plural: can 59, 71, 198, 208, 798; began 214a, 869; hange 862; fonde 882 etc., beside founde 73. Pret. pres.: shal 62, 187; shalle 135; shal 195, 236, etc., beside mow 2, 137; mouen 64.

13. Both the inf. and the preterit plural of strong verbs usually occur without -n ending. Inf.: here 1; lere 2; speke 18, 48; ryme 30; dye 38d; lif 60; haue 60b; stande 66; lose 68, etc., beside gon 270a; gravon 883. Preterit plural: founde 73; saw 96b; wonde 799; hange 862; fonde 882, etc., beside seten 207.

14. The pret. pple. of strong verbs is usually without -n ending: bounde 67; come 180a; take 247; forsake 248; bewunne 894 etc., beside forborne 34 (rhyming with beforne); eton 238a; risen 242.

16. The endings of the present tense are: 3 sing. -(i)s, -ith, plural -e. 3 sing.: hase 248; has 761, 865; spekis 774; holdis 948, etc., beside seithe 35; seith 127, 203, 911, 914; fallith 950; note also me thynke 127; methynk 139b. Plural: sprynge 13; thynke 32; call 44; sey 68d; haue 140, 243; lye 154; love 159; take 235; leue 790, etc., beside seyn 68a.

17. The pres. pple. has two endings: -and(e) and yng(e): traveulande 174; ffian 460; wepande 479; comande 480; standande 660; cumande 959; lawzande 960, etc., beside acordyng 10; bledyng 535; faryng 586.

§ 11. A.

The dialect of A is Midland with no peculiarities strong enough to determine its definite locality. From the general though not exclusive use of a before w, and the frequent appearance of k instead of ch, it would seem that the MS. belongs in the northern part of the Midlands.

1. O.E. ā > o except before w, where it is usually a: one 10; gone 25; holy 38; no 53; non 54; whom 58; two 61; clotys 82; clothys 82a, etc., beside saules 4, 6; thrall 60; awne 146, 228, 406; knaw 264, 521; craw 733; awys 840, etc., but felows 169 (rhyming with pleys), felow 719.

2. O.E. æ before r gives e: there 8, 60, 65, 166, 195, 555 (rhyming with care); 702 (rhyming with werre), 728 (rhyming with sore), 750 (rhyming with lore); were 52; where 240 (rhyming with more), etc.
4. O.E. *a*, *ae* before *ld* becomes *o*: *olde* 11; *hold* 238; *bold* 245, 681; *sold* 246; 833, 843, 895; *fold* 623, 834, etc.

5. O.E. *c* (*k*) is found as *k* and also as *ch*: *ilke* 120; *mykell* 124; *seke* 146, 539; *mekyll* 162, 276, 280, 908, etc., beside *iche* 363, 364, 436, 556; *ichone* 484, 496; *everychon* 557; *mych* 933; *chyrche* 1353; *weyche* 1354, etc.

10. The pronouns are *sche*, 105, 106, 107, 108, 114; *they* 17, 19, 26, 73, 74; *phem* 351, 355, 681, 828; *hem* 17, 22, 41; *sech* 150; *whych* 299; *such* 388; *sych* 763.

11. The preterit plural of strong verbs has generally the vowel of the singular; the 3 *sing.,* and the plural of pret.-pres. verbs are alike. Pret.-plural: *gane* 71, 198, 869; *brake* 86; *begane* 87, 733; *sase* 163; *sate* 404, 712; *began* 609, etc., beside *fownd* 199; *sette* 207. Pret.-pres.: *wate* 32; *may* 64, 222, 264; *schall* 65, 135, 139, 181, 185; *vote* 358, etc.

13. The inf. and the preterit plural of strong verbs are usually without final -*n*. Inf.: *tell* 1, 7; *spell* 2; *tyne* 5; *duell* 8; *fallyn* 11; *ryme* 30; *blame* 48; *sofery* 49; *ryse* 53; *draw* 59, etc., beside *dyene* 33; *gon* 25 (rhyming with *everychon*), *seyn* 43 (rhyming with *ageyne*); *gone* 464 (rhyming with *anone*); *done* 856. Preterit plural: *come* 79, 175, 548; *blew* 516; *fell* 534; *ros* 553; *suore* 550; *bonde* 589; *drew* 628, etc., beside *spokyne* 47; *thretyne* 50.

14. The pret. pple. of strong verbs usually ends in -*n*, though there are many cases where final -*n* is lacking: *forelorne* 34; *bondyne* 67; *wrytene* 143; *done* 167; *takyn* 247; *foresakyne* 248; *vnborne* 252; *etyne* 330; *wryten* 582; *ofschorne* 584, 716, etc., beside *ouyrglyde* 52; *gyue* 130; *take* 235; *come* 245; *vnwessch* 346; *wessch* 353; *do* 356, 387; *fond* 637; *gete* 893.

16. The endings of the present tense are: 3 *sing.-ys*, - *(y)*th, plural -e. 3 sing.: *seys* 35, 243, 270, 457, 913; *ety* 227, 228; *drynkys* 229; *foregetys* 262; *behouys* 307, 319, 581; *berys* 309, 311; *fallys* 339, 812; *forthinkys* 568; *longys* 946, etc., beside *hath* 141, 246, 248, 499, 674, 932; *goth* 183, 383; *doth* 225; *beryth* 402, etc. Plural: *acorde* 10; *do* 140; *have* 290, 357, 419; *pray* 345; *spred* 384; *come* 502; *seke* 530; *bynd* 591, beside *done* 593.

17. In the pres. pple. both the Northern -and, and the late *ynge* occur: *wepand* 479; *comand* 480; *bledand* 585; *farand* 586; *command* 959; *lykand* 960 beside *stondynge* 66; *vakynge* 441; *quaikenge* 442; *slopeynge* 467, 484.

The form *wynde* rhyming with *hende* in 71 and 76 occurs in the Southern *Ayenbite* of *Inwit* 180 as *winde*. Note should also be made of two imperative plurals *syth* 423 and *weyth* 941, for which I have found no parallels.

§ 12. R.

This MS. is in South Midland dialect. The few occurrences of *xal* suggest that it was copied from an East Midland MS.

NORTH. PASSION.
Introduction.

1. O.E. æ > o: holy 38; no 40; woe 49; clothis 82; anone 89; sore 113; owne 146; crowe 733, etc., beside ffelawis 2023 (rhyming with dawis).

2. O.E. wæ before r usually becomes e: were 52, 113, 252; þer 60, 86; ðer 74, 120a; wher 177, 397, etc., beside ore 386; wore 750 (rhyming with lore); ware 1036.

3. O.E. a, ea before ld > o: olde 11, bolde 126, 681; solde 129, 246; tolde 199; iffolde 623; holde 624; colde 682, etc.

4. O.E. c (k) is usually softened to ch: eche 14: mich 124; everychone 214; sechyn 1291; iliche 1330; chirche 1342b; wirch 1353, etc., beside beseke 345; werke 1339 (rhyming with clerke).

5. The Southern plural eyene occurs 800.

6. The pronouns are for the most part Midland: she 104, 105, 107, 108; they 17, 19, 22, 41; þei 47, 79, 86; þey 51, 55; therey 10a; theyr 150; her 88d; 1764b; theme 51, 61, 62, 81; hem 199, 414, 1143; suche 340, 388. The 3 pers. plural the occurs 621, 637, 640, 1396, 1553.

7. Pret. pres. verbs have usually a different vowel in the plural to that of the singular: shull 185, 371, 440, 916, 1018; mowr 196, 222, 1535, 1662, 1764b, beside may 263, 1550; wote 32. The Norfolk and Suffolk form xal occurs frequently: 1 sing 149, 3 sing. 142, 143, 157, 232, etc., plural 156a, 236, 320b, 642, 1572; xul 135.

8. The inf. and the preterit plural of strong verbs are usually without final -n. Inf.: fullfull 11; kall 22; kepe 22b; bileve 28; befall 32; dye 33; dwell 60; ffynde 65; lose 68; come 88a, etc., beside gone 25 (rhyming with one), 464, 956; seyne 431 (rhyming with ageyne); sene 756 (rhyming with bene); bene 842. Pret. plural: spoke 24; satte 207; ffell 534; rose 535; stode 535; came 540; bare 1354; lete 1360; slone 1372 etc., beside boundyne 809.

9. The final -n of the pret. pple. of strong verbs is usually preserved: lorne 34; gevene 130; wryttyne 143, 381; spokyne 373; takynne 386, 1307; forlorne 863; borne 864; ffoundyne 882; corvyn 1308, etc., beside forsake 248, 831; take 325, 832; come 374, 1409.

10. In the following cases i- for older ge- is retained: ireised 95; itravyled 232; icsyde 329; itake 399; iffolde 623; idone 975, 1599; icomme 978; igone 1841; istravylde 2058b.

11. The endings of the present tense are 3 sing. -ith, -is, plural -e, -ith. 3 sing. sittith 88b; makith 204; hath 246, 261, 415; behoueth 307; berith 311; slepith 498; avengith 569; standith 641; seith 646; acaylith 789, etc., beside dos 225; lenis 273; falles 339; dredis 668; eylis 777; mysemyst 1229; betokenys 1667. Plural ihawe 304; knowe 356; clepe 357, 900; suffer 369; bynde 591; despice 790; beside spekith 376; seyth 1032b; levith 1165, and redes 103.

12. The pres. pple. ends in -ynge: standynge 66; ffleyynge 460; wepynge 479;
commynge 480, 959; slepynge 1097; rynnynge 1200, etc., beside travaylande 174 (rhyming with hande).

§ 13. H₂

The fragment H₂ is the work of a Southern scribe (cf. woso 309; clopy 368; itake 409; kerdel 415) transcribing a Northern MS. (sal 376, 389).

1. O.E. à > o : whoso 311; aros 330, 331; clopy 333, 351; non 342; mo 343; go 344; anon 349; loq 352; also 359; sore 377, etc.

2. O.E. Æ before r in verbs and adverbs gives e : þer 346; were 364; weren 404; ther 429.

5. O.E. y gives e in kerdel 415.

6. O.E. c (k); ch : riche 342a; siche 342b; euerichon 350; ech 363, 436; ich 385, 386, beside seke 301 (rhyming with meke).

7. O.E. hw usually gives wh : whoso 311; what 358; while 366, 408, 430, 431; whan 353, 378, but the Southern woso occurs in 309.

9. The Southern plural ending for the substantive is found in hoden 341.

10. The pronouns are hem 353, 354, 437, 439; swich 340.

11. Pret. pres. verbs have generally a separate form for the plural : nete 356, 358; neteþ 358; shulle 367, 371, 377, 379, 391; shulleþ 429, beside shal 338. In the sing. of the verb shal, we find the Northern form sal 376, 389, 395, 396, 402.

12. The -i- suffix is found in clopy 368; cf. also serui 315, and graunth 407 (1 pers. sing.)

13. The inf. is generally without -n ending : seke 301; falle 310; haue 312; bere 314; serui 315; calle 316; wasshe 336; siche 342b; etc., beside deren 413 and bera 414.

14. The pret. pple. of strong verbs is without final -n : wuvassche 346, 348; wassch 353; iðo 356; iwasshe 361; zene 365; take 386; do 394; itake 409; forsake 410.

15. The prefix i- or y- for older ge- is found in iðo 356; ykneled 360; iwasshe 361; iwrïte 381; itake 409, and in yse 308 (2 pers. plural pres.).

16. The present has Southern endings : 3 sing. penkeþ 304; beret 309, 311; falleþ 339, 342; spekeþ 375, 386; goþ 382; hatþ 409; plural habbet 304; biddeþ 345; clepet 359; suffriþ 369; caldeþ 426, beside lyue 366; haue 419, 420.

In place of initial ë, ih- is sometimes used : ihe 304, 307, 308, 364; ihet 347; ihore 361; ihoire 413; and notice iow 365; he (pron. 2 pers. pl.) 363, 367.

§ 14. V.

In general, the fragment V is Midland; but the Southern forms wyle 430; hii 364; ytake 409; clepeth 357, show that this MS. was copied by a Midland scribe from a Southern text.
Introduction.

1. O.E. ð > o: also 359; go 383, 400; sore 377; gone 397; foone 398; no 402; none 415; two 419; anone 447, 463.
2. O.E. ã before r in adverbs gives e: there 431, 459, but or 386, 470.
3. O.E. c (k) becomes ch: soche 388; everych 436; erlych 454; mechill 456.
4. hw gives wh in what 358; whyle 366; when 382, 432; where 397, but w in wyle 430.

11. The preterit plural of a strong verb has the vowel of the singular and pret. pres. verbs have usually the same form for the plural and the 3 sing. Preterit plural: sate 404. Pret. pres.: vote 358; schall 379, 391, 429, 440, but schull 414.
13. The inf. and the preterit plural of strong verbs have no final -n. Inf.: befall 358; fullfyll 374; take 376; fle 379; forsake 380; dey 389; breke 389; beside waschen 361. Preterit plural: sate 404; toke 425.
14. The pret. pple. of strong verbs is found both with and without final -n: yeve 365; come 374; nome 386; ytake 409; take 466; beside wrytone 381; done 387; ben 394; don 432.
15. The prefix y for older ge- occurs in ytake 409.
16. The forms of the present tense are 3 sing. speketh 376; goth 382; behouyth 452; plural clepyth 357; lyve 366; spredene 384; clepene 426. Notice the form gone 397 (2 sing. rhyming with foone).
17. The pres. pple. ends in -yng: wakyng 441; quakyng 442.

§ 15. The Expanded Version (P T H).

The dialect of the expanded version is more purely Northern than that of the original version, since O.E. ð is regularly represented by a. The three MSS. in which it is preserved present a uniform dialect, the differences being orthographic rather than phonological. The forms in the following list either occur in rhyme or are identical in the three MSS.

1. O.E. ð is represented by a: draf 3/53*; clothes 75; mare 113e; onane 128a; knaw 133, 51/11*, 705, allane 142, 51/3*, 857; sare 160a; ilkane 203; krawin 409; name 542a, etc. The reviser has, however, adopted an o- rhyme from the shorter version in onone 179, 1739; so 359, 773, 872, 945, 1159, 1271, 1481; fro 1607; and introduced o- rhymes in onone 198; so 739, 921; and go 1856.
2. O.E. ã before r > a: war 52, 57, 90b; whare 60, 240; pare, 121, 234, 432a, 156/440*, 854d; ayware 936c; beside pore 613 (rhyming with before).

1 See above, § 3.
2 The variations of the three MSS. are discussed in Chapter IV, § 6.
4. O.E. a, ea before ld > a: baldly 66; salde 21/42*, 246; hald 178, 1684b; balde 245; bihald 1796d, etc.

6. O.E. e (k) > k: seke 98; ilka 120; ilkane 203; mekill 254; kirk 161/627*; wyrk 161/628*, etc.

9. The substantive plural is Northern, see especially fase (rhyming with gase) 398; for hand there are two plurals, hend (rhyming with spend) 20/20* and handes 548, and (rhyming with cumanes) 217.

10. The pronouns have Northern forms: scho 105, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111; pai 62, 69, 70b, 72, 74a, 80; paire 75, 82, 90b, 101, 132a, 156a; pam 66, 70a, 109, 121, 126; swilk 201, 259, 410j; slike 936a; pir 145, 576, etc.

11. The preterit plural of strong verbs has the vowel of the singular and the pret. pres. verbs have a plural like the 3 sing. Preterit plural: fand 72, 199; sat 101; spac 51/10*; bare 517, 518, etc. Pret. pres.: sall 65, 66, 70b, 135; may 137, 196, 222, 263; wate 357, etc., beside wit 389.

12. The inf. and the preterit plural of strong verbs lack final -n. Inf.: habide 51; rise 53; seme 55; dene 56; finde 65; suffer 70b; seke 98, etc. Preterit plural: fand 72, 199, 201; come 99; sat 101; spac 51/10*; blew 516; bare 517, 518, etc. In certain couplets adapted from the short version, infinitives in -n occur: gane 26, 956; sayne 431.

14. The pret. pple. of strong verbs ends in -n: done 129, 559, 824; gifen 130, 224a; torn 132d; forsaken 247; vnborn 252; golden 726a, 862a, etc. Where the reviser follows the wording of the original version, he uses the form taken 248, 325; where he introduces fresh couplets, he writes tane 128b, 143, 309b, 386, 51/4*, 542b, etc.

16. The present endings are 3 sing. -(e)s, plural -(e)s, -e. 3 sing.: has 70a, 1098e; neghes 191; cumanes 218; ettes 261; forgetes 262; telles 148/37*, etc. The plural ends in -e or is without ending when a personal pronoun immediately precedes or follows: knaw 356; call 358; say 359; seke 528b, 530, 537, 539, 542d; haue 537; when the pronoun does not accompany the verb, the ending is -(e)s: has 375, 1928b; sais 382, 563; striues 242/1*; redes 249/20*; beside write 381.

17. The pres. pple. ends in -and: failand 3/40*; lastand 372; brinand 518; lifyand 659, 1924; cumand 1022; ligand 146/14*; alwendand 152/309*, etc.

18. The vocabulary contains words peculiar to the North: till (prep.) 2/10*, 410b, 442b, 51/7*, 528, 536, etc.; omell 17, 789; pusuat 128, 258; bus 243.
CHAPTER IV

THE RELATION OF THE MSS.

§ 1. The Groups.

The textual conditions in the extant MSS. of the Northern Passion make the determination of their relations difficult. Of the eleven MSS. of the original version eight are about a hundred years later than the composition of the poem, nine of them have suffered dialectal corruption at the hands of Midland or Southern scribes; finally, in addition to the more or less unintentional alterations, a further confusion has been introduced in at least three MSS. through contamination. Under these circumstances a genealogical tree of MSS. is obviously mere hypothesis. It seems wise, therefore, not to try to demonstrate the precise relation of each MS. to the rest, but rather to point out the groups into which the MSS. fall. These are three in number, Group g consisting of \textit{G}_5, \textit{G}_1, \textit{C} and \textit{Ad}, Group i consisting of \textit{I} and \textit{A}, and Group d consisting of \textit{D F R}, the two fragments and probably the MS. at the basis of the expanded version.

In the following sections, only readings peculiar to the MSS. under discussion are cited, and in all cases the proof could be made fuller by including readings shared by one or more other MSS.

§ 2. Group g: \textit{G}_1, \textit{G}_5, \textit{C}, \textit{Ad}.

\textit{G}_1, \textit{G}_5, \textit{C}, \textit{Ad} agree against the other MSS. in the following readings:

1. some 795 (\textit{G}, \textit{Ad} come, \textit{I F A} foomen, \textit{D} lacking), on his scornynge 1265, to omitted 1501, with hym speke and see 1978.

2. \textit{G}_1 and \textit{G}_5 are especially close, as shown by the following readings:

   sone onone 133, thirty 573, loude 798, with walkynge 960, to syr pilate 1287, vnkynd 1554, reuth 1630, neuenyd 1764, youre 1800, sore adred 2017, with 2075.

3. \textit{C} agrees with \textit{G}_1 \textit{G}_5 in the following readings:

   prophete\textquotesingle; 375, noght 422, alsso 1439, wald 1452, lord 1486.

4. \textit{Ad} agrees with \textit{G}_1 \textit{G}_5 in:

   lufe 790, led 1551, vv. 1851–2 lacking.

The connection of \textit{Ad} and \textit{C} appears in the arrangement rather than in the text. Vv. 27–8 are omitted in both, leaving a sentence half finished. In both the story of John Puttedieu is added (after v. 1520 in \textit{Ad}, after v. 1598 in \textit{C}),
though only the first couplet is identical. Furthermore, disturbances in the
text occur at the same points; vv. 87–8 are misplaced in both, in C they follow
v. 80, while in Ad vv. 87–90 follow 84; vv. 1491–2 in C follow v. 1494, and in
Ad are omitted; vv. 1593–8, omitted by Ad, are in C followed by the insertion
of John Puttedieu (1598a–1598j); and vv. 1657–8, which are omitted by C,
are the first lines of a section (vv. 1657–84) transposed by Ad.

No one of these four MSS. was copied from any other of the four since
each lacks some lines common to the rest: G₁ lacks vv. 287–348, 1201–6,
1211–12, 1221–2, 1440, 1854; G₅ lacks 661–2, 1013–18, 1133–6, 1163–4, 1993–6;
C lacks 125–6, 193–4, 309–10, 357–8; 741–2, 967–8, 1122–5, etc.; Ad lacks 343–4,
557–62, 655–6, 1547–8, etc. All four MS. therefore are descended from a lost
MS. which we may call g. g was probably a Northern¹ MS. written as early
as the first half of the fourteenth century.²

§ 3. Group i: IA.

The close relation of I and A is shown by the following passages where they
agree with each other and differ from the other MSS.:

dedyn 73, dyten 195, sowle 277, cryen 905, gylte 1132, stronge pingen 1265,
other kynge ̄an cesar 1268, wroth 1441, see 1468, defaute 1493, bolde 1554,
at pe laste 1625, How they hadde lorne her labours swynk (A That pei had
so lorne per swynk; D etc. anon pei were in a storbling) 1612; vv. 1640a–
1640b added; pe blysse of heuen 1710 (A a place in heuen, Ad D F g grace),

These likenesses between I and A consist, for the most part, in the substitu-
tion of a common or modern word for an unfamiliar one (cryen for cryen 905,
dyten for graith 195, etc.), but vv. 1268, 1612, 1468, 1625 and 1710 are sufficient
to show the connection of I and A, especially when we consider the many
cases where the two have substituted the same familiar word for an unfamiliar
one.

I was not copied from A, for A lacks the following couplets common to I and
the other MSS.: 659–60, 1463–4, 1481–2, 1557–8, 1567–8, 1711–12, 1741–2,
1763–4, 1815–16, 1831–2, 1885–6, 1893–4, 1983–4. Nor was A copied from I,
since I lacks the following couplets: 67–8, 1417–18, 1873–4. Therefore, I and
A proceed from a third MS. which we may call i.³


D, F and R go back to a common original which may be called d. Owing
to the fact that over half of D is lacking, that F is carelessly written and R

¹ See above, Chapter III. § 4.
² For a further discussion of Ad, see § 5.
³ For I see further below, § 5.
much modernized, the proofs of relationship are not full. They are, however, sufficient to show that the three MSS. belong in one group.

D, F and R agree against the other MSS. in the following readings:

\[ \text{thre 1446, seme}^1 1593, \text{puttin 1839.} \]

F and R offer the following parallels:

\[ \text{bliss ... cum ... to, 342, vv. 347–8 lacking, leve 642, Ther was 1475, sore hande 1490, meke 1530; lines not in other MSS. are: 38a–38b, 60a–60b, 88a–88b, F 120a–120b = R, 120c–120d, 132a–132b, 194a–194b, F 210a–210b = R 212a–212b.} \]

D and R agree in the following passages:

\[ \text{al þynge 582, vv. 609–10 omitted. synt John 618, vv. 653–4 inserted, sede 1553, vv. 1574a–1574b inserted; a 1652, some anon 1718, ner 1842, faste in je 2004, out of his lond 2038.} \]

D and F present the following parallels:

\[ \text{hillid 1200, iewis felle 1261, wunder 1265, Than com forth 1483, vv. 1497–98 omitted, al omitted 1564, lottis 1591, mysliking 1763, vv. 2019–20 inserted.} \]

No one of the three MSS. is a copy of another, for each lacks some lines present in the rest: D lacks 1413–38, 1461–2, 1661–6, 1673–6; F lacks 1495–6, 1621–2, 1827–8; R lacks 673–4, 1375–6, 1383–4, 1401–2, 1435–6, 1629–30, 1803–4, 1810, 1812, 1939–42, 2047–8, 2065–6. The three MSS. are descended from a lost MS. which I have called d.

The Fragments H₂ and V are too short to enable us to establish a definite position for them in relation to the other MSS., though their general affiliation is clear. They agree with each other and differ from the other MSS. in the following readings:

\[ \text{neeure 357, pat I am 378, of 394, brethe 409.} \]

V, the later MS., cannot be copied from H₂, for H₂ lacks the following couplets present in C and the other MSS.: 373–4, 405–6, and 411–12. H₂ and V are then descended from a common original c. And c probably belongs with group

1 In C sune, the reading of the MS., is deleted and semes interlined. This does not indicate that C belongs to the d group, as is shown by a study of the emendations of C. The corrections are in a different ink, and in many cases (deletion of alle 97, change of have to crave 106, save to lave 134, pore to sore 799, insertion of in 147, y have don 432, we 804, ober 1695, etc.), the scribe appears to have followed no MS. authority, but to have inserted his own conjecture (see especially change of he geþ to in geþ to he to in geþ, where geþ is for gryþ 183, and change of iij men to íe postelus 434). In v. 1593, therefore, semes (not seme as in D F R) is probably the scribe’s own emendation for sune.
d, for in vv. 409-10 it has the rhyme words take: forsake with F¹ rather than crawe: thrawe (sow: now) with i and g.

Thus far, three groups of MSS. have been established: G₁, G₃, Ad descending from g, I A proceeding from i, and R F D and the fragments going back to d. g, i and d, were probably independent copies of the original. Of the three, d most closely represents the original form of the poem, not only in the reading of vv. 1593 and 1424, but also in preserving a number of couplets whose correspondence with the French proves them to have been part of the original poem. Such are vv. 120a-120b (French 81-84), 132a-132b (Fr. 97-8), 194a-194b (Fr. 154), 210a-210b (Fr. 170) all in F and R; vv. 563-4² (Fr. 487) and 189-92² (Fr. 1541-2) in R; and vv. 633-4² (Fr. 565-6), 636a-66d² (Fr. 651-2), 672b-672c (Fr. 649), 739-40 (Fr. 700), 757-8², (Fr. 604-5), 765-8³ (Fr. 609-12), 1213-14² (Fr. 1093)⁴ in D.

The lost MS. g was also a good MS., for, although it has not preserved the above passages of the original, the correct reading of most lines is found in one or another of the MSS. copied from it.


In addition to the main lines of relationship discussed above, special parallels exist between members of different groups which can be explained only by contamination; in other words, it would appear that in some instances a scribe copied from two MSS. rather than from one. Sometimes, as in I and A, he appears to have followed one MS. with only occasional reference to the second; but again, as in Ad, the supplementary MS. furnished the text for fifty or more consecutive lines. The relationships of a MS. subject to contamination are difficult to establish; but where it clearly appears that the scribe used a MS. to supplement his copy in one passage, it is fair to suppose that he used it elsewhere; in other words, if contamination is found to occur in one passage of a MS., it may reasonably be suspected in other difficult passages. Among the MSS. of the Northern Passion, contamination appears in Ad, I and, to a small extent, in A.

Ad and D certainly drew from the same source between vv. 566-628, for (a) they offer the following peculiar readings:

\[\text{vnto Petir he 566, D my fader, Ad hym (G₃ thyngh, F hit, i, G₁, R pou) 568, pat my fader wold me sende / if pat I wold me defende 575-6, fullfild 580,}\]

¹ The page of D which would contain this passage is lost, but the reading of d (as represented by F) is also that of Ad, which, as will be shown below (§ 5), was contaminated with some MS. of the d group.
² These verses are also in I, which, as shown below in § 5, is contaminated with a member of the d group.
³ These verses are also in Ad, which, as shown below in § 5, is contaminated with a member of the d group.
⁴ See also below, p. 42.
And sette it on 585, þo men were of wikkid kynde 590, after oure lord 612, And handis on his mantil þei leyde / he schuld ben ded so þei seyde 627. See also be hem wo 1441, But þe 1493, the 1797, D selue, Ad same (i. g, tothyr) 1841, per as 1900.

(b) D and Ad omit the following couplets which are present in the other MSS.: 577–8, 595–6, 601–2 (also lacking in A), 621–2 and 1477–8.

D and Ad show this close relationship only as far as v. 628; after that point, though both offer variations from the normal text, the departures are not usually the same, and the parallels cited above from the latter part of the poem are so trivial as to leave it doubtful whether they are not due to mere coincidence.

Granting the interrelation of D and Ad—at least between vv. 566 and 628—we may proceed to inquire whether Ad borrowed from D, or from an ancestor of D, or whether D, the earlier MS., drew from a predecessor of Ad. The general state of the two texts strongly suggests that Ad was the borrower. D represents the more primitive form of the text; the lines are in general shorter, the readings better, and such insertions as there are consist of two or four lines, not of whole incidents. The text of Ad, on the other hand, has suffered many changes: the lines are often expanded beyond their normal length, and long passages are inserted. Moreover, in at least one of the passages common to D and Ad, the former appears to offer the better text. Therefore, though absolute proof is not forthcoming, it seems probable that Ad borrowed from D or from similar MS.

I drew from some MS. of the d group in the following couplets which it alone offers in common with D R: 686a–686b, 751–752; the following in common with D: 633–4, 636a–636b, 648a–648b, 692a–692b, 704a–704b, 705–6, 718a–718b, 757–58, 765–68, 1194a–1194b, 1213, 1246a–1246b; the following in common with R: 563–4, 586a–586b, 981–2, 1338a–1338b, 1816a–1846b, 1891–1892 (also in A), 2000a–2000b; and probably also in the following couplets which occur in a portion of the poem where D is mutilated, but which show by their correspondence with the French that they belonged to the original poem: 821–2 (Fr. 773–6), 891–2 (Fr. 809–10), 971–2 (Fr. 859–60), 981–2 (Fr. 871–2), 1088a–1088b (Fr. 974), 1292a–1292d (Fr. 1182–4).

A drew from F or a similar MS. in the following couplets: 96a–96b, 132a–132b and 107a–107b (= F 110a–110b, also in R). Besides these insertions F and A have many readings in common, most of them probably mere coincidences, but a few (576, 624, 1236, 1844) significant of direct influence. The parallels are as follows:

1 See vv. 737, 856, 954, 802, 1629, 1906, etc.
2 The Cross story 146/1*– 67/685*, the Wandering Jew, 1520a–j, the Veronica, 180/1*–181/54*.
3 v. 014.
scluder 53, best 69, a gode 99, forgafe 116, fra my fader 576, beholde 624, wrange 908, provde 1032, F not seid, A unseyd (I, g, noughtie used), 1144, nytt 1150, ser 1206, more 1210, 1221, mervell 1219, fferto henge pe 1236, cursyd 1502, take 1805, a man of riche fe 1844, wonder thynge 1928, spellynge 2080.


The three MSS. of the revised version are much closer to one another than any two MSS. of the original poem; except for the omission of one line in H¹ and one couplet in P², their extent is the same, and the majority of the variations are merely orthographical. The MSS. fall into two groups, P on the one hand, and T H on the other. While P is in some respects a better representative of the original than T or H, it has introduced certain orthographical peculiarities not in the original and not in the other MSS. T and H are especially close, T being the older and better text.³ Though a later portion of H⁴ is a direct copy of T⁵, in the portion concerning the Passion both MSS. were apparently copied from a third.

T H agree against P in certain errors: both MSS. omit pam 146/9* and both originally lacked men 955. The latter word has, however, been inserted in H. At 245/35*, the original read And wit 3e wele if hat we wil, but the MS. from which T and H were copied substituted it for if. T reproduces the error, and H emends by adding if after pat (and wit 3e wele it hat if . . .)

H was not copied from T, for T has the following errors not present in H: omission of his 214, 1210b, said 51/3*, pe 153/337*, him 1266b, me 211/1637, I 1760c; other errors: was (pl.) 3/54*, sw 70, misdes 106, wankend 287, sul 299, illone 556a, eyw 668c, thog 163, 675*, pat repeated 802b, sequinis p. 89, iesu 968, fo 994c, fo 1060b, ill 1115, answer 1158b, messange 150, 180*, strale 156/453*, pato 164/708*, als 1185 (D and H pare), schroken 1622b, vaine 1646f, iews repeated 1677, sun 1746; schuder 1804e, whik 1826j, lost 1880d, vence 1885, crave 1920h, to 2066a.

T was not copied from H, for H has many errors not in T; omission of so 28, 79, it 128a, pus 373, pe 617, 1896, pan 826a, 1218i, he 160/565*, 1452, us 1445, I 1494b, was 1749, sunder 1774, Latin line on p. 211, may 1852h, said 1996, we 2032a; other errors: fuly 2/24*, venge 160b, pat inserted 21/40*, vnbron 252, ore or 370, folk 383, my 385, tell 430, cler 479, he stond 532c, had crist 862d, euil 1273, greue 148/43*, forgif 148/100*, whik 149/121* par 149/123*,

¹ The line of Latin on p. 211, note 2.
² Vv. 1715–16.
⁴ Ff. 163–205, containing the latter part of the Legendary.
Introduction.


Therefore T H are independent copies of a third MS. which we may call h. h was not copied from p, for h contained the whole Northern Homily Collection, while P has merely the Northern Passion; and P has the following errors not in h: omissions of p e 382, neght 854c, he 914a, is in 152/300*, hest 160/554*, vv. 1715–16; son 1808i, of 1888a, awen 243/29*; other errors: lawd 2/16*, h 20/28*, p e 21/44*, drynk 210, ever repeated 612b, yhe 712, wha 850, o 851, pam 1166b, white 1270, sprung 149/121*, pam pam 154/367*, burd 161/617*, tre 1498, o 1586a, lely 1682, wild 1814, wonder 2012d, land 2020a.

P was not copied from h, for P has the correct reading in place of the errors of h noted above. Therefore P and h were copied independently from some other MS. (o). This was probably not the original, for both P and h omit com in v. 148/64*, and both originally lacked neght at 709, where H has inserted it above the line.

The three MSS. are so close together, and their relationship so clear, that certain facts about their common original o can be distinguished.

1. o regularly used o for u in such words as sone, som, comand, etc. This usage is preserved in P: sone 2/4*, 50, 155, 162a, 260, etc., som 3/29*, 175, 245, contre 3/51*, comberd 122, sopere 153, comes 21/37*, comen 21/41*, come 188, bord 206, 266, torne 326b. It was also occasionally present in h as shown by T: soth 147/25*, sone 163/691*, 1811, cobites 166/791*, hosband 1499, pople 1756, and by T H: sone 128a, 355, 560, 566, soper 271, eftsones 536.

2. e and not i was used in final unaccented syllables. This usage is regular in P: hethen 3/44*, devels 3/53*, sythen 76, 109, 124, 217, 223; kepud 80, mykell 129, 21/46*, 254, 394, 508, 644, awen 132, 146, 671, euell 20/14*, 220, euen 206b, heuen 242b, craven 409, wapens 420, steuen 663. Both T and H have a tendency to substitute i for this e: T brokin 243/24*, cobit 162/636*, euir 1826, herid 166/783*, Iamis 455, mekll 148/98*, nakid 1603, smetin 776, etc.; H: amendis 846, armis 1605, dedis 795, hillir 860, hillis 1545, hopid 163 672*, etc.

3. Final -e was usually silent in o. P reproduces the original more faithfully than h in this respect: mynd 2/4*, our 2/5*, 2/7*, 2/21*, 3/26*, 3/37*, etc.; parfor 2/15*, 3/28*, ynglysch 2/16*, tech 2/19*, fair 23, 24, 29, 50, 75, etc.

1 See above, p. 43.
2 The rhymes show that sone was the form used: sone: done 355–6, 559–60, 823–4, 1112a–1112b, 1130e–1130f, etc.
The Relation of the MSS.

h is, however, occasionally more correct than P: *wirschip* 90a, *toun* 98, *precius* 112, *busgat* 128, *lith* 161, *blith* 162, etc.

It is clear from the above citations that P is generally nearer o than is h; but P has certain peculiarities of orthography not found in h, and which are probably due to the scribe of P. Three of these are noted by Mr. Campbell 1 in connection with the *Seven Sages of Rome* in this MS.

1. The use of yh for ʒ: yhe 32, 65, 66, 135, 137, etc., yhow 65, 70, 70b, 136, 139, etc., menyhe 97, yhit 113c, yhyng 224b, yhede 456, etc.

2. Preference for double l and double t final: *medeffull* 2/12*, *nedeffull* 2,13*, writ 2/17*, sall 3,41*, gett 3/41*, full 3/49*, satt 101, sett 113c, mykell 129, counsail 133, all 156b, lytell 19/25*, euell 220, witt 389, etc. The tendency is also present in h (all 2,1*, 2/13*, 3,51*, 16, etc., still 2,9*, till 2/10*, ill 3/31*, will 3/32*, etc.), but is more frequent in H than in T. 2

3. Avoidance of medial p: other 3,54*, sythen 76, 109, 124, 217, 223, etc., pethen 3/44*, nouther 19,5*, 21/43*, alther 274, brether 327, 364, sythes 756, whether 762, etc.

Other orthographical peculiarities are —


5. The non-syncopation of e in end syllables where the metre shows that syncopation was intended: ieyes 15, 161, 51/9*, 668q, 682c, etc., ferlies 18, 962d, lawes 935, enoynted 117, penyes 162d, 19,4*, 20/16*, 248, folowes 184, ines 204, telles 528a, comes 554, bitrayes 554a, etc.


Before determining which MS. of the shorter version served as a basis for o, a word may be said as to the general relationship of the two versions. A casual examination is sufficient to reveal the frequent changes made by the

1 *The Seven Sages of Rome*, ed. Killis Campbell (New York, 1907), Albion Series, p. lxxi. The preference for initial sch in place of sh noted as characteristic of *The Seven Sages in P* is not present in the Northern Passion of P as against h. The usage of all three MSS. is regularly sch (schev 2/10*, scho 105, 107, 108, 109, 110, etc., scheme 124, schevede 532b, scheved 542a, etc.), but P shows a slight preference for sh : shende 506, shent 685, shewed 1004, shame 1240f, 163/678*, shewed 1475, shoggd, 1640g.

2 In vv. 1–500 H has l where T has l 25 times; T has ll where H has l 11 times. I have noted no cases where T presents ll and H l; but the reverse is true in vv. 113c, 206b, 211, 354, 514, 828, 888a, 1068, etc.

3 This tendency is also present in the *Seven Sages of P*: lyfeyd 5, lyfe 10, dyed 18, dyght 19, wynter 23, lordynes 41, wyrest 43, etc. (ed. Campbell, pp. 1 ff.).

4 In vv. 1–500 T reads i where H reads y, 29 times; and y for H’s i 15 times.

5 This tendency is occasionally present in *The Seven Sages of P*: selcouthes 16, telles 35, 431, sciences 36, falles 94, 100, cumes 165, waldes 202, planetes 214, etc. (ed. Campbell, 1907, p. 1 ff.).
reviser; not only are long passages added,¹ but some lines of the shorter version are omitted ² and the arrangement is sometimes changed.³ Furthermore, the text itself is frequently altered, rhyme and all. Thus, in the following passage chosen to illustrate the kind of changes made in expanding, it is to be noted that only seven of the twelve rhyme words of the shorter version are preserved in o.

565 when ihesu saw pat dede don
\[\text{Vnto petir he seyde riht anon}\]
Putte vp thi swerd and smyte no more
\[\text{And flaming on my fader pat smytip ful sore}\]
for whoso wile wip swerd slon

570 wip swerd h[e] schal his lyf for gon
\[\text{ze knowe not and I wolde craue}\]
how moche help pat I myhte haue
\[\text{Sexti thousand of anjelis briht}\]
I myhte haue pies same nyht

575 pat my fader wold me sende
if pat I wold me defende

\[\text{(D 565-76)}\]

when ihesus saw pis dede was done,
\[\text{Vnto peter pws said he sone:}\]

\[\text{Mitte gladium tuum in vaginam.}\]
\[\text{omnis enim qui gladio percitit gladio peribit.}\]

"Put vp," he said, "pi swerd ogaine, for he patt slase he sall be slane, And he pat smites with swerd, I wis Thurgl swerd he sall peris.

Wenes poyigth and Iwald cranepat I fra heuyn might helping haue? Haue I might and I walde send, fira my fader me to defend Sexty thousand of angels bright.

\[\text{(H 565-76)}\]

Where alterations of this sort are frequent, the determination of MS. relations is difficult. Many of the lines of o are not close enough to the shorter version to admit of any comparison, and even in the case of lines which can be compared, it is often impossible to decide to which of the shorter texts the relationship is closest. The following data, however, tend to connect o with group d.

o is closer to d than to i or g, as is shown by

\[\text{heuen : steuen (rhyme words) 661, thre 1445, yede (went) 1553, vnkwoth 1554, lottis 1591, like 1762; vv. 1574a-1574b.}\]

As between D, F and R, o is closer to D, for in the following verses it agrees with D against R and F:

\[\text{vnto Peter he seyde 566, pat 1603, per pê 1485, I wel 1929, paires 2003; vv. 739-40, 765-9, 757-8, 1708a-1708b.}\]

¹ The most important additions are: the Introduction (2/1*–3/56*), the Judas story (132a–132d, 19/1–21/46*, 826a–826e, 862a–862f), Cross Story (146/1*–166/798*), Mary on the road to Calvary (177/1*–179/40*). The Liberation of Joseph (1920a–1920p, 242/1*–243/46*, 243/1*–245/56*). Conclusion (248/1*–249/26*).


³ o 28a–28d = d 41–2; o 3/55*–56* = d 95–6; o 51/1*–20* = d 519–24; o 1808a–1808d = d 1829–34, o 1218a–1218z: roughly corresponds to d 1249–64; in o vv. 1637–40 are inserted after 1804\(,\) and vv. 1719–30 after 1764.
Therefore the basis of the expanded Passion is some MS. of the d group similar to D.

Beside the fourteen extant texts of the Northern Passion, other MSS. undoubtedly once existed. Apart from d, g, i, h and o, whose relations to our MSS. have been discussed above, three more lost MSS. may be mentioned: (1) In the g group. G1 was copied from a Northern MS.1 and Ad from a Southern or Midland; therefore if g was Northern, as it probably was, Ad was copied from a lost Southern or Midland copy of g. (2) In group d. The East Midland characteristics of R2, which are not found in D and F, prove that it was copied from a lost Southern or Midland copy of d. (3) In group d. The displacement of vv. 189–280 in F3 was not in d, since the other MSS. of the group show no signs of it, but in a MS. intermediate between d and F. The discovery of some of these lost MSS. would, in all probability, throw new light on the relation of the MSS. and enable us to determine more exactly the affiliations of the extant texts.

CHAPTER V

SOURCES OF THE NORTHERN PASSION.

§1. Ultimate Sources.

Although the source of the Northern Passion is stated by the author to be the Gospels,4 the narrative is far from being a close rendering of the Bible: events are transposed, parts of the Gospels omitted, and legendary incidents introduced. Therefore, though the Bible is the ultimate basis of the poem, the immediate source must lie in one or more of the numerous mediaeval works which tell the story of the Passion.

An author of about the year 1300, setting his hand to compose a narrative of the Passion, would have before him as available material Gospel Harmonies, Biblical commentaries, narratives of the Passion, and shorter works such as sermons, treatises, hymns, etc. The Gospel Harmonies were composed by weaving together all the incidents of the four Gospels to form a continuous narrative. The most famous of these harmonies was Tatian's Diatessaron, composed about the year 170. Though this work did not survive into the Middle

1 See above, III, § 4.  
2 See above, III, § 11.  
3 See above, pp. 14–15.  
4 Thys passion I wald; howe tell 
Par on me must a stund dwell  
Als Mathew Marke luke & Iohn  
Parz in acordys in tyll one. (7–10)
Ages, Victor of Capua was popularly supposed to have translated it, and his Latin Harmony is often cited as Tatian. Augustine, although he did not write a true harmony, discussed at length in his De Consensu Evangelistarum (c. 400) the points at which the narratives of the Gospels appear to differ, and by following his arrangement, it is possible to construct a nearly complete harmony. Some centuries later another Harmony was composed by Clement of Lanthony (d. 1180). Besides these harmonies which, it must be remembered, contained only the Biblical text, many narratives of the Passion were extant in the thirteenth century, either as parts of longer histories or as independent treatises. In Latin the most popular of these were Peter Comestor’s Historia Scholastica (twelfth century), Petrus Riga’s Aurora (thirteenth century) and Vincent de Beauvais’ Speculum Historiale (thirteenth century); among French works were Hermann of Valenciennes’ Histoire de la Bible (c. 1189), the Passion de Clermont-Ferrand (tenth century) and a Passion in octosyllabic couplets: while in English the Cursor Mundi (1260–90), the Southern Passion, and the Passion of Our Lord (c. 1250) were available. Of the commentaries on Scripture, Augustine’s In Ioannis Evangelium Tractatus CXXIV, Bede’s In Matthaei Evangelium Expositio, and Rabanus Maurus’s Commentariorum in Matthaeum Libri VIII (A.D. 822–826) could be used; among treatises or Meditations were Pseudo-Bernard’s Vitis Mystica seu Tractatus de Passione Domini, Meditatio in Passionem et Resurrectionem Domini and Liber de Passione Christi etc., Pseudo-Anselm’s Dialogus Beatae Mariae et Anselmi de Passione Domini,

1 The text of Victor of Capua is in Migne, Patrologia Latina, 68, col. 255 ff. For a list of early Harmonies and for the relation of Victor to Tatian, see Tischendorf, Synopsis Evangelica (Leipzig, 1898), pp. xii ff.
2 Migne, Patr. Lat., 34, col. 1041 ff.
3 For a list of MSS., see Forshall and Madden, The Holy Bible containing the Old and New Testaments with the Apocryphal Books in the Earliest English Versions (Oxford, 1850), I, p. x. ff.
6 The Passion is related in Book VII, chaps. xxxvi–lxiii. Quotations are from the edition of Venice, 1494.
7 For MSS. see Bonnard, Les Traductions de la Bible en vers français au moyen âge (Paris, 1884), p. 11 and Gröber, Grundriss, II, 1. 655. The quotations in the text are from Egerton MS. 2710.
8 Printed in Romania, II, pp. 295 ff.
9 See below, pp. 160 ff., called by Roy (Le Mystère de la Passion en France, Dijon and Paris, 1903, p. 27*), La Passion des Jongleurs.
10 Printed in E. E. T. S., Original Series, 1874, etc. For date see Dr. Hupe, E. E. T. S., 101, p. 201*.
11 See above, p. 18, n. 7; quotations in the text are from Harleian MS. 2277.
14 Ibid. 107, col. 729 ff.
15 Ibid. 184, col. 741 ff.
16 Ibid. 182, col. 1133 ff.
Arnold of Chartres's *De Cardinalibus Operibus Christi,*\(^1\) etc. Besides these may be mentioned the *Vindicta Salvatoris,\(^2\) Evangelium Nicodemi,\(^3\) and the great collection of legends in the *Legenda Aurea.*\(^4\)

The numerous possible sources of the *Northern Passion* have been enumerated because some of them may have furnished suggestions to the author; the major portion of the poem, however, is based directly on the Old French *Passion* in octosyllabic couplets mentioned above. A discussion of the sources of the English, therefore, necessarily begins with the French *Passion.* Since the poem has already been described by M. Paul Meyer\(^5\) and M. Émile Roy,\(^6\) I shall confine myself to giving a list of MSS. in which it occurs and a discussion of its sources.

The poem consists of about 1482 octosyllabic lines in couplets. It gives an account of the events connected with the death of Christ from the conspiracy of the Jews to the Resurrection,\(^7\) taken partly from Biblical and partly from legendary sources. Composed by an unknown author\(^8\) at the close of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century,\(^9\) it enjoyed such wide popularity that it was not only frequently copied separately, but was also introduced into at least three compilations on sacred history,\(^10\) and influenced the French drama extensively.\(^11\)

§ 2. The French Passion: Manuscripts.

In the following MSS. the poem occurs either separately, or in combination with a Harrowing of Hell based on the *Gospel of Nicodemus.*\(^12\)

**O. Trinity College, Cambridge.** **O. 2. 14, ff. 13a–24b.**\(^13\)

Vellum, 220 × 155 mm., consisting of two parts: (1) 39 lines to a page, fifteenth century, *Secreta Secretorum*, incomplete: (2) double columns, 33 lines

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5 *Romania*, XVI, 47–51, 226–9, 243–5; XXV, 551–3; XXXII, 102–3; *Notices et Extraits*, XXXIV, 1, 163–5; XXXIII, 1, 48–54.
6 *Le Mystère de la Passion en France du quatorzième au seizième siècle* (Dijon and Paris, 1903), pp. 27*–*40*.
7 The poem has different endings in the different MSS. See below, pp. 50 ff.
8 Gröber's original opinion that Geoffroi de Paris may have written the *Passion* (Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, VIII, p. 314), is not found in his later *Grundriss der Romanischen Philologie*, II, 1. p. 657, where he states that Geoffroi incorporated the originally independent *Passion* into his Bible (see below, p. 55).
10 See below, pp. 55 ff.
11 Roy, pp. 40*, 55*, etc.
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each, thirteenth century, first half,¹ the French Passion, Le Roman des Romans, a Bestiary of William the Norman, and two sermons all in French. Dr. James² thinks that the volume once belonged to Dr. John Dee.

The Passion is headed "Sermones Mauritii Parisiensis episcopi,"³ but the poem has no connection with the Maurice de Sully known by that title.⁴ The MS. is legibly written by an Anglo-Norman⁵ scribe who has altered and confused the morphology, syntax and versification of his original.⁶ The text is shorter than that of most MSS. by reason of the omission of couplets found in the other MSS. The final portion of the poem, where the MSS. differ most widely in arrangement, is here as follows: The death of Christ is thus indicated:—

Lores enclina seen chef inus
Li espirit sen est issuuz
Issuz est si com il le uoleit
En enfern est ale tot dreit.

(1473–6)

The Harrowing of Hell, which probably originally followed, is in this MS. separated from these lines by an account of the marvels at Christ’s death, the piercing of his side, the Burial, the Guarding of the Tomb, and the Resurrection.⁷ It is introduced by a repetition of vv. 1475–6:

Issuz sen est si cum il uoleit
De enfern alat tot dreit
De enfern brisa les sereures
E rumpi tutes les clourestures
Fors en getta sa compagnie
Que del diable esteit rauie
Il les conduist a son cher piere
En sa gloire la ov il ere.

(1475–82)

¹ Romania, XXXII, 102. Dr. James dates it simply thirteenth century (p. 99).
² loc. cit.
³ Fol. 13a.
⁴ Romania, V, 472–3.
⁵ Illustrations of the Anglo-Norman tendencies of the scribe are the substitution of u for o as in recunterent 10, annunta 11, unt 41, muester 51, dolur 75, flaur 81, mun 109, seignur 131, tafium 134, nueule 209, etc. , the use of ee for e, as in enlermeez 74 (pret. pple. masc. plural), beuuez 197 (imperative plural), sauueuez 198 (pret. pple. masc. plural), apreis 306, dee 384 (possessive), dics 504 (pret. pple. masc. plural), and lees 305 (I sing, pres. of leesser); the use of e for é in pes 47, 71, 76, 282, 284, 286, quer 609 (imperative sing.), ben 696, etc.
⁶ The following are only a few of the cases where the scribe has confused the reading: 111 Cil li pardoisings (for Le li pardoisings), 408 Ihesum querant amen deuom (for Ihesum que nus amer deuom), 765–6 11 dit que al rei cesar le sage Ne deit hum doner treueg (for Dit quil cera nostre rois sages Ne li doit en faire hontage). The Morphology is at fault in 10 Que recunterent les evanglistes (for li evangliste), 239–40 Frere dist deus la male gent Les diable met a nient (for le diable), 259 Us estes le men ami (for li men ami), etc. The versification is imperfect in vv. 7, 10, 12, 18, 20, 172, 274, 570, 1346, etc., etc.
⁷ vv. 1483–1594.
The poem concludes thus:

A ses apostres saparut
Quarante iorz iluecques fut
Mustra lur la nouele lei
Puis les beissa chascun par sei
Issi uos puisset il saluer
E nosz almes de peines deliurer
Cum il pur nos suffri La mort
E fist a nus grant confort amen.1

(1494a–1494b)

Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. fr. 1822, ff. 185a–193b.2 Thirteenth century.

This text is an awkward compilation in which the Burial and the Longinus incident are omitted. The order of events after the death of Christ is as follows: vv. 1477-82, 1594a–1594e describing the Harrowing of Hell and appearance of Christ to His apostles as in 0; 43 vv. (also in Bib. Nat. fr. 20040) relating the desire of the Jews to beg for mercy at Christ’s tomb, followed by a description of the merits of the Passion in saving man from hell; and the Harrowing of Hell according to the Gospel of Nicodemus. The poem ends with the Resurrection.3

Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. fr. 24301, ff. 265–291. Thirteenth century.4

In this MS., as well as in Bib. Nat. fr. 20040, the Passion is preceded by a prologue, often found with a poem on the fifteen signs of Judgment, beginning:

Oies tresstit comunalment.5

The Harrowing of Hell6 follows the death of Christ, but after this point the text and arrangement are independent of the 0 version. The imprisonment and liberation of Joseph and the legendary history of the grave are inserted, and the poem ends with a brief mention of the Ascension and a

“Per infinita secula Amen” (fol. 291a).

The long Harrowing of Hell, together with Christ’s appearances to the apostles, etc., follows as a separate poem.

1 Quoted in Romania, XXXII, 103. Bonnard, Les Traductions de la Bible en vers, français au moyen âge (Paris, 1884), p. 52, cites the first three verses.

2 Bonnard, p. 51.

3 Gröber, Grundriss, II, 1, 658, is mistaken in saying that Bib. Nat. MSS. fr. 1822, 20040, 24301, and Arsenal MS. 3527 close with a mere mention of the Resurrection and Ascension; for the long Harrowing of Hell occurs as part of the Passion in Bib. Nat. fr. 1822, fol. 193a; 20040, fol. 116b and Ars. 3527 (Bonnard, p. 50); while Bib. Nat. fr. 24301 adds it as a separate poem (ff. 291 ff.).

4 Romania, XVI, 47. This MS. is used by Roy in his description of the Passion, pp. 27*-35*, where extracts are printed.

5 Ibid. The poem is printed by Grass (Das Adamsspiel, Foerster’s Romanische Bibliothek, VI, Halle, 1891, pp. 57–67); see also Nölle, Die Legende von den fünfzehn Zeichen vor dem jüngsten Gerichte (Paul und Braun’s Beiträge, VI, 413 ff.), and Dr. H. E. Sandison, Quindecim Signa ante iudicium (Herrig’s Archiv, CXXIV, 73–82).

6 vv. 1476–82, as in 0.
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*Phillipps MS. 3643, ff. 105b–111a. Thirteenth century, end.*

From the quotations of M. Meyer ¹ the arrangement appears to be that of 0, i.e. the Resurrection is followed by the eight verses on the Harrowing of Hell and the conclusion.²

*Bibliothèque Municipale Lyons Ms. 739, ff. 1–8b. Thirteenth century, end.*³

The poem is incomplete, ending abruptly at Christ’s death, thus:

Proiès que a la fin a dit,
Si come reconte l’escrit,
Qui tote creature pest
Si li a dit; Consumatum est;
Et dist; Peres omnipotent
Pardone ceste mal gent.⁴


The MS. is described by Dr. James ⁵ and by M. Paul Meyer,⁶ who quotes the first thirty-nine verses of the Prologue and the last eighteen of the *Passion.*⁷ It has not, however, been pointed out that this *Passion* is a shortened form of the poem under discussion. After a prologue narrating the Entry into Jerusalem, etc.,⁸ the *Passion* proper begins on fol. 75b:

[O]re escutet tut ducement
Gardet qui ni ait parlement
La passion deu entendent
Cument il fu pur nus penez
Ne la poet oir creature
Ne veit pite ia tant nert dure
Pur ceto quil eit entendment
Al rei del cel omnipotent. . .

(1–8)

The text is shortened by the omission of many legendary and some Biblical incidents. The eight lines on the Harrowing of Hell follow Christ’s death, but after v. 1510 (Pilate grants Jesus’ body to Joseph) the text is not parallel to 0. The poem ends:

¹ *Notices et extraits*, XXXIV, 1, 164 ff.
² 1476–82, 1594a–1594b.
⁴ Quoted in *Romania*, IX, p. 162. The first four lines are 1467–70 of the printed text.
⁵ *Catalogue of the Western MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge* (1900), I, 438–49.
⁶ *Romania*, XXXII, 20–62.
⁷ Ibid. 38–9.
⁸ ff. 74a–75b.
Sources of the Northern Passion.

Arsenal 3527, ff. 182–191b.1 Fourteenth century.

Following Christ’s death is the long Harrowing of Hell with details from the Gospel of Nicodemus. The narrative extends beyond the Resurrection.

Arsenal 5204, fol. 17b. Fourteenth century.

Preceding the Passion is a poem treating of the Annunciation, the Birth and Early Life of Christ.2 This is not the same poem as No. 3 described below.3 The Account of the Marriage at Cana is identical with that of Geoffroi of Paris.4


This MS. is cited by Bonnard 5 as "probablement une variante du récit dont nous nous occupons." Through the description and extracts sent me by the kindness of M. Selbert, Conservateur de la Bibliothèque, I am able to identify the poem with the French Passion. It begins:

Incipit passio domini nostri ihesu christi

Or escoutez communament
E si mescoutez doucement
De nostre Seignor veil parler
Se il vous plaisit a escouter
Mout devez oir bonemment
Comme il soufrit pour nos torment
Et comme il fut passionnez
Et en la sainte croix penez

1 Bonnard (pp. 49–50) describes this MS. and quotes vv. 1–12, 401–6, 1189–96.
2 ff. 1–17. Begins:

"Or entendez, si faites pais
De Damedieu et de ses fais. . . ."

(Bonnard, p. 235.)

See also on this MS., Gröber in Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, VIII, p. 315.
3 See below, p. 56.
5 p. 53.
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Pour nous retirer de prison
Ou nous ot mis le premier hom
La passion de entendez
Comme il fut por nous trementez
Ne la pout oir creature . . .  (fol. 41a, col. 1)

The poem is imperfect, breaking off at the crucifixion:

Tot li percerent jusquuos os
Par les paumes sallit le sang
Qui aval cort parmi le flanc
Un en fier parmi les piez
Or est Thesu bien doficier.

(fol. 50)  

Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. fr. 20040, fol. 105. Fourteenth century.

The Passion is preceded by the same prologue which occurs in Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 24301.

The latter part of the poem (after v. 1476) is expanded; vv. 1477-82 on the Harrowing of Hell are not present. After v. 1592 are the forty-three verses describing the remorse of the Jews who wished to beg for pardon, at Christ's tomb, and relating the merits of the Passion to save men from Hell; following this is the Harrowing of Hell drawn from the Gospel of Nicodemus.


In this MS. the poem is lengthened by the insertion after Christ's death of the Harrowing of Hell from the Gospel of Nicodemus, and the story of Sidonie.

Kaiserlich-königliche Hofbibliothek zu Wien, MS. 3430.

ff. 82a-112a. Fifteenth century.

The MS. contains (1) a paraphrase of the psalm Eructavit (ff. 1-39) entitled "De l'advenement nostre seigneur," beginning, "Une chancon que dauid fist"; (2) "De la nativité nostre seigneur," beginning, "Entendez seigneurs un petit,"

1 The preceding six verses are not found in other MSS. of the Passion.
2 vv. 1322-6. Bonnard (p. 53) is mistaken in saying the poem ended at v. 1321.
3 Romania, XVI, p. 47; Bonnard, pp. 51-2.
4 See above, p. 51.
5 These verses are also in Bib. Nat. MS. fr., 1822, ff. 192b ff., and Brit. Mus. Addit. MS., 15606.
7 This description of the MS. is from Tabulae Codicum Manu Scriptorum præter Graecos et Orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi Asservatorum, edidit Academia Caesarea (Vindobonensis, Vienna, 1868), II, p. 289. vv. 1189-1216 are printed by Mussafia (Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie Phil. Hist., Klasse I.XIII, 212-13, see also p. 175, note 27).
Sources of the Northern Passion. 55

ending, "Et puis recut mort et passion" (ff. 39-81); (3) The Passion entitled "De la Passion nostre seigneur," beginning "Oez moy trestous doucement," ending, "In seculorum secula" (ff. 82-112); (4) The Image du Monde of Gautier de Metz.¹

The Passion, which contains about 1622 lines, ends with the same phrase as Arsenal 5201, and does not, so far as I can judge, contain the long Harrowing of Hell.

Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. fr. 1526, ff. 92a ff. Dated 1243.

The Passion forms part of the Bible des Sept Estaz du Monde of Geoffroi de Paris.² The text is expanded by the insertion of Biblical and legendary incidents such as the Cursed fig-tree, the Rebuke of Martha, the Lament of Mary at the Cross, the Harrowing of Hell from the Gospel of Nicodemus (following the death of Christ), the purchase of the grave cloth from Sidonie, etc.

Arsenal 3516 ff. 47b-50. Thirteenth century.

A portion of the French Passion, according to M. Meyer,³ forms one of the several insertions in the French Bible of Hermann de Valenciennes. The insertion, which lacks three leaves and a half at the opening, begins:

Chi commence la traison des Juif et de Judas, qui trai Deu nostre signor.

A icel dit li poples sus estait
Tote creiante entor Pilate vait;

and ends:

Explicit la Passion Nostre Segnor.⁴

In several MSS. the Passion forms part of a long compilation which includes some or all of the following originally independent poems⁵:

(1) The Ancestors of Mary, beginning: "Dieu qui cest siecle comenca."
(2) The History of Mary and Jesus, beginning: "Qui Dieu aime parfaite.""

³ Romania, XVI, 243, and XVII, 143; see also Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, VIII, 315, and Bonnard, p. 85 ff.
⁴ Catalogue des MSS. des Bibliothèques publiques de France, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, p. 397.
⁵ For MSS. and extracts of these poems see Romania, XV, 469-70; XVI, 44-56, 214-31; the compilation is printed from the Montpellier MS. in Revue des langues romanes, XXVIII, 118-23, 157-258; portions are printed in Herrig's Archiv, LXVII, 263-8; Reinsch, Pseudo-Evangelien von Jesu und Maria's Kindheit (Vielle, 1879), pp. 42-7; and Ein Schoen alt Lied von Grave Friz von Zolre (ed. Joseph von Lassberg, 1842), pp. 67-80.
Introduction.

(3) The Childhood of Jesus, beginning: "Dire vos veul chi et retraire."
(4) The Passion, beginning: "Or escutez mut ducement."
(5) The Descent into Hell and after-life of Christ. Beginning usually fused with No. 4.
(6) The Assumption, beginning: "Après la sainte passion."

_Arsenal_ 5201, ff. 106b–130b. Thirteenth century, first half.

This MS.¹ contains Nos. 2, 4, 5 and 6 of the poems mentioned above. The Harrowing of Hell occurs twice, once at the end of No. 3, as in _O_, and again in an extended form at the opening of No. 4.² This appears to be the only MS. of the long compilation in which the _Passion_ and the Harrowing of Hell are kept distinct.

_Bibliothèque de l’École de Médecine de Montpellier_ 350,
ff. 43–8. End of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century.

An abridged form of the _Passion_ is combined with Nos. 1, 2, 5 and 6. The _Passion_ occupies vv. 2865—3326 of the printed edition,³ but in so altered a form that it is only by certain couplets in the Supper at Simon the Leper's ⁴ and the Denial of Peter ⁵ that the French _Passion_ can be recognized. Except for Peter's Denial, which is given at length, the Trial and Crucifixion of Jesus are not narrated, but merely summarized in ten lines.⁶

1 See _Romania_, XVI, 44–53, where vv. 1–66, 1173–1231, 1476–82 and 1594a–1594b are printed.
2 _Ibid_. 51–2.
3 _Revue des langues romanes_, XXVIII, 230–41; see also _Romania_, XVI, 44 ff.
5 _Ibid_. 3135–8 = Pass. 681–4; M. 3140–43 = P. 686–89; M. 3147–50 = P. 691–4; M. 3159–60 = P. 669–70. M. Meyer says (Rom., XVI, 48): "Ce poème de la passion est à première vue distinct du récit qui, dans le MS. de Montpellier publié par M. Chabaneau, occupe les vers 2865 à 3867. Toutefois, ce dernier texte a un certain nombre de vers en commun avec le nôtre et pourrait bien en être une sorte de remaniement."
6 Forment gemist, soupire et ploere,
   Et se tormente et maldit l'heure
   Que il onques fu nez de mere;
   Or li est trop sa vie amere.
   Dont fut Jhesu a mort jugies
   Et en crois mis por nos pechiés.
   Iluec soufri mortel doulor
   Nostre sire, por nostre amor.
   Or esgardez que vos ferez,
   Com faitement vos li rendrez,
   Que quant vendra au jugement,
   Que li felon seront dolent,
   Que ne perdez sa compaigne,
   Por la joie de ceste vie.
   Le vendredi fu en la crois,
   Por nostre amor, li sovrain rois.
   Done vint Joseph I. chevaliers, etc.

3171
3175
3180
3185
Sources of the Northern Passion.


Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6 are contained in this MS. The long Harrowing of Hell is joined to the death of Christ, the rest of the poem being a different version from that of O.

Grenoble Ms. 1137, ff. 73a–107b. Fourteenth century, beginning.

This MS. contains Nos. 1–6. The long Harrowing of Hell is joined to the death of Christ as in Fitzwilliam 20.

In certain MSS. of Wace’s Conception dating from the end of the thirteenth century or later, portions of this long compilation are introduced.

British Museum Additional MS. 15606, fol. 58. Fourteenth century, beginning.

The Passion together with part of the History of Mary’s Ancestors and the Life of Mary and Jesus is introduced into Wace’s Conception. Except for the insertion of the eight verses on the Harrowing of Hell after the death of Christ, the Passion is the same as the version in Bib. Nat. fr. 20040.


These five volumes contain a copy made for M. Sainte-Palaye in 1773 of two ancient MSS. belonging to the Marquis of La Clayette. The first, which contained the Conception, was written at the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century. The History of Mary and Jesus, part of the Passion, together with the Descent into Hell, are inserted in Wace’s Conception. By the omission of the usual prologue to the Passion, the Supper at Simon the Leper’s (v. 58 of the Passion) is joined to the end of the poem on Mary and Jesus.

The text of the French Passion, as has been shown, varies widely in the different MSS.; in fact the versions of the end of the poem are almost as numerous as the MSS. in which they occur. The beginning, on the other hand, is usually the same as in O, but it may be preceded by a short prologue, or by an account

1 James’s Descriptive Catalogue of the MSS. in the Fitzwilliam Museum (1895), pp. 31 ff. (vv. 165–74, 177–82 printed); Romania XXV 546–54 (vv. 1–40, 1467–76 printed).
3 Printed by Mancel and Trebutien (L’Établissement de la Fête de la Conception Notre Dame, etc., Caen, 1842), and by V. Luzarche (La Vie de la Vierge Marie de Made Wace, Tours, 1859). For MSS. and discussions of the poem, see Reinsch, Pseudo-Evangelien, pp. 19–20; Bonnard, p. 222; Romania, VI, 10–11; VIII 310; XVI, 54, 232 ff.; Notices et Extraits, XXXIII, 2, 202 ff., Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, VIII, 315.
4 Romania XVI, 232–47 (vv. 1–22, 1175–98, 1465–84 printed); part of No. 1 (The Ancestors of Mary) is printed from this MS. by Reinsch, in Herrig’s Archiv, LXVII, pp. 263–8.
5 Notices et extraits, XXXIII, 1, pp. 8, 48–57.
of the early life of Christ, and the opening lines may be omitted. Now the Northern Passion does not correspond with any MS. of the French poem which I have examined. The variations are particularly noticeable at the beginning and the end: the Council of the Jews from Luke and Matthew in the French is in the Northern Passion increased by the account of John xi, 47–51, 53; furthermore, between the Council of the Jews and the Supper at Simon the Leper's is inserted the Entry into Jerusalem; while at the end of the poem, Christ's appearance to Mary and the Bribing of the Guard are added to the Resurrection. At first sight the English poem appears to be a rearrangement of an expanded version of the French text in which the Passion proper is preceded by the Entry into Jerusalem and continued by the addition of the Appearance to Mary. A closer comparison, however, reveals the following points of difference: (1) The English poet certainly relates one incident, i.e. the Bribing of the Guard, which is not in the French poem. (2) The Appearance to Mary as related in the Northern Passion is not that given in the French Passion. (3) The Entry into Jerusalem when present in the French is placed before the Council of the Jews and before the Prologue of the Passion. (4) Almost all MSS. of the French text containing the Appearance to Mary and the Entry into Jerusalem contain also the long Harrowing of Hell according to the Gospel of Nicodemus, which is not found in the Northern Passion. In other words, though some of the additional incidents in the Northern Passion are contained in MSS. of the extended version of the French poem, neither the text nor the arrangement is parallel. The probability is therefore that the English poet used some MS with the extent of O, and not the extended version.

The text upon which the English poem is based may be in part reconstructed by selecting, from the different extant MSS. of the French, the characteristics parallel to the Northern Passion. For example: (1) It lacked the couplets after vv. 32, 116, 178, 224, 278, 318, 338, 370, 378, 382, 446, 521, 496, 504, etc., which are found in most MSS. of the French but are not in O. (2) It included vv. 127–8, 215–16, 251–2, 365–6, 385–6, 399–400, 429–32, 447–8, 483–4, etc., not in O but present in most MSS. (3) Vv. 1475–82 on the Harrowing of Hell followed v. 1474. In general this text was nearer to O than to any other MS. which I have examined.

2 Montpellier, 350 and Bib. Nat. Moreau 1715.
3 Luke xxii. 1–2. 4 Mt. xxvi. 3–5.
7 Ibid. 2001–78.
8 e.g. Trinity College, Camb. B., 14, 39, and the MSS. of the long compilation cited above on pp. 55–56.
9 Bib. Nat. fr. 20040, 24301, etc.
10 With the exception of Montpellier 350 and Bib. Nat. fr. Moreau 1715–19, both of which present an abbreviated text of the Passion.
§ 3. The French Passion: Sources.

The chief source of the French Passion is the Bible itself. Dependence on mediaeval harmonies, histories, etc., such as might be expected in a popular story, cannot be proved in the French Passion; for the peculiarities in the arrangement of the events from the different Gospels, though for the most part supported by the authority of Clement of Llanthony,¹ Arnold of Chartres,² and a treatise popularly ascribed to St. Anselm³ cannot as a whole be found in any one author; while in two cases, the Trial before Caiaphas⁴ and the end of the Trial before Pilate,⁵ the order of the Passion is not met with elsewhere. Since then no intermediate work will account for its arrangement, and since the text is in general a paraphrase of the Vulgate⁶ the French Passion is probably based directly on the Bible.

¹ British Museum Royal MS. 3. A. X. Jesus’ commendation of Mary to John precedes the words to the Good Thief (vv. 1381 ff.).
² De Ablutione Pedum (De Cardinalibus Operibus Christi, Migne, Patr. Lat., 189, col. 1650) supplies the authority for placing the Washing of the Disciples' feet (277 ff.) before, instead of after, the Eucharist. The Latin is quoted by Roy, p. 221-2.
³ Dialogus Beatae Marie et Anselmi de Passione Domini (Migne, 159, col. 273). In the Capture, Jesus’ question “Quem queritis,” etc., from John xviii, 4-8, precedes Judas’s kiss and Jesus’ speech, “Amice, ad quid venisti,” from Matt. xxvi, 49-50 (see French Passion, 459 ff.). This order is also found in the Latin verse life of Mary and Christ in British Museum Additional MS. 29434 (end of thirteenth or beginning of fourteenth century), f. 86b; the French Passion of British Museum Egerton MS. 2781 (fourteenth century), f. 138a; the South English Passion of Our Lord (c. 1250) printed in Old English Miscellany (E. E. T. S. 49), p. 42; Cursor Mundi (E. E. T. S. ed.), 15750 ff.
⁴ The questioning of John xviii, 19-23 (596-626), is introduced between the rendering of Matt. xxvi, 62 (591-5) and 63 (627 ff.).
⁵ Pilate’s Washing of his Hands (1045-56) is separated from the Condemnation not only by the Scouring (1057-1104) but also by Pilate’s altercation with the Jews and with Jesus (John xix, 4-15; French Passion, 1105-72).
⁶ The parallels of the French Passion with the Vulgate are as follows:

23-32 Mt. xxvi, 3-5.
33-44 Mt. xxvi, 6; Jo. xiii, 12.
69-116 Jo. xii, 3-8; Mt. xxvi, 10-13; Lu. vii, 48.
125-140 Mt. xxvi, 14-16.
141-165 Mt. xxvi, 17-20; Lu. xxii, 9-14.
183-190 Lu. xxii, 15-16.
191-212 Mt. xxvi, 26-28; Lu. xxii, 19-20; 1 Cor. xi, 24-27.
213-234 Mt. xxvi, 21-25.
235-276 Lu. xxii, 24-32.
277-310 Jo. xiii, 4-17.
311-340 Mt. xxvi, 31-35.
341-355 Lu. xxii, 35-36, 38.
356-359 Jo. xviii, 1.
360-458 Mt. xxvi, 36-48; Lu. xxii, 39-46.
459-476 Jo. xviii, 4-8.
477-482 Mt. xxvi, 49-50; Lu. xxii, 48.
483-504 Mt. xxvi, 51-53; Lu. xxii, 50; Jo. xviii, 10.
509-530 Mt. xxvi, 55-57.
531-560 Jo. xviii, 14-16.
561-566 Mk. xiv, 51-52.
567-584 Mt. xxvi, 59-61.
585-586 Jo. ii, 20.
587-590 Mt. xxvi, 66.
591-595 Mt. xxvi, 62.
596-626 Jo. xviii, 19-23.
627-658 Mt. xxvi, 63-66.
659-666 Lu. xxii, 56-57; Jo. xviii, 25.
685-697 Mk. xiv, 68-71; Mt. xxvi, 73-74.
705-726 Lu. xxii, 63-65; Mt. xxvi, 67-68.
757-772 Lu. xxiii, 1-2.
773-810 Mt. xxvii, 3-7.
815-828 Mt. xxvii, 11-14.
829-934 Lu. xxiii, 4-10.
975-988 Mt. xxvii, 19.
989-1026 Jo. xviii, 29-37.
Interwoven with the Biblical matter are legendary and apocryphal incidents, some drawn from the great body of tradition common to all writers of the Middle Ages, some taken from more obscure sources. Although the widespread popularity of some of the legends makes impossible an exact statement as to the sources used in the Passion, the Historia Scholastica represents the type of treatise probably used by the author. Most of the common legendary incidents in the Passion are to be found here. Thus, compare the speech of Judas at Simon the Leper's,

ioi uos rendrai
Ceste perte restorerrai
As iuelus uendrai qui me dorrunt
Des bons uos prendrait, (121-4)

with the Historia Scholastica, "ita volebat Judas recompensare unguenti perditionem." 1 The common mediæval opinion that Judas was damned not for his treachery, but for his despair and suicide (vv. 792-6), is distinctly stated by Comestor:

Dicit Hieronymus super CVIII psal. quia magis offendit Judas Deum, quando se suspendit, quam in hoc quod eum prodidit. 2

The legend that the devil, in fear that Christ would save sinners, sent a warning dream to Pilate's wife, is probably based on the Historia Scholastica, which after quoting Matthew xxvii. 19, adds:

Iam Dei nutu poterat cognoscere diabolus mysterium crucis, et ieo laborabat ne Christus moreretur. 3

The addition of the French Passion, that the devil came in person, does not occur in earlier works. The popular legend of the healing of the blind knight who pierced Christ's side (vv. 1525-44) is also in Peter Comestor.

1027-1032 Mt. xxvii, 20. 1392-1408 Mt. xxvii, 39-43.
1041-1104 Mt. xxvii, 23-25, 27-30; Jo. xix, 1-2. 1425-1434 Lu. xxiii, 44-45; Mt. xxvii, 45.
1105-1176 Jo. xix, 4-16. 1435-1442 Mt. xxvii, 46-47.
1221-1224 Jo. xix, 17. 1451-1466 Jo. xix, 29; Mt. xxvii, 48-49.
1261-1272 Mt. xxvii, 32; Lu. xxiii, 26. 1467-1470 Jo. xix, 30.
1273-1304 Lu. xxiii, 27-30. 1471-1474 Lu. xxiii, 46.
1307-1311 Lu. xxiii, 32. 1483-1502 Mt. xxvii, 51-54.
1312-1326 Mt. xxvii, 33, 35; Jo. xix, 23-24. 1503-1510 Mt. xxvii, 57-58; Lu. xxiii, 50-52; Jo. xix, 38.
1327-1338 Jo. xix, 18-22. 1511-1533 Jo. xix, 31-34.
1341-1348 Lu. xxiii, 34. 1545-1560 Mt. xxvii, 59-60; Lu. xxiii, 53; Jo. xix, 40-42.
1381-1389 Jo. xix, 26-27.

1 Migne, Patr. Lat., 198, col. 1614. 2 Ibid. 1625.
3 Ibid. 1625; on this legend see below p. 78.
Sed unus militum lancea latus ejus dextrum perforavit, et continuo exivit sanguis, et aqua, et qui lanceavit eum, ut tradunt quidam, cum fere caligassent oculi ejus, et casu tetigisset oculos sanguine ejus, clare vidit.  

In the French, Longinus expresses contrition for his deed, begs for mercy and is pardoned. The Harrowing of Hell (1474–82) is casually mentioned in the Historia Scholastica: “De sanctis, quos eduxit de inferno, si quieritur ub fuerint post resurrectionem, Deus novit,”  but the French couplet

De enferm brisa les serene
E rumpi tutes les clousters

(1477–8)

implies that the poet also knew the Evangelium Nicodemi, where the breaking down of the portals of Hell is described in some detail.  

The Legend of the Cross, which appears in many forms in medieval literature,  is related in the French  according to the Rationale divinorum officiorum of Johannes Beleth, in the section “de exaltatione sancte crucis”:

De ligno domini legitur, quod Adam passus guttam misit filium suum ad paradysum et datum sibi ramum ab angelo detulit et illius arboris cognoscens mysterium terrae affixit. et in magnam arbores producta est. postea uero cum in templi constructione de diuersis partibus mundi arbores affrentur, allata est et haec et relicta est tamquam inutilis. unde postea facta est quasi salebria supra quasdam foueas ciuitatis. quam cum Saba regina intrauit noluit transire sed adorauit.  

The one  detail of the French not in Beleth, namely the identification of the tree with the cypress,

1 Migne, Patr. Lat., 198, col. 1633–4. For a discussion of this legend, see Dr. R. J. Peebles: The Legend of Longinus in Ecclesiastical Tradition and in English Literature, and its Connection with the Grail (Bryn Mawr Monographs, Monograph Series IX, 1911).

2 Migne, Patr. Lat., 198, col. 1637.


5 vv. 1199–1260. Printed from Arsenal MS. 2501 in Romania XVI. p. 50; from Grenoble MS. 1137 in Romania XVI. p. 227–8; from British Museum Additional MS. 15606 in Romania XVI. p. 244; and from Vienna MS. 3430 in Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie, LXIII. p. 212–13.

6 Quoted by Meyer, p. 115; also in Migne, Patr. Lat., 202 col. 153.

7 vv. 1195–6:

Dou Pommier fu ou crut la pome
Qui mist a mort le premier hom

are probably not part of the original French Passion. For this detail is not in Beleth, the source; the lines do not occur in O (early thirteenth century), and furthermore they introduce confusion, in that the poem states within the short space of three lines that a branch from an apple-tree was called cypress.
Introduction.

Hume dist que cipres auict a non,
   (1197)
is found in the French Bible of Herman of Valenciennes:
La croiz unt faite li felun bachiler
Dun mult bel fust cypres oi nomer

From Bernard’s Vitis Mystica the poet took the interpretation of Christ’s Thirst as a spiritual thirst to save men (1445–50):
   "Sed non satis credibile est ipsum de siti corporali dixisse, ut potem peteret carnalem, qui in instanti se sciebat carnaliter moriturum: sed potius desiderium ardentissimum salutis nostrae ipsum credimus sitivisse." 2

Furthermore, from Pseudo-Bernard’s Meditatio in Passionem et Resurrectionem Domini is drawn the Legend that Judas wakes while the apostles sleep in Gethsemane:

   Judas ne dort ore nient
   Et vos reposez seurement.
   (439–440)

Vel Judam non videtis, quomodo non dormit? Quam pervigiles habet oculos avaritia! quomodo circuit orbem terrae! non cessat manus ejus, non cessat pes, et coacervat sibi iram in die irae. Et tamen dormit Simon, dormit Jacobus et Joannes.3

Also in connection with the evident proximity of Judas and John to Jesus at the Last Supper (166–177) may be noted Bernard’s words:

   Quid enim columbae et corvo? quid candidae et nigro? quid Judae et Joanni? quid Christo et Belial? Et tamen Christus inter Judam et Joannem sedet medius, inter electum et reprobum latronem medius pendet, etc.4

The legend that John, sleeping on Jesus’ breast, saw visions of heaven (176–82) is of course founded on John xiii. 23 and 25: “Erat ergo recumbens unus ex discipulis eius in sinu Jesu, quem diligebat Jesus. . . . Itaque cum recubuisset ille supra pectus Jesu, dicit . . . .” but the two traditions that John drew secrets from Jesus’ breast and that John slept on Jesus’ breast were at first separate. The former occurs in Augustine,5 Gregory of Tours,6 and Bede; 7

1 Harleian MS. 2253, fol. 32a. The tradition is also found in Cursor Mundi, 8827; the Cross Legend of Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 763, printed by Bonnard, p. 89 (see also Napier, E. E. T. S. 103, pp. 63 ff.); and Mandeville (ed. Roxburgh Club), p. 5.
2 Migne, Patr. Lat., 184, col. 662.
3 Ibid. col. 743. See also the sermon on the Passion in British Museum Royal MS. 7. B. VII (fifteenth century), fol. 281b, “Dormite et requiescite non videtis quomodo. Judas non dormit set festinat me tradere iudeis.”
4 Ibid. 184, col. 754.
5 Ibid. 35, col. 1801; on this legend, see Roy, pp. 30*, 222–3. 333–4.
6 Ibid. 92, col. 810; see also Glossa Ordinaria, Migne, Patr. Lat., 114, col. 429.
7 Ibid. 71, col. 730.
Sources of the Northern Passion.

the latter does not appear before the tenth century, but is then found in Abdias ¹ and in the Passion de Clermont-Ferrand.² The combination of the two legends which occurs in the French Passion is found in a Latin sermon of a certain Ogerius (d. 1149) ³:

Erat ergo recumbens unus ex discipulis ejus in sinu Jesu, quem diligebat Jesus. Felix, inquam, discipulus ille, cui sic erat familiaris auctor vitae, quae nunc est, et futurae: nimis honoratus est discipulus ille, qui sui capitis habuit reclinatorium tam venerabile pectus, scilicet Jesu. . . . O quam bene quiescebat, qui supra pectus Christi quiescebat! O beate apostole Dei, discipule Jesu Christi, Joannes beate, utinam mereris illius dulcissimos pedes osculando lacrymis rigare, in cujus pectore tu meruisti dormire! . . . Per sinum sive pectus significabatur illud secretum, de quo bibit divinitas sacramentum, . . . Et merito de profide tuo magistrum interrogare non timuit, cui jam in sinu Divinitatis, veritatis magister rimari secreta polorum monstravit . . . illum mihi rogo ne celes, cui tuae divinitatis secreta es dignatus revelare.⁴

Herman of Valenciennes also relates the legend in his Bible:

Coe est Iohans, bien le vous lai numer
Ki la science but quant dormit al super
Sur le piz de son maistre.⁵

For a few incidents of the French Passion I have found no source.

(1) Judas sat down to supper even before Jesus; his lord loved him so much that he always ate with him; ⁶ but the traitor, while Jesus was drinking, stole the best piece of his fish (166-75).

¹ Migne, Dictionnaire des Apocryphes, II, p. 327.
² Romania II, 302. M. Roy (p. 223) is mistaken in saying that this Passion contains the legend that John drew secrets from Jesus' breast. The passage is as follows:

Jhesus lo bons per sa pietad
tan dulcement pres a parler;
sobre son peiz fex condurmir
sant Johan lo son cher amic.

³ Chevallier, Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen âge (Paris, 1907), II, p. 3406, article Ogler.
⁴ Sermones de Verbis Domini in Coena, III, 4 (Migne, Patr. Lat., 184, col. 891-2).
⁵ Harl. MS. 2253, fol. 23a, quoted by Roy, p. 29*. The story often occurs in later works: Odo of Cheriton (Balliol College, Oxford MS. 38, fol. 99a); Ludolph of Saxony, Vita Christi (ed. Paris, 1865), p. 584; Michael di Massa (d. 1336), De Passione Domini (Bodleian MS. 755, fol. 43b), all in Latin; in French: Passion selon Gamaliel, printed 1485 (Roy, p. 333); Passion d'Arnoul Greban, 1432 (Roy, p. 222); and in English: Cursor Mundi (E. E. T. S.), 1524 ff., Northern English Homily Collection of Harl. 4196 (Horstmann, Allengl. Leg. n. F., p. 35), South English Legendary (E. E. T. S. 87), p. 403, 406.
⁶ This incident of the French Passion appears to have influenced the Cursor Mundi, 15215 ff.:

|be lorde was to |be soper sette |
his felawes him be-side. |
Ivdas of |ja xii. was an. |
his surnome scariot hixt |
to ete wip ihesu he him sette |
 t redi has him diñt.
Though I have found no exact parallel to this incident in earlier literature, the materials from which it was built up are easily distinguishable. Judas was a thief according to the Gospels (John xii. 6, "quia fur erat"). Greediness or gluttony might easily be read into the story of Judas’s taking the sop from Jesus after supper: indeed the incident is given this interpretation by Herman of Valenciennes:

Judas oueri sa buche ainz quil fust apelez  
Li morsels fut tut pres & ben est temprez  
La grant gule baee dedenz li est botez.

Furthermore, Jesus’ words, "Qui intingit mecum manum in paropside, hic me tradet" (Matt. xxvi. 23), might easily suggest a theft on Judas’s part. Finally, the fish is already present at the Last Supper in early Christian art and literature.

From these traditions, then, the story in the text could easily be built up.

(2) The soldier whose ear Peter had cut off in the garden accosts him in the Hall of Caiaphas (673–84). The Bible calls this man "cognatus eius cuius abscedit Petrus auriculam" (John xviii. 26), but the French Passion in 677–80, 

Ia me feris tu de ta espée  
Si que l oreille en oi colpee  
E tis mestres La sana  
Ke par itant guarir quida,

identifies him with the injured soldier himself.

(3) The land which the Jews bought with Judas’s thirty pieces was Mount Calvary, where Jesus was crucified (803–14). Though Calvary is represented in mediaeval tradition as a burial ground and a place of execution, no earlier author identifies it with the Field of Blood.

(4) The Jews ask the smith to make them three nails with which to crucify Jesus, but the smith replies he has had leprosy in his hands for a long time. They oblige him to show his hands, and by God’s grace they are diseased. Thereupon his evil wife declares that she will make the nails herself, and forges three great nails and gives them to the Jews (1227–60).

Though this story does not appear earlier than the French Passion it is probable that it depended upon some existing tradition. Pierre Bercher

1 John xiii. 26: "Respondit Iesus: Ille est, cui ego intinctum panem porrexero. Et cum intinxisset panem, dedit Iudae Simonis Isciariotae."

2 Harl. 2253, fol. 28a.


4 The tradition is in a formative stage in the sermon on the Passion of British Museum Royal MS. 7. B. VII. fol. 283a: "Nonne ego te vidi in orbo cum illo quem cepimus eum. vnum tu es ille qui amputavit auriculam cognato meo malco."

5 Ambrosius, Epistola LXXI. cl. II. (Patres Quarti Ecclesiae sacelli (ed. Caillau), Sanctus Ambrosius VII. p. 200): "Golgota . . . Ibi Adae sepulchrum; ut illum mortuum in sua cruce resuscitaret. Ubi ergo in Adam mors omnium, ibi in Christo omnium resurrectio."

6 Historia Scholastica (Migne, Patr. Lat., 198, col. 1629) "quia ibi decollabuntur rei."
Sources of the Northern Passion.

(1290–1362) appears to refer to it under the heading Christi Passio: "Christum... nudum super crucem extenderunt, et ibi cum claviis grossis et male formatis et non per fabrum sed per quendam ribaldum factis conclauauerunt. Dic si vis de claviis quomodo fuerunt facti et sic cum cruce sursum erexerunt." ¹

To sum up,—the French Passion is compiled from the Gospels, supplemented by legends from Peter Comestor, Johannes Beleth, the mystical works of Bernard of Clairvaux, and the vernacular Bible of Herman of Valenciennes, besides a few legendary incidents which the poet probably drew from unidentified sources.

§ 4. Supplementary Sources of the Northern Passion.

Although the Northern Passion is in the main based on the French Passion, as a comparison of their main outlines and their legendary incidents clearly shows,² nevertheless in matters of detail many changes were introduced. The Scriptural material was added to and rearranged, some of the legends were further developed or were replaced by others, and a few apocryphal incidents which had become popular in the course of the century that had elapsed since the composition of the French Passion, were inserted. In the early part, the poet followed the French text with comparatively few changes. Up to the trial before Pilate (v. 811) the alterations are confined to the insertion of the Entry into Jerusalem ³ and some details in the Council of the Jews ⁴; two shifts in position,

¹ Opera Omnia (Coloniae Agrippinae, 1731), I, p. 340. The masculine gender of quendam ribaldum makes it uncertain whether the reference is to the smith’s wife. Roy (p. 34*) sees here an alternative tradition to the story of the Passion.
² The corresponding lines of the French poem and Northern Passion are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>French</th>
<th>Northern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Introduction</td>
<td>1-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Council of the Jews</td>
<td>13-33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. [Entry into Jerusalem]</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. Supper at Simon the Leper’s</td>
<td>34-116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Bargain of Judas</td>
<td>117-140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. Last Supper</td>
<td>141-355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. Gethsemane</td>
<td>356-526</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. Trial before Caiaphas and Denial of Peter</td>
<td>527-758</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX. Death of Judas and First Trial before Pilate</td>
<td>759-848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X. Trial before Herod</td>
<td>849-900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI. Second Trial before Pilate</td>
<td>901-1178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII. Legend of the Cross</td>
<td>1179-1226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIII. Forging of the Nails</td>
<td>1227-1260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIV. Road to Calvary and Crucifixion</td>
<td>1261-1474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XV. Harrowing of Hell</td>
<td>1475-1482</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVI. Longinus and the Entombment</td>
<td>1483-1500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVII. Setting of the Guard</td>
<td>1501-1590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVIII. Resurrection</td>
<td>1591-1594</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the one of Caiaphas' examination of Jesus\(^1\) (John xviii, 19–23), the other of John's sleep and vision\(^2\); and finally the repetition of Christ's charge to Peter\(^3\) and of the Mocking by the Jews.\(^4\) In the second half of the poem, however, the English author handled his material much more freely: he rearranged the Trial before Pilate,\(^5\) giving a version much further from the Bible than that of the French, he altered the end of the poem by adding a brief account of Christ's Appearance to Mary\(^6\) and the Bribing of the Guards\(^7\); furthermore, he inserted a fresh description of the crucifixion,\(^8\) omitted a part of the dialogue of Mary at the Cross,\(^9\) and added a new speech of Christ from the cross.

The authors used by the English poet in making these changes are in part those already drawn upon by the French author. The *Dialogus Beatae Marie et Anselmi de Passione Domini*, for example, supplied the harrowing details of the crucifixion\(^10\):

\[
\text{Nudaverunt Jesum unicum filium meum totaliter vestibus suis. . . Post hoc deposuerunt crucem super terram et eum desuper extenderunt, et incutiebant primo unum clavum adeo spissum quod tune sanguis non potuit emanare; ita vulnus clavo replebatur. Acceperunt postea fines et traxe-}
\]

\[
\text{runt aliiud brachium filii mei Jesu, et clavum secundum ei incusserunt. Postea pedes funibus traxerunt, et clavum acutissimum incutiebant, et}
\]

\[
\text{adeo tensus fuit ut omnia ossa sua et membra apparerent, ita ut impleretur illud Psalmi \textit{Dinumeraverunt omnia ossa mea} (Ps. xxi. 18). . . Post haec}
\]

\[
\text{erexerunt eum cum magno labore.}\]

\[
\text{The following speech of Christ on the cross:}
\]

\[
\text{he sayde 3e that by the wavy passe}
\]

\[
\text{habydis and by halde now my face}
\]

\[
\text{and lukis 3if \textit{het any passiowne or pyne}}
\]

\[
\text{May ben bitterere thane es myne}
\]

\[
\text{The haly writt says naye}
\]

\[
\text{No pyne to his euynede be maye}
\]

\[
\text{Ne none ofir myghtful kynge}
\]

\[
\text{Moughte suffire my paynes no thynge:}
\]

\[
(\text{Ad 1757–64})
\]

based on Lamentations i. 12 was first connected with the Passion by Paschatus Radbertus (ninth century),\(^12\) but this, as well as the following passage, is probably borrowed by the English poet from Bernard's *Meditatio in Passionem*:

\(^1\) 745–82, following the Denial of Peter. cf. above, p. 59, n. 4, for the order of the French.

\(^2\) 271–94, following the Denunciation of the Traitor instead of occurring at the beginning of the Last Supper (French *Pass.*, 176–82).


\(^8\) 1599–1646.


\(^10\) 1599–1646; on the description of the Crucifixion, see Roy, pp. 91* ff., 231.


\(^12\) *Expositio in Lamentationes*, Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, 120, col. 1084.
Passio Domini celebratur, et nos voluptati operam damus. Clamat nobis de cruce: O vos omnes qui transitis per viam, attendite, et videte si est dolor sicut dolor meus: et nemo est qui audiat, nemo qui consoletur, nemo qui respondeat.  

A further addition in the account of the crucifixion is the following passage:

On the rude was noght so mykyll leuyd
Wharto he myght lenye hys hevyd
Bot lenyd it to hys scholdyr bone
flor mercy of hym had pai none.

(1637–40)

The basis of this is, of course, Luke ix. 58: “Vulpes foveas habent, et volucres caeli nidos: Filius autem hominis non habet ubi caput reclinet.” The verse appears to have been first used in connection with the story of the Passion by Bernard in a passage punning on Calvaria and calvus:

Vide si non calvus est et noster Elisaeeus. Filius, inquit, hominis non habet ubi caput suum reclinet. Ecce quam calvus est qui non habet ubi caput reclinet.  

The Southern Passion (c. 1250) also uses this verse

A uoxe him mai fynde a sti: & a turtle a nest also
Whar on sitte & walewy: & peron reste perto
And ihesus nis an vrpe noxt: so moche god bileued
Wher-vpe he movye enes: reste his weri heued  

In spite of the common rhyme heued : leuyd, this is probably not the source of the Northern Passion, for the latter is nearer to Bernard than the Southern Passion in omitting the rendering of “Vulpes foveas habent, et volucres caeli nidos.”

The Story of the Cross as it occurs in the Northern Passion is constructed by adding to the outline of the story in the French Passion, details from the Latin Legend  

beginning “Post peccatum Adae,” and from other sources. The outline common to the French and English is as follows:


2 Meditatio in Passionem, Migne, Patr. Lat., 184, col. 752. The verse is also cited with the Passion in Pierre Bercheur’s Repertorium (ed. 1631), I, p. 442: “Pendet, non iacet, nec habet vbi caput reclinet.”


David found a branch (three branches in the English) which came from the forbidden tree in Paradise, and planted it. The tree which grew therefrom could not be fitted into Solomon's temple. It lay in a pool of water till the time of the Crucifixion.

To this outline furnished by the French Passion, the English poet added the following details:

1. David found three rods (1299), not one. This detail might be taken from the Legend, or from some Cross Story of the Rood Tree group described by Professor Napier.

2. vv. 1329–1330:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>p.:</th>
<th>w.:</th>
<th>Latin:</th>
<th>English:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>147</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>pritti wintir al bi dene</td>
<td>Je leues werin euchon grene</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

are from Legend

Illae steterunt ibi uenustae a domino plantatae usque ad annos XXX.

3. While the tree lay in the pool, God sent down an angel every day to stir the waters. The first sick man bathing therein after his departure was cured (1357–1408).

This incident occurs in most versions of the Cross Story from the Historia to the Legend. The account of the latter is as follows:

Nolens ergo dominus lignum ipsum illustratione carere, unaquaque die inter tertiam et sextam horam descendit angelus in piscinam et mouebatur aqua, et qui prior descendisset in aquam sanus fiebat a quacunque infirmitate detineretur.

4. Along with the legend of three branches, a tradition that the cross was composed of four kinds of wood is introduced:

The three branches which David found were cypress, palm and olive. He grafted them on a cedar tree (1300–2, 1321–6). The upright of the Cross was made of the cypress, because of its fragrance, the cross-bar was of olive because its brightness might be seen at a distance, the block in the earth was cedar which would not rot (1423–32), and the inscription was written on palm (1653–1655) to symbolize the peace which Pilate expected from Jesus' death (1667–76).

The four woods and their distribution in the cross are described in an old verse quoted by Gretser:

Quatuor ex lignis Domini crux dicitur esse:
Pes crucis est cedrus, corpus tenet alta cypressus,
Palma manus retinet, titulo laetatur oliva.
Bernard of Clairvaux in his *Vitis Mystica* names the same four kinds of wood, but assigns them to different positions in the cross. The tradition used by the English poet, which I have not been able to find in earlier literature, appears in the travels of Sir John Mandeville (c. 1371) thus:

Et sachez que la croiz Nostre Seignur fuist de quatre manere de boys, si come cest vers deurse, *In cruce sunt palma, cedrus, cipressus, oliva.* La piece qaloiot tot droit de la terre iusekes a mont vers le chief estoit de cipres; et celle qaloit de transvers, a quoi les mayns estoient clauze, estoit de palme; et li trunci dessouz, qestoit fichez dedeinz la roche, en quoi il y auoit vne morteise pur tenir le pie de la croiz, estoit de cedre; et la table, qestoit sur la teste, qauoit pie et demy de long, en quoi ly titre estoit escript en ebreu, en grice et en latin, estoit de olie. Et firent les Iuys la croiz de cee quatre manere de boys a certes qar ils quidoient qe nostre Seignur duist la demorer tout pendant tant comme le corps purroit durer. Et pur cee firent ils le pie de cedre; qar cedre ne porroit point, nen terre nen eawe. Et ils voleient qil durat longement. Apres ils pensoient qe le corps nostre Seignur duist porrer et puer. Et pur cee firent ils le thyrte de la croiz de cipres, qest bien odorant, au yfn qe la flaur de son corps ne greuast les trespassantz. Et ly trauersyn fuist fait de palme, pur cee qen veill testament, quant auce auoit victorie, homme le coronoit de palme. Et pur cee qils quidoient auoir uencu Ihesu Crist, ils le firent de cel boys. Et la table de la titre ils firent de olieue; qar olieue signifie peez, si come lestoire de Noe tesmoigne, quant la columbe porta la raum de olieue, qie signifioit peez estre fait entre Dieu et homme. Et auxi les Iuys quidoient lors auoir peez apres la mort nostre Seignur, qar ils disoient qil auoit mis descord entre eaux.

The same tradition occurs in *Ly Myreur des histors* by Jean d’Outremeuse. The *Northern Passion* differs from the two French works only in transposing the olive and palm, and in interpreting the palm as an emblem of the peace Pilate expects. Since, however, the palm is a well-known emblem of victory and the olive of peace, the version of Mandeville and Jean d’Outremeuse probably represents the original from which the *Northern Passion* departed.

---

1 De quatuor enim generibus arborum facta fuisset referatur: de cypresso, de cedro, de oliva, de palmis. Cypressus in profundo, cedrus in longo, oliva in alto, palma in lato. Unde dicit Apostolus: *Ut possimus comprehendere cum omnibus sanctis, quae sit latitudo, longitudo, sublimitatis et profundum* (Ephes. iii. 18) . . . Cypressus enim timorem sive humilitatem significat, ubi est radix crucis, per quam non solum situs humilis, sed natura ejus exprimitur: quia, ut dicitur, fugat odore serpentes, id est diabolos, quorum proprius character superbia ab humilitatis virtute fugatur. Cedrus arbor longitudine praestans alius arboribus, longitudinem crucis, id est, perseverantiam significat, sive patientiam. . . . Oliva vero arbor oleum effundens, per quam misericordiae opera significatur, charitatem significat, quae arbor bene latitudinem habet crucis: quia lata est charitas, quae etiam ad inimicos extendit praeceptur. Palma porro arbor, victoriam significans, altitudinem crucis optime significat spem de supernis habendam, non ad infima deprimendam. (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 184, col. 732-3.)

2 Ed. Roxburgh Club, 1889, pp. 5-6.

Introduction.

The most peculiar feature of the Cross story in the Northern Passion is the omission of Sibilla’s prophecy, a feature which occurs in almost all versions from the Historia \(^1\) to the Legend \(^2\). After being rejected from the temple, the tree is used for a bridge,\(^3\) as in Beleth \(^4\) and the Legenda Aurea \(^5\), but its transfer to the Probatica Piscina, which in Beleth and the Legend is caused by Sibilla’s Prophecy, is thus related:

Sone to þe watir grounde  
Hit sane in a litil stonde.

(1383–4)

Clearly, the Cross Story of the Northern Passion is a mere patchwork which, while combining incongruous legends, yet omits the interesting figure of the Sybil. This form of the Cross Legend never became popular in Middle English, and even in MSS. of the Passion itself, a more extended story is twice substituted. The scribe of \(G_6\) in the second half of the fourteenth century, inserted a new version of the cross story,\(^6\) based on the Latin Legend,\(^7\) as the presence of the withered pathway,\(^8\) the Maximilla incident,\(^9\) etc., shows;\(^10\) but the Legend is shorn of many details, \(e.g.\) the three visions of Seth at the gate of Paradise,\(^11\) the circles of silver which David placed about the tree,\(^12\) etc. In the midst of the story of the Legend, certain verses from the original Cross Story of the Northern Passion have been inserted. The clumsiness of the editing may be seen in the following extract, where the insertion of vv. 1337–8 is particularly awkward:

190* And dauid passyd furthe fro þis lyffynd  
And went furthe at goddys bydying
192* þan salomon was aftir hym kyg  
And gowarnd hym wysely withouten fandyng  
And endyd þe tempyll þat begun was  
And made it vppe in two and thyrty þhere space

196* Foure manir of trees some sayse þare ware  
At war gedird to gidir þan þare  
Of cedir was þe first rute  
Þar on growyd our allir bute

200* Cypresse and þe palme tre  
Þe ferith was olyue I tell þe  
And when þe tempill was nere vppe broght  
Of a tre þai had grete thoght

---

\(^1\) Meyer, p. 107.  
\(^2\) Ibid. § 27, p. 148.  
\(^3\) 1379–82.  
\(^4\) See above, p. 61.  
\(^5\) Ed. Graesse, 1850, p. 304.  
\(^6\) 140/1*-145/299*.  
\(^7\) Meyer, pp. 131 ff.  
\(^8\) Ibid. pp. 133–4, § 4.  
\(^10\) One detail (from the Vitae Adae et Evaæ \(27\)) is the sending of Eve with Seth to Paradise (Abhandlungen der bayerischen Akademie, XIV, phil.-hist. Klasse, p. 233, § 36).  
\(^12\) Ibid. pp. 143, § 20.
Sources of the Northern Passion.

204* Some þai þe þede vnto þe kyng
And tald to hym of þair myssyng
Salomen daudit son of age
fior þi here bare þat herytage

208* Still he satt als he ne roght
And of a tre he hym be thoght
fior in hys orcherd þat tre it growe, etc. 1

In Ad and the MS. from which it was copied, the Cross story of the Northern Passion was discarded and a version of Meyer's Legend substituted. Since the Latin text of the Legend is easily accessible, it is not printed here. Though, for the most part, the story of Ad follows the Legend, including the prologue on Cain and Abel 5 which is not present in all MSS. of the Latin, it has peculiar features not found in other versions.

(1) The instrument with which Cain slew Abel was the jaw-bone of an ass,
as in Cursor Mundi:

wid þ(e) cheke bon of ane asse
Men say þat abel slain wasse. 7

(2) In Seth's third vision at Paradise, Abel's soul sits on the tree in joy, 8 while the Legend states that the roots of the tree reached into Hell, where Abel's soul was seen. 9

(3) The story of Moses 10 is expanded by details from the Bible. 11

(4) In the time of Elisha, the Syrian Naaman was cured in the Probatica Piscina. 12

(5) The pool of Siloam (Ad Seclatyn) was a place of execution. 13 The only hint of this I can find elsewhere is the statement of Lu. xiii, 4: “Sicut illi decem

1 The insertions are,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>G1</th>
<th>G5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1321-6</td>
<td>144/196*-201*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1337-8</td>
<td>144/206*-207*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1343-6</td>
<td>144/202*-205*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1347-72</td>
<td>144/208*-145/233*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1375-8</td>
<td>145/236*-239*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2 That the long Cross story of Ad was not introduced by Thornton, the scribe, is shown by the dialect. Not only does the body of the insertion offer Midland forms, but the lines of transition between the Passion proper and the Cross story contain one form with O.E. ð giving ð, i.e. none 146/14*. 14

3 146/1*-167/685*.
5 Meyer, pp. 131–2, §§ 1–2.
6 147/67*-68*.
8 151/117*-121*.
10 154/201*-157/326*.
11 154/201*-216* from Exod. ii; 155/233*-238* from Exod. xv; 155/245*-250* from Exod. xii.
12 165/598*-605; cf. 2 Kings v.
13 166/014*-015*, 620*-621*.
et octo, supra quos cecidit turris in Siloe, et occidit eos; putatis quia et ipsi debitores fuerint praeter omnes homines habitantes in Jerusalem?"

(6) The motive of the Jews in making the tree a bridge is a double one; the desire to destroy its miracle-working power in the Legend, and a more mischievous purpose:

\[\text{flor \texttt{at} pore mene solde mys fare}
\text{that went \texttt{fer} one with feete bare.}\]

(166/618*-619*)

The long Story of the Cross is not the only addition to the Passion in this MS: two other legends, the Wandering Jew and the Vernacle are also inserted.

Already in C, an earlier MS. related to Ad, the Wandering Jew is mentioned by the name of John Puttedieu, as a person who saw the details of Christ's suffering, but the legend of his punishment is not related. In Ad, on the other hand, the story is briefly told:

\[\text{3it luyes a mane it es ferlike}
\text{that Ihesu saughe bothe dede \& qwike}
\text{John putte-dieu was his name}
\text{he did his lorde Mekith schame}
\text{he putt Ihesu \texttt{with} his hande}
\text{\& saide traytoure ga forthe here sall \texttt{pou} not stande}
\text{\& Ihesu turned hym pane agayne}
\text{\& bad stand \texttt{pou} sti\texttt{H} in snawe and rayne}
\text{\& in \texttt{opir} wedirs calde and harde}
\text{Ti\texttt{H} \texttt{at} I come ogayne warde.}\]

(1520a-1520j)

The Wandering Jew, first mentioned by Roger of Wendover (d. 1237), appears under several names: Cartaphilus, Johannes Buttdæus, Giovanni

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1 166/622*-623*.
3 See above, iv, § 2.
4 vv. 1598r-1598j, see below, p. 73, Variants and Fragments, No. 1.
6 Flores Historiarum (ed. Rolls Series. 1887), II, pp. 352-5, under the year 1228.
7 Roger of Wendover as above; Matthew of Paris (d. 1259), Chronica Majora (ed. Rolls Series, 1876), III, 161-4. In Chronique rimée de Philippe Mouskes (publiée par le Baron de Reiffenberg. Bruxelles, 1838, II, pp. 491-4) the Jew is not named.
Boutadeo¹ or Jean Boutedieu,² and, in the sixteenth century, Ahasverus.³ The name John Puttedieu (1520c) of C and Ad came from France, but the nearest parallel to the story of Ad is in the narrative of the Italian Guido Bonatti, a contemporary of Dante,⁴ who in treating of long-lived men, writes:

Et dicebatur tune quod erat quidam alius qui fuerat tempore Iesu Christi, et vocabatur Ioannes Buttadaeu, eo quod impulisset Dominum quando dicebatur ad patibulum, et ipse dixit ei, Tu expectabis me donec uenero, ... Et ille Ioannes transiuit per Forliuium uadens ad sanctum Iacobum aera Christi millesima ducentesima sexagesima septima.⁵

The references to Jean Boutedieu in French literature show that the story was well known in France, and it was probably from a French version similar to the Italian quoted above that the English story was taken. The insertions in C, a fourteenth-century MS., and in Ad, a fifteenth-century MS., are interesting as the only references which have been found to the Wandering Jew in England between the thirteenth-century chroniclers and the seventeenth century.

The story of the Vernacle⁶ is as follows: As the maiden Sydonye is carrying a cloth she has made to market, she meets Jesus stooping under the cross. She says he cured her of blindness⁷ and begs for some of his grace. At his command she lays on his face the cloth she is carrying, which straightway takes the print of his face. By its means she works many miracles, and finally takes it to Rome, and gives it to the Pope. It is called the Vernacle, and whoever will go to Rome may still see it.⁸

¹ Cecco Angiolieri (a contemporary of Dante) in a sonnet cited by Morpurgo, p. 9; Viaggio in Terra Santa fatto e descritto da Ser Mariano da Siena nel secolo XV (1431), Florence 1822 p. 29, quoted by Morpurgo, p. 7; a fifteenth-century narrative quoted by Morpurgo, pp. 15 ff.
³ Kurze Beschreibung und Erzehlung von einem Juden mit namen Ahasuerus, gedruckt zu Leyden, anno 1602, and most later accounts.
⁴ Inferno, XX 118.
⁶ See Ernst von Dobschütz, Christusbilder, Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Alchristlichen Literatur, XVIII), especially chap. vi, Die Veronica-Legende.
⁷ The bearer of the Vernacle is at an early date represented as the woman cured of an issue of blood (Mt. ix. 20–22, Mk. v. 25–34; Lu. viii. 43–8; see Dobschütz, pp. 210–11). That she was cured of blindness does not appear in the legends, but in the Passion of Antuu (see below, p. 74, n. 3) the mother of the maiden of the cloth is cured of blindness by the touch of the holy kerchief.
⁸ Ad 180/1*–181/54*.
The very common legend of the Vernacle is thus told by Roger of Argenteuil:

Sire, il a en Jerusalem une sainte fame qui a non la Veronique, qui a un grant cuevrechief ou l'image de nostre seignor Jhesucrist est pourtretre, quar il aint, si com li faus Juys menoient nostre seigneur Jhesu crucesfier, et li fesoient porter la croiz sus ses espaules, et il suoit si durement que l'eve et la sueur li degoutfoit forment du visage a terre contrevall, lors passa cele sainte fame per devant lui qui portoit ce cuevrechief vendre au marchié; et quant ele vit nostre seignor Jhesuchrist si mal mener et si suer, si en ot deul et pitié, et li souvint de ce qu'il l'avoit garie el temple de Jerusalem d'une fievre qui l'avoit tenue moulting longuemement; si desvlopa cel cuevrechief et li tendi, et puis li dist: "Sire tenez cest cuevrechief, si en essuiiez vostre visage;" et lors Nostre Sires prist le cuevrechief, et en essuia son visage, et tantost, par la vertu de Deu, li visages de nostre seignor Jhesucrist i fut ausi pourtret et ausi aparanz comme se il fist corporex en char et en os. Lors li rendi arieres son cuevrechief, et li dist et commanda que ele le gardast bien, quar il avroit encore mestier a mainz malades garir; et lors cele sainte fame en aporta arieres son cuevrechief, et quant ele fu venue en sa meson, ele le toucha a son seignor qui gesoit en langor, et il fu tantost gueriz, et moul d'autres malades, par l'atouchement de ce saint cuevrechief.

The name Sydonye, which is not found in the versions cited by Dobschütz, comes from a confusion with the story of Sidonie, who is said to have made Jesus’ grave-cloth and sold it to Joseph of Arimathea.

§ 5. Sources of the Expanded Version.

The author of the expanded version increased the poem by over a thousand lines. The sources of his additions are in part works already used in the original version; for example, the Bible and Peter Comestor; but, unlike the author of

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1 Bible en fransais (c. 1300). See P. Meyer, Notices et extraits, XXXIII. I (1890), pp. 71-5.
2 Quoted by Dobschütz, pp. 304*-305*.
3 The Legends of Sydonye and Veronica have much in common, and are actually fused in the Passion of Autun (fourteenth century, see Romania, XXIV, 80, and Roy, Mystere de la Passion, pp. 41* ff.): Veronica, a poor woman, sends her daughter to sell cloth. One of the guards cuts it in two; with one piece he wipes Jesus’ face, which imprints itself on the cloth, with the other he makes a girdle for the crucified. When the first piece is placed on the mother’s eyes she is cured (Roy, p. 43*). Notice also that in the Passion copied at Semur (Roy, p. 146) Veronica is forced to sell her cloth. Moreover, Sepp (Das Leben Christi, Regensburg, V, 139) reports a tradition that the grave-cloth was imprinted with the picture of Christ’s body.
4 Bible of Geoffroi de Paris, Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 1526 ff. 120a–122b; Arsenal 3527, fol. 194a; MS. Montpelier 350 (Rev. des Lang. Rom. XXVIII, pp. 239–40); Fitzwilliams MS. 20 ff. 31a–33b (cf. James’s Catalogue, pp. 35–6), Bib. Nat. MS. fr. 9588, ff. 94a–96b, and cf. Roy, p. 39*. The story of Sidonye also occurs in the Wynchyn de Worde print of the English Gospel of Nicodemus (1509), see Hulme (E. E. T. S. Extra Series, C. pp. lviii–lx) and the further references to the legend which he gives.
the original poem, this poet has borrowed also from vernacular literature. Portions of the Middle English Gospel of Nicodemus are incorporated into his poem, while the Cross Legend and the account of Mary's sufferings which he used may have been borrowed from English sources.

The Bible is used by the reviser chiefly to supplement the account already present in the original version, which, being a translation of a translation, often departs widely from the text of the Vulgate. The reviser shows, by his alterations, not only an acquaintance with the Bible, but also a desire to make his poem harmonize with it. A few quotations will make this clear.

1. Matt. xxvi. 29. "Dico autem vobis, non bibam amodo de hoc genimine vitis, usque in diem illum cum illud bibam vobiscum novum in regno Patris mei."

With 30w sall I ete no more
Tyll ḧat I hafe bene wyde whare
�재 agayn may noman stryfe
for I sall sone be broght of lyfe
(G, 239-12)

With 30w now sall I ett no mare
Vntill I haue bene wide whare,
Ne of ḧis drink I sall noght taste
Till I have walked waies waste,
And till I drink with 3ow ful euyn
In ḧe kingdom of my fader in heuyn,
(H 239-42b)


urahan hyngid ihesu two thefis by
To do hym schame ḧai war redy
عناية to thefe began to cry
Salue vs lord nowe or we dy
عناية tothyr thefe sayd onone
Helpe of hym here gettis ḧou none
Howe nowe myght he helpe ḧe
=tmp ded hym selfe he may noght flee
He spak and cryed tyll god mercy
Aud to his felowe he sayd hym by
I wene he sayd ḧat ḧou be wode
تحقق man did noght neuir bot gude, etc.
(G, 1691-1702)

Pan of ḧe theues ḧat hang him by,
عبة of ḧam bigan to cry
And ḧus he said uonto ihesus;
"Lord, ḧou saue ḧi self and vs,
Sen we er all samin in ḧis stede,
Saue ḧat we be noght dede."
عبة tober blamed him for his saw
And said: "oure self may clerely knaw
 بتاريخ we bath er wele worthy
for oure dedis here forto dy,
And for oure werkes howethen drede
Hider er we broght to haue oure mede.
And πis man ḧat es hider broght
In word ne werk he trispast noght," etc.
(H 1691-1702)

Not only is the Bible used to fill in the details of incidents, but its influence is also discernible in the arrangement of part of the Trial before
Introduction.

Pilate, as well as in the position of Christ's Thirst on the Cross and of the Centurion's Testimony. In general, then, the amplified version is much nearer the Bible than the original poem.

The additional details about Judas might be taken from either the Legenda Aurea or Historia Scholastica: Judas held the money bags and stole one-tenth of all the treasure that came to the twelve; he sold Jesus for thirty pieces to make up for one-tenth the price of Mary's ointment which he considered he had lost (19/1*-21/46*).

Portabat enim loculos et ea, quae Christo dabantur, furabatur. Dolens vero tempore dominicae passionis, quod unguentum, quod trecentos denarios valebat. non fuerat venditum, ut illos etiam denarios furaretur, abiti et dominum XXX denariis vendidit . . . vel (ut quidam ajunt) omnium, quae pro Christo dabantur, decimam partem furabatur et ideo pro decima parte, quam in unguento amiserat, scilicet pro XXX denariis, dominum vendidit.

The detail about Judas's wife:

In litel purses euer he stale
be tende of paire tresore bi tale,
bat broght he euer vnto his wife;
bus cursedly he led his life,

is from the Historia Scholastica.

Habebat enim vxorem et filios, sicut scriptum est de eo: "Fiant filii ejus orphani, et uxor ejus vidua etc." (Ps. cviii) Vxori ergo et filiis dabat quae furabatur.

1 The rendering of John xix, 4–8, which in the Northern Passion is confused with other matter and transferred to a later point, is in the revised version restored to its proper place. The parallels with the Vulgate are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1192–1216</td>
<td>1192–1216</td>
<td>Jo. xix, 1–3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1216a–1216</td>
<td>1216–1216</td>
<td>Jo. xix, 4</td>
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<tr>
<td>1217–1218</td>
<td>1217–1218</td>
<td>Jo. xix, 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1218x–1218x</td>
<td>1218–1218</td>
<td>Jo. xix, 6–8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1219–1244</td>
<td>1219–1244</td>
<td>Jo. xix, 9–12a</td>
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<tr>
<td>1244x–1244g</td>
<td>1245–1245</td>
<td>Jo. xix, 13</td>
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<td>1245–1248</td>
<td>1245–1248</td>
<td>Jo. xix, 14–15a</td>
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<td>1252–1258</td>
<td>1252–1252</td>
<td>Jo. xix, 7</td>
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<tr>
<td>1259–1260</td>
<td>1259–1259</td>
<td>Jo. xix, 6</td>
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<tr>
<td>1261–1264</td>
<td>1261–1264</td>
<td>Jo. xviii, 31</td>
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<tr>
<td>1265 ff.</td>
<td>1265 ff.</td>
<td>Jo. xix, 15b ff.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>


3 The words of the Centurion (1829–40), which are separated from Christ's death by the Harrowing of Hell (1809–28) in the original poem, are in the amplified version placed immediately after Christ's death (1808a–1808c) as in Luke xxiii, 47 and vv. 1829 ff. are altered to a recapitulation of the Centurion's words.


5 Migne, Patr. Lat., 198, col. 1598.
When Judas hanged himself, his body burst open to let out his soul. The soul could not pass by his mouth which had kissed Christ (862a–862f).

... abiens laqueo se suspendit et suspensus crepuit medius et diffusa sunt omnia viscera ejus. In hoc autem delatum est ori, ne per os effundetur non enim dignum erat, ut os tam viliter inquinaretur, quod tam gloriosum os scilicet Christi configerat.¹

The Middle English Gospel of Nicodemus,² as Horstmann pointed out,³ furnished the expanded version with the story of the imprisonment and release of Joseph, and also with some details of the Burial. Though the earlier poem is in stanzas of alternate rhyme, the editor has preserved many of the original rhymes in his couplets, as in the following passages:

**Gospel of Nicodemus.**

> j'an come a knyght of j'am jat woke
>  Ihesus in j'e monument:
> "jat body jat yhe vs bitoke
>  Es rysen and fro vs went;
>
> (793–6)

> j'e mykell stane jat lay
>  His rysyng forto lett
> jat aungell put oway
>  And j'areopon him sett.
>
> (801–4)

When he was layd in graue,
We kepèd him, als yhe wate;
Schortly lorne him we haue,
He es rysen & gane his gate.

And als wele wate we yhisterday
How Ioseph presond was,
And how yhe kepèd him vnder kay
ffor jat he suld noght pas;

(825–32)

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³ Herrig’s *Archiv*, LVII, pp. 78–83.

⁴ The other parallels noted by Horstmann are the following: *Harrowing of Hell* (Harley 39, N.P. 1810; *Harrowing of Hell*, 237–8, N.P. 1819–20.)
The Gospel of Nicodemus was also used by the reviser of the Northern Passion in a passage not quoted by Horstmann, i.e. the episode of the Devil and Pilate's Wife (1061 ff.). In the original version Pilate's wife says a beast from Hell appeared to her (1098), but the reviser followed the Gospel of Nicodemus in making Satan take the form of an angel.²

On þe nyght als aue angell
He appered to Pilate wife;
"Vnto þi lord þou tell
He lett noght ihesus lyf."
(Gosp. of Nic. 189-92)

The voluminous literature on Mary’s sufferings, represented in Latin by Bernard’s Liber de Passione Christi,³ Pseudo-Anselm’s Dialogus Beatae Mariæ et Anselmi de Passione Domini,⁴ Bonaventura’s Meditationes Vitae Christi,⁵ and Ludolph of Saxony’s Vita Iesu Christi,⁶ and in English by translations and adaptations of these⁷ as well as by the complaints,⁸ contributed towards the expanded version details which are for the most part literary commonplaces. Mary’s meeting with Jesus on the road to Calvary⁹ is related in the Dialogue attributed to St. Anselm:

Cum autem educetur filius meus principalis, cum duobus sceleratis extra portam civitatis, cum ingenti pressura irruentis populi et insultantis, volui eam sequi et videre, sed non potui prae maxima multitudine populi, quae ad opprobrium filii mei convenerat. Sed tandem cum Maria Magdalena deliberavi quod per viam adjacentis plateae circa quemdam fontem circumiremus, quatenus illi obviaremus. Et cum venissemus juxta fontem, obvium habuimus meum filium deformatum, pressum omni dolore; qui benigne inclinabat se ad me, ac si diceret, Grates tibi refero, etc.¹⁰

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>778-780</td>
<td>242/17*-18*</td>
<td>819</td>
<td>244/15*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>788</td>
<td>242/22*</td>
<td>823</td>
<td>244/17*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1069</td>
<td>243/29*-30*</td>
<td>841-845</td>
<td>245/30*-42*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>790-792</td>
<td>243/34*-36*</td>
<td>850-852</td>
<td>245/45*-49*</td>
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<tr>
<td>811-812</td>
<td>2059-2060</td>
<td>853-855</td>
<td>2066c-2068d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>813-815</td>
<td>243/3*-4*</td>
<td>858-860</td>
<td>2068a-2068b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>817-818</td>
<td>244/11*-12*</td>
<td>862-864</td>
<td>2070a-2070b</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

v. 1904, 2027, which Horstmann notes as parallel to Gospel of Nicodemus 722 and 823, reproduce the phraseology of the original version of the Northern Passion and are not significant of the Gospel of Nicodemus.

¹ Cf. vv. 1103 and 1108, where the beast is also mentioned.
² v. 1103 and 1108 are altered in the revised version so that the beast is not mentioned.
³ Migne, Patr. Lat., 182, col. 1133.
⁴ Ibid. 159, col. 271-90.
⁵ Ed. Venice, 1512, fol. 43b.
⁷ e.g. Richard Rolle’s Meditationes on the Passion (Horstmann, “Yorkshire Writers,” I, 83); “Lamentatio St. Bernardi de compassione Mariæ” (Minor Poems of the Vernon MS. E. E. T. S. 98), p. 301, etc.
⁹ 177/1*-179/40*.
Mary’s fear that the Jews will break Jesus’ legs as they did those of the two thieves ¹ is in Bonaventura’s Meditations:

Redeuntibus ipsis versus dominum iesum timens mater ne simile facerent filio tacta dolore maximo cordis intrinsecus cogitauit ad arma sua recurrere. scilicet humilitatem sibi inuanat & genibus positis & manibus canelatis vultu lachrymabili & voce rauca sic omnes alloquitur dicens. . . Joannes vero Magdalena & sorores stabant genuflexe cum ea & amarissime omnes flebant. . . ²

The Virgin’s grief at the act of Longinus ³ is described by Pseudo-Anselm thus:

Cumque hoc viderem, quod talem crudelitatem in jam mortuum exercerent, et examinis facta fui, et tune vere impleta est prophetia Simeonis, etc.⁴

Mary’s trust that Jesus will rise again, twice mentioned in the expanded version,⁵ is not usually stressed in accounts of the sorrows of Mary; it is found in Vincent de Beauvais’ Speculum Historiale, Lib. VII, ch. 23:

Ambrosius super Lucan. Fugientibus apostolis: maria ante crucem stabat: & piis spectabat oculo filii vulnera. spectabat non pignoris mortem set mundi salutem.⁶

Though the reviser may have collected these details on Mary’s sufferings from different books, he more probably found them combined in some earlier work, perhaps, as his use of the vernacular Gospel of Nicodemus suggests, in an English poem.

The Cross Story of the expanded version is composed quite independently of the original poem: the story is drawn from the Latin Legend,⁷ to which are added details from the Latin Vita Adae et Evae.⁸ From the latter are taken the sickness of Adam, the account of the Fall,⁹ the angel’s promise to Seth at the gate of Paradise¹⁰ and the burial of Adam.¹¹ The remainder of the story is fairly close to the Legend; the variations from it are usually omissions, e.g. the second vision of Seth at the gate of Paradise,¹² the words of God to Moses,¹³ speech of the men whom David healed,¹⁴ the lights and guards by the rods in the cistern,¹⁵ David’s speech of praise at finding the rods rooted,¹⁶ and also the names

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¹ 1364c–1364d.
² Ed. Venice, 1512, p. 43b.
³ 1380c–1380f.
⁴ Migne, Patr. Lat., 159, col. 286.
⁵ 1340b–1340r, 1396m–1396p.
⁶ Ed. Venice 1494, p. 75; see also Cursor Mundi, 17067–74; “Patris sapientia sive horae de cruce” (Minor Poems of the Vernon MS. I, 41–42); “Lamentatio St. Bernard de compassione Mariæ” (Ibid. p. 301).
¹² Legend, § 8.
¹³ Ibid. § 16.
¹⁴ Ibid. § 18.
¹⁵ Ibid. § 19.
of the four rivers in Paradise,\(^1\) of the pool in which the tree was thrown \(^2\) and of the water over which it was a bridge.\(^3\) The combination of the *Legend* and the *Vita* was, however, probably not made by the author of the expanded version, but adapted from some Middle English poem. For a number of parallels with the *Cursor Mundi* occur in the Cross Story:

> sone he sayde .I. sal þe say,
> How-gate þou sal take þi way.
> "þat gresse sal teyche þe þi gate.
> ye to paradise ȝate."  
> And sun," he said, "I sall þe say
> Wharby þou sall ken þe way:
> þou sall sone find a grene gate
> Euyn vnto paradis ȝate;"  

> And als a relik about þam bare,
> With wirschip about þam worthy ware:
> We sall gett water grete wane
> Here out of þis hard stane.

> Weis when dauid warned was
> Till araby sone gan he pas,
> And als þai went so by þe strete,
> Seke men many gan þai mete,
> þe same lenkith þet war þai þare,
> Als moyses in desert þam bare;  

Now since parallels with the *Cursor Mundi* are not characteristic of other parts of the expanded version, and since in one case the reviser certainly borrowed from vernacular literature, it is quite possible that here too he was using an English poem which is responsible for the parallels with the *Cursor Mundi*.

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\(^1\) *Legend*, § 6.  
\(^4\) *Cursor Mundi* (Fairfax MS.) 1249–50, 1263–4.  
\(^5\) *Passion*, 149/139*-142*.  
\(^6\) *Cursor Mundi* (Fairfax MS.), 6345–6.  
\(^7\) *Passion*, 156/429*-430*.  
\(^8\) *Cursor Mundi* (Fairfax MS.), 6389–90.  
\(^9\) *Passion*, 156/447*-448*.  
\(^10\) *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton MS.), 7997–8.  
\(^11\) *Passion*, 158/491*-492*.  
\(^12\) *Cursor Mundi* (Fairfax MS.), 8071–2.  
\(^13\) *Passion*, 158/511*-512*.  
\(^14\) *Cursor Mundi* (Fairfax MS.), 8005–6.  
\(^15\) *Passion*, 159/545*-546*.  

CHAPTER VI

THE NORTHERN PASSION AND THE DRAMA

The Northern Passion was a text easily accessible to English playwrights, not only was it copied frequently, as is shown by the number of extant MSS., but in its expanded form it found a place in the Northern Homily Collection, and thus became part of the regular course of sermons delivered from parish pulpits.\(^1\) This use must have been particularly frequent in the North of England where the great cycles arose, but it also extended to the East Midland district,\(^2\) the home of the Hegge plays. Moreover, the Passion was the more readily adaptable to the purposes of the playwright from its introduction of a large proportion of direct discourse.\(^3\) This semi-dramatic character was already present in the Old French original, called by Roy\(^4\) La Passion des Jongleurs, which had contributed much toward the French drama. A playwright, therefore, in search of material for a Passion Play in English rhyme, could not well overlook the Northern Passion. Of the extant cycles, Chester shows no influence of the Passion; but York used it in its more Northern or expanded form, while the more Southern Hegge and Towneley borrowed from the original more Southern version. The three cycles may best be discussed separately.

\(\text{§ 1. The York Plays.}\)

Several of the York plays dealing with the Crucifixion and the events of Passion week, show direct dependence upon the Northern Passion. Before proceeding to consider the character and extent of this dependence, it may be remarked that the use of English as well as Latin sources has already been established in the case of certain plays of this cycle. As long ago as 1885, Lucy Toulmin Smith\(^5\) called attention to their relation to the Cursor Mundi. Recently a more extensive use of English sources has been disclosed. Mr. Craigie\(^6\) has shown that the Gospel of Nicodemus material was taken from the Middle English metrical version rather than from the Latin; and Taylor\(^7\) has pointed out the occurrence in the plays of certain themes borrowed from vernacular lyrics.

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1 See Horstmann, Allenglische Legenden, n. F., p. xxvii.
2 The dialect of I and R shows East Midland characteristics. See above, III, §§ 8, 11.
3 See, for example, Judas’s soliloquy (148–52), The trial before Herod (959–1006), The colloquy between Simon of Cyrene and the Jews (1501–80), and the guard at the tomb (1553–66, 2021–48).
4 Le Mystère de la Passion en France, p. 27.
7 Modern Philology, V, 18–22, 35–8.
The agreements in content between the plays and the Passion are of three kinds: (1) a general similarity in outline due to their common scriptural basis; (2) agreement in incidents which, though non-Biblical, are drawn from the great store of mediæval tradition common to many writers; (3) agreement in incidents, small in themselves, which are found nowhere else in Middle English, and either rarely or not at all in Latin and French. Agreements of the first class are, of course, without significance for our purpose; those of the second, while not sufficient in themselves to prove influence of the Passion, are valuable as confirmatory evidence; those of the third class, however, are of the highest importance and must be considered in detail. In addition to these agreements in content, one finds a series of passages in which the influence of the Passion upon the plays is discernible even in the phrasing. These parallels of phrase are of importance, not only in confirming the evidence offered by the incidents, but also in enabling us to determine which form of the Passion was used by the playwrights. For, while the incidents might have been drawn from either the original or the expanded Passion, the parallels of phrasing clearly indicate use of the expanded version.

Taking up the evidence in detail, we have first to consider those incidents which are significant of relation of the plays to the Passion. They are five in number:—

1. In the strife of the disciples as to which shall rule, Jesus brings a little

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1 The general similarity in outline can be seen from the following table:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conspiracy of the Jews.</td>
<td>Entry into Jerusalem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entry into Jerusalem.</td>
<td>Conspiracy of the Jews.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Supper at Simon’s and Bargain of Judas.</td>
<td>Bargain of Judas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last Supper.</td>
<td>Last Supper.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trial before Caiaphas and Peter’s Denial.</td>
<td>Peter’s Denial and Trial before Caiaphas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remorse of Judas.</td>
<td>Dream of Pilate’s Wife and first Trial before Pilate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Trial before Pilate.</td>
<td>Trial before Herod.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trial before Herod.</td>
<td>Remorse of Judas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Trial before Pilate and Dream of Pilate’s Wife.</td>
<td>Second Trial before Pilate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crucifixion.</td>
<td>Crucifixion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrowing of Hell.</td>
<td>Burial.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burial.</td>
<td>Harrowing of Hell.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Setting of the guard at the Tomb.</td>
<td>Setting of the Guard at the Tomb.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus and Mary Magdalene.</td>
<td>The Three Maryes at the Tomb.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fright of the Jews.</td>
<td>Fright of the Jews.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

child before them as an example of humility. The Biblical account of the Last Supper has no mention of a child, but the York plays and the Passion agree in combining with the strife of the disciples at the Last Supper, an earlier strife, where Jesus used a little child as an example.

2. The third man to whom Peter denies Jesus is Malcus, the soldier whose ear Peter had cut off in Gethsemane. The Bible says merely: “unus ex servis pontificis, cognatus ejus, cujus abscedit Petrus auriculam”; York and the Passion add vividness to the scene by identifying this unnamed soldier with Malcus.

3. Judas’s thirty pieces are destined by the Jews for the purchase of a field wherein they may bury pilgrims. In the Northern Passion they buy Mount Calvary and call it the Field of Blood. In York a squire wishes to pledge his field called Mount Calvary for thirty pence, whereupon the Jews rob him of his deeds and call the field the Place of Blood. The Passion, it will be observed, contains merely the germ of the York play, and if the identification of Mount Calvary with the Field of Blood were a commonplace in medieval literature, we should hardly recognize a parallel here. But since this identification occurs elsewhere only in the French Passion and the French works dependent upon it, the Northern Passion is clearly the source of the play.

4. Jesus’ prayer for his tormentors corresponding to the Biblical “Pater, dimitte illis: non enim scient quid faciunt,” is transferred from its scriptural position immediately after Christ is hung on the Cross, and combined with His last speech. The playwright’s repetition of this prayer, which in accordance with the arrangement of Luke had been uttered once before in this scene, shows that he was here following the Passion and not rearranging the Bible independently.

5. The helplessness of three of the soldiers who discover the empty tomb, is contrasted with the bold resolve of the fourth to tell Pilate the truth. In the Northern Passion the three lament their carelessness and counsel flight; in York they wish to tell Pilate that the body was stolen by force.

The above parallels of incident are for the most part unaccompanied by resemblances in phrasing; the playwright handled his material freely, and clothed the incidents which he borrowed in his own language. In the following passages, however, the plays show the influence of the phraseology of the Passion.

Northern Passion (Harl. MS.).

Itt is i-nowe, te nedis no moo. (XXVII, 178)
But I save as I firste saide.
I sawe him neure are. (XXIX, 131)
Why will ye pannes nott latte hym passe.
And haue of me agayne voure paie? (XXXII, 189-90)
Me thare aske no mercy, for none mon y gete. (XXXII, 302)

York Plays.

Be my feithe bere it schall hee
bat fer-on hanged sone schall bee. (XXXIV, 100-1)
It nedis not harde to harle
Sen it dose hym slike dere.
I se here comes a karle.
Shall helpe hym for to bere. (XXXIV, 227-30)
Loo, here a ladde bat muste be ledde
For his ille dedis to dye:
And he is brosid and all for bledde. (XXXIV, 242-4)
It helpis not here to striue,
Bere it be-houses me ned.
(XXXIV, 289-90)
It failis a foote and more. (XXXV, 107)
Ther cordis haue evill encressed his paynes,
Or he wer tille ye booryngis brought.
3aa, assoundir are both synnous and veynis. (XXXV, 145-7)

My God, my God, full free.
Lamaşabatanye.
Whar-to for-soke þou me,
In care? (XXXVI, 213-17)

Introduction.

And athes vnto þam he sware
þat he saw ihesu neuer are. (707-8)
þarfore I pray 3ow lattes him pas,
And here 3owre mone als it was. (834a–834b)

Mercy of crist wald he nane craue,
ffor whi he hopid nane forto haue. (825-6)
“bere it sal he
þat þar on suld hanged be.” (1515-16)
And þis grete birpín þat he beres
To gang with all mekill him deres. (1567-8)

A man es here omanges vs led
þat wery es and all for bled. (1563-4)

Symon saw it was no bote
Ógaynes so many forto mote. (1581-2)
þat offer failed a fute and mare. (1610)
Sunder went both sins and vaine,
To fele þat was a ferly paire. (1620a–1620b)

And als, “lamaşabathany;”

“My lord, my god, my fader fre,
Whi hastou forsaken me?” (1788, 1791-2)
Northern Passion (Harl. MS.).

"Drink," þai said, "for no thing spare."

(1724a)

Vnder þe cros þai gert him stand,
And gaf him a scharp spere in hand,
þe poynt þai set to þesu side,
And bad him put fra him þat tide.

(1873-6)

Thurgh my might wele I may
Rise fra dende on þe thirde day.

(1929-30)

And so, sir, war þe latter dede
Wele more þan þe firste to drede.

(1941-2)

Anoper said: "What es þowre rede?
þare es no bute bot we be dede."

(2033-4)

We wend none oper men had wist
On what wise we iosep mist.

(245/49*-50*)

And luke þe say whare so þe ga
þat þe cors es stollen 3ow fra.

(2065-6)

"Luke þat ye say vnto al men
On þis wise, als we 3ow ken,
þat armed men with mekil might
Come vnto þe geane on night,
Sudanly als 3e slepeand lay
And stale þe cors fra 3ow away.

(2066e-2068b)

York Plays.

A draughte here of drinke haue I dreste,
To spede for no spence þat 3e spare.

(XXXVI, 240-1)

þis spere, loo, haue halde in thy hande,
To Jesu þou rake fourthe I rede,
And sted nouȝt but stiffely þou stande
A stounde.

In Jesu side
Schoffe it þis tide.

(XXXVI, 292-7)

For Iesu saide even opynly
A thyng þat greues all þis Jury,
And riȝte so may,—
þat he schulde rise vpe bodily
With-in þe thirde day.

(XXXVIII, 134-8)

His lattar dede is more to drede
þan is the firste, if we take hede.

(XXXVIII, 140-1)

Why, canne none of vs no bettir rede?
þer is not ellis, but we be dede.

(XXXVIII, 311-12)

3one knyghtis behoues þere wordis agayne call
Howe he is miste.
We nolde for thyng þat myght be-fall
þat no man wiste.

(XXXVIII, 403-6)

Comaundis youre knyghtis to saie
wher þei goo,
þat he was tane
With xxii m1. men and mo.

(XXXVIII, 409-11)

And herkenes what þat 3e shall saie,
To ilke aman both nyȝt and daye,
That ten m1. men in goode araye
Come ȝou vntill.
With forse of armys bare hym awaye
Agaynst your will.

(XXXVIII, 419-24)
It remains to discuss the significance of these parallels, in regard to the development of the York Cycle. According to Davidson’s metrical tests,\(^1\) plays, XXVII (The Last Supper), XXXV (Crucifixion), and XXXVII (Harrowing of Hell), form part of a parent cycle to which plays XXVIII–XXXII are later additions. Gayley\(^2\) agrees with Davidson that XXVII, XXXV and XXXVII are early, but distinguishes two later playwrights, a humorous one, who wrote XXXIV and XXXVIII, and a realistic one who wrote XXVI, XXVIII–XXXII, XXXVI, remodelled XXXVII and XXXVIII, and retouched XXXIV and XXXV. Now of the plays showing the influence of the Northern Passion, XXVII and XXXV belong to the earliest stage recognized by Davidson and Gayley; XXXIV and the original form of XXXVIII to Gayley’s humorous poet, and XXIX, XXXII, and XXXVI to the last or realistic poet. In other words, parallels with the Passion occur in all three stages. Two explanations are possible: either these parallels are all due to the first author, portions of whose work were incorporated by the two later poets into their plays; or all three men were familiar with the Passion. In view of the verbal parallels in XXXVI, which is undoubtedly late, the second explanation is probably nearer the truth. The discovery that even the earliest stage in the development of the York cycle shows the influence of the Northern Passion is a fact of some importance in determining the date at which these plays were composed. The version of the Passion used by the York playwrights was, as we have seen, the expanded version, which was probably written about the middle of the fourteenth century.\(^3\) Since, in all probability, a few years at least elapsed between the composition of the expanded Passion and its use by the playwrights, it seems unlikely that even the earliest stage of the York cycle can be dated earlier than 1345–50. This evidence, it will be observed, favours the date (1340–50) suggested by Lucy Toulmin Smith,\(^4\) rather than "the first third of the fourteenth century," the date recently proposed by Gayley.\(^5\)

§ 2. The Towneley Plays.

The influence of the Northern Passion on the Towneley cycle is, curiously enough, confined to Play XX, The Conspiracy and Capture.\(^6\) Scholars have already recognized this play as a combination of two plays\(^7\); the first (vv. 1–313), probably based on a lost York Play, relates the Conspiracy of the Jews and the

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3. See above, p. 3.
5. *Plays of our Forefathers*, p. 133.
The Northern Passion and the Drama.

Bargain of Judas; the second (vv. 314–755) includes the Last Supper, the Agony in the Garden, the Preparations of the Soldiers to take Jesus, and the Arrest of Jesus. A comparison of the second part of the play with the Northern Passion discloses extensive verbal parallels which establish that poem as a source.

**Northern Passion.**

Sir where wilt thou halde thi feste
we willene gane sythene maste & leste
Ihesu anserede sone on ane
and callede to hym Petir & Iohn

gase he saide se schaH fynd & mete
a man with watir in þe strete
þe house þat he gose to with grythe
se saH hym folowe & gaa hym wyth
the lorde of þe house þe schaH fynde
a symple mane of sely kynde
To hym se saH speke and saye
I come sone in my waye

I will festene in his hanHe
Me and Myne discypyls aHe.

(Ad. 177–90)

Iudas saughe þay sittene aHe
agayne Ihesu he gane downe faHe
þat he moughte with hym ete
his tresoune ne wolde ne noghte forgete
to he stale owte of his lordis dysche
þe beste MorseHe of his fyseche.

(Ad. 209–14)

Or þe cokke thrise sall crawe
þow sall forsake me in a thrawe

(409–10)

Petyr fore soth I telle it þe
Bot if þi fete wessch be
Thou getys no parte of my blys.
Petyr seyd þat wyll I not mys
Petyr seyd And oþyr mo
That parte wyll we not fore go
Wessch fete & hendys we pray the.

(A. 348a–345)

Iudas has slepyd neuer a dele

(498)

**Towneley XX.**

Sir, where wilt ye youre pask ette?
Say vs, let vs dight youre mete.
Go furth, Iohn and peter, to yond eyte;
when ye com ther, ye shalH then se]
In the strete, as tyte, a man
beryng water in a can;
The house that he gose to grith,
ve shalH folow and go hym with;
The lord of that house ye shalH fynde,
A symyH man of cely kynde;
To hym ye shalH speke, and say
That I com here by the way;
Say I pray hym, if his wilH be,
A lytyH whyle to ese me.
That I and my dyscypyls aH
myght rest a whyle in his haH.

(314–29)

Tunc comedent, & Iudas porrigit
manum in discum cum Ihesu.
Iudas, what menys thou?
No thync, lord, bot etH with you.

(352–3)

Peter, thou shalH thrise apon a thraw
florsake me, or the cok crau.

(380–1)

Bot I the wesh, thou mon mys
parte with me in heuens blys.
Nay, lord, or I that forgo,
wesh heede, handys, and feytt also.

(392–5)

Iudas wakys, and sleyps not he.

(654)
Introduction.

Northern Passion.

Ryse vppe all for my sake
I se jaime come yat wyll me take.
(501-2)

tok ye ere yat was of schorn.
(I. 584)

Ihesus sayd she bynd me here
Als I war a thesis fere
Tyll me she do mykyll vnryght
bus to fare wyth me by nyght.
(591-4)

Towneley XX.

Bot com furth, peter, and tary no
langere;
lo. where thay com that wilt me take!
(658-9)

Take me thi ere that he of share.
(690)

ye knyghtys that be commen now here,
thus assemblyd in a rowte.

As I were thefe, or thefys fere,
with wepyns com ye me abowte;

Methynk, for sothe, ye do ful l yH
thus for to seke me in the nyght.
(700-5)

The play on the Capture is written in couplets, quatrains and thirteen-line stanzas. According to the theory recently put forward by F. W. Cady, the couplets are due to an editor writing at a later date than the author of the Secunda Pastorum, and the quatrains by a still later editor. Since the parallels with the Passion occur both in the quatrains and in the couplets, but not elsewhere, it is clear that all the parallels are due to one or the other of Cady’s two editors. Moreover, the influence of the Passion throws some light on the complicated structure of this play. The editor who wrote in couplets appears to have arranged the events of the Last Supper in this order: the Washing of the Disciples’ Feet (350-1, 384-407), Eucharist, Denunciation of Judas (vv. 352-73); Prophecy of Peter’s Denial (vv. 374-83), and there the play ended. This play was afterwards revised by an editor who rewrote the end in order to combine it with a play on the Capture which followed. In accordance with the order of the Gospel of John (XIII, 1 ff.), he rearranged the Last Supper, placing the Foot-washing after the Supper, not before; but in the process of rearrangement, the Institution of

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1 vv. 314-407.
2 vv. 408-509, 652-755.
3 vv. 600-51.
4 The Couplets and Quatrains in the Towneley Mystery Plays (Journal of English and Germanic Philology, X, 1911), 572-584.
5 Cady (op. cit., 577-8) notes that the account of the washing of the disciples’ feet has been split into two parts, the second of which is placed after the Prophecy of Peter’s Denial.
6 It is not probable that a play on the Last Supper could have originally lacked the institution of the Eucharist. Though in our text of the York Plays, it is not present, it probably occupied part of the leaf lost between vv. 89 and 90 (p. 236).
7 The Agony and Capture of Jesus is a play separate from the Last Supper in York (XXVII and XXVIII), in the early stage of the Hegge Plays (Prologue, ed. Shakespeare Society, 1841, pp. 11-12) in the Beverley cycle (see Chambers, II, pp. 340-1) and in the Hereford cycle (Chambers II, p. 369).
8 See above, p. 59, note 2.
the Eucharist, which had immediately succeeded the Foot-washing, was omitted. The editor then began writing a passage to connect the Last Supper with the Agony in the Garden, and, following the order of the Northern Passion, wrote the Prophecy of Peter’s Denial after the Foot-washing, not noticing that it was already narrated in the couplets closely preceding it. If this explanation be the true one, the writer of the couplets, who borrowed extensively the phraseology of the Northern Passion, has followed its order less than the author of the quatrains has done, though the latter used only scattered bits of the phrasing of the Passion.

§ 3. The Hegge Plays.

Investigation of the Hegge Cycle, or Ludus Coventriae, has hitherto been directed for the most part to fixing the place of its origin, and determining whether the players who presented it were craftsmen or monks. But apart from these external matters, the cycle offers many difficulties and inconsistencies. The dramatis personae are in part Biblical and legendary characters, in part personified abstractions; the meter varies from dimeters in eight-line stanzas, to quatrains with sixteen or seventeen syllables in a line; the stage directions are partly in English, partly in Latin; the whole cycle according to the Prologue was given at one time, but according to the speech of Contemplation part of the plays were presented in one year, and part in the following year; finally, even in such a simple matter as the division of the cycle into plays, the MS. is so confused that Halliwell and Chambers have found it necessary to divide the cycle differently. These inconsistencies and others which might be

1 vv. 329-410.
2 Three prophesies of Peter’s denial, each one from a different Gospel, are not unusual in the Harmonies (see for example Clement of Llanthony, British Museum, Royal MS 3. A. X. fol. 17). Even in the York Plays, the prophecy occurs twice, once (XXVII, 116–39) according to Luke xxi, 31–4, and again in a later play (XXVII, 129–52) according to Matthew xxvi, 31–5.
5 Play XV, The Birth of Christ, for example, is acted by Joseph, Mary, a citizen, and the two mid-wives, Salome and Zeolomy.
6 Contemplation (VIII, IX, XI, XIII, XXIX), Mary’s maidens, Meditation, Contrystyon, Compassyon, Clennes and Fruyssyon (IX), 4 daughters of God: Trewthe, Mercy, Ryghtwysnes and Pes (XI), Mors (XIX), Sapientia (= Christ XLI).
7 See below, p. 97, n. 2.
9 Ibid. p. 97, n. 6. 10 Hegge, p. 18.
11 Ibid. p. 290.
12 Halliwell says: “In the order of the pageants, I have not regarded the speeches of the vexillators; and the divisions in the MS. being very incorrectly given, I have endeavoured to make as correct an arrangement as possible, taking the two other series of mysteries as my guide” (p. xii). The MS. division of the Plays on the Passion, as given by the number at the beginning of each play, is as follows:
Introduction.

cited, suggest that the cycle was not written by one author, but (as in the case of
the York and the Towneley cycles) represents in its present form the work of several
men writing at different periods and drawing their material from various works.

The sources hitherto pointed out for the plays dealing with the Passion are
the Bible, Tatian’s Harmony, the Gospel of Nicodemus, a Middle-English
Resurrection poem, from Ashmole 61 and English lyrics. To these must now
be added, the Northern Passion, as will appear from the series of parallels here
subjoined: 2

Northern Passion.
Go youre wey ffast and ye shaH mete
A mane berynge watir In the strete.
(R. 181-2)

To hym 3e schul speke And seye
Iat I com sone in the weye

I wyH me restyn in hys halle
(I. 187–90)

Hegge Plays.
Serys, goth to Syon, and 3e xal mete
A pore man in symypyl aray,
Beryng watyr in the strete,
Telle hym I xal come that way. 3

Good man, the prophete, oure Lord
Jhesus,
This nyth wyl reste wythin thin halle.
(p. 259)

Cryst procedyth on fote”).
27. Weeping over Jerusalem and Last Supper (H. XXVI from p. 257 and XXVII).
(pp. 288–9) are on a single folio with a blank folio before and after them.
29. King Herod, Trial before Cayphas and Denial of Peter (H. XXIX from p. 289, XXX
through p. 298, “And so wyl I thynkyn from hens evyrmore”).
30. Remorse of Judas, Trial before Pilate and Herod (H. XXX from p. 298).
32. Crucifixion (H. XXXII from p. 316).
33. Descent into Hell (H. XXXIII).
34. Burial and Setting of the Guard (H. XXXIV, XXXV through p. 343).
35. Harrowing of Hell and Resurrection (H. XXXV from p. 344).
36. Three Maries (H. XXXVI).
37. Christ’s Appearance to Mary (H. XXXVII).

In Chambers’ division (The Medieval Stage, II, 417–18) the Entry into Jerusalem is a
separate play and the Descent into Hell is joined with the Crucifixion. Otherwise, Chambers’
division of the Passion plays practically agrees with the MS. indications.

1 Printed in Herrig’s Archiv. LXXIX, p. 441. See E. Falke, Die Quellen des sog. Ludus
Coventriae (Leipzig-Reudnitz 1908). That Tatian’s Harmony was used in the composition of
the plays is doubtful: Falke shows that details from more than one Gospel are included,
but his proof that Tatian was used is not conclusive. Hegge, pp. 283–4, for example, which
Falke (p. 70) derives from Tatian, has lines taken verbatim from the Northern Passion.

2 In the list of parallels, phrases which are mere translations of the Vulgate are not
included unless there is common rhyme, or unless the rendering of the Vulgate text seems,
on comparison with the other cycles, the Cursor Mundi, etc., to be peculiar.

3 The Towneley Plays also parallel the Passion at this point (see above, p. 57), but a
comparison with the Towneley passage shows that Hegge is nearer the Northern Passion.
It is also nearer the Northern Passion than it is the Cursor Mundi, which reads:

“Gas til-ward þe tun,” he said,
“A man þar yow sal mete,
A watrin vescel in his hand
O-gains yow þat strett. . . .”

The Northern Passion and the Drama.

Northern Passion.

I and my dysceyles alle
(I. 187-90)

Me thynke he sayse þou duse full ill
þat lattys þis oygnement þus spyll.
(127-8)

To þe iewes I xal þe sellyn
Al thy maystrye for to fellyn.
(I. 149-50)

How sall we þi lord here knawe
fior som of vs hym neuer þhit sawe
Judas sayd thare þhow noght mysse
Take þe hym þat I sall kysse.
(521-4)

þat part wyll we noght for go
Wasche fote and hand we pray the.
(344-5)

So schul þe don echon to othere
As eche of þou were otherys brother.
(I. 363-4)

Luf and I sall gyff þhow to mede
In heuen bothe clethe þhowe and fede.
(367-68)

the tyme is comen þat I xal fulfylle
þe prophecye for alle mannys sake
Spekhyth of detli þat I xal take
And þe schul ben to day for drede
whan I schal be fro þou ledde

Hegge Plays.

3a ! for hym and his dyscipulys alle,
Ordeyn thu for his maunde.
(p. 260)

Lord! me thynkyth thou dost ryght ille,
To lete this oygnement so spyllle.
(p. 265)

My masterys power for to felle,
I, Judas, xal asay be some encheson,
Onto the Jewys hym for to selle.
(p. 267)

3a ther be many that hym nevyr sowe,
Weche we wyl sende to hym in fere;
Therfor be a tokyn we must hym knowe,
That must be prevy betwyx us here.

I xal ordeyn, so þe xal not mysse;
Whan that þe cum hym alle abowth,
Take the man that I xal kysse.
(p. 269)

That part, Lord, we wyl not forgo,
We xal abey his comawndement;
Wasche hed and hond, we pray the so.
(p. 277)

A memory of this have þe xall,
That eche of þow xal do to othyr,
With umbyl hert submyt egal,
Es eche of þow were otherys brother.

Nothyng, serys, so wele plesyth me,
Nor no lyff that man may lede,
As thei that levyn in charyte;
In efne I xal reward here mede.

The day is come,—I must proceade
fior to fulfylle the prophecye;
This nyth for me þe xal han drede,
Whan noumber of pepyl xal on me cry.

fior the prophetics spoke of me,
And seydyn of deth that I xuld take;
fro wheche deth I wolde not fle,
But for mannys synne amendys make.
**Northern Passion.**

&;e schul faste fro me flee
And summe of 3ou [for] saken me.

(I. 374-80)

fior I sall dy and breke þe lay
And ryse apon þe thyrð day
Þan sall þe me seke and see
In þe land of galyle.

(389-92)

Ryses nowe and felowys here me
fior here wyll we no lenger be
Vnto a towne þai toke þair gate
þat men calles Betany þe bate

(423-6)

Þære þhe sall me all abyde
To whyls þat I go here þis syde
Þhyt I hafe a lytill to sayn
When [I] haf done I come agayne.

(429-32)

My flëssche for drede it is qwakynd

(442)

þe third tyme agayne he ȝhed
Hys herand fully for to spede.

(487-8)

Rise vp for my sake
And se hem cum þat wille me take.

(F. 501-2)

Whom seke ȝe fast haue ȝe gone.

(I. 537)

Ihesu of naȝareth we seke
Þan spake Ihesu wyth wordys meke

**Hegge Plays**

This nyth fro ȝow be led I xal,
And ȝe for fer fro me xal fle;
Not onys dur spake when I ȝow calle,
And some of ȝow forsake me.

fior ȝow xal I dey and ryse ageyn,—
Un the thrydde day ȝe xal me se
Befor ȝow all walkyn playn,
In the lond of Galyle.

Lord, I wyl the nevyr forsake !
Nor for no perellys fro the fle;
I wyl rather my deth take,
Than onys, Lord, forsake the !

(pp. 277-8)

But all my frendys, that arn me dere,
Late us go, the tyme drawyth ny;
We may no lengere abydyn here,
fior I must walke to Betany.

*Here Jhesus goth to Betany-ward, and his dyscipyls folwyng with sad contenevns, Jhesus seynyng.*

(p. 279)

Petyr, with thi fielawys here xalt
thou abyde,
And weche tyl I come ageyn ;
I must make my prayere here ȝou
besyde,
My flësche qwakyth sore for fere and peyn.

(p. 280)

ffadyr, the thrydde tyme I come
ageyn,
ffulche myn erdon for to spede.

(p. 282)

Ryse up, serys, I ȝou pray !
Onclose ȝour eyne for my sake;
We xal walke into the way,
And sen hem come that xul me take.

(p. 283)

Aryse, serys, whom seke ȝe ? fast have
ȝe gon. •

(p. 284)

Jhesus of Naȝareth we seke,
And we myth hym here aspye.
Northern Passion.

I seyd you fyrste that I am he.
(I. 539-41)

Body and saule alle was for lorne
allas pat euir was he borne
his wanhope his saule schente.
(Ad. 863-5)

Ihesus sayd the bynd me here
Als I war a thefis fere
Tyll me;he do mykyll vnryght
bus to fare wyth me by nyght.
(591-4)

for now bryngis vppe newe lawys
pat war noght vsed be are dawis
(1143-4)

In this werlde I was borne
I come to seke pat was forlorn.
(Ad. 1161-2)

Herode sayd welcome ihesu
Me lykes pat I se pe now
I thanke hym pat pe hider sent
Now pou ert in my palasse lent
(969-70; 973-4)

I hafe herd speke of thi ganyng
pou has done many selcouth thynge
be blynd men pou makys to se
be dumye to speke pe deef to here pe
Crowkyd men pou has done gone
And wode men made hale onone
Do now for pe luf of me
Some myracle pat I may se.
(983-90)

Hegge Plays.

I told sow now with wordys meke
Beforn sow alle, that it was I.
(p. 284)

Thou haddyst be bettyr a ben vnborn
now,
Thi body and sowle thou hast shent!
(p. 284)

ffrendys, take hede se don unryth,
So unkendely with cordys to bynd
me here;
And thus to falle on me be nyth,
As thow I were a thevys fere.
(p. 285)

Because thou bryngyst up lawys newe,
That in oure days were not usyd.
(p. 300)

And in this werlde I was born;
Be my fadyr I was hedyr sent,
Forto seke that was forlorn.
(p. 301)

Jhesus, thou art welcome to me;
I kan Pylat gret thank for his
sendyng;
I have desvryd ful longe the to se,
And of thi meracles to have knowyng.

It is told me thou dost many a wondyr
thynge,
Crokyd to gon and blynd men to sen.
And thei that ben dede gevyst hem
levynge,
And makyst lepers fayre and hool to
ben.

These arn wondyr werkys wrougth of the,
Be what wey I wolde knowe the trew
sentens.

Now Jhesu, I pray the, lete me se
O meracle wrougth in my presens.1
(p. 305)

1 The Vulgate reads: "Herodes autem viso Jesu, gavisus est valde. erat enim cupiens
ex multo tempore videre eum, eo quod audierat multa de eo, et sperabat signum aliquod
videre ab eo fieri. Interrogabat autem eum multis sermonibus" (Luke xxiii. 8-9). The
York Plays (XXXI, 196-217) also amplify the Vulgate account, but lay the emphasis on the
Feeding of the Five Thousand and the Raising of Lazarus.
Northern Passion.
ffor slepand I sawe I wyll 3howe tell
A best I wene pat come fro hell.
(1097-8)

ffor pat best was full grisely
I sawe neuir none so laithly
A[nd] I was neuir 3hit so adred
Sithen I was of my modir fed.
(1103-6)

Of ihesu he bad pe do pi wyll
Whethir pow will hym safe or syyll.
(1011-12)

he seyd to the iewes 3e ben to blame
pat 3e wytten Ihesu al thys schame
I can in hym no thynge fynde
where for men schulde hym bete or bynde.
(I. 1015-18)

It es the lawe in this lande
Of this paske pat es nere hande
3if any mane be in presoune
ffor Manslaughtir or for tresoune
pat he owt of presone delyuirde be
& with owttene damage he salH ga free.
(Ad. 1021-6)

3ai had in preson 3an barabas
3at bothe thefe and traytur was.
(1049-53)

they luf 3e not what seist pow
In pes pow myxt be for me
But for 3i folke of 3i cuntre
Bisshopes of 3at law with enuye
Thynk to do 3e grete foly.
(F. 1120-4)

what wif 3e withi Ihesu doo
Synne it es to spyHe his blode
ffor I ne fynd in hym bot gude
And gude it es we latyne hym gaa.
(Ad. 1174-7)

Hegge Plays.
A fend aperyd me beforne,
As I lay in my bed slepyng fast;
Sethyn the tyme that I was born
Was I neyvr so sore agast! (p. 310)

Of Herowd the kyang thou hast good wyl;
And Jhesus he sendyth a3en to the,
And byddyth the chese hym to save or spylle!
(p. 311)

Serys, trewly 3e be to blame,
Jhesus thus to bete, dyspoyle, or bynde;
Or put hym to so grete schame;
ffor no defawth in hym I fynde.
(p. 311)

Therfore undyrstande what I xal say,
3e knowe the custom is in this londe,
Of 3our Pasche day that is ner honde,
What theff or tretour be in bonde,
For worchep of that day xal go fre away
Without any price.
(pp. 311-12)

Delyvere us the theff Barabas,
That for mansclawth presonde was.
(p. 312)

Jhesus, what seyst now? lete se,
This matere now thou undyrstonde;
In pes thou myth be for me,
But for thi pepyl of thi londe,
Bussshoppys and prestys of the lawe,
Thei love the not, as thou mayst se.
(p. 312)

Seres, what wole 3e now with Jhesu do?
I can fynde in hym but good!
It is my cownce 3e lete hym go,—
It is rewthe to spylle his blood!
(p. 313)
Northern Passion.

Apon 3houre fadirs sall þe cry
And on 3houre modirs with enuy
ffadirs wharto what we born
ffor mekyl sorowe es vs befor
Modirs wharto war we furth broght
Vs had bene bettir to hafe bene noght.
(1539-44)

He beres hymself þat same tre
Wharon he sall hangid be.
(1565-6)

Will þou nowe forwe oure sake
At þis man þe rude tre take
And bere it þhider þar it sall be
ffull mykill thanke we will kun þe.
(1569-72)

Off þis harlot it is scorne
forsakís þou to bere þe tre
Syn we haue bidene the.
(F. 1576-78)

lyghte nowe downe of þat harde tre
kyng of Iewes þif þat þou be
(Ad. 1649-50)

Pilate seyde I graunte it the
But first I wile witen if he ded be.
(D. 1853-4)

And late Iosep haue Al hys wyft.
(I. 1860)

Sithyn stude þai in þat place
And lukuð ihesu in þe face
Wele þai saw ihesu was dede
To breke his schankys it was no nede.
(1865-8)

Gase and kepis als ye can
Bothe of katell and of lyfe
And apon land and als on wyfe.²
(1944-6)

Hegge Plays.

And to here faderes, thei xul seyn,
"Wo
to the tyme that thou begat me!"
And to her moderes, "Alas! wher xal
be oure dwellyng?"
(p. 317)

A man is here thou mayst se,
Beryth hevy of a rode,
Where an he xal hangyd be.
Therfore we pray alle the,
Thou take the crosse of the man;
Bere it with us to Kalvarye,
And ryth gret thank thou xalt han.
(p. 317)

What? harlot, hast þou skorne
To bere the tre? whan we the
praye!
(p. 318)

Heyl! Kyng of Jewys, yf thou be.
3a! 3a! sere, as thou hangyst there
flesche and bonys.

Com now down of that tre!
(p. 320)

Sere Joseph of Baramathie, I graunte
the
With Jhesuis body do thin intent;
But fy rst I wole wete that he ded be.
(p. 333)

And than lete Joseph do his wylle.
(p. 333)

The ij. knygtes go with Joseph to
Jhesus, and stonde and heldyn hym in
the face,
Me thynkyth Jhesu is sewre anow,—
It is no ned his bonys to breke:
He is ded, how thynkyth 30w?
(p. 334)¹

In payn of 3our godys and 3our lyvys,
That 3e lete hem nowth shape 3ou fro,
And of 3our chyldere and 3our wyfys,
For al 3e lese, and 3e do so.
(p. 339)

¹ On the Longinus incident, see below, p. 96.
² Falke (pp. 84-85) points out that the Hegge Resurrection play drew from a Middle
English Resurrection poem in Ashmole 61 (printed in Herrig's Archie, LXXIX, pp. 441-7)
These parallels, it will be observed, occur throughout the whole series of plays from the Preparations for the Last Supper to the Setting of the Guards at the tomb. They consist for the most part in verbal resemblances, but at certain points,—Jesus’ speech after the Last Supper, for example,—the play follows the order of the *Northern Passion* as well as its phraseology. In this connection the incident of Longinus deserves special notice. According to the Gospel of John, the order of events is as follows: the Jews beg Pilate to have the legs of the crucified broken, Pilate sends knights, one of them pierces Jesus’ side, Joseph begs Jesus’ body, takes it down from the cross, etc.\(^2\) In the *Northern Passion*\(^3\) and the Hegge Plays,\(^4\) on the other hand, Joseph begs Jesus’ body of Pilate, Pilate grants the body, provided that Jesus be already dead, and sends knights to investigate; the knights force Longinus to pierce Christ’s side, Joseph takes the body down, etc. In other words, the incident of Longinus follows rather than precedes the begging of Jesus’ body. This parallel is the more noteworthy, inasmuch as the description of the scene in the Prologue\(^5\) follows the order of John.\(^6\)

In order to define the relation of the Hegge plays to the *Northern Passion*, some account must be given of the development of the cycle. The following statement is put forward as an hypothesis which, though not proven in detail, may serve to explain a part of the confusion undoubtedly present in our text of the plays.\(^7\)

*Ashmole 61.*  
*Northern Passion.*

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1. See above, pp. 91-92.  
5. The resemblance of the Longinus incident in the Hegge Play to the *Northern Passion* is noted by Dr. Peebles (*The Legend of Longinus*, p. 137).  
6. For a different theory as to the development of Hegge, see E. N. S. Thompson’s article in *Modern Language Notes*, XXI, pp. 18-20.  
7. Mr. Thompson is, I think, mistaken in assuming that the “matere that we lefte the last 3ere” of *Contemplacio* (*Hegge*, p. 289) includes Plays I-XXVIII; for the summary of last year’s plays that follows mentions only incidents from Plays XXVI-XXVIII.
At least three stages in the development of the cycle can be pointed out: (1) the original cycle, (2) a revision by B, and (3) a revision by C. The extant portions of the original cycle may be distinguished by two criteria: first, by the metre, which appears to have been principally an eight-line stanza rhymed $aaa^b$, $aaa^b^b$, and a thirteen-line stanza rhymed $ababab^c^d^d^d$; and secondly, by the Prologue, which in its original form was probably written for this stage of the plays. Even at this early period, however, the cycle was a composite structure, in which were embedded bits of old Christmas and Easter Plays and perhaps vernacular lyrics, the whole connected by stage directions in Latin. The plays followed the Biblical narrative rather closely, for the most part, but legendary incidents were not lacking, especially in regard to the early life of Mary. The plays on the Passion with which we are specially concerned were approximately as follows: the Entry into Jerusalem (Prologue xxiii); the Supper with Simon the Leper; the Last Supper and Bargain of Judas (Prologue xxiv); Agony in the Garden and Capture (Prologue xxv); Trial before Caiaphas and Denial of Peter (Prologue xxvi); Accusation before Pilate, Jesus standing at the bar with Jemmas, Dysmas, and Barabbas; and the Putting to Bed of Pilate’s Wife (Prologue xxvii); Remorse of Judas (Prologue xxviii); Dream of Pilate’s Wife and Condemnation (Prologue xxix); Crucifixion (Prologue xxx); Inci-

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1 This is the stanza of the Chester Plays.
2 This stanza varies in the length of the ninth line, which occurs with one, two or three accents. Davidson (English Mystery Plays, p. 240) speaking of the stanza with a ninth line of one accent is mistaken in saying that this stanza occurs in Plays II, XII, XVI, XXVI, XXVII, XXIX; the stanzas in these plays have no lines with less than two accents.
3 Other meters of the original cycle are the short-line stanza $aaabcc$, which occurs only in the Christmas and Easter Plays (Shepherds, pp. 159-60, Magi, 164-9, Innocecnts, 170-5, Resurrection, 341-3, 348-50, 353-5), and a stanza rhymed $ababab^c$ (Purification of Mary, XVII, and Joseph’s Return, XII).
4 Chambers (Medieval Stage, II, 419) is probably mistaken in considering the prologue later than the play. To cite only one piece of evidence—the arrangement in small cycles, one of the late changes made in the cycle, is not represented in the prologue. Hemingway (pp. xxiii—xxxiv) also consider the prologue early.
5 Christmas and Easter plays may have been the kernel round which the cycle grew up.
6 Taylor (Modern Philology, IV, 624-626 and V, 29) points out lyrical themes in the plays.
7 Plays with no English stage directions are I—VII, XIV—XVII, XIX—XXIV, XXXVI, XXXVIII, XLII; those having stage directions partly in Latin and partly in English are VIII—XII, XVII, XXX, XXXIII, XXXV, XXXVII. Although Latin stage directions are not a test of the original cycle (they occur in the Assumption, XXI, which is certainly late) probably the English stage directions have all been introduced by B or C.
8 Play X describes the Betrothal of Mary according to apocryphal sources. In XIX Mors and Diabolus appear on the stage to carry off Herod and his soldiers.
9 Three stanzas preserved on pp. 252-3. The stanza of the Prologue has, perhaps, been re-written.
10 The anointing of Mary (pp. 263-5) is in the stanza of the early cycle, but there is no play on the subject described in the prologue. The combination of this incident with the Last Supper is almost certainly a late piece of editing. See below, pp. 99, n. 7.
12 Hegge, pp. 324-8.

NORTH. PASSION.
Introduction.

The reviser B, who wrote principally in quatrains and eight-line stanzas rhymed ababcbbc, with lines of moderate length, composed fresh plays on the events from the Entry into Jerusalem to the Crucifixion, and rewrote the story of Longinus and the Burial. The alterations made by him may be summarized as follows: he transferred the Bargain of Judas from its position after the Last Supper, probably connecting it with his new play on the council of the Jews. He also transferred the Remorse of Judas from the midst of the trial before Pilate to its present position before the Trial; he inserted the Trial before Herod, he included in his new version of the Condemnation the bringing of Jesus to the bar accompanied by three Jews which was part of the original cycle. Furthermore, B altered the arrangement of the plays that immediately succeed the death of Jesus, by transferring the incident of Longinus to a position after Joseph had begged Jesus's body.

C, the author of the scholastic and theological amplifications and adornments mentioned by Hemingway, revised the cycle using quatrains and eight-line stanzas rhymed ababcbbc, the long lines being loaded with unstressed syllables.

1 Hegge, pp. 329-30.
3 Ibid. pp. 344-53; in the Prologue this pageant is numbered xxiii.
5 Ibid. pp. 360-3. Other extant portions of Hegge which belong to the original cycle are: Plays I Creation, II Fall, III Cain and Abel, IV Noah (to the entrance of Angelus on p. 43), X Mary's Betrathal, XII Joseph's Return, XVI Shepherds, XVIII Magi, XVIII Purification, XIX Innocents, XXI Baptism, XXII Temptation, XL Descent of the Holy Ghost, XLII Doomsday.
6 B probably wrote the Council of the Jews in part (pp. 247-51, 262-3), re-wrote the Entry into Jerusalem, incorporating three stanzas of the original cycle (pp. 252-3: note that the first quatrain of the play occurs again on p. 256); wrote the Preparations for the Passover (pp. 259-61), Bargain of Judas (pp. 267-70), the Last Supper in part (from about p. 274), Betraying of Christ (to p. 286), and the greater part of the Trial, Condemnation, and Crucifixion (pp. 294-324). See below, pp. 99 for C's revision.
7 In York XXVII the Bargain of Judas follows the Council of the Jews and precedes the Last Supper.
8 Hegge, pp. 332-40.
9 Prologue, p. 11.
10 Hegge, p. 299.
11 Prologue, p. 13. In the original cycle the Remorse of Judas was a whole play. It is uncertain whether B or C is responsible for its reduction to its present limits.
12 Hegge, pp. 303-7.
16 English Nativity Plays, p. xxxiii.
His purpose appears to have been the formation of three small cycles, one of which might be given apart from the rest of the plays in any year. These cycles were: (1) The Early Life of Mary (Plays VIII–XIII), (2) the Last Supper and Capture (XXV–XXVIII), and (3) the Trial, Death, and Resurrection (XXIX–XXXV). C's work on the Plays of the Passion is found chiefly at the beginning and end of these small cycles and in the links which connect the different plays; but beside these verses of arrangement, he added one long discourse on the Eucharist, comparable to the Contemplation monologues of the Mary Cycle.

Finally, the text appears to have suffered alteration at the hands of the scribe of the Cotton MS., who inserted Mary's Anointing of Jesus' feet as the first incident of the Last Supper, and omitted the last nine lines of the two stanzas of the prologue which describe Plays XIV (Trial of Joseph and Mary) and XV

1 Chambers II, 417–418.
2 The end of this group is not clearly indicated. Chambers (II, 418) suggests that it ends with play XXXV.
3 In the beginning of the first cycle on the Passion: Speeches of Demon and John the Baptist, and most of the dialogue of the Priests and Doctors (pp. 239–46); end of cycle (pp. 286–7); beginning of second cycle on Passion (most of pp. 288–94).
4 Connecting link between Trial before Caiaphas and Trial before Pilate (pp. 298 ff.); Speech of Satan (pp. 308–9), Jesus and Women of Jerusalem (p. 317), The Centurion (p. 331).
5 Hegge, pp. 270–4.
6 Ibid. pp. 129–30. Other passages by C in the plays on the Passion are part of the Entry into Jerusalem (pp. 253–5), Denunciation of Judas (pp. 265–67); note that the Denunciation of Judas is related by B on pp. 274–5 and Mary beside the cross (p. 323).
7 The condition of the MS. is as follows: on fol. 148b the last line is "Som wey we xal fynd [erto ]" (Anna's speech on p. 263), followed by the stage direction, "Here Judas caryoth comyth into je place;" which is stroked through in black, as is also the catchword, "Myn hert is ryth" (see Hegge, pp. 265) written below. "Ihesus" is named as the speaker of the lines which are to follow on the next page. Below the first catchword is a second, "now counterfyrtyde" (see p. 267), but this has been deleted by a red stroke, along with the "Ihus" which referred to the next speaker. A third catchword is written to the left, "As a cursyd" and "Mawdelyn" named as the speaker of the lines which are to follow. On fol. 149a begins Mary's speech, "As a cursyd creature" (p. 263). At the bottom of fol. 149b is the stage direction, "Here Crist restyth and cthyth a lytyl, and seyth, syttyng to his disciples, and Mary Mawdelyn [golth here. . . . ]" (p. 265), the bracketed words being stroked through in black and in red. Fol. 150a begins "Myn herte is" (p. 265). In the middle of fol. 151a is the stage direction: "Here Judas rysyth prevel and goth In je place & seyt now countrer." (p. 267). The rest of the page and all the back of the folio are blank. On fol. 152a Judas' speech "Now counteryfyrtyd" begins. In brief, Mary's anointing and the Denunciation of Judas are each on a separate folio which will fit into any order by the simple change of stage directions, and that the order has been changed in this MS. is shown by the confusion in stage directions. The explanation of the changes on fol. 148b appears to be this: in the scribe's copy, the Denunciation of Judas (beg. "Myn hert is") followed the Council of the Jews (p. 263). The scribe, however, placed the Bargain of Judas (beg. "Now counteryfyrtyd") after the Council, and at a later date inserted Mary's anointing and the Denunciation of Judas between the Council and the Bargain of Judas.

But if the scribe connected Mary's anointing with the Last Supper, he is probably also responsible for the mention of Simon the Leper as Jesus' host at the Last Supper, which is without authority in Medieval tradition. Very slight changes would have been sufficient to bring in Simon's name, since, except in the stage directions, he is named only twice (pp. 290–1). Possibly Jesus' words "Goth to Syn" (p. 259) were misunderstood by some scribe for "Goth to Syon."
(Birth of Christ).\(^1\) Other discrepancies between the Prologue and the plays may or may not be due to the scribe.\(^2\)

If the development of the Hegge cycle was along the lines sketched above, the significance of the verbal parallels with the Northern Passion is clear. For with few exceptions\(^3\) the parallels fall in the stanzas which have on other grounds been attributed to B. The fidelity with which this playwright followed his source is in many cases remarkable: for example, in three instances\(^4\) four successive lines of the Northern Passion have been rearranged in order to form one quatrains sometimes results in clumsy rhymes. The very literalness of the paraphrase at times results in clumsy phrasing, as—to cite only one instance—when the line,

Hys herand fully for to spede (N. P. v. 488)

is reproduced in Christ’s speech,

ffulleche myn erdon for to spede (Hegge, p. 282).

Furthermore, parallels to the Passion are occasionally carried over into the stage directions,\(^5\) as though the poet were trying to describe rather than to dramatize the scene. In short, much of this editor’s work appears to be a somewhat inadequate adaptation of narrative material to dramatic purposes.

In summing up the relation of the Northern Passion to the plays, a distinction should be drawn between York on the one hand and Towneley and Hegge on the other. In the York plays the influence of the Passion, already present at the formative stage of the cycle, is more evident in the incidents than in the phraseology. The playwright or playwrights were undoubtedly familiar with the poem, but they had sufficient originality to clothe their borrowings in fresh language. In the Towneley and Hegge plays, on the other hand, the original cycle appears to have been independent of the Passion, and not till the plays came to be recast and rewritten did the influence of the poem make itself felt. In Towneley, XX, two editors at a comparatively late date incorporated passages of the Passion,

\(^1\) In the MS., space is left for a full stanza of 13 lines in each case where the four lines are written; and an examination of the two quatrains shows that they describe merely the beginning of the plays.

\(^2\) Plays VIII, IX, XIII, XVIII, XXV, XXIX, and XLI are not described in the Prologue, but VIII (or IX) and XIII are allowed for in the numbering. This is not clearly shown in Halliwell’s edition. In the MS. “tende” (p. 5) is written over an erasure; “xi” (p. 6) is changed from “ixte”; “xi” (p. 6) from “xe,” “xii” (p. 6) from “hilleth”; “xiiij” (p. 7) from “xixth”; “xv” (p. 7) from “xiii”; and “xvi” (p. 7) from “xiv.” The alterations were made by the same hand which wrote the play of the Assumption (XLI).

\(^3\) Exceptions are the parallels on Hegge, p. 265 (N. P. 127–8); p. 311 (N. P. 1021 ff.); p. 312 (N. P. 1120–4); p. 317 (N. P. 1530–41).


\(^5\) Hegge, pp. 279, 334.
the first borrowing six consecutive lines, rhyme and all. In the Hegge cycle, an editor who might almost be called a playwright, in rewriting early plays reproduced the lines of the *Northern Passion* again and again. Though originality or dramatic technique can scarcely be expected from a mediæval mender of plays, the awkward reproduction in Hegge of some phrases of the *Passion* is surprising. The comparative independence of the early York playwright has assuredly not descended to this editor of the East Midland cycle.

The dependence of the cycles on the *Passion* is one more piece of evidence tending to prove that the plays are not isolated phenomena springing from a Latin Bible, Latin Apocrypha, etc., detached from English Literature, but that the dramatists, like the lyric poets, drew from the common store of English tradition. This store was common property then as it could not be now; for in those days of few books, reading was nearly synonymous with committing to memory, and a poem read was likely to influence plays or poems afterwards written. Therefore the influence of early works like the *Cursor Mundi*, the *Northern Passion*, and the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, which can readily be traced on subsequent literature, does not imply actual transcription from a MS. of the older poem on the part of the author, but rather such a recollection of the older phrases as any one might employ in the case of works learned "by heart." In this way the playwrights who revised old plays or wrote new ones continually adopted the phraseology, even the incidents, of familiar poems like the *Passion*. Nor is it to be supposed that all the parallels of the plays with vernacular literature have yet been brought to light: the discovery of the influence of the *Northern Passion* raises the hope of finding other English sources for the plays, which will establish even more clearly the close relation of the drama to vernacular literature.
THE OLD FRENCH PASSION

Trin. Coll. Camb. MS. O. 2. 14

[This text of the French Passion probably shows the poem as the English author used it. The version of O is printed as it stands in the MS. (except that the often arbitrary division of words is occasionally altered), with the addition of certain couplets which, on comparison with the Northern Passion, appear to have been known to the English poet. These couplets, enclosed within brackets, are taken from Bibliothèque Nationale ms. français 20040, unless another source is specified. Where O is incorrect or obscure, and where another MS. shows readings nearer the Northern Passion, variants are added at the foot of the page. Variants for which no source is named are from Bibl. Nat. ms. franç. 20040; the other variants are from Fitzwilliam Museum MS. 20 (= B); Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 15606 (= C); Bibl. Nat. ms. franç. 24301 (= E); and Saint-Brieuc ms. 112 (= S). No attempt has been made to give a complete list of variant readings, nor are variants cited where only the versification of O is at fault. In a few cases where the other MSS. are of no assistance, conjectural readings are given, preceded by the word Read. O shows many characteristically Anglo-Norman forms along with frequent irregularities of versification; but the editor has taken pains to give a diplomatic copy of the text, however unusual the forms may appear.]

Or escutez mult ducement. [fo1.13r, col.1]
Gardez quil nait parlement.
La passion dev entenduez.
Cument il fu por nus penez
Ne la poet oir creature
Quil nait pitie ia tant niert dure
Por ceo quil ait pint dentendement.
Al rei del ciel omnipotent
La lecture uos oistes
Que recunterent les ewanglistes
Meis ne seustes que amunta
Si bien cum ci orrez ia
La feste as iuels aprismout

2 que ni ait. 6 Quelle. 7 Por quoi elle. 10 conta li eunuangelistes. 15 apelee.

Ceo dit li liures mot a mot
Ke pasche esteit appelez
Sor tote rien estoit garde
Meis li princes de cele lei
Ki nen ourent cure de bon Rei
E li proueire e li meistre
Quereient a destre e a senestre.
Cument iesum peussent prendre
E par boisdie en la croiz pendre
Ches caiphas sont assemble
Euesques fu de la cite
Iluec unt lor conseil tenu
La parole ... de ichesu

102
Cum faitement le traieraient
Sanz la gent qu'il mult doteient
E dient tot priuement
Laissom aler tote la gent
Qui sont uenu a ceste feste
Que trop grant noise ni sait fete
Sis iorz ainz que pasche fu
En bethanie esteit ihesu [f. 13a, col. 2]
La ov par grant piete plura
Quant lazaron resuscita
En lostel symon leprus
Igeo sachez nest pas suls
Des disciples i out asez
Iudas ni fu pas ubliez
Iluec unt fait un grant mangier
Martha fu a lapareiillier
Lazarus e sa sore marie
Mult i out bele compaignie.
A cele scene sont asis
Iudas i fut li enemis
E nos're sire tot nu pez
Marie en prist grant pietez
Car les aueit mult decreuez
Igeo feseit humilitez
Por ceo uos voleit mustrer
Cum nus deuom a lui aler
L a magdaleine ad porpense
Cum lui poust scruiur a gre
Par quoi poust auoir pardonance
De ses pecchiez dont ad pesance
Kar en son quier li est ausis
Filz est al rei de parais
Ki descendi del ciel por nos
E fist a nos verrai succurs
Iceste aueit chier unguement
Une liure tot ovalment

Que mult est chier t precios
Porpensa sei que al glorios
Le chef e les pez en unguerait
Por ceo que tost merci auerait
De suz la table en est uenne [f. 13b, col.1]
Que mi dels ne fust apareceu
En sa meyn out un oignement
Que mielz ualout dor t de argent
As pez ihesu se leisse aler
Des oilz comence a plurer
Granz suspirs iette de parlent
Toz ses pez enlermeez sont
Dolur aueit de ses pecchiez
Quant des lermes laua ses pez
E loignement de sus ietta
De ses cheuoius les asuia
[Mult les baisoit t mult ploroi]
Au salueour merci eroit]
La grant flaur de loignement
Empli la meison e la gent
Li disciple quant quant lont veu
A desdeing lont asquanz tenu
E li traitres iudas i fu
Ki tot son sens en out perdu
Son felon quier ne pot celer
Son seignor prist a demander
Por qui il suffrit tel gastement
De si precios oignement
Il ualt dist il tres cent deners
E plus asez car mult est chers
E mielz ualsist quil fust done
A poefre gent que si guaste
Por ceo ne dist iudas nient
Que cure en eust de poure gent
Mais liere esteit e usurer
Sor tote rien amout dener.

47 nus. 48 A marie. 51 Ainsi noz.
63 chiers. 68 Quelle ne. 70 cor ne argent.
74 ces pichies en larmes font.
83 B. deciple qui lont. 84 E. Aucant lont

a desdaig tenu. 88 A son. 91 E. cenz.
93 donaes. 94 gastez. 95 nel.
96 Quil ait cure. 97 leres iert vseriers.
38 deniers.
Deus lor responst mult dulcement
Esens nul corouscement 100
Dina leisse ester marie
Or as tant feit que es mamie [f. 13b, col. 2]
Pourres aures od uos asez
Bien lor frez si uos uolez 104
Meis longement mei naurez mie
Ieo larrai nostre compaignie
Ceo quele ad feit mult laime t pris
Ainz que ieo seie enseueliz 108
Mun cors aromatize ad
De loignement mielz len frad
Cil li pardonings toz ses pecchies
Toz les noueals t les uiels 112
Mult bon ouraigne ad fet en moi
En uair uos di en bone foi
A toz iorz meis ceo que fait a
En memorie tenu serra
116
Iudas scariont t rendent
Tel dol en a . por poi ne fent
Enter ses denz dist belement
Si : que fors deus nul ne lentent 120
Li felons dit iol uos rendrai
Ceste perte restorrerai
As iuels uos uendrai qui me dorrond
Des bons deniers . t uos prendront 124
Li traitres plus ne demore
As iuels torne meisme Lore.
[As princes vint t a la gent
Qui ihesu namoient niant] 128
Dites moi fait il mult deliure
Que me dorrez si iol uos liure
Mun seignur que uos haez tant
E il li eurent en couenant 132
Trente deniers . guagiez le moi
Nos taflum par bone foi
103 Des pourres. 110 B. mieux li sera.
111 Le li. 113 bone euure faite. 125 B. taflir.
119 Entre. 120 que nulz de ceuz ne.
129 il a deliure. 133 les.
134 B. Nous le tafieron. 139 ce. 141 iors.
143 B. sire di nous. 144 La nostre
pasque ou taudrons noz. 155 lluc faite.
157 Sui dui ami sen. 163 t venus est.
164 sui.

En la cite la enz entrez 148
Un hom si encounterez
Aywe portant si li dirrez
Ma pasque uoil en sa maison
Ieo e tot mi compaignon 152
Mangier tot prinseement
Il le uoldra mult dulcement
Si li faites apareillier
Nostre ceine e nostre mangier 156

En la cite en sont entre
Tot issi unt fait t troue
Come ihesu lout comande 160
E quant li iorz fud avesprez
Nostre sire sen est tornez
Entre est en la meison
Ad lui ses dusie compaignon 164
Asis se sunt a cel mangier
Iudas ne uolt pas celer
Deuant son seignor sest asis
Li traitres li enemis 168
Nostre sire tant lamat
Totes hores od li mangat [fol. 14a, col. 2]

Vn en i out ki sauancist
Dunc duta que iudas se repentist 136
Mult tost trente deners li tent [f.14a, col.1]
E iudas uolentiers les prent
Des ore meis sen penera
Coment son seignor traia
L a pasche uinct . t li ior fu
Et li disciple i sont uenu
Il dient sire diez a nus
Nostre pasche ov tendrons 144
Deus lor dist mult dulcement
Or oez mun comandement
Perron t Iohan ad apelez

La Old French Passion.
E li traitres que feseit
Si come nostre sire beueit
Si li emblout en traison
Le plus bel morsel de poisson
Ia deus ne feist nul semblant
Endormit en sun deuant
Iohans li bons evangélistes
Tot le miéldres de ses menistres
En petit hore len Rau
El ciel amont ses ielz oueri
Tel chose uit nel uolt escrire
Kar longe chose fist a dire
Frere dist deus mult longement
Ceo sachez uos uerraîement
Ai eu grant desirer
Iceste pasche od uos mangier
E ne mangeraï mais od uos
Tres de mort soerri resous
Por uos sufferai passion
Que naugiez en perdicion
Nostre sire quant ceo dit
Entre ses mains le pein prit
A son soen pierce graces en rent
A ses disciples Le pein tent
Tenez dit il . ò si lusez
Ceo est li men cors que ci ueez
Mun cors mangiez mon sanc beueez
Par ceo serrez sauueez
Si le receuez dignement
Ov si ceo non al iugement
Serrez dampnez sanz raucon
Naurez autre gueredon
Ne di pas a uos solement
Meis a trestote lautre gent
Ci uos mustre ore apertement
Com uos frez le sacrement

Cest li men cors que ci ueez
Sur Lautel ert representez
Ceo ert en la nuuele lei
Ceo uoil que uos tenez de mei
En remembrance la ferez
De ma dolor que uos uerrez
Li uns de uos me traïra
E as iuels me uendra.
[Tout est escript an escripture
Dou fil marie lauenteru]
Issi couient acomplir
Quanque de mei est a uenir
E neporquant mal auendra
Al traitre qui me traïra
Melz li ualsist pur ueir asez
A icel home que ià ne fust nez
Quant li disciples lont oi
Trestot lor quiers sont enfremi
Sire dist il donc chascon par sei
Si ieo sui ceo dites le mei
[Quant iheus ot chou entendu
Mult douchement a respondu]
Od mei mangue . e od moi beit
Ki mon cors trair deit
Li fel iudas ad respondu
Sui ieo donc ceo maister iheus
Ceo es tu verraîement
Ia as tu dit apertement

Li disciple laisser ester
La treison a demander
Altre chose vont querant
Li quel dels lum tient a plus grant
Frere dist deus la male gent
Les diable met a nient
Il quident estre mult en halt
Mais ne sont pas ases en falt

membre. 225 Sire ce dit chascons.
227-228 supplied from B. 234 B. Tu
las bien dit. 238 B. De plus grans choses
demandant. 240 B. Qui onques ne ma-
merent nient. 241 estre li plus haut.
The Old French Passion.

Mais entre vos issi niert pas 244
Tot li plus halt ert li plus bas Cil qui ouldra eshauucier
Sur tuz lestoet humilieur A trestoiz li couient servir
Et sa volente deguerpir 248
Ieo sui ici come seruanz
Ieo serf les petiz t les granz [Ie ne vaing pas por signoner
Ne por maistrie demonstr] 252
Mis duz pieire qui est la sus
Il menuoia por vos sa ius
Ieo sui volentiers uenuz
Ben sai que en croiz serrai penduz 256
Apres moi vos estot aler
Si vos ne uolez forsueier
Uos estes le men ami
Granz mals auez por mei suffri 260
Meis ieo vos gueredonerai
Et li mien pieire enpreierai
Quil vos en rende gueredon
Si fera il en sa meison 264
Sur les duze seges serrez
La gent israhel iugerez
Al iugement. ov ieo serrai
Serrez od mei quant iel frai 268
Perres symon sez tu amis
Cum est irrez li enemis
Ki te quida tolor ta foi
Que tu ne creusses en moi 272
Meis ieo proierai por tei
Tant que tu ben las forment ieo crei
Et tu si soiez sagres t pruz [fol. 15a, col. 1]
Confortes tes freres tuz 276
Or unt Li disciple scene

E del mangier se sont leue
E li bons maistres se leua
Ignelement ses dras osta 280
Dun lincel cest auironez
A cels uoleit lauer les pez
En un bachin mist ewe clere
Uenez est as pez sein piere 284
Oste sire nel faites pas
Ia les mens pez ne laueras
Si ieo nes lieue dist deus parfoi
El ciel nauras ia part od moi
Sain pieire li ad respondu
E chef e meins me leues tu
Ainz que naie part od tei
Or fai a ton pleisir de mei 292
Quant out a toz les pez lauez
Ses dras ad pris t refublez
Mult humblement entrels sasist
Or escultez que il lor dist 296
S tuez que ai fait e demustre
Ceo seignefie Humilite
Uos mapelez maistre e seignor
E dites bien e grant honor 300
Mais ceo est ucir ne mentez mie
Par mei aurez durable vie
Si ieo mei sui ageoisilliez
Deuant vos por Lauer uoz piez 304
Ceo est essample que io uos lees
Issi deuez uos faire aprees
Li uns a lautre mult dulcement
Si com iez faz ore en present [fol. 15r, 30S
Kar cum uos plus abaiserez
El ciel amont plus halt serrez
Or uos dirrai un altre rien
Par tens serra ceo sachez ben 312

288 Tu naueras ia part en moi. 289 Sains pieires.
290 t piez. t mainz me leue.
291 que ie naie. 295 MS. ad deleted after
mult. 301 E. voirs. 306 C. faire humais.
308 iaifait ci en. 309 Quat tant com plus
humle seres. 311 vne. 312 Voire sera.
Nent Par Céo Sire La Deus A Que Ceste Ieo Senz Or Que Trestoz Failli que sonnes veez Deus i alout suuent tot seuls

Quant il lor ot ce sermone
Vn pou loinz dax sen est alez

Tresis els ad od sei menez
Que plus esteient de ses priuez

Li ons de cels out a non sein piere
Et Iaches. t Iohan son frere

Freres des deus tres a la mort
Est ma alme sans confort

Tenez vos od mei de dormir
Ma charm ad pour de morir

Deu sesloigna un tres petit
Or escultez quad en lescrit

Chair se leisse en vreison

Son piere apeler par son seint non

Pere dist il ieo crei bien

Que tu poz faire tote rien

Il li trestoz unt respondu
Assez auom toz tens eu
Or uos dirrai que uos frez
Chascon de uos espec aurez
Et qui ne la sa cote uende
Espe akate dont sei defende
Il en uit dus aprestez
Sire font il cestes veez
Or en i ad dist deus asez
Alez de ci cedron pasez
Trestoz sen sont diloc torne

Fors iudas sul le foresene

Entree en sont en un vergier
Ov esteient meint oulier

Mont oluete ad non li lies
Deus i alout suuent tot seuls

Quant il les out toz assemblez

Q frere dist deus or vos seez

[Quant il lor ot ce sermone
Vn pou loinz dax sen est alez]

Tresis els ad od sei menez
Que plus esteient de ses priuez

Li ons de cels out a non sein piere
Et Iaches. t Iohan son frere

Freres des deus tres a la mort
Est ma alme sans confort

Tenez vos od mei de dormir
Ma charm ad pour de morir

Deu sesloigna un tres petit
Or escultez quad en lescrit

Chair se leisse en vreison

Son piere apeler par son seint non

Pere dist il ieo crei bien

Que tu poz faire tote rien

Il li trestoz unt respondu
Assez auom toz tens eu
Or uos dirrai que uos frez
Chascon de uos espec aurez
Et qui ne la sa cote uende
Espe akate dont sei defende
Il en uit dus aprestez
Sire font il cestes veez
Or en i ad dist deus asez
Alez de ci cedron pasez
Trestoz sen sont diloc torne

Fors iudas sul le foresene

Entree en sont en un vergier
Ov esteient meint oulier

Mont oluete ad non li lies
Deus i alout suuent tot seuls

Quant il les out toz assemblez

Q frere dist deus or vos seez

[Quant il lor ot ce sermone
Vn pou loinz dax sen est alez]
Si te pleisait pas nel uoldrai
La mort ainz trespasserai
Mais neporquant ma volente
Ne soit pas faite mais la dee
[La soie volante ottroi
Or face son plasir de moi]
Issi se demenout Li sire
Ki senz pecchie fu t sanz ire
V ns angles est descenduz
del ciel qui li est aparuz
Son seignor prist a conforter
De co dunt Loi dementer
E come La pour li vencit
Del angoisse que ueer deueit
Priout son pieire omnipotent
Asez plus ententiuement
De La pour que ihesus out
Gotes de sanc sa charm sivout
[Si grans quaual sa char corroient
 t que desus terre cheoient] Beals sire deus por quei suffriss
Si por ceo non que le volies
Ceste angoise t ceste dolor
Iceo fu por nostre amor
Por nos reindre del forfeit
Que Li primers hom auoit feit
Donc se leua de sa oreison
Ihesum querant amen deuom
A ses discipes est uenuz
Endormi le troue e vencuz
Pieres dist deus esueillez tei
Ne poez ueillier un hore od mei
Esueillez uos si priez
[Nol. 16a, col. 1]
Nostre sire por uos pecchiez
Que nentrez en temptation
De male cogitation
Li esperit pas ne dort
La charn enferm crient sa mort
Quant ceo out dit si sen torna
Ariere vint t si hora
Piere dist il pas nel faudra
Ta volente tote serra
Ta volente uoil t oftei
Or fai a ton pleisir de mei
Quant deu out dit tot son pleisir
En ses amis nout que endormir
Et ne poeint mei veillier
Lor laburs ert de deu prier
[Al ceuz reuiunt sauoir quil font
Mais trestuit endormi ce sont
Lors ne les uot pas esouiller
Ains va arrieries por prier]
Puis refist altr e tel oreison
Cum dist deuent si cum nos sison
Après est ariere venuz
Tuz a trueuez dormanz ses duz
Dont demande por quei dormez
Un hore veillier ne poez
Iudas ne dort ore nient
Et uos reposez seurement
Esueillez vos allez de ci
Iudas est pres qui mad trai
Il mad vendu as peccheurs
La veurrez ci ses achateurs
Quant damprnedeu out issi parle
Si uenl Iudas od grant meine
[Noire nuis est mult en i ot
Li fel uadas touz leu guiot]
Il ne ueneiuent pas sanz armes
Haches aueuie . e gisarmes
E si portouent granz bastons
Lantieres cleres t brandons
[fol. 16a, col. 2]
Seignors ceo dist li fel Iudas
Ihesum ne connoissez pas
Celui que baiser me urerrez
Ceo est mi maistres celui pernez 456
Si len menez ben cointement
Que ne uos puise eschaper net
Ihesus nout cure de fuir
Qui de son gre uoleit murir 460
Encuntnels nait . li quel de nos
Diua fait il . genz que querez uos
De ceo que dampened eu dist
Merueilluse pour les prist 464
Neporquant si ont respondu
Por ihesum sumes ca venu
Ieo sui ceo ihesu respunt
Quant ceo out dit ariere vont
De la uoiz deu tel pour ont
Que toz a terre chaeit sont
E quant il furent releue
Altre feiz lor ad demande 472
Ki querez uos dites le mei
Iesum querum qui se feit Rei
E la lauez uos bien ci
Ieo sui iceo uexz mei ci
Donc vint iudas si se salua
Et en la buche li beisa
A mis dist deus que as tu ci quis
Tu me baises si me traiz 480
A icest mot lont toz saisi
De tutes parz li enemi
[† sui deciple lont guerpi
Chascuns sen part sen est fuis] 484
E sain pieres qui lad ueu
Od sa espee ad on feru
Malchus ad non ben lasena [fol. 169, col. 1]

La destre oreille li coupa 488
Auoi dist deus pieres ne faire
Uols tu a ton seignor despreiz
Oste ta arme esta en peis
Garde que tu nel facez mei 492
Ki de glaue ferra altrui
A Glaiue irra le cors de lui
Ieo nai cure de mei defendre
De mon gre uoil en la croiz pendre 496
Ieo aurai asez defendemenz
Angles a milliers e a cenz
Si ieo uoleie . meis ne uoil
La mort sufran sanz orgoil 500

O R oez grant humilite
Essample de grant bonte
Lorcille prist qui esteit coupe
A cel iev lad resane 504
Mais li iev qui dev maudie
Tant furent plein de felonie
Ceo discient que tot ert fable
Quanque il feseit esteit par diable 508
Iuev fait deus uos me pernez
Come ieo fuse leres prouez
Grant hunte feites ceo sachez
Mult grant pecchie de mei auez 512
De ior por qui ne mauez uos pris
Ceo futz plus bel ceo mest anisz
El temple od uos suuent esteie
De bien faire uos sermoneie 516
Uncques uos ne deistes nule rien
Men escient ne fust de ben
Lores por ceo ne me preistes
Si por ceo nun que tu le uolsistes * 520
A icest mot lunt tot seisi *[fol. 169, col. 2]

De tutes parz sen arei fui
saisi. 485 † pierres saunt qui. 492 B. Il est chose ne faire maius. 494 ira li. 503 copec. 504 resanece. 517 Onques ne vos dis. 518 escient que ne fust bien. 519 † por-quoi lors ne. 520 que ne vossistes; MS. nun in margin. 521 lont lors saisi.
Chascon pensa de sei guarir
Et ihesus vait por els murir
Por les nosz dolerus pecchiez
Uoleit estre crucifiez
En la meison dan chaitaz
Est deus menez plus que le pas
Forment le lient por nient
Kar de fuir nauoit talent
Iluec erent a vne
Chef chaiafs le forsene
Li euesque e li seignor
Uers deu nauoient point damor
Entries chaipas se seiait
Des pruuoires princes esteit
E euesques de la cite
Cest conseil il ad done
As faus iuels de deu trair
E dist quil couent murir
Vn home quil por tote la gent
Mais nel dit pas a escient
Dui disciple iceo ueccient
Qui plus lamouent t creient
Ceo fu sein pieere e sein iohan
La dolur virent . t lahan
Que deus por els soffreit
Icele nuit feseit grant freit
La ov ihesu esteit menez
Iohans li bons i est entrez
Mais sein pere ni entra mie
Kar quida perdre la vie
Iohan le vit mult len pesa [fol. 17a, col. 1]
Celui qui lus gardout pria
Son compaignon laist enz entrer
Que il al feu se peust chaufer
Cil li respont or uienge auant
Pieres entre enz pour ad grant

E neporquant ueeir voleit
Que lom de son seignor feseit
Ne sai li quels des enemis
Out iohan par le mantel pris
E il lur leisse sun mantel
Fuiant sen vait mult li fu bel
Quant de lur mains fut eschape
Il ni serra huimeis troue

Deus est entrez od les fauses gent
Ki li demeinent vilemente
Mult alouent enquentar
Si entreprendre le pseunt
Mais ni trouerent si bien non
Tot le teneient por brichon
Il esteient tot de une part
Dient que mult iert de mal art
Quant il filz deu se fait apeler
Que tendez uos de li tuer
Dui pautener se sont leuez
Dentre les altres aseufrez

L I uns ad dit or escultez
Seignors trestoz . t entendez
A cest seignor oi ieo dire
Si que ia nel porra desdire
Cestui nostre temple destruerait
Et en treis iorze le refrait
Est il donc itant poissantz
Salamon i mist quarante anz [f. 17a, col. 1]
Sil nainoit plus fait ne dit
Ben est dreit que hom le lapit
Il escrient a une noiz
Crucifiez soit en la croiz
Dist caiphas dun as tu hunte
De ceo que cest prodrom acunte
Que tu ne respuns queque seit
Tu fas semblant quil unt dreit

532 Chascuns (i. e. sui disciple). 524 B. veut. 529 Tres brec lies mais por. 531 crent tuit assemble. 532 Chiez. 535 Entrax. 536 Qui des. 540 consandroit. 544 t cremoilent. 545 fu pierses

† sains iehans. 551 sains peres. 553 Iehans. 561 B. le quel. 563 il li. 566 trouez. 567 entre la male gent. 568 le. 580 Read Seignor trestut. 587 plus ne fait ne. 588 B. drois con le pendist.
Li reis nent ne li disoit 598
E chaiphas mult lenquereit 596
Di moi par quel lei uos uinez 596
Quant tu duze estoiez asemble 598
Deus li respunt mult dulcement 111
Ceo que iai enseigne . la gent 600
Ieo nel di pas celement 612
Ainz le dis ben apertement 659
El temple ai souent sermone 612
Ov toz esteient asemble 604
Uos t li altre compaignion 608
Benz auz oi a bandun 608
Ceo que ieo enseigne. iol di deuant 612
Por quei me uas ceo demandant 612
Cels le demande t quer 612
Ki souent mooaient sermoner 614
Donques saueras si ieo ai ben dit 614
E si ieo enseigne solum lescrit 111
UNS des serianz don chaiphas 614
Est leue sus ignele pas 614
Hauce sa paune feru la 614
Apres li dist qui tenseigna 616
Si folement as respondu 616
Por un petit que ieo ne te tu 616
Ceo est nostre esuesque qui parole [f.17b, col 1] 616
Milt as uers lui folo parole 620
Deu li respund mult ducement 620
Si ieo ai parle foloment 620
De mal porte testimonie 624
Gardez ne dire felonie 624
Mais or me di apertement 624
Por quei me baz tu por nent 624
Or me di chaiphas dit 624
Parole a mei selonc lescrit 628
Te te coniur par deu le grant 628

Si tu es filz al rei puissant 646
Di mei tost apertement 646
Oiant tresute nostre gent 632
Deu li respunt mult dulcement 632
Tu dis iol sui veirement 632
DES ore mes nerrez le filz marie 636
Od sa bele compaignie 636
Il iugerat mort t vis 644
Ki bon serra a ben ert pris 644
E il serra al iugement 644
Soen serront li comandement 648
Ke il saluera si ert salue 648
Ki il dampnera si ert dampne 648
Q vant ceo oid li fel chaiphas 648
Si lad saisi par mi ses dras 648
Sus est leuez cum uns desuesz 648
Por petit nest forsenez 648
Par tel air uers sei le tyre 648
Ses uestemenz toz li descre 648
Or auze oi grant merueillez 648
Enclines ca toz uosz oreillez 648
Ia querrions nus achaison 648
Par quei nus lentprendriom [17b, col 2] 648
Ni ait celui qui aient oie 648
Que uos est aus de sa vie 648
Il respondent hautement 648
Nos sauom ben veraient 656
Que il est cupable de sa mort 656
Nos auom dreit t il ad tort 656
Sain peres auet pris son leu 660
Entrels esteit asis al feu 660
Il esgourdout . t attendeit 660
Que hum de son seignor fereit 660
Vne femme lesgarde t dit 660

Dun es tu des discipels ihesu crist 664

598 C. tuit .xii. ansamble estez. 600 a
signie`a la. 604 tuit. 606 lauez. 606 A celz le poez demander. 610 souant
mont oi. 612 B. selonc. 614 Read leues. 619 esuesques. 621 deuz. 623 B. Ne male
raison tesmoign. 633 B. diex. 635 C. fil.

637 B. Le iugeria t mors. 638 Qui bien
fela en bien. 641 Qui. 641 B. sauues.
642 B. dampnes. 646 B. Pour i. petit.
50 C. tuit. 653 B. a celui qui nait oit.
654 B. La grant merueille qu`il a dit.
657 B. coupables de la. 659 Sainz.
Pieres responst nai par fei
Sires feit ele par ma lei
Cil qui chaufent environ
Le cumurent a reison
Il unt dit don es tu
Un disciple li rei ihesu
Pieres responst ignelement
Nai par fei nel sui nent
Uns des sergansz dan chaiphas
Vers lui saproce ignelepas
Don te vi fait icil
Ensemble od lui estre el curtil
Ia me feris tu de ta espee
Si que loreile en oi colpe:
E tis mestres La sana
Ke par itant guarir quida
Pieres se comence a madire
A iurer t a contredire
Vncques fait il certes ne fui
Ne ior ne nuit od celui
[Sains pieres vit ne si garra
Diluec sen tourne si sen va]
Com pieres de la porte issout [f. 18a, col. 1]
Un autre femme laparcout
Par deu fait ele ici est fu
Uns des homes le rei ihesu
Nul est pas uns autre dist
Quides que si se maldist
Tenes me uos fait ele por fole
Iol conuis a sa parole
Pieres dist unkes meis nel vi
Fors ore que iol vei ici
Qvant cee out dit li coc chanta
PE ihesus uers perrun garda
Pieres sermeps saparceit

De cee que deus dit li aueit 700
Que anceis que li coc chantereit
Treis feiz Le reniereit
Fors sen ist peres memes lure
Del quer suspire des ielz plure 704
Os R larrum ici de sain pierre
Si dirrum de deu nostre pierre
Qui esteit entre la fause gent
Que li demonounient si vilenement 708
Il eschinent des denz vers li
En mi sun vis unt escopi
Li fals iuel Li fel cuiluert
Li son beal vis li unt couert 712
En la face ferent ihesu
Puis li dient qui ta feru
Il se teiseit . t cil parleient
Tuit le ferient t bateient 716
Or di . qui te fett plus souent
Ia ses tu ben que io ment
El col li donent grand colees
Et en la face grant buffees [fol. 18a, col. 2]
Di qui te fett en mi le vis
Si tu es reis de parais
Il ne diset rien li sire
Qui sanz pecchie fu t sanz ire 724
Tute nuit lunt issi gabe
Escopi . t decire
Tresqual matin que li ior fud
Toz ensemble sont reuenued 728
[Lor consoil prennent quil feront
Confaitement le traivont]
L I maistre princes t li meillors
L Qui del poeple furent seignors 732
Denant els fuent uenir ihesu
Puis li demandent qui es tu

666 Si es fait. 667 qui ce chaufent. 668 a la raison. 669 dont nies. 670 Des disciples au roi. 675 dont ne te ui ge fait. 676 lui en i. 679 E. mestre. 679 la me sana. 685-686 supplied from B. 687 porte sen issoit. 688 Une. 691 B. Non est pas ons autres.

692 Cuidiez uoz quil ce. 696 Fors tant que. 697 coz. 701 coz. 703 pierres au icelle ore. 708 Qui le. 710 lont. 711 iiuit. 712 Le suen. 718 bien ce iete mant. 719 grans. 720 granz. 727 iors. 728 B. tuit. 731 B. prince. 732 seignor.
Si tu es crist qui deit venir 735
Ne nus cele pas por morir 736 B.
Deus lur respont si iol uos di 741 B.
Ne me creusses mie ore ici [Quar ce ie le uoz di en bien
Vos ne me responderei rien 740
t por ice ne laureuz mie
Que ne me facies villonie]
Des ore en auant si auendra
Que li filz de uirgine serra 744
A la destre son pere altisme
Qui uoit del ciel tresqyen abisme
Tete la turbe Li respond
Es tu donc filz al rei del mond 748
Vos le dites ieo sui sanz faille
Nel presant pas tote vne maille
Ainz dient . il est ben iugez
Or est del tut mult enpeirez 752
Ia quidouent la fole gent
Que nus leussum pris pur nient
Mais nus lauom ben pris par dreit
Quant il issi filz deu se feit 756
Lioms le ben menom le tost
Deuant pilate le prouost
Deuant pilate lont mene [fol. 18b, col. 1]
Et forment lont donc excus
Sire font il nus tamenum
Un faus prophete mult felon
[Qui touz desuoie nostre gent
De la loi deu ne ceit nient] 764
Il dit que al rei cesar le sage
Ne deit hum doner treuage
Sin auom nus certes beals sire
En nos quiers grant dol t ire 768
De ceo quil dist . reis est de nos
Ia fust tues ne fut por uos
Il li nuisouent mult forment

Icelle felonesse gent 772
Or veit iudas quiel est dampnez
E sis seiers a mort luirez
Par lui e par sa treison
Quil engingna com malueis hom 776
As iuel vint . t a la gent
Ki deu namouent unques nent
Seignors fait il por deu tenez
Ices deners que ci neez 780
Mult ai pecchie sanz mesure
Ia deu de moi naura meis cure
Io lai trai sanz achaision
Ben sai naurai iamais pardon 784
Cil li dient . que atieint a nus
Tot li pecchie soit sor vos
Quant lot iudas sis get el temple
Ices deners si sen emble 788
Desperez est . si sest penduz
De sa cinture a un seuq
De dol socist si est dampnez
Por tant quil fut desesperez 792
Car sil se uolsist tenir
E de son pecchie repentir  [fol. 18b, col. 2]
Il eust eu merci t pardun
Cum nus aurom si nus uolom 796
Li ieu unt les deners pris
Dient ov ert cist auers mis
Ceo sont deniers de traison
Ia el temple nel metterom 800
Ia en la faire del muster
Ne serra mis un sul deier
Dient li altre quen feroms
Vn liu la fors en achatoms 804
Ou lem destruiera ces larrons
Ses traitres ses feluns
E iluec enterreirons
Les cors que nus ne conoissous 808

735 dois. 736 B. Ne te choiele. 741 B.
lairies. 766 Ne li doit on faire hontage. 779 Signor. 782 deus. 786 B. Tous li
NORTH. PASSION.

pechies. 787 si gete. 792 Por ce quil.
799 denier. 801 en louraigne dou. 802 vns
soiz diesiers.
Des pelerins de estrange gent
Qui entre nos morent suuent
Issi dient t issi punt
Monte caluarie achate unt
Ihesu i suffri passion
Nient por els si por nus non
E issi cum uos auez oi
Mult lencusent li enemi
Uers pilate . deus se teiseit
Nule chose ne responeit
Pilate dist don as tu oi
Cume cis tacusent ore ici
Est ueir ou ceo funt par envie
Ihesu ne lor respont mie
Por ceo lor fait deu surd oreille
Que pilate en ait meruelle
Di moi fait il priuement
Ia norrun mai ceste autre gent
Iestu donc reis de ices iuels [f. 19r, col. 1]
Iesu li dit uos le iugiez
Seignors ceo lur ad dit pilates
Cest home ie ui me menastes
Ne truis en lui si bien non
Or me dites achaison
Sire font il par deu le rei
Il uolt destruire nos/re lei
Ben ad tress anz quil ne fuia
De prechier t ca t La
De la terre de galilee
Desque en nos/re cunte
[Tout uat le puple deceuaut
Faitez de lui istise grant
Est il donques de galilee
De la herodine contree]
Garde neir . me sacez a dire

Par deu font il oil beals sire
Pilate dist menez le mei
A herode Lenueierai
Descue il est de la poeste
Si en face sa volente
A herode Le meinent tot dreit
Qui pres de la cite esteit
Uenuz eert ne sai por quei
Ameinent li ihesun le rei
herodes uit uenir ihesu
Si li ad dit ben nienges tu
E cil ait qui ca tenveie
Ceo est pilate que ieo haie
Ci li pardons mun matelent
Mais nel haz ne tant ne quant
Mult ad grant tens que io voleie
A tei parler mei ne pociie
Car ueneit deuant mei
Ne sai pur pour ov por quei
Dire ai oie par ton signacle
Ad lem veu main bel miracle [f. 19r, col. 2]
Li morz en sunt resuscite
E li auoegle enlumine
[t maint autre que fait au es
Dont iai i parler asses]
Mes ore men un en present
Si quel veient tote ma gent
Et ieo friai tel pleit apres
Que tu remeindras tot en peis
Ihesus nule rien respoit
A poi li reis de dol ne funt
L I reis por fol tenir se pot
Quant ieco unkes quidot
Que deus meruelle i feist
Por rien que dire li oist

810 B. Mont. 814 por lui ce.
821 Com cil. 823 sorde; MS. ceo inserted.
829 Signor. 830 B. homme que
831 chi mamenaste.
833 B. gardes si me.
835 B. ait bien qui.
857 Tout li.
862 B. Venir t si
863 t ie croi
que par.
867-S supplied from B.
873 rien ne respoit.
878 li poist.
Deus se peust ben eschaper
\ E des felons tost deliurer
\ Or len uunt mult anguissant
Parole al rei ov poi ov grant
\ Ensigne nus ov mal ov ben
Ihesus ne lor dist rien
\ E cil qui lunt la mene
Al rei lunt forment excuse
Meis herodes quant ad veu
Que rien ne fait pur lui ihesu
\ Mult se desplait ouec sa gent
Uestu lunt de un blanc uuestemt
\ [Puis lont gabe t escharmi
La male gent nen ont merci
\ De collees lont debatu
Mult estoit deus de grant vertu]
Quant trestoz lunt si gabe
\ Li herodes ad parle
De deuant mei tost lostez
A pilate la remenez
Si li dites io lui mand
Que il en face son comand
\ A pilate lunt remene
Si cum li reis lout comande
\ Or sunt li dui felun ami [fol. 109, col. 1]
Qui deuant erent enemi
\ Pilates fait uenir par deuant sei
Venir les princes de la lei
Seignors fait il or escultez
\ A cest hom que demandez
Ne truis en lui nul achaision
Por quei li face si ben non
Ne herode ni troua mie
\ Pur quei il deust perdre la vie
Iol uos rendrai si uos uolez

Nest pas dreit quil seilt tuez
\ Ainz seilt batuz e leindengiez
E de la terre otez
Il fu costome a icel tens
\ A la pasche si cum ieo pens
Sil anueint pris uns felons
Ov homicide ou larrons
\ Un lur serreit renduz
La ne serreit retenuz
Le quel quil demandassent
Meis primes ben quille batiszent
\ Puis tute quite sen alout
Meis as iuels nient ne plout
\ Que ihesu lor seilt renduz
Mielz aiment quil seilt retenuz
Trestuz escrient a un glas
\ Que rendu lur seilt barrabas
Barrabas ert un homicides
\ Un mals leres t un traitres
En prison esteit por soen forfeit
\ Dun larrerin quil aueit feit
Or uos dirraun un poi del diable
Maistre prouost e conestable [fol. 109, col. 2]
\ De lenfernal perdicion
\ Ou hom auera si mal non

C\eeo est belzebub li maistre t sire
\ Qui ad tot dis dol t ire
\ Iecoo nos cunte lescription
Uncques ne fud creature
\ Nul plus bel que il fu
Par son orgoil lad perdu
\ Car contre deu ouldit regner
Aual le fist deu trebucher
Ius en abisme al plus parfont
\ La ou la male gent irront

fellow. 920 larron. 921 A pasque lor.
295 toz quites. 929 B. Anchois scerisent.
930 B. rendus. 931 B. oun. 932 t maluais
lerns patroisdes. 932 B. treaitre. 938 naure.
940 B. Qui ia nert sans duel t sans ire.
943 Read Nule plus bele. 946 Read deus.
En cele nuit que deu fu pris
Porpense que dist Li enemis
Que apareciure ne poeit
Si ihesus deus del ciel esteit 952
Si il deus est il pert vie
Donc ai perdu ma baillie
Il brisera enfern li sire
Qui li osera contredire 956
Sil receit mort ceo ai ieo fait
Ieo ai comence tot cest plait
Ieo men irrai tost conseil querrai
Par quei de mort le letterai 960
A la femme pilate en uieit
Deuant sun lit tot dreit sesteit
Cele le uait en son dormant
Nest pas meruelle sat pour grant 964
Garde fait il ne sait occis
Ihesu que li iuiev unt pris
Sil receit mort melr fustes ne
Uos en serres tot afole 968
A ton seignor di que garde ben [col. 20c, col. 1]
Ne seit occis por nule rien
Vnques ne fuia belzебud
Des qual main que li ior fud 972
Meis quant la dame sesueilli
Por la uision fu tot effremi
Quant ele sot que ihesu
Deuant pilate mene fu
Mandat lui par une message
Quil se garde de cele folage
Que li scint home ne seiat occis
Car ceo me fu a nuit auis 980
Si uos soeffres quil perde vie
Sur tei enuendra la folie
Mult ai a nuit por li suffert
Grant manaces en non desert 984
De nule rien puis que fui ne
Ne fui ieo tant espoente
Quant pilate oid ses diz
Trestut li sanc li est fremiz 988
Il apele les iuels fals
Seignors fait il dites quels mals
Ad fait cist home qui ci tenoms
Einz que iustice en facoms 992
Sire ceeo dist la compagnie
Si il fud de mal vie
Pleins dorgoil t de felonie
Ne ne tei liuerisure mie 996
Pilate dist. seignors par de
A uos en doings ieo le coninge
Iugiez le uos . e cil li dient
A une voiz trestoz escrient 1000
Sire font il . il ne laist mie
A nul de nos quil occie [fol. 20a, col. 2]
Pilate vint arer a ihesu
Sire fait il reis es tu 1004
Deus li respunt est ceo de tei
Ou autres li te unt dit de mei
Que tu me creies estre rei
Ieo ne sui pas de uostre lei 1008
Pilate respont apres
Le men uoille fusses en pais
Cist ievs te unt liure a mei
Que as tu fet encunte lor lei 1012
Ihesu li sire li respund
Mun regne nest pas de cest mond
Si de cest mund mun regne esteit
Tant cum li mens poeuples porreit 1016
nos. 984 Grans manaces tout entresait.
985 nee. 986 espoente. 988 sans.
990 Signor. 991 que. 994 iel ne fust de male.
996 Ne le te. 1001 B. il nest drois mie.
1002 que home ocie. 1006 le ta.
1011 B. Vos gens vos ont. 1014 regnes.
1015 mez regnez.
Il ne me deliurassent mie
Si com ieo crei en ta baillie
Meis li mens regnes nest pas cist
Es tu dunc reis pilate dist 1020
Iol sui . tu le diz suuent asez
Io uinc el mond pur ceo fui nez
De uerite porte testimonie
Ne lais pur mort ne por essonie 1024
Tuz cil qui sont de uerite
Oent ma uoiz de volente
Demetters que ihesu parlout
E que pilate lenquerout 1028
Li autre ieu unt parle
Et a lur gent cumanande
Barraban funt il . demandez
E ihesus seist a mort liurez 1032
Pilate lur dist a bandun
En ihesum ne truis achaision
Uoiez que ieo en leisse ailer [fol. 20b, col. 1]
Volez nos tuz afoler 1036
Dunc comencent tuz a crier
Barraban feites deliurer
Del faus prophete nos uengez
Si quil seist cruciefiez 1040
Pilate dit quel mal ad feit
Leiszse ester funt il icel pleit
Tant ad mal fait que plus ne pot
Justice grant . faire en estot 1044
Pilate uoit que rien ne li ualt
Meis escript plus en hault
Lewe demande por lauer
Issi se quidout ben saluer 1048
Ses mains en leue deuant toz
Apres lur dit oez ma uoiz
Ieo me demet ci de sa mort
Et de son sanc uoiz aerz tort 1052

1021 B. Iel tai dit soument. 1025 Read
Tut. 1035 Volez uoz que iel lasse.
1037 tuit. 1053 B. cost.
1055 B. pechies. 1063 cheualler. 1060 A corroies les (i. e. mains) ont noees. 1076 gite.

De ieste home que auez dampne
A icel mot lont escrie
Li sancs t li pecchie par dreit 1056
Sor nos t sor noz enfanz seitz
Pilate uolt al poeple pleire
Ceo quil querent . comande a faire
Barraban lur ad deliure
Ihesum le rei ad comande 1060
Quil seitz batuz t leidengeiiez
Apres . quil seiz cruciefiez
Li cheualers den pilate
Qui erent mult de mal esclate 1064
En une place le menerent
Li fous iuev la sassemblerent
De ses sainz dras lunt despoiliez
A une stache lunt lie [fol. 20b, col. 2] 1068
A correies en fut noees
El chef de un bastun encloes
La gloriuse charm ieu
Batouent a mult grant uertu 1072
Mult le ferouent asprement
Ieo quid fut il quil ne sent
Car il ne nus crie merci
Ne il ne get brai ne cri 1076
Qvant la char deu unt tant batue
Une purpre li unt nestue
En sa destre l fut tenir
Vn dreit Rosel pur escharnir 1080
Une corune li unt faite
Ne fud dargent ne dor purtreite
Plus fu aspre que nule haire
Hom ni mist pas douz anz a faire 1084
Des aspres espines fut torne
E espessement fut reorte
Les espines furent menu
Por mal faire sunt trop ague 1088

1079 li font. 1080 B. pour lui escharnir.
1084 .iii. ans au. 1085 fu ouree.
1086 aornece 1087 Elle estoit poignanz
 tratamiento. 1088 ague.
El chief la li mettent apres
Puis feren sus od tut un es
Des plaies il funt vint t doux
Li sanc en surt par plusors lius 1102
Aual sun cors par mi sa face
Toz cil sen rient de la place
[Trez dauant lui sagenilloient
t a genoil le saluoiient] 1096
Deus uns saut funt il sire reis
De nus erent tenues leis
En mi le uis li escoperent
E de lur pasmes le refereient 1100
Mult as gardure fere
Gardons funt il que il ne nos fere
Par mi le chef le refereient [fol. 21a, col. 1]
E des uerges Le bateient 1104
Qvant tresruzlunt asez gabe
E debatu t deciere
Issi cum il ert corunez
E de la purpre afublez
Pilate lout fors amene
A toz ensemble lad mustre
Pur rien que faire li puissum
Ne truis en lui nul achaism
Ne pur batre ne por ferrir
Ne pur manace de murir
Li euesques t li serianzst
Li pharisio li mal querant 1116
Se escrient tot a une voiz
Crucifiez seint en La croiz
Uos le pernez ceo dit pilates
Sillociez kil me menastes 1120
Ne truis en lui nul achaision
Par Quei li face si ben non
[Cil ont respondu demenois
Bien a deference la croix] 1124

Il dist. fun il . que il est de
Al rei del ciel del maieste
Nus sauom ben ceo nest pas uiers
Cil deit murrir si cum les leis 1128
Le nus enseigne t deuise
Quant la charn seint en croiz mise
Pilate ad lur uoiz oie

Ni ad celui qui la contredie 1132
Puis li demande dunt estu
Deus ne li ad ren respondy
Il ne len requert si por ceo nun
Que truer uoleit achaision 1136
Pilate dit al rei ihesu
Diua . que ne me respons tu [fol. 21a, col. 2]
La siez tu ben mal te puis fere
E delirier si me uoil pleire 1140
La poeste est deuers mei
Ceo que ieo uoldrai faire de tei
Deus li respont mult ducement
De mei nen eusses tu nen 1144
Ceo sachez ren de poeste
Si de autrui ne te fust done
Meis cil qui a tei me Liuia
Greignur pecchie de tei aura
1148
Qvant pilate ot quil dist
Quers les iuelz a quere prist
Cum faitement deliures fust
Meis nel fist pas cum il dust 1152
Que la ne uolsissent il ren
Si poust il delirier ben
Seignors fait il car le leissom
Par deu funt il nus ne from 1156
Si tu ihesum leisses en peis
Amis cesar ne serras mei
Car tresrut cil qui rei se funt
Cuntre le rei cesar sunt 1160

1092 sans. 1094 Tuit. 1101 B. Car
vous aues visage fier. 1105 t quant il
lont. 1115 B. sergent. 1121 nulle. 1125 Read funt.
1125 est filz de. 1128 morir selone lez. 1129 Qui noz ensain-
The Old French Passion.

Quant il ot lur paroles
E les suens tenent pur foles
Ihesum fait uenir deuant seii
Ueez ci fait il uostre Rei
Il escrient a une voiz
Crucifiiez seint en la croiz
Uolez uos que ieo crucifi
Ceo est uostre rei que ueez ici
Par deu fucl il nul rei nauon
Si cesarem de Rome non*[fol. 21b, col. 1]
Cestui uolums que en croiz seint mis3
Que respit ne seint pris
A icest mot lur ad liure
Ihesum de sainte maieste
Si comande que en croiz seint mis
Le filz al rei de parais
Le purpre drap li unt tolu
Et de sonz dras lent reuestu
Seignurs dit il . fust ov prendrons
Dunt la croiz faire puissons
Ne uos chatt de bele croiz faire
Meis faites cele planche traire
Dicel ruissel qui la purrist
Mult ad grant tens que hom le mist1184
De to tout en tout li hunissum
De quanque faire Li puissum
Le fust funt traire del boer
En dous pieces funt coupier
E cil seint fust qui la fu pris
Fud aporte de parais
Vn filz adam len aporta
Un seint angle la li dona
Ki a ssa flambeiant espee
De parais gardout lentre

1161 oit que ces. 1162 Sont des uis
tenues. 1167 que le crucifi; MS.  corrected from crucifi. 1172 respi non. 1173 Sire font il. 1184 on li. 1185 le. 1189 B. sains. 1190 Aportes fu. 1192 B. vns des angeles. 1193 C. a sa. 1195-6 supplied from B. 1197 B. On. 1199 Ne poct li leuz estre trouez. 1200 B. Ou

[Del pumier fu ou crut la pomme
Qui mist a mort le premier homme]1196
Hume dist que cipres aueit a non
Trenchier Le fist li reis salemon
Mes carpenter ne poent trouver
Que le fust porreit trenchier
Ne fust trop grant . ov trop petiz
Unc ne pout estre en oure mis
Kar il attendoit le grant honor
De ihesu crist nostre seignor
Par mautentel Li carpenter
Le trauerserent el boer [fol. 21b, col. 2]
Mels ualt dient purir ici
Que estre el temple domini
Apres long tens sage sibile
Par salemont uint a la uile
Par la planche nosa passer
Tant cremout lewe trobler
Aua sen uait lung de passage
Ben se parceut tant par fu sage
Que la charm deu i serrait lase
Enclines a lui par aual passe

O Re reparylom de la dolur
Que suffri deu pur nostre amur
Fors del boer la planche unt treite
Li faus iuev la croiz unt faite
Ni a celui qui porter le dei
Ainz dient que atent a mei
Que li facez tant honur t seruisse
Desur le col ihesu lust mise
[Il est bien drois que il le port
Quant desour li sousferra mort]
Demandent sont les clous forgez
Nonil . al feure tost alez

il poest estre aloues. 1201 grans. 1202 B.
Il fust assis trop a en uis. 1203 la.
1207 B. vaus tu font il pourrir. 1210 uint en
la. 1213 Aual sen va loins del. 1216 S.
encline soi par. 1218 deus. 1221 porter la
daint. 1223 tant de seruisse. 1223-6 supplied  
from B. 1227 B. li clau fait.
A la forge sen aunt tot dreit
Quant israel uenir les vait
Ses mains repunt si est asis
Ne fra nul cee mest auis
Danz feures distrent la male gent
Treis clous faitez ignelement
Ihesum oolum crucifier
Quil ne puisse meis regner
Seignors dist il mal ai as meins
Mult ad grant tens que ne fui seins
[Signor fait il ie me sui cuiis
Mostrez ouz mains . sire ne puis
Por quoi diaulbe ne poes
Toz ai fait il les dois enflez]
Par le grant deu si nes mustrez
Tost serrez mort t afolez
Cil traist ses mains car pour out
Tutes defeites cum de plout
Sa male femme od quer fals
Tost dist ele uos est pris mals
[Il na ancor ce mult pou non
Quentre uos t moi forgion]
Ne remeindra por ton desheit
Que Li treis clous ne soient feit
Le feure les taneilles prist
Desur la brese ardzans les mist
Le fu soffla od les dous fols
Od le martel ad feit les clos
As fals iuel es les ad liure
Cil les unt mult tost aporte
Venuz en sunt la . ov ihesum
En menouent li malueis hom
Simon uns hom iuste en passout
Por son afere sen astout

Dient donc . cist pot porter
La croiz ihesu por tost aler
Seignors fait il por deu merci
Ne puis tant demorer ici
Oez dun veillard quil ad dit
Pernez le tost sanz contredit
Ov il deignast . ov il ne uolsist
La croiz ihesu sur sun col mist
Il la porta sin out grant ire
Mais ne losa pas contredire
Vne turbe de la cite
Feseient dol ensiwant de
Ki aider ne le poecient
Mes durement le pleignaient
Femmes t homes i aueit
Deus les garde quis oiait
As dames ad dit sa reison
Les filles israel par non
Ne plurez pas dist il por mei
Kar ieo uois la ov aler dei
Meis de uus t de uosz enfanz
Deit estre plurs t dolurs granz
Li tens serra t Li iursz serrunt
Meis ceo ert tart quil dirrunt
Las dolenz mar fumes nez
Mar fumes unkes engendrez
[Perre por coi nos engendrastes
Mere por coi nos alaitastes]
Mult poent auer ioie grant
Celes unkes nurent enfant
Terre t mund sur nus chaiez
Occiez nus t repuz
Ke cest dolur ne veuns
E sul dire ne la puissuns

1231 si cest. 1237 Signor. 1237 B. ai es. 1244 mors ce nos meytes. 1246 B. Toutes leprenes. 1247 ot le ene. 1248 B. est venus. 1251 B. remanra la por tel plait. 1252 B. troi clau. 1253 Le fer o les. 1254 la forge le. 1256 A son martel. 1257 liures. 1258 portes.
Ici pend li reis des iuels
Ithesus christus nazarenus

[Apres escríst rois des Iuys
Il li dient nest pas bien mis]

Cil dient escrif . quil disseit
Quil des iuels reis esteit

Pilate li respunt si ad dit

Ore remaine cco que ai escrit

Hure de terce tot dreit esteit
Quant en la croiz hom deu pendeit

Pur els fist deus un vreison
Ke ne li funt si hunte non

Pere dist il qui es amont

Pardonez lur cco qui font

Il ne seuent a escient

Quil se font la fole gent
At tant ad fine sa praire

Pur cele gent qui tant ert fere

Iuste la croiz esteit marie

La sue mere tot esbaie [fol. 22b, col. 2]

[Si ert marie cleophe
	marie magdalene]

E multes altres i esteient

Ki seinte marie surucient

Ki de amouent t creient

Et qui dolentes esteient

Sur totes en ert angoissuse

La sue mere glorioise

Nest pas merueille si ele est ire

Ecsiceufe t enpeire

Qui en sun uentre le porta

Et qui sen dolur lenfanta

E qui pur nos morir deigna

Par qui Li mud sauue serra

1298 quil vaingent. 1305 deuz.
1307 Des fanz. 1315 Antrax les.
1316 Diua font il les loz ietons. 1317 gete
sur les. 1318 Read le plus. 1323 B.
les paumes en saut li sans. 1324 Quaual
li cort parmi les flans. 1328 B. autres.
1330 E. ewangiles. 1333–4 supplied

from B. 1337 Pilates lor. 1338 B. Chou
que iai escrit est escrit. 1341 vne.
1342 Qui. 1344 Pardonne. 1347 Read
Atant ad fini. 1359 B. irie. 1360 B.
t courechouse t empiric. 1362 sans.
1364 mons saluez.
Quant la dame e la croix li vit
Merveilluse pitie i en prist
Dunc parla si cum orrez
Si enquer e dire le volez 1368
Beals filz dit ele amis ihesu
En la croiz pur quei penz tu
Ia estu deu de toute rien
E reis t sire de tuz ben 1372
Merci aez beal sire de mei
Coment remeindrai apres tei
Deus dist pur ceo penz ieo ici
Qui si la uie establi 1376
Ie sui pur ceo cruciez
Par mi mes mains t par mi mes pez
Que li poeple sals puisse estre
En parais asis a destre 1380
Mere ueez Ihohan en liv de mei
Cum tis filz seilt ensemble od tei
Sein iohan li ewangelister
Esteit iloc soen bon menistrer 1384
Iohan dist li nostre perc [fol. 23a, col. 1]
Gardez le ben veez ci ta mere
Tu sieiez deshore en anant
Ensemble od lui ieo te comant 1388
Sire ieo ferei tun pleasir
Grant dol ai quant te uei morir
Cil qui deu aiment grant dol funt
Li faus iuev iloc sestunt 1392
Deuant lui passent t seent
Lur chefs croulent e si dient
Cest cil qui le temple abatera
E en treis iorzh refait laura 1396
Si est filz al rei la mund
E si deit saluer le mund
De cel croiz descend ius

Dunc creiereient en toi tot li plus 1400
Li maistres dient de la lei
Que poet estre de cest rei
Les autres fait resusciter
Sei meismes ne pot aider 1404
Ia dist quil est filz deu
Oreuerrom nus La verite
Puis quil en deu tant sa safie
Si li gard deus sil uolt sa vie 1408
Uns des larrons qui la pendeit
Deu blastenious si li diseit
Si tu es deu, e tu ren vals
Car fai or tei e nos toz sals
1412
Deluire nos de cest mort
Ceo dit li altre tu as tort
Il ne sueffre pas ceo quil deit
Meis nos i sumes ben a dreit
[Alinz ne feismes ce mal non 1416
Si est bien drois que noz laions
Mais il ne forfist onques rien
Ainois a fait toz les iors bien]
1420
Dunc prie deu remembre tei
En tun regne pur deu de mei [f. 23a, col. 2]
[Hui en cest ior fait il amis
Ceras o moi en paradis 1424
Loure de midi fu oscure
Li monde t toute creature]
Dunc perdit li soleil sa clarte
Entur midi uint loscurte
1428
Tenebres sont par tot le mond
La gent pour e grant dol unt
[Grant paour ont t grant dolor
Toute ioie est tornee en plor
1432
Iusques a none a ce dire
Les tenebres t locurtres]
Ihesus le filz seinte marie
A duce uoiz . e issi escrie 1436
Il dist hely . + heloy
Pere porquei mas tu guerpi
Li faus iuev qui lont oi
Trestoz sesscrient a un cri 1440
Il apele funt helie
Que il lui uieng en aie
Deus dist ieo ai sai ; a beiure pri
e ne fust dreit dient iev 1444
Ne seuent pas la gent fole
Que deu diseit par sa parole
Sa sei estet pur sauluer
E les sons fors denfern ietter 1448
Meis que li liist la iuery
Or oez la grant diablie
Mirre pristrent + suie + fel
Ben se gardent ni eust mel 1452
Mult forment le font destemprer
E durement le font amer
A dammpedeu en font present
Beuez font il dicest piment
Deus en gusta . sil sent amer
Que il ne uoiet le col passer
Nel esparniez font il beuez
Nus en auom encore asez 1460
Taisez ceo dist la iverie
Saluer sa vie . vendreit helie
Li prophetes quil appella [fol. 23b, col. 1]
Bien tost de la croiz lostera 1464
Or ni uoit mais ester
De cest sen uoit aler
Or escluzte quad en la fin
Jo uos dirrai en latin 1468

Que tute creature pest
Cil ad dit consumatum est
Es meins men piere puissant
Mun espirit Li comant 1472
Lores enclina seen chef ius
Li espirit sen est issuus
Issuz est si com il le uoleit
En enfer est ale tot dreit
[Denfer brisa les serreures
+ rompi totes les cloutures
Fors en geta sa compagnie
Qi par diable estoit rauie
Si la conduist a son chier pere
En la gloriose lumere]
Terremote est par tot le mond
E les peres trencre sunt.
Li monument font auueret
E mettent le seint cers iloc tot apert
Qui longement dormi auieinent
De lur sepulcre en issieient
De lur monument sunt issu
Puis le resurdeiment ihesu
Uindrent en la seinte cite
A plusur gent en unt parle
Centurio uns hom esteit
Qui od deu soen curage auieit
Ensemble od lui meint altre esteient
Qui deu amouent + cremeient
Uirent terremote entressait
E ces choses que deus out feit
Lores se cremerent dorement
E distrent entrels belement
Ceo sachez tut de uerite
Que cist esteit le filz de
[fol. 23b, col. 2]

1435 li. 1436 voix si cescricie. 1440 Read Trestut. 1441 font il helye. 1442 B. en son aie. 1443 a boiure ares. 1444 E. Font li Jiif ja ni faudroiz. 1446 deuz. 1458 nez pot le. 1462 B. Sauoir se la venroit. 1466 cest siecle cen. 1474 esperis. 1476 ales. 1477-82 suppl. 1484; in O these verses follow v. 1502 li.
Le Del Al Deuant A Tocha Un Uindrent Aual Butez Un Unques E Que Le Cil Ki Li A Pur Que Enceints Sascoue. Puis quenl hom en croiz pendreit 1512  
Puis la uespre del samadi  
Pour La feste del uendresdi  
Pur ceste chose haster  
Uindrent a pilate pur demander 1516  

Que face les quisses briser  
A cels quad feit crucefier  
E puis le face hom oster  
Li cheualer i uint garder 1520  
Al dous larruns les quises furent  
E diluec ad ihesum sesmurent  
E por ceo que mort le trouerent  
Unques ses quises ne briserent 1524  
Un cheualer iluec aueit  
Ki des oilz gute ne uueit  
Deuant ihesum le font uenir  
Un lance en sa mean tenir 1528  
Al coste ihesu crist lont mise  
Del ben ferir chascon satise  
Butez font il : e cil enpeint  
Le lez perca le quer ateing 1532  
Diloc sanc . t ewe surd  
Aual la haunste sen decurt  
Cil le senti chaut a ses mains [f. 24a, col.1]  
Tocha ses oilz si fu sains 1536  
Mult uit cler ihesum regarda  
Lait sen chair merci li crie  

1540 Ne me stablizez cest en pecchie  
Que ieo ai fait nel soi nent  
Sire mult ai le quer dolent  
Bati sa culpe merci crie  
E ihesu crist li pardon 1544  
Ihoseph al seint cors sesprisma  
Dun sindone Le ulupa  
Nichodemus Li uint aider  
Qui deu amout . e teneit cher 1548  
E porta un cher oignement  
Mirre t aloes ben liures cent  
Il laturnerent seintement  
De dras t de aromatizement 1552  
Si cum ert custome al murir  
As iuels de mort ensepelir  
Uns curtiz ert ou nostre sire  
Suffri por nos gref martire 1556  
En le curtil ert le momunenz  
Ainz nul nauoit este mis deden  
Vne pere a lus turnerent  
E del monument puis sen alerent 1560  
Al altre iur quant uirent Liv  
Sassemblerent Li pharisev  
E tuit li prince de la lei  
Deuant pilate a grant esfri 1564  
Oez sire ceo sachez uus  
Recorde auom entre uus  
Que cil sodoitre nus desoit  
Que entre nos encore uiiuereit [f. 24a, col.2]  
Puis que crucesfie serreit  
E apres tres iurz releuerait  
Ieco te vulums mustrer  
Fai ben le sepulcre garder 1572  
Comande quil soit ben garde  
Tant que li ior soit passe  
1580 Beals sire deus par ta piete  
1590 Read uns.  
1540 Read disciples.  
1510 ce que.  
1512 nulz en la croiz ne pendoit.  
1517 Quil.  
1519 puis les.  
1520 uont.  
1521 As. ii. larrons les lor  
1573 Read gardes.  
1574 Read lors soit passes.
The Old French Passion.

Que ne uengent par auenture
Si disciple qui prengent cure
De li embler celeement
E puis dient communalment
Al poeple pur auoir confort
Quil est resuscite de mort
E cist errur de rein
Nus ert peiur del premerein
Pilate lur respunt t dit
Auez encore gardes eslit

1575 Que ni. 1580 resucites. 1585 de ci t le. 1591 Read trei iur sont venu.

1576 Al mielz que uus unques saurez
Cil sen alrent aprester
Pur le sepulchre ben garder 1588
La pere selent de lus
Od les gardes qui sont de sus
Si cum li treis iurz sont uenuz
Quant deu plout sen est issuze 1592
Meis pur nient se penerent issi
Kar quant deu uoleit sen issi . . .

1594 Read deus; for end of O see above, vol. II, pp. 50-51.
VARIANTS AND FRAGMENTS.

1. Rawlinson MS. C. 655 (c)

[The portions of Rawlinson C 655 which do not occur in the other MSS. are printed below in full. Of other passages the variants are given from Ad, which may be found in the second column of the parallel texts in Volume I. For the Cross Story (vv. 1297-1438) the variants are from G1, printed in the second column of Vol. I, pp. 134-141].

All ye that leue on Ihesu Crist* 1*
Vor his loue yanne hauep list
Euerich word it is gospelle *[f.1, 1c]
Listnep now wat y wol telle 4*
Wyt ihesu polede for pe + pine
pe to bringe of helle pyne
pat pow haue his pyne in þo3te
pat þe hauep so dere yb3te
And be aboute pe loue to wynne
Off ihesu pat þe lafte of synne
þrtyye wynter + þridde halue þere
Ihesu lyuede on londe here 12*
So longe he was in wreched lyf þis
pat hym longede til his fadur blys
þan went ihesu to floum iurdan
To be baptist of seyn Ion 16*
Sente Ion saide now þow comest to Me
And y ssole be babstisud of þe
Ihesu him sayde be þow stille
V[s behoueþ] to fulfille 20*
þe speche of þe Holy propheseþ [f.1, b]
þe wile he saide of ysaye
þere ri3t wyslyche saint Ion
Babtizet ihesu in flom iurdan 24*
Out of þe flom wenne ihesu 3ede
Als we in þe gospel redeþ

* is interlined.
22* he and off interlined.
49* lyueþ man interlined.

þe heuene opened þurt godes my3te
þe holy gost on him ly3te
seint lucas in doue liencesse
And seint marke bereþ þer of witnesse
And þan of him was yhurde a steuene
þat com fro þe king fadur of heuene 32*
þis is my sone lef + dere
In him me likes to wone here
þe holy gost ihesu radde
And into Wildurnesse him ladde 36*
He fondet to be a souþfast man
Of him þat fondinge furst bygan
In Wildurnesse was is fondinge
Forty days in fasting 40*
And xl. niþes so says þe bok  *[f.2a]
And afterward honger þim tok
þanne com þe deuel Ihesu to fonde*
And broþte stones in is honde 44*
If pow be godes sone
Schewe þow now anoþer wone
And þis stones turne in to bred
Ihesu answerwed in to þat qued 48*
Alle one lyueþ man noþt in brede
Lyu but by godes rede
Wy[t] godes word þ godes speche
þat to mannes saul es leche 52*

50* After Lyu 8 or 9 letters erased.
52* is (?) interlined after saul es.
Man wise t war in dede [fol. 3r]
And of ðe deuel euere haue god dede
Vor he fonded wip his ginne
Hym þat neuere dide senne 92*
Wel þow may withe þar þat wil he spare no senful man
ffonde he wile þe in senne caste
But þow aþen him stonde faste 96*
And do ðy siȝt of ihesu misse
And out þe kaste of heuen blisse
fuir þus vs sayn and lere
Seynt peter if we wolle hem hire 100*
þe deuel he sais þat is oure to
He fynþe neuer abowte to go
Als he may is praye finde
Wanne he may in senne binde 104*
In trewþe we schal aþen him fiȝte
þat in vs he haueþ no miȝte
Seynt bernarde saieþ he may to fonde
Bote in þe it is to falle or stonde 108*
He may þe egge þ in in sunne tille
Bote in þe hit is to grante him his wille

þere wolde ihesu no longer dwelle*
for of saint Ion he herde telle 112*
þat Eraud þe king him haueþ yfonden
And in prison faste ybonden [fol. 3r]
þat ihesu bygan to preche
In galile þat folke to teche 116*
Penans to do þ leue senne
And heучe riche to winne
By þe see syde als ihesu þede
Wip his lore þe folke to fede 120*
þe men he seþt nettuþ slake
Into þe see fysse to take
þat on was peter andreu þat oþer

Wan he ihesu wip no wile
Miȝte of glottenye him bygile
Him to fonde of pryde he þoȝte
And to a temple he him broȝte 56*
And on a heȝ pinakele he him sette
And on his wise he him grette
3iþ þow be godes some adon liȝt
Off þe pynakul pî þy miȝt 60*
Vor ofte it is ywyte in a stede
þat god to his angelis aues bede
þe to bere þ þe to queme
And vor falling þe to þeme 64*
þat þow spernes at no ston
þy fote to hurte ne þy tone [fol. 2r]
Hit is writen ihesou hou him saide
þat þow ne ssalt þy lord of broide 68*
Ne þy god fonde wan þow ssalt dede
In alle þy werkes in alle þy nede
Of him wente þe foule quede
Ihesu to bringe to sunful rede 72*
And him by þoȝte on alle wise
Ithesu to fondé of couetyse
Jan ladde he him on hey doune
And him schewed bope felde þ toune
Wod þ water mede þ grasse 77*
And alle þat euere in erþe was
Alle þis he saide y wolde giue þe
þat þow don falle þ honor me
To him gan þanne ihesu say
Satanas þow go þy way
God þy lord þow schalt honore me
And alle one serue þ oure 80*
þe deuel left þere
And wip ihesu he spak namore
Angelus come to his seruise
Ithesu to seruise on alle wise

83* It of schalt interlined.
85* t of left interlined.
90* god corrected from gyw.

98* A half-erased lewe[d]e in an earlier hand is just visible above the line.
109* t interlined.
...Varisants and Fragments.

\( \text{\&at was fisser so was is bro\text{\textper}} \) 124* Ihesu hem bad after him gon And \( \text{\&ey left here bot anon} \) 128* \( \text{\&ar nettes walwep} \) 136* \( \text{\&at ssolede hem fede} \) And at word wip ihesu 3ede 128* ftorper more as he gan gon James he sawe \& his bre\text{\textper} \) Ion \( \text{\&ar nettes driened} \) by pe see side And of fissinge pe tyme abyde 132* Ihesu hem bad hii ssolede him folwe Euere mo wip outen any sorwe Sypene hii lete hore nettes fialle \&[fol. 4a] And went forpe wit alle 136* Alle \( \text{\&at hauep nette} \) \& bote Wip ihesu hii 3ede foute hote \( \text{\&anne 3ede ihesu in} \) \( \text{\&at contre} \) Prechande pe folke of galile 140* Ho so were in senne yfallen Wip his word he helden alle Wode croked \& blinde Alle \( \text{\&at he Mi\text{\textze} pe} \) finde 144* \( \text{\&e folke him fell} \) en al abote Of \( \text{\&at contre wip} \) grete route Som were wikked \& some goude Sum him folwede for liues fode 148* Sum him folwede to haue rich pynge Som him folwede to se heuen kinge Somme him folud som gode to lere Som him folwede pinges to here 152* Wat \( \text{\&ey mi\text{\textze}} \) on him leye To pe Iuws vorto wrey Wan ihesu say \( \text{\&o folke him neye} \) Apon a hille he sat an hey 156* And by gan pe folke to preke On his manere he gan hem theche* Blessed be \( \text{\&e poure in wille} \) *[fol. 4b]

\( \text{\&at here pouert sofrep stille} \) 160* And here in herte sofrep nede Heuen\u00e6 blis saal be hire mede \( \text{\&e poure in herte be sely} \) Blessed be pe man of mesy 164* So be he \( \text{\&at wip ri} \) 7t him ledes And he \( \text{\&at wepes for his mistedes} \) Als haue he my blessinge \( \text{\&at his herte 3yuep fro euel ping} \) 168* And \( \text{\&ey \&at put loue bytwene} \) And for riche soffrye\text{\textper} tene \( \text{\&e \&at hauep} \) schame for pe loue of me And be missaid blessed \( \text{\&ey be} \) 172* Take\text{\textper} it wip Ioye \& mekenesse \( \text{\&e hours bep} \) \( \text{\&at heuen} \) blisse \( \text{\&er vore man} \) penke to fulfille Wip \( \text{\&y myj\text{\textt goddes}} \) will 176* Be poure meke \& bonere Clene in saule of faire answere Sone pes \& mesy folwe To hom \( \text{\&at be} \) in alle sorwe 180* Bye to god \& wip vor \( \text{\&y} \) misdede\text{\textper} And he wile \( \text{\&uie pe} \) \( \text{\&y} \) mede *[fol. 5a] Of Ioye \& blisse in gode likinge And heuen blisse at \( \text{\&y} \) endinge 184* How ihesu pe lone\text{\textde} por\text{\textt} 3ede In honger \& purst in pouert wede \& alle is oper dedes to telle Hit were ouer long aboute to dwelle 188* Q wat hit neyede \( \text{\&e day} \) Of paske \( \text{\&orowe out} \) \( \text{\&e lay} \) Of Moises \( \text{\&en} \) schulde telle A lounbe wip outen wem \& sselle 192* \( \text{\&at lombe token wip outen} \) sak \( \text{\&at goddes} \) some schulde betake And \( \text{\&e demes} \) men him led Him to pine \& do to ded 196*

129* as corrected from was. 136* ihesu interlined after wit. 137* hii erased after \&at. 138* And erased before wip. 149* MS. \( \text{\&ymge} \). 151* folud interlined. 158* e of theche written over k. 165* after him 4 or 5 letters erased.
7 y wolde ʒow.  9 Als Mark luk Mattheu t.  10 þer þey cordede.  11 þe holy lawus.  13 spredde wyde.  14 ðer þere longe þ side.  15 hauedon of.  16 sayde ferede.  17 To gedere þey gon so stille.  19 hem a.  20 poure Most.  21 sareʒinus.  22 þe Luws dide.  23 of þe.  25 þus gone.  26 sayde hem among echone.  29 profecye gan he rime.  31 seide to.  32 wat wille.  34 þe folke be.  35 seieþ.  36 tok it to enuie.  37 hauþ.  38 gost hit haued him.  40 Ihesu þey þoste alle away.  41 wille þey.  42 þat romaynis com to don vs wrong.  43 fest fel on honde.  44 þat ester day was cleped in.  45 honourede þe.  46 poure Most.  47 Byfore þat.  48 Of þis uþ seide.  50 and omitted.  51 Bute þey.  52 were gon.  53 cry scolde.  54 Ne noyse on nokinnes wise.  56 þat daye to do no man to dede.  57 þe seeþe day by fore þis.  59 cete gon.  60 þoste by leue a.  62 And þey sсолde on.  65 þey sсолde.  66 An old best.  68 þe les hire Men ssald þoþ þole.  70 to þap syte.  71 dessiþus gonne.  74 him layde.  76 To þat site gan he wende.  78 ihesu come þat ilke way.  79 þey eclipede him wip $oute toune.  80.  81 bygan to.  82 cloþes byfore him spredde.  83 floures I wete.  84 To laye before.  86 of þe pal[m].  cv. 86a–86n inserted:—

Blessed be þou þat here come  
In þe name of godes sone  
Wenne ihesu sawe þat ilke dede  
Wip is herte he com grete  
And saide if þe hit wist  
And best þif hem list  
Micht al sore drede  
And teres of rede blod lete  
þis profecye was so vncoþep  
þat ihesu sayde wip is Mouþe  
fiftene þ fiftene were for a peny ysold  
þorþ þe iuws by tale ytolde  
Bote of sibbe þ of couþe  
þat was grauþ þorwe his Mouþe.

89 lygget.  91 wip houte weyee.  92 way into.  93 By þe strete þere he com blyue.  95 hauþ þe lasar.  96 Micael was þer for preysod.  98 to toune faste to.  99 þey come.  101 He festede hem þere by dene.  102 and

16 ebrwes (?) written above line in earlier hand.  33 Ale erased befor byforne.  86e hem erased after And.  86f ze (?) erased after best.  86g ani interlined after Micht.  86l MS. read þewes: þe deleted and in written above.  93 gan rine erased and co blyue written above.  97 alle deleted before Meke.
omitted. 104 þat he hauede. 105 ihesu Mercy he wolde haue. 106 adon.
107 He knewlede don to wesche. 110 summus was hire herte sore. 112 He
tok hit forþ wil ful god grete. 114 criþ. 116 soffred hire eche. 117 þat
anontid was. 118 he anontide wip his. 119 it spradde wyde. 121 desile
was þere inne. 122 wip senne. vv. 125–126 omitted. 127 saide þou.
128 þou lates þis onement to spille. 129 ssole penies. 130 þiuen to poure
Mannes foude. 131 There for seide Iudas noþt. 132 före of poure he ne
þost. 133 answerede to þat. 134 With omitted. 135 Men ssal. 136 al-
mosse dede to. 137 He may þem do After. 138 Letes þem. 139 þe
sulle noþt haue Me ful longe. 140 winman haue þis wrong. 141 þe haue.
142 It ssal. 143 dedes. 144 to haue. vv. 144a–144b inserted :

At My biriinghe ssal þe se
þat hire dedes gode be.

145 herde þe. 146 sorwe gon he sek. 147 He saide þat Mened. 148 Alle
þat. 150 forto telle. 154 He tok þe way to. 155 sone fonde. 156 Moste
prins. 157 Iues he saide þiueþ Me Mede. 158 And y þou ssal to ih[es]u lede.
159 þe lone. 160 To selle him þou is. 161 Wenne þe iues þat word.
165 platus sone. 167 Wenne he haueþ. 168 soht ihesu wip. 170 þey
ne wiste noþt of is playes. 173 fest hende. 176 And asked. 178 go
greþe it Most. 179 ihesu crist answerede anon. 181 seieþ þe þe ssole Mete.
183 to in geþ. 185 of þat. 187 him ssole þe speke. 188 come nou sone.
189 He wolde feste in þis halle. vv. 193–194 lacking. 195 ssalt þou grey.
196 gode as May. 198 To þat site gon þei. 199 Alls þey. 200 herte
gladd. 201 Mete gret. 203 wanne þis Mete. 204 entredé se þe bok saift.
205 at þe. 206 He bad hem sitte alle at. 207 sette hem wipoute fleting.
208 þey dide. 211 him self ete. 212 treison wolde he noþt. 214 of þe.
215 lay him by. 217 it wip honde. 218 his firende. 220 þou schelde fro
euel dede. 222 þere þorwe. 223 tok þe wyn. 225 Drinkoþ he seide it dop.
226 þe drinke of liue. 232 þoor loue ssal hit ytrakid. 233 þoor Make.
236 þe Make. 237 lawes sal hit be. 238 þat þe wille holde. 239 ssal y ete.
240 Tille y haue be wide þore. 242 þoor omitted. 243 profecye seieþ.
244 on rode. vv. 247 and 248 transposed. 247 Me he haueþ þe penanse
taken. 249 Alle þey. vv. 250a–250b inserted :

Ihesu crist seide anon

To his deciples euerich one.

252 were beter he were onborne. 253 Wanne his deciples herd þat. 254 þey
quoken alle grete. 257 þey keston vp. 258 Maister þey seiede was.

106 haue deleted and craye written above. 111 hire wip erased and fiul meke written in
margin. 134 sawe deleted and lawe written in. 147 in interlined. 154 þost deleted
and tok interlined. 183 gop deleted after he. 198 ey of þey deleted and ei written above.
250b euerich one corrected from euerilkone.
vv. 259–260 transposed. 259 He saide to hem wip wordes stille. 260 ūanne spak ihesu after. 261 Me sulf etep. 262 wombe he nis nóst forgeteþ. 263 traed. 264 him wel yse. 265 herde þat. 266 He ros þ t sturte fro. 267 Iudas aswþe Made a crye. 269 answerede him ywis. 273 leneðe on Ihesu. 275 Sone þo he. 279 Angelus he let him þere yse. 280 And manye œþer priuite. vv. 281–282 transposed. 281 Of god omitted. 282 Off god himself he haueþ a syþte. 283 Many selkouþ þinge. vv. 285–286 transposed. 285 ffor his witte was ful goude. 287 Wanne he walkede faire. 288 cowþe recorde it eche. 290 So clerekus haueþ in. 291 is apocalpicis. 292 fiul of selkouþ þinges ywis. 294 On anouþer þinge y Mod dwelle. 299 ssulde Moste be. 300 Of Maisterreye or of. 302 childe þat was Meke. 303 bis child. 304 þinked he saide þat þe. 305 strif May þow helpe nóþt. 306 ðou to anoþer. 307 Mild þe ouus be. 308 So is þis child þe. vv. 309–310 lacking. 311 simpul. 312 In heuenhe he ssal. 313 I can nóþt. 314 Me hye wip. 316 In wat þing so þe to. 317 Takeþ ensample of Me. 318 byhouþeþ Milde to. 319 And þou by houþeþ suuffere. 322 To peter. 323 eft ful Meke. 324 Mander no. 326 And omitted. 327 Comforþe þine 329 haueþ. 330 ros vp fro. 333 And omitted. 334 On his knes gan he don. 335 peter þerehe set. 336 saip he. 337 Peter said nay. 338 þou ssalt. 339 It falleþ nóþt onto. 340 seruise haue. 341 seþ ihesu bote y do. 342 blis longeþ þe nóþt to. vv. 343–344 inserted:

Peter seid þ œþer mo
þat part wolle we nóþt forgo.

345 Petir said omitted. 347 And forgete þou nóþt þe. 351 sipen wiped hem wip. 352 seruise was hem nóþt. 354 setteþ him doun hem by twene. 355 sayþ as he him doun. 356 done nou wite þe wat. vv. 357–358 omitted. 359 þou I. 360 Byfore omitted. 361 þoure fet. 366 Mild þe wile þe. 367 Loue I ssal þou þuue to. 368 heuenen clope þou t. 369 Alle þe. 370 In pine or in eny sorwe to be. 371 þey cloped be. 372 In Ioie þ blisse to wone wip Me. 373 wip his wille. 374 I ssal. 375 for Mine sake. 376 Spake of þe deþe. 378 be fro þou ylad. 380 þou forsake [me.] 381 Alle ywritten as y. 382 goþ by þe way. vv. 383–384 transposed. 384 he fondeþ t. vv. 384a–384d inserted:

Wip outen þerþe comeþ his fo
And knoweþ þim þere þ goþ him fro
þe cheþ wanne he hem may nóþt wilde
Sprede aboute on þe felde.

300 o in second of inserted.
The text is too fragmented and contains many deletions and interlinings to be comprehensible in its current form. It appears to be a manuscript page with extensive editorial notations and corrections. The text contains references to the Gospel of John, with phrases like "Ihesu ful stille," "Ihesu wel stille," and "Ihesu postelus hende," indicating a focus on the words and actions of Jesus. The corrections and insertions suggest a scholarly or theological context, possibly for studying or annotating the Gospel text.
ne dred he noht. 528 He sayde to hem wat haue 3e so3t. 529 answerede hii him Mek. 530 of omitted. 531 saide wil. 533 dred pey were so hep hem ladde. 534 Hii leye so hii were. 535 stoude stille. 536 Ihesu to hem seyde his wille. 537 3e Men faste haue 3e. 538 pe Iues answered anone. 539 of omitted. 540 Ihesu wordes Mek. 541 saide first y. 542 fierrur wille y no3t you fle. vv. 542a–542b omitted. 543 y be. vv. 545–546 inserted:

\[\text{\[pan com Iudas Ihesu ne3}}\]

He kissed his Most and crie\(\text{p}\) on hey.

547 maister gon he kalle. 548 pe Iues com aboute. 551 said to. 552 procured Me 3ou. 553 3ou haues bytraid Me y. 554 Warto My mou\(\text{p}\) gon 3ou kisse. 555 Wan his desciples saw pis fare. 556 Echon of hem self h\(\text{a}\) pe care. vv. 557–562 inserted:

\[\text{firo him pat 3ed eu}erchon}\]

Bote seint peter \(\text{+ seint Iohan}\)

Peter 3o3t he wolde do god

He drew his swerd as he was wod

And smot a man swipe sore

His ri\(\text{t}\) ere he karf him \(\text{p}\)ore.

563 Ihesu sai\(\text{c}\) pis was don. 566 He seied to peter sone anon. 568 3enk o 3ing pat. 569 Wo so wip. 570 Him self ssal haue pe same gale. 571 Wenest 3ou no3t if y wille draue. 572 angelus y. 573 Sexty 3ousand of. 574 He wolde Me sende pis. 575 firo my fos me to fonde. 576 And 3et he wel do me mo sende. vv. 577–578 inserted:

My partye wolde pey susteyne

A3ens pe Iues pat be\(\text{p}\) so keu.

579 \(\text{\[pan war it no3t prophecie.}}\)

580 3at saied of me 3at I sal deye. 581 perfore byhouep fulsilde to. 582 Alle 3at is. 583 Ihesu 3ed 3em.

584 He tok pe ere 3at was of scorne. 585 He 3ed to him 3at was bledende. 586 And heled it wele farande. 587 fi3r pis loued hii him. 588 him so 3amm\(\text{e}\) no3t. 589 honden sore \(\text{+ faste.}}\)

590 Wile pe bondus wold ylaste. 592 Als. 593 do muchel \(\text{vn ri}3t.\)

594 wip inne ni3t. vv. 595–596 inserted:

3e do me scame al 3at 3e Maye

ffaire it were to do by daye.

597 Ofte I haue amonge 3ou. 598 me haue. 599 Wip in pe temple 3ou to teche. 600 Of god 3at is so god aliche. vv. 600a–602 inserted:

536 In his the scribe started a w, then changed it to h.
Jeanne Miȝt wel haue taken Me
And bondon My honden byhinde Me
Betere þen nou wip inne niȝte
On þis Manere to proue ʒoure Miȝte

Wan hii ssole de Ihesu schame do
þe on by held þat oþer also.

Ihesu stod answered he noȝt
þiþ he was agreued on þis þoȝt.

Cayfas saied to him þanne.
þiþ þou be a criston Manne.
þou say me sone stande.
þiþ þou. 662 Sup þat þou to him
vs Mone. 664 sone þou seest he[re]. 665 y say þe. 669 herde þe.
671 His owen cloþes he brak for. 673 owen word is. 674 der
him none. 675 Men saied. 676 Alle hii saied do. 677 Hii gonne
spidende on. 678 And schorned him fouliche wip alle. 679 And hii
wip palmes in þe plase. 680 Wondid hii Ihesu on þe face. 681 Peter stod
among hem bold. 683 saw a fure was maked on. 684 And as he durste

627 to deleted before on. 638 ani interlined. 665 for interlined after þere. 683 fure
corrected from faire. 684 v of durste inserted.
he pe niȝt. 686 him at his. 687 Maidon anone. 688 wat hii ssulde. 689 stod by pe fire. 690 drew here swipe nere. 692 ept desiple Ihesu. 693 Peter saied. 695 þou on Me laiest. 696 I wot neuer wat þou saiest. 698 Fro þat Maide gon he gone. 699 Anoþer stod peter by side. 700 And toward him gan he glide. 701 Off his face wan he. 702 spak words to peter þar. 704 þat was woned wip Ihesu Gone. 708 I saw him neuer for today. 709 þost þat strif ful ille. 710 He wold pas þiro hem stille. 712 By twene men t. 713 him com Iues. 714 men as y. 716 þat þe. 718 Peter anon gan him þrete. 719 Saye omitted. 720 min nere. 721 Ihesu take. 722 þis may. 724 þer fore he wend away. 725 þow folwed him bytwene. 726 ﬂor soþe he. 727 Peter stod and was dreed. 728 It omitted. 729 As. 730 haste go wronge. 732 noȝt knawe. 733 by gunned kockes. 734 Wel some boþ loude t. 736 þ loked þane peter. 737 Peter saw ihesu to him. 738 sone anone he gan him by þenke. vv. 741-742 omitted. 743 þere of he cowd do. 744 Bot þed wip owte t. wop sore. 745 By fore þe. 746 euer ferly gode. 747 He acouped. 748 How he wroȝt þ wat nedes. 749 Of techinge. 750 and omitted. 753 tekinge haue y noȝt ihid. 754 Hit haueþ be wide to be ıkyd. 759 I þat þow telle of. 760 ﬂorto loke þe. 761 priuete hii haued ben asaiede. 762 þey ssal. 763 Wy þow askes sweche þinge of me. 764 oper kon telle. 769 þere ros vp a felon þef. 770 kontek was him lef. 771 He sterte vp vp so he. 774 þe bispoc þat þow spekest to. 775 stode so. 776 hap. 778 Aþenes riȝt. 779 haue oȝt. 780 þenne after þy. 781 Bot y saie noȝt bot. 782 my mod. 783 Sone after wan þis was done. 784 Caifas saied to Ihesu anone. 786 Say vs. 789 Ne þow to telle no þinge. 790 þe leue noȝt my tekinge. 794 here fine. 795 y some. 796 þat now wole me of. 797 þis was saied to þe. 801 hii gon crie. 802 And saide omitted. 804 If þow wilt we trow on. 806 ﬂor it spronge daies. 807 Wan hii come hii tok hire redd. 808 ihesu vuto ded. 809 þan hii bond him ful sore. 810 ﬂor þere wold hii dwelle no more. 811 Bot sone anone hii tok þe gate. 812 ﬂort [il] hii com to pilate. 813 With owten him hii derste noȝt. 814 Off þinge. 816 In alle þat lond he hap Maistreye. 817 wole we. 818 Sumdel of his sorewe to telle. 820 He ssal euere in helle wade. 823 Wan his gamme was. 825 He wold noȝt of Ihesu mercy to craue. 826 he wende. 827 He þed to þe Iues kene. 828 at omitted. 830 ﬂorsowþe he dide. 836 To Iudas gon hii kalle. 837 Hii saied we haue noȝt forto do. vv. 839-840 follow v. 842. 839 So god vs help at oure nede. 841 Wan þow. 844 ﬂut omitted. 845 paied so. 846 Miȝt þere none. 847 herd þe. 848 Of his lif gan he ﬂille. 853 And kaste hem al sone þ skete. 855 hem gan 713 ne deletel after kene. 743 d of coxt inserted. 799 þore deleted and sore written above. 804 we interlinel.
he gone. 856 for he. 857 To a priue plase he. 859 Wip a corde in priuete. 860 He hengede. 861 in ful. 862 gottes drailed to his floote. 863 was ful lorn. 865 his schend. 866 pine is wended. 867 sawe pe. 869 Sone anone hii gonne struie. 871 Wat hii. 872 t some so. 873 Summe saied hit byhoued. 875 hit noht to tresourye. 880 florto holdon in here hond. 881 streye peues. 882 wip eny senne. 883 Stronge peues alo to. 884 In here pouste forto kraue. 885 pis. 886 Anone hii Maked a marchandise. 889 Sipen apon þat. 890 So by giled was. 895 þere fore was Ihesu sold. 896 And Iudas haued pe. 898 þat Ihesu was. 904 pilat fette. 905 by gonnen forto. 906 Ihesu boþe loud þ heye. 907 saied by for þe. 909 maked þe folke to him. 910 þer of wille. 911 þit he saied. 912 god of Iues. 915 saieþ wip miȝt of mode. 916 þere here stode. 917 Is it souþ. 918 now or lest asone. 920 Ihesu spak wip. 921 saiste y. 922 am present. 926 Also Ihesu saeþ it ssal be. 927 ﬂor sowþe y ﬁnde on him. 928 ssal bete him ne pult. 929 þe Iues bygon forto crie. 930 Pilate pow saied gret ﬂolye. 932 But he broȝt hem to anoþer. 933 haueþ turnede vs fro. 935 pis pre. 936 As wide so he. 937 is now fro þy. 938 To þe lond of. vv. 939–942 inserted:

Pilat anone gan to kalle
Into þe wikked Iues halle
Wipþus he saied þ warnet me
þif he were borne in galile.

943 answered fot hote. 946 Wele I wote wat he is. 947 herauð of. 948 þe rengne he haldeþ on his. 949 is Man. 950 dom fallet. 952 say þy sente. 953 do his. 954 Man þat þe wille spille. 955 tok þe. 956 heraudes gone hii gone. 957 Hy come wip a grete pas. 958 Was of omitted. 962 wele omitted. vv. 967–968 omitted. 970 liked wel y. 974 And þat þe. 975 haued done. 976 forȝiue þy him eche del. 977 ﬂro him Ihesu is sente to. 978 me somdel. 979 AH my wrap is ﬂro. 980 And þow erþe wele to. 983 gameinge. 984 þow hauest don many selked þinge. vv. 985–986 transposed. 985 Blinde men þow makest to. 986 Men haued oft told Me. vv. 985a–985b inserted:

Dom men to speken also
þe deue to here þow kannes do.

987 þow hauest do gone. 988 men made hole anone. 990 Sum merakel. 992 Wold noþt be taried more. 994 noþt of heraudus. 995 him sore þrete. 998 þe men þat sate in. 999 him wip swite clopes. 1000 wip many opes. 1001 y am for sake. 1002 broȝt ssal. 1003 Azæn to
pilat 3e. 1004 þanne rekkeþ. 1005 And of pis man be do. 1006 Wepþer he. 1007 Ines tok anone þe gate. 1008 To þey. \textit{vv. 1009-1010b inserted}:

Hii tolde him tidandes glade
Heraud þe were frendes made
And him for 3af wrap þ tene
þat seuen þere was hem bytwene.

1011 He bad 3ow do of Ihesu 3owre wille. 1012 þe. 1013 anone gan for calle. 1015 þe bêp to blame. 1016 him wip any scame. 1017 I may no þinge in him finde. 1018 Warfore men ssold him bete ne bine. 1021 is costom in. 1022 At þis paske þat is comande. 1023 3if a man. 1024 ffor euel dede or. 1025 he of. 1026 Wit outen dome þ gone fre. 1027 þat þe. 1030 him of lond fle. 1031 by gonne for to crie. 1032 spaken alle wip felonye. 1033 he hadde do noþt ille. 1034 wold. 1036 cried on. 1038 þinge þat was. 1041 þo wile hii to stonde þore. 1044 in þe. 1045 Hi. 1046 And tok a. 1047 And deliuerance wold þey haue. 1048 Of a man þat hii. 1049 prison barabas. 1050 Boþ traitour þ þef he was. 1051 him wold hii echone. 1052 Ihesu crist hii wold sslone. 1053 Pilat anone com. 1054 He saied. 1057 cried certes nay. 1060 Deliuerer vs him þat vs. 1063 þoþt wele þat godes sone. 1064 Was comen in erþe forto won. \textit{vv. 1065-1066 inserted}:

He wist if Ihesu niȝt forþ gone
He ssolde haue saules many one.

1067 ded bye. 1068 þe sawles oute of his. 1069 A treson. 1071 His þoþt he fonded to fulfille. 1072 And al by niȝt he wente stille. 1073 And com to. 1074 He wold. 1075 lay fast slepande. 1076 To hire he com swipe slepande. 1078 Off þy harme þow y warmy þe. 1079 Console þy louerd þ þif him rede. 1081 Hi þat procured him to falle. 1082 Hi ssal be confonded alle. 1083 ffor he was taken wip oute reson. 1084 wrong holden in. 1086 þe pine of helle he to him. 1087 þis wordus herd pilates wif. 1088 He was aтрад of hire lif. 1089 Sone he þede to pilate. 1090 he sat on domes gate. 1091 As he. 1092 do nowe \textit{omitted}. 1093 Pilate I hold þe for wode. 1095 noþt on þe. 1096 To do. 1097 wolle þe. 1098 best com to me fro. 1099 Gretliche he. 1100 Ihesu so. 1101 Hii þat. 1102 hend hii beþ. 1103 was foule þ vnlik. 1104 Saw I neuer none so lodlik. 1105 I was. 1107 Deliuer Ihesu now fro. 1108 þat þe best may loue. 1109 herd þe. 1110 him gon hii. \textit{vv. 1112a-1112b}

1031 for \textit{interlined}. 1060 MS. deliuerer.
omitted. 1113 He haþ saiede vs shame þ sconde. 1114 Byscamed vs in eche londe. 1115 ȝit he saied. 1116 þat he hauep of vs maistreye. 1117 he dop him. 1118 Swyche beþ his dedes alle. vv. 1118a–1118b inserted:

Eche man þat saied swiche þinge
We saieþ to sesar oure kinge.

1119 saied to. 1120 noþ þat seist. 1121 miþt be for. vv. 1122–1125 omitted. 1126 þat pow now sone. 1127 a wikked. 1128 him fette water. 1130 so hauep he. 1131 He saied to þe Iues kene. 1132 Of þis dede I wolde y clene. 1133 þe spillinge of. 1134 I finde on him no. 1136 blod be on vs sene. 1137 leue al þe sume. 1138 and oure. 1139 pilate wip Mild mod. 1140 Vnto Ihesu þere he stod. 1141 by þenk þe. 1142 Alle þes helden on. 1144 vsed by hold dawes. 1146 Of þis wordus rekke me. 1147 Here wil y make. 1153 Alþe þe Iues hii miþt me. 1154 ssolede me. 1156 fad[er] ssal. 1157 saied þan pow. 1161 I com to by al mankinne. 1162 þat was lorne þow filþe sinne. 1163 to Þist no to swere. 1164 Bot sop þwitnes forto bere. 1165 Eche man þat loueþ sowpnesse. 1166 my way more. 1168 Wat sowþnes is pow. 1170 He- saied noþer euel ne god. 1171 Pilate stod full. 1172 miþt saie wiste. 1173 Anone he saied to Ines to. 1175 Summe seied do spil. 1176 Pilate saied y finde on him no þinge bot. 1177 God it is þat we. 1178 þe loud þere. 1179 saieþ. 1180 pow him quite skape. 1182 so we haueþ tolden. vv. 1185–1186 transposed. 1185 and omitted. 1186 pow saalt Inel dede day. 1187 Pilate douted hem more. 1188 And toke Ihesu forþ þore. 1190 Dop he saied wat wile byfalle. 1192 spuly. 1193 And of him hii turde his. 1194 many opes. 1195 And bond him to a pilere. 1196 And toke scorges charpe þ stere. 1197 Hii bette him wold hii wold. 1198 þe blod ran of his body faste. 1199 þere he. 1200 Þomed al of red blode. 1201 Síþen hii bonde his honden faste. 1202 Wip stronge cordes wile hii laste. 1203 And dide on him a porpul. 1204 fel on kness by fore him alle. 1205 Alle þey saied on. 1206 God þe loke sire Iues. 1207 þut hii tok þornes. 1208 a garland hem. 1209 And prested it faste on. 1210 Was no mercy on hem by leued. vv. 1210a–1210b inserted:

þe þornes wode in his flesse
þat tender was þ swipe neshe.

1211 And echon made a wond grete. 1212 þat wip blode was his face wete. vv. 1214a–1214b inserted:

ȝit hii grette him wip god spede
In his riȝt honde to hold a rede.

1146 þis corrected from his. 1168 w and n of sowþnes interlined.
Wy wilt thou no mercy crie  
To hem pat do þe pis folye.
Variants and Fragments.

1444 site. 1342 a temple of. 1435 vp wropt. 1445 byfore kinge. 1346 Hii tolde. 1347 so him ne. 1348 Off pat. 1350 pat was longe t faire of hew. 1351 saw it. 1354 And drow it vp on pe kerke. 1355 drow pat tre. 1356 To pat werke hit wax on sleye. 1358 fet merke. 1359 pozt hem alle. 1361 3it hii. 1362 had mete wronge. 1363 Eft hii gone merke to take. 1366 3an swore hii it. 1367 Eft hii drow hit. 1369 sped ferly welle. 1370 of pe pooper wold hit take no delle. 1371 pe merke. 1372 hit of pe kerke. 1374 To pat werke wil it nozt diȝt. 1375 Anoper wold hit abide. 1376 3ere fro miȝt no man hide. 1377 Abide wol hit anofer. 1380 miȝt noman it flitte. 1382 brigge as y. 1384 sanke on a. vv. 1385–1386 omitted. 1387 pat wot alle dedes. 1388 Honoured pat tre for mannes nedes. 1390 As I ssal now telle. 1392 He sente pider an. 1393 water flaw. 1394 suld. 1395 pat woned pe water by side. 1396 An aungel hii sawe 3ere in glide. 1397 time eche. 1399 miȝt anone riȝt. 1400 after pe aungel flȝt. 1401 3ey hii were. 1403 blind hii ssold. 1404 riȝt hii ssold be. 1405 Iuel sore. 1406 haued bote. 1407 for pat. 1409 comen to. 1411 it so hii. 1412 And did. 1413 How pe rode was made telle 30ow y wolle. 1415 Off foure endes it was sterde. 1416 ffor Ihesu solde 3er on be sperde. 1418 To eiperur honde wiȝt outen sake. 1419 His fet to his neȝer. 1420 nailed so. 1421 Of pat maner tre it was made alle. 1422 As 30ow now telle ssalle. 1424 body was ferly smalle. 1425 brede was pat is armes lay on. 1426 Oliue was it primed on. 1425 t faire tre. 1428 Men miȝt it fer yse. 1429 pat it in. 1430 Was of ceder swipe gode. 1431 nozt roton. 1432 longe so he henged 3er on. vv. 1433–1434 transposed. 1433 Bores 3re hii. 1434 3er on hy bored wiȝt on winne. vv. 1434a–1434b inserted:

ffor hem poȝt pe tre was sad
Nailes to driuen hem poȝt hard.

1435 Hem poȝt michel. 1436 Bores hii made tok hii no marke 3er to. 1437 A bore to pat o hond anoper to pat oper. 1438 A bore to bope fet wold hii none oper. 1439 Wanne it was made t diȝt also. 1440 3an failep hem nailes 3ere to. 1441 3e Iues euer wurche hem. 1442 To make nailes. 1443 Hii fonde a smip ful sone. 1444 Hii bad him be sone anone. vv. 1445–1446 inserted:

pat he ssold hii him faste
To make nailes pat wold laste.

1447 To naiyle Ihesu on pe rode. 1448 Hii cried so hii were wode. 1449 pe smip herd him was. 1450 Abote pe. 1451 wille gode. 1452 He wolde 1370 take interlined. vv. 1411–1438 collated with G5. 1439ff. variants are from Ad.
were transposed. t faste. lues for seide to kalle. 1459 bow nailes pre. 1460 To day gete ye none of me. 1461 In his bosom held is. 1462 And saied. 1463 haue gret pine. 1464 I wene My. 1466 smip wip hert tene. 1467 Now we wote pow. 1468 Of py hond sornes to. 1470 And we wil sweren t hold oure opes, 1472 lif ssal sone be furlorne. 1474 hii did him. 1475 pan pere was on a pase. 1476 ssaier tokeinge. vv. 1477-1478 inserted:

Byforen his hond nogt sore had bene God mad sornesse pere on by sene.

Were hauest pow bene amonge py fous Sipen today pat pow ros.

1493 Bot the omitted. 1494 Ne omitted. 1495 He tok pe way to. 1496 brak pe eren of pe. 1497 it on. 1498 Wer of pe nailes suld. 1500 Durst he nogt saied pat he dide ille. 1502 Ware hire god pat sittep in tro[ne]. 1503 Anone pe Iues pere he. 1504 fior lop hem was come to late. 1505 pilate pere he stode. 1506 Ihesu wip mild mod. 1507 Hii seide hem sat Iues. 1509 tok here rede. 1510 To do Ihesu to pe dede. 1511 Hii by gonne forto strine. 1512 grete wonder forto. vv. 1513-1514 transposed. 1513 Amonge hem so hii. 1515 And omitted. 1516 pat sal per on henged. 1518 Acordep perto sone anone. 1519 rode bere. 1520 hii zerned. vv. 1520a-1520j omitted. 1521 him oute of pat site. 1523 To Iues wip him pere were also. 1524 pat ssold wip him to dep by do. 1525 Men folwede wit. 1526 friuL omitted. 1527 Wiues maidens. 1528 fior him cope hii. vv. 1531-1532 omitted. 1533 Ne omitted. 1534 fior no jinge pat ye on me se. 1535 Bot omitted. 1537 daies bep comeunde faste. 1538 ye sal 3owre ioes kaste. 1539 And on 3owre faders crie. 1540 And on 3owre. 1541 were lorn. 1542 Mechel sorewe is vs by forn. 1544 were better to be nost. 1545 pe montes crie. 1546 Wip gred sorwe t enuie. vv. 1547-1548 inserted:

Mountes we wilte pat ye fa'le Anone to hiden vs alle.

1472 be f deleted. 1475 Pase corrected from spase. 1520a-1520b. See below.
Variants and Fragments.

1549 it it ssal so tide t be. 1550 more wonder. vv. 1550a–1550b inserted:

peat most dele of riche borwe
Sal daie for hunger pourp t powr.

vv. 180/1*–181/54* omitted. 1551 Iues folwed Ihesu wip ire. 1552
So did pilate pat. 1553 As hii. 1554 A honked man gon hii mete.
1556 He zed swipe on his erande. 1557 ffor nedes pat he hauep.
1558 Wan he com pe cite vnto. 1559 Iues parsauid him alle. 1560
Soneanone hii gon him kalle. 1561 Maister he. 1562 Wele ert pow mette.
1563 Here is a man amonge. 1566 War on he. 1568 go swipe Michel it him.
1569 pow for. 1570 Of pis man pe rode. 1571 and omitted. 1572 fuH omitted. 1574 I may. 1575 answered anone.
1576 Wip pis her’lot is. 1577 pow to bere pe tre. 1578 Sipen we haue beden pe. 1579 vp t forpe pow go. 1580 py bak ato. 1582 Azen pe Iues to hold mote. 1583 Simon tok pe rode anone. 1584 hit on his scoldier bon. 1585 Hii made him bere it wip. 1586 Bere it omitted. vv. 1586a–1586b omitted.

Wip outen semes his clopes were
pat hii deled amonge hem pere
Wan hii had done here wille
Hii scorned ihesu wip oute schile
Hii zede aboute so hii were wode
fforto do Ihesu on pe rode
3it liues a man t pat is ferliche
pat saw Ihesu boPast dede t qwiked
His name is Ion potedeu
Wan god was ded sore gan him rew
He saw wit eize t wip po3t
How Ihesu was to dede bro3t
He saiep wip his moupe t spekes
Euerich godman per of recches
He saw pe crois hole t sonde
How it was laide on pe grond

vv. 1599–1600 transposed. 1599 How ihesu was on rode. 1603 Ihesu so he naked stode. 1604 wide vp on. 1605 his arme swete. 1606 To
1556 on interlined. 1593 sinne erased and semes interlined.
loke if hii were mete. 1607 As hii gun merke him so. 1609 His armes mi$t no$t come per to. 1610 Ne mi$t his fete come. vv. 1611–1612
inserted:

pe Iues saw pis tiding:
Anone hii wore in destorbinge.

1613 was lo$p oper bores make. 1614 ropes gon hii take. 1615 on oper hond. 1616 pe blod barst oute byfore pe hond. vv. 1616a–1616b omitted. 1617 On oper side hii gon drawe. 1618 flor hii mi$t pe bores haue. 1619 barst pe hide also. 1620 His swete body cleue in to. 1621 tok pe nailes. 1622 drow hem þorw. 1623 loked on his. 1624 Hii saiede þat hii lay no$t rïst. 1625 toke a rope. 1626 And did hit on his fete faste. 1627 Anoper on his brest wiþ strenpe. 1628 drow hem ouer pe bore a spanne lencpe. 1629 His ancleus braste wo. 1630 Merci of him heued. vv. 1631–1636
inserted:

Hii tok his fete þat were schene
And laide him ouer þe bore y wene
Hii tok a naile wonder gret
And drof hit þorewe bo$p his fete
Hot blod of his bodie ran
So wo by gone was neuer man.

1637 than omitted. 1638 War on he. 1639 is rïst schulder. 1640 Mercy of him haued hii none. vv. 1641–1642
inserted:

Wan hii haued þus idone
Hii lifted hit vp sone anon.

1644 Hii lifted hit. 1645 it on a. 1646 ssulde it þenne. 1647 Sipen on. 1648 On Ihesu crist hii gonne to kalle. 1649 Liþt done of þat [t]re. 1651 wille leue on þe ri$t. 1652 man of muchel Mi$t. 1653 Anone pilate. 1654 So saied seint Ion þat wel wote. 1655 On a brede of a palme. vv. 1656–1657 omitted. vv. 1658–1680 follow v. 1656. 1658 Men mi$t it bope Rede. 1659 saiede wiþ outen misse. 1660 naþarerot it is. 1661 Iues was þeron writen. 1662 it by tonus þe mo$w witen. 1665 was Ihesu ebru. 1666 Iues latine as y. 1667 Iues laten as y. 1668 telle at My. 1671 wit his worde. 1672 It ssole be fest on palme borde. 1673 He þou$t. 1674 He ssuld haue. 1675 Ne no folke t[u]rne him fro. 1676 Bot be in pes euer mo. 1677 it Rede. 1679 pilat hii gun. vv. 1681–1682 follow v. 1680. 1681 Writen no$t he is Iues kinge. 1682 þow ert he saied on his scorni[n]ge. vv. 1683–1684 omitted. 1686 were wode. 1687 Wiþ wronge. 1689 þit þe korsud Iues kene. 1690 Made destorblinge.
Variants and Fragments.

1691 hit henged to þefus him by. 1692 do him scame. 1693 þat ton. 1694 Help me o lord ar y deye. 1695 oper saied. 1696 him getest. 1697 How miȝt he. 1698 His owen ded miȝt he. 1699 He spak þ. 1701 saied þow. 1702 þis man done noȝt bot god. 1703 He war noȝt worpy to sufer ded. 1704 damned þorow fals. 1705 We haue done gret. 1706 Riȝt is þat we mercy crye. 1707 þis man is so ful. 1708 vs saue in heuen. 1709 Ihesu y. 1711 comest in to blis. 1712 way me. 1714 paradis to wone wiȝp me. \textit{rv. 1714a–1714t inserted}:

He þat was saued heȝt Ioadas
He þat was damned heȝt camadas
in Ioadas at his endinge day
þere þingus men say may
þat him were in on rode tre
Stronge hope þ charte
Strenȝ he hade in þat þinge
Wan he on rode knew god for kinge
Hope in him men miȝt se
Wan he saied lord þenk on Me
Charite wan he blamed is felawe.
Vnder name of his wiked sawe
And him bad god to drede
And asked mercy for is misdede
In Ioadas was vertu þ grace
þat he haued of his lif space
Godus miȝt to knowe on rode
þer none of þe apostes stode
flor þy y wene he is go lef
Saint austin kallet him þe blessed þef.

1715 þis wil y no. 1717 was done. 1718 and omitted. 1719 to Iues. 1720 He saied. 1721 herd þis alle. 1723 he gan on Rode kalle. 1724 hii wolden alle. 1725 Swik dring. 1728 him a drink. 1729 He saied to hem þat were vnhenede. 1730 þ com to. 1731 þere stod. 1732 þre Maries þat were gode. 1733 moder maiden clene. 1735 And marie. 1736 And seint Iohn oure louverdus priue. 1737 Leuedy woped sore. 1740 And omitted. 1741 saied to. 1742 sone seint Iohn for me. \textit{rv. 1742a–1742b omitted}. 1743 Ihesu saied to Ione þinkest now.

1693 þat corrected from þe; two letters erased after þef. 1695 oper interlined. 1704 MS. damned. 1714 ne of wone interlined.
1744 Ion by hold py moder trew. 1747 herd þe wordes. 1748 þe teres fel doune to hire fete. 1749 Al hire face was hid wiþ. 1750 þere he. 1751 Ion Ihesu word vnder stode. 1752 Mary haued he wille gode. 1753 He tok oure leuedy to kepe schene. 1754 maidenes clene. 1755 spak ful. 1756 To þat folke þat him. 1757 þe þat wende by þis place. 1758 Abide a wile þy hold my. 1759 Lok if eny. 1761 saied. 1762 None to þis be heuene May. 1763–1766 omitted. 1768 It left þe. 1769 Ihesu gan wepe pine to. 1770 He wex blak so þe cole. 1771 turned to nijt. 1772 þe sterres refþ þe suñes liþt. 1773 Gret wondere was also. 1774 temple was cleued ato. 1775 wiþ þe. 1776 Stronge it was þat storm to. 1777 þat had be dede. 1778 honderd þere or. 1779 gun vp rise. 1780 here puttes on. 1781 þede to þat site. 1782 Men miþt wiþ hem boþe speke. vv. 1782a–1782bb inserted:

Ale þat wise men hem by twene
Haued wonder wat it miþt mene
Among hem was a god man þ wise
In alle þat lond holden in pris
His name was kalled dinis
þat siþen was bishop of paris
And siþen poled pine þ schame
And martir bicom for godes name
Wan god was done on þe rode
No þinge of him hii vnder stode
Ne amonge hem was no speche
Of Ihesu haued hii no knewleche
ffor godes hauet hii no mo þan one
Of lime of clay of tre ne of stone
And autres made of many wise
Hii made to many godes sacrefise
Wan dinis saw in þat tide
þe merknesse þat þede so wide
Of Ihesu he made minde
And saieþ now sterres god of kiþde
þe wise man amonge hem spake
A auter liii dide sone make
In þe temple amonge here godes alle
Of þe vnkouþ god hii did it kalle
Bot wan seint paule gan to preche
In alle þe lond þat folk to teche

NORTH. PASSION.
Variants and Fragments.

Him þat hii þe vnchoþe god told 1782aa
Sophaste god he bad hem hold. 1782bb

1784 By twix midday & none. 1785 At time. 1786 þere he. 1787 Longe he. 1788 So he did lamaþabatany. vv. 1792a–1792l inserted:

To his fader he made is none 1792a
þat he him hauet left alone 1792b
Alone he was for man kinde 1792c
þfor no miȝt men þan finde 1792d
þat stedfaslyche in treuþe stode 1792e
Bot þe þef þat henged vn rode 1792f
And þe maiden in wam he tok maþhed 1792g
He huld þe treuþe vp of his god hed 1792h
þfor þy on þe saturday 1792i
Alle oure hele in hire lay 1792j
þat day on hire in tokeninge 1792k
Speciallike menrede þ sингe. 1792l

1793 Iues stode. 1794 Hii were scent in here pride. 1795 wende had. 1797 tak him doune. 1798 Wip schame ssal. 1799 þit saied Ihesu lowde & stille. vv. 1801–1802 transposed. 1801 am do to. 1802 þfader y am þorow þy. 1804 thou omitted. 1805 I byteche þe my. 1806 is þine wel. 1807 He lened his heued swipe stille. 1808 His gost. vv. 1808a–1808l inserted:

Van þat Ihesu to ded was neiȝ 1808a
þe deuel sat on þe rode aheiȝ 1808b
To fonde if he miȝt winne 1808c
In his saule eny sinne 1808d
Þan ssalt þow man þy selne deme 1808e
And in þy lif þe fro sinne þeme 1808f
þat no gilt at þin endinge day 1808g
In þe þe deuel finde may 1808h
Of godes þep felle tokeninges 1808i
Miȝt men see in wonder þinges 1808j
Of erþe dine of aungeles steuene 1808k
þat þere were þ com fro heuene. 1808l

1809 Ihesu tok þe. 1810 þerþro miȝt him noman dwelle. 1811 brak stronge. 1812 him were hii sperd. 1813 were for him ferly draid. 1815 Hii ne miȝt. 1817 bond faste. 1818 Wip stronge bondes þat þit 1792f þe interlined. 1812 him interlined.
laste. 1819 $f$or he. 1820 $f$or it come to domes day. 1821 Ihesu vnbond. 1822 $p$at were. 1823 Anone he. 1824 were I kan no$\breve{u}$t. 1826 Ioie was t euere is. 1828 he by com man. 1829 Vnder $p$e. 1830 telle 3ow $y$. 1831 telle wan me liste. 1832 Of god muchel. 1833 cry he gan make. 1834 sawe goddes wounded. 1835 saied I wis. 1837 was $p$e mannnes. 1838 $f$or $p$at word he. 1839 him in stronge prison. 1840 suffered passion. 1841 $p$at o$p$er day aboute none. 1843 arm$\breve{a}$lye $p$at kontre. 1844 a r[i]che man of fe. 1846 loued Ihesu alle is lif. 1848 $f$orthe come. 1850 body $p$ow. vv. 1851–1852 inserted:

Suffur me to take hit doun. And bere his body into $p$e towne.

1853 Pilate saied y graunty $p$e. 1854 $f$irst wille y lok if he. 1855 He called for$p$ kni$\tilde{u}$tes. 1856 gosep he saied 3e ssal wende. 1857 $p$ider $p$ere 3e henged. 1858 To lok if he be ded nou. vv. 1859–1860 follow v. 1858. 1859 If he ded be tak him dounne stille. 1860 Lat Iosep of him haue is. 1861 kni$\tilde{u}$tes gun for$p$ gone. 1863 come to pefus to. 1864 Hii brake bo$p$ here hipes in. 1866 And by held Ihesu. 1867 Hii saw wele Ihesu. 1868 his bones was no. 1871 was $p$at kni$\tilde{u}$tes. 1872 $f$or omitted. 1873 him by forne Ihesu stand. 1874 hii putte on is. vv. 1875–1876 transposed. 1875 it into. 1876 Put vp hii saied wat. 1878 hert gon hit go. 1879 by gan anone owte springe. 1880 wa$\tilde{a}$er anone oute wringe. 1880$a$ $f$iro $p$e deuel we be$p$ porowe his. 1880$b$ and omitted. 1881 Longine stille stod to $p$e blod ren bygan. 1882 To his own fette smerliche it ran. 1883 Wip $p$e blod. 1884 And of is si$\breve{z}$ he had grace. 1885 him dr[e]de. 1886 Of Ihesu to haue his mede. 1888 And on Ihesu crie. 1893 Pilat bad Iosep take $p$e. 1894 And bere it pere is. 1895 bod[y] anone. 1896 And laide it in trowe. 1897 a Iue gode. 1900 pere Ihesu. 1901 A nom his body pere. 1902 worme it soslede dere. 1903 Hii tok anone $p$e. 1904 Hii lai$\breve{d}$ it in sendel clene. 1905 him sendel. 1906 Wip his seluer he it bro$t$. 1907 Hii did his body in graue. 1908 him wiste hii gode mede. 1909 $p$e spices were of. 1910 Hii lai$\breve{d}$ aboute him for sauour. 1912 It w[as] no$\breve{t}$ list penne to. 1914 Hii 3ed $p$erfro $t$. 1917 a consaiele $t$ a. 1918 Iues rife. 1919 No$\breve{t}$ mi$\tilde{u}$t $p$at strif stille. 1920 $f$ort hii. 1921 Sone anone hii tok $p$e gate. 1922 $f$ort hii. 1923 Hii saied pilate vnnderstand. 1925 He this omitted. 1926 Of omitted. 1928 Wonder it is if it by falle. 1929 hem wel I. 1930 Rise fro ded $p$e. 1931 and

1828 be and he interlined. 1909 fleested written in margin.

þe kniȝtes were of hym ful dried
pay fellun doun her armes spred.

2022 He kallet hys felaws styue fast. 2023 Sone he sayd tyl. 2024 playut euel plaws. 2025 Alas he sayde quart. 2026 we miȝt noȝt Ihesu kepe. 2030 ys forlorn. vv. 2031–2032 omitted. 2033 þar vs neuer mercy. 2034 We wetun wel non to. vv. 2035–2036 omitted. vv. 2037–2038 transposed. 2039 Anoper sayde felaws by stylle. 2040 þis ys don at godus. 2041 þe dede. 2043 forþe he ros of hys ston. 2044 Queder he wylle. vv. 2045–2046 omitted. 2047 say so we. 2048 We wylle noȝt. 2049 SO now fourfe þay tok þe gate. vv. 2051–2052 omitted. 2053 Pylat Ihesu we wok to noȝt. 2054 ys mon. 2056 kepûs hys graue of ston. 2057 graue se we. 2058 closes rychly wroȝt. vv. 2059–2062 omitted. 2063 sayd says noȝt. 2064 Yf þat ye wille wel do. vv. 2065–2066 omitted. vv. 2067–2068 transposed. 2067 þ gret 2068 Says vv. 2017–2098 ff. 49b.–50a. are not by the hand which wrote the rest of the MS.
pat he was stollun to nyȝt. 2070 Quat pinge so ye. 2071 Of pis word ðay. 2072 for omitted. 2074 ðat ðay schulde telle in ȝe toun. 2075 ðat he was rysun þourȝt non gret myȝt. 2076 com þider forto. vv. 2077–2078 omitted. 2079 Ihesu our godes sone. 2080 ðat suffurut has hard passioun. 2081 Graunt vs hys stronge pyne. 2082 To haue euer in oure mynde. 2083 warrant be. 2084 Quen ðat we schuln heuen se. vv. 2085–2086 omitted. 2087 to heuon wende. 2088 ðat lastes euer wyt out. 2089 ys to ȝe blysse. vv. 2090a–2090d omitted.

2075 non interlined. 2076 þider interlined.
2. Rawlinson MS. C. 86 (R)

[Since R is a late and bad MS. it seems advisable, in place of a full list of variants, to give merely the variant readings of two passages, consisting of about 100 lines each, together with a list of the additional lines of R.]

Vv. 1-100: Collation with I (see above vol. I, pp. 2-12).

Vv. 1*-8* prefixed:

Off gostly Maters I wy† meve 1*
To yow thatt are In cristes Beleve
Thynges pertaynyn[ng] to gostly helthe
Agayne Bodyly ioy † worldly welthe 4*
Off Criste Ihesu oure hevyne kynge
Eterna† god euer more lastynge
Whatt payne he suffred for mankynde
To saue his sowle froume the ffende. 8*

1 His passioun now I. 2 Aftir scripture as I kane spe†. 3 Ihesu thatt made us a† off noughlite. 4 dere he Bouglite. vv. 5 and 6 transposed. 5 He wolde natt our soulys. 6 Withi outen gilte he suffred. vv. 7-8 omitted. 9 Aftir Mark. 10 A† thes fhoure accordynge. vv. 10a-10b inserted:

Makynge Reheresa† In theyre scriptoure.
How Ihesu Criste oure savioure.

vv. 12a-12b omitted. 13 vertu hitt sprange fu† wyde. 14 AF abought one. 15 had off hyme Envy. 16 And sayde he fherde a† with ffoly. 18 Ihesu to speke a† ther. 19 heme to a. 21 Off prynces and off Mastris a†. 22 They did the Iewys Byfore. vv. 22a-22b inserted:

Prestes and mastris and oper Grete
Whiche had the olde lawe to kepe.

23 off the lawis. 24 yn his sawis. vv. 24a-24b inserted:

Off his meruelys and off his dedis
Hou he wroughte † to whatt nedis.

25 Iff †att ye thus. 26 I sey Amonge you euerich one. 27 AF youre ffolke sha† yne hyme Bileve†. 28 Whiche to youre lawes sha† be Repreve.
Rawlinson C. 86.

30 he gane to Ryme. 31 And sayde vnto. 32 Wote ye nought wha\h
Befa\h. 34 the pep\h. 35 Iewys toke hitt. 37 Off hyme selfe had he.
38 hitt had hyme. vv. 38a–38b inserted (cf. F):

He sayde ffor sothe it shulde so be
patt he shulde dye one the Rode tre.

40 pought no nay. 41 non seyde they a\h. 42 In suche wronge ther yn
to sfta\h. 43 A grete fiest was tho ney hande. 45 Iewis worshippe\h a\h patt.
46 pouer most. 47 And att the fiest pei gane hyme blame. 48 And seide
by Ihesu Right grete shame. 50 And hou to deth they Might hyme doo.
51 Some off theme seyde. 52 Ty\h it were thatt hyc passede tyde. vv. 53–54
omitted. 55 Ti\h \hye had take Anothere Rede. 56 Whane thatt Ihesu shulde
Be dede. 58 Ihesu Suffered moche pyne. 59 To thatt Cite Ihesu gane
drawe. vv. 60a–60b inserted (cf. F):

His dissiples with hyme yede
Off hyme they thought to haue per mede.

61 Amonge theme a\h he clepid two. 62 And bad theme upone. 63 Goo
ye fiast into the Cite. 64 In a\h the hast thatt may be. 66 yne a.
vv. 67–68:

A meke best bowndyne with yrere sole.
Hyme fiorto lose mene shah\h you pole.

69 Thatt as yne hast Bryng you to. 70 And I wy\h wende ynto. 71
dissiples forth gane. 73 And brought thatt as with grete sped. 74 Before
oure lorde Ihesu ther he yede. 75 Ihesu Bot\h gode and kynde. 76
Toward the Cite. 77 off israel herd say. 78 Ihesu was commynge in patt
way. 79 pei wente and fiett hyme in to pe. 80 With\h Ria\h and Solempne
processioun. 82 Clothis yne his wey fiorto Sprede. 83 And some off
theme broughte clothithies swete. 84 And Erbis to straw afore. 85 The
Braunchis off palme tre also. 86 pei cast yne pe wey per Ihesu shulde goo.
87 Mene begane to Synge and Sey. 88 lorde whane we sha\h dey. vv. 88a–
88d inserted (cf. F):

A blissidfu\h word mote come ffrome the
Off god thatt Sittitli yne trinite
Ihesu Crist oure hevyne kynde
Was right weH plesid with her seynge.

89 Thane Ligth he downe Anone fiuH. 90 theme all with. 91 And passi\h.
93 Into a strete he came fiuH Blive. 94 La\hare per he Reysid frome. 95
had lazar fro deth Ireised. 96 Off the pep\h he was gretyly preyed. 97
Thane Ihesu with his. 98 Wente to the towne harbour to. 99 came Into.
Variants and Fragments.


1587 Ther the Iewis sett. 1588 One Ihesu. 1589 hyme there les and more. 1590 Ihesu stode nakid as euyr he was Bore. 1591 Beside hyme ther they layd his. 1592 Thei delte heme with many othi. 1593 seme his. 1595 Whane thei had done aH their. 1596 Ihesu stode bside theme Right stiH. 1597 And lokid one theme with pitous mode. 1598 While thei did Aray the Rode. 1599 How Ihesu was. 1600 teh anone Right sone. 1602 Erth Right stiH. 1603 Thei toke Ihesu ther he nakid. 1604 opyne vpone. 1605 The holys þat were Borid for his armys swete. 1606 Thei made A profir Iff they. 1607 gane to make hir mark. 1608 His hondis myght nott Recie. 1609 Natt by a fote. 1610 Bi the mesir off theyre metinge. 1611 saw thatt Itt was to longe. 1612 And seid this Mesure was take wronge. 1613 Loth thei were othir holys to. 1614 Twayne stronge Ropis they gane take. 1615 One Eche hand a Rope þey Bownde. 1616 His Blode brast out and sfeH one þe grownde. 1617 A large halfe fote of length they drowgh. 1618 ThH thatt his armys were grownde Inowgh. 1619 brast the Body fdroo. 1620 Both flisshe and Skyne fior soth also. 1621 twey nayles sharpe and stronge. 1622 handes longe. 1623 lokid vnto his fete so Bright. 1625 Thei toke A rope thatt wolde laste. 1626 And Bounde hitt abowt his fete fiaste. 1627 Anopir aboute his Brest ffuH stronge. 1628 And drew hyme oute a fote longe. vv. 1629–1630 omitted. 1631 so clene. 1632 the hole I. 1633 They toke a nayle thatt was ffuH grete. 1634 And smote itt prougli bope his fete. 1635 fdroo his hede the Blode Rane Rownde. 1636 By large streme downe to grownde. 1637 þer was natt so mucch space letfe vnblede. 1638 As he myght lene to rest hys. 1639 Butt leyde itt one. 1640 Was nenir mane so wo Bygone. 1641 Whane thei had this dede Idone. 1642 Thei Reryd vpe the Rode Anone. 1644 And sett hitt up with grete Envy. 1645 They made a pitte depe and longe. 1646 Wheryne they made þe Rode to be stronge. 1647 they gane ffaH. 1648 To skorne hyme þer they gane kaH. 1649 And seyd Iff thou goddes sone Be. 1650 Descende doune frown the Rode tre. 1651 Thane wih we leve one the now Righ. 1654 As seynt Iohn seith þat. 1655 Vpone A Braunch of. 1656 hitt sett with herte fere. 1657 hitt one hye one pe. 1658 hitt Rede. 1659 The tyth off writynge seide I wis. 1660 Ihesu off naþareth here ys. 1661 ther was. 1662 Itt menytli ye mow sone wetene. 1663 Grew and latyne and also Ebrew. 1664 Thes thre langweges were yne þat skrow. 1665 Naþareth was grew Ihesu Ebrew. 1666 Iewis latyne new. 1667 Whatt quod pilate Betokenys þis writte. 1668 teh
after my sympiH witte. 1669 is Butt a. 1671 Anone As he had seid thatt worde. 1672 He Ioyned patt scrow vpone palme. 1673 He thougte whane Ihesu had Bene dede. 1674 Thatt he shulde haue no more drede. 1675 no pepiH shuld turne hyme. 1676 Excepte only hyme h[е] drede no moo. 1677 Thei patt koude this lettir Rede. 1678 Helde heme EvyH plesed with pilates dede. 1679 The Iewis to pilate sone gane kry. 1680 And seid thou. vv. 1680a–1680b omitted. 1681 Write natt quod пеi thatt he is ourе kynge. 1682 фor hosome evir seide itt is A lesyne. 1685 seyd with Softe mode. 1686 Iewis ther thei stode. 1687 If itt Be wronge Blame is yne me. 1688 As hitt is writyne shaH itt now Be.

Additional Lines.

For vv. 1–100 see above, vol. II, pp. 150–151.

108a–108b (cf. A, F):
She kissid his ffete weH and Mekely
And фor hir Synnes she was sory.

120a–120b (cf. F):
пе swettnes and the sauer ther
Itt spred Aboute botli fferre т nere
The sauer aH so пе hows gane фпH
Thatt some off theme Itt Likid iH.

132a–132b (cf. F, A):
Butt thatt sory wrecchide theffe
To gedir Riches he was leffe.

156a–156b:
He seyde to the Iewis as ye xaH lire
With hasty wordis фпH off yre.

194a–194b (cf. F):
This fforsayde god mane shaH you lede
Ther ye shaH youre Eronde spede.

210a–210b (cf. F 212a–212b):
The wreclie boughft aH off glotony.
Off tresone and Еke off ffelony.

238a–238b (cf. F):
Gode wiH I haue to sende you witт
Cherite т paciens and synnes to Remytt.

320a–320b:
Iff thatt ye Suffre hitt фior пе Right
In hevyne ye xaH Shyne фпH bright.
Ye shall be yne my fiadys blisse
Euer ther dwellyng with outyne Misse.

And seide fiadir off hevyne Blisse
Thes peynes to me be grevous Iwis.

Malkus was his Right name
for thatt stroke he had blame.

And sett it vnto withi oute any Sore
As hole as euyr hitt was Byffore.

Off which mene one the do kry
Iss hitt sothi or is hitt Envy.

Thatt made most his herte light
for thatt was a passynge colde nyght.

Ithesu answerde withli oute Envy
To the Iewes thatt stode hym by.

Some seyde hitt shulde Be partid in thre
The first parte to pouer mene
To pilgrymmys þe secunde as I wene
þe therde parte as they had thoughte
Vnto the tempiH Itt Shulde Be broughte.

Butt yett cowde I Be neuer þe nere
I went þiuH liteH to haue þiounde þe here.

And seynys thou arte to me IBrowghte
terH me off þy dedis þat þou hast wroughte.

Herodis mene þei Bete hyme sore
þe Blode Rane downe By his gore.

Butt ffor none hated nor no wreteth
I wiH natt þat he shulde suiffir dethe.
1032a–1032h:

Aftir the Jugement off his dedis
pe lawis seyth he muste dye nedis
Pilate seyde vnto theme Agayne
This wordis Bene spokyne aH yn vayne
Sey Amonge ye now Euerychone
Whatt is the tresou patt he hatth done
The Iewis seyde tho aH att onys
to pylate Boldely sfor the nonys.

1136a–1136b:

If fitt Be vnRight sfulHy done
Vengeawnce shaH sfolow sone.

1292a–1292b (cf. I):

The tre was grete and longe Also
God had purveide hitt þerto.

1338a–1338b (cf. I):

He was Right wise and light yne degre
And also nobiH of grete dignyte.

1342a–1342b (cf. I, F, A, G):

In Ierusalem thatt grete nobiH cite
He made A chirche off highi degre.

1574a–1574b (cf. D):

A grete Eronde I haue sforto doo
Whane I Comme nere þe Cite vnto.

1714a–1714b:

This day my kyngdome thou shaH se
And with myselfe theryne to Be.

1738a–1738b:

Off aH the pepiH thatt ther stode
Whane She Behelde hir sone on Rode.

1764a–1764n:

The sflowlis off þe Eyre haue þeire nest
Wheryne they mow take her Rest
Bestis also vnResonabyH
Some haue dene and some haue stabH
Butt he þatt is aHe hyvenly kynge
And maker also off aH maner thynge

¹ He had natt So moche Ilevid
As A place sfor to Rest yne his hede

¹ 1764g–1764h. See vv. 1637–1638.
Ihesu seide to the pepiH thane
Me fforthynkith pat euer I made mane
I fformed mankend aftir my wille
And now he is Redy me to Spille
Listenyth and here me nowe
A wondir thynge I wiH teH yow.

1786a:

With a lowde voice per he gane krye.

1787a:

He seide also withi owtyne ly.

1806a-1806d:

Body and Sowle is yne thy sight
Thou wottist welt thyne itt is off Right
Whane he had seide thes wordes aH
His sone gane downe to ffaH.

1820a-1820b:

Ihesu thatt deyd ffor aH Mankynnde
bus yne thatt wise withistode the ffende.

1846a-1846b (cf. I):

Ihesu is Body haue ffyn he wolde
In graue he thought to lye hit shulde.

1862a-1862b:

Ioseph went ffiast Bifore the mene
He was ther longe are Eny off theme.

1891-1892 (cf. I, A):

I knew nott whatt I ded I wis
So mote I Come vnto thy Blisse.

1896a-1896b:

Thidir he Bare the Body stiH
ffor he had helpe Inoughi att wiH.

1910a-1910b:

The Iewis yett A Custome have
Thatt whane eny Man Is leyde yne graue.

1946a-1946b:

By god mahownde aH ye shaH dey
IfH thatt his Body Be stolyne Awey.
1954a–1954b :
Thei lokid vndir Euerich one
Iff his Body were ther or none.

1956a–1956b :
Vpone oure liffe this charge is take
iper fiore we Must gode wacchi Make.

1974a–1974b :
In the mornynge up he Rose
Ageyne the wih off his ffoys.

2000a–2000b (cf. I) :
So moche ioy Amonge theme was
pey Seide there Deo gracias.

2058a–2058b :
A sudary also ther lythi withi yne
And gode Spicery Istrawid with wyne.

2075a–2075b :
Sey thatt he was stolyne Be night
Armed mene came thidir fiuH Right.

2080a–2080r :
Graunte vs grace to lede oure life
In cherite with oute Envy And strife
And the to haue in oure Remembracence
To save us aH firo Mischef e vengeaunce
Whane we shah dye and hens wende
Thow sau vs ffrome the wikkid fiende
And ffor thi passiou graunte us grace
In hevyne to have a dwellynge place
Pray we to god thatt itt may so be
With A pater noster And Ane Aue
Thatt we mow skape the payne off heH
Ond euyr more In hevyn to dwiH
He thatt herith this fiorsayde prechynge
And takith hitt mekely ffor his techynge
He shall have tyme off clene coffessiou
Ar euir he dye and satisfacciou
An. C . dayes also off Indulgens and pardoun
And godde off hevyn is dere Benysoun. Amen.
3. Rawlinson Poetry 175 (P)

[The following variants give the result of a collation of MS. Rawlinson Poetry, 175, with the version of Harleian 4196, printed in the last column of the parallel texts in Volume I. Certain very common points of difference are not noted: final \( l \) for \( l \), and final \( tt \) for \( p \); medial \( th \) for \( p \); \( o \) for \( u \) before \( m \) and \( n \); \( e \) for \( i \) or \( y \) in final unaccented syllables; and the interchange of \( i \) and \( y \) (see Introduction, II, pp. 44–5). No notice is taken of the frequent use of \( ad \) or \( e \) for and, and \( w \) for with, nor the occurrence of \( yh \) for the \( yok \) (\( i \)), as \( yhow \) for \( saw \). Where both the Cottonian and the Rawlinson MSS. offer a variant from Harleian, the Rawlinson reading is given even if it fall in the above list of readings not regularly printed.]

2/4* mynd. 2/5* our. 2/6* precious blode. 2/7* our. 2/8* Here to. 2/12* for till. 2/13* nedefull. 2/14* for to. 2/15* parfor. 2/16* yng-lysc hawd ... for to. 2/19* Ensample fortill tech. 2/20* fleshly ... for to. 2/21* our faa. 2/24* wald fail. 3/26* our. 3/28* parfor he wend with outen. 3/31* gud. 3/37* our flesch. 3/38* wyked. 3/39* stably for to. 3/42* our. 3/45* Afterward. 3/46* our gospell. 3/47* certayne. 3/49* wer. 3/52* spek. 3/53* draue out deuels fro. 3/54* was. 15 iewe had gret envy. 16 al foly. 18 ferlies. 21 iewe gert togyder. 23 par lawes. 24 par sawes. 28 And so par sail our lawes. 28a Romains and folk of vncouth. 28b feche our ... out of o hand. 28c ded. 28d sted. 29 par. 33 vn to ded. 34 perysch. 38 gast pe. 43 gret fest. 44 Pasch. 50 par. 52 hegh. 53 nonekyns. 54 none wyse. 56 man tyll. 58 seluen. 61 discipels. 63 by for. 64 myld. 65 fynd. 70 yhow. 70b gud. 74b allswa. 75 par clothes pa layd with outen. 76 sythen. 79 And so he rade vnto pe toune. 81 gret honoure. 82 par souerayne and sauyoure. 90a wirschepe. 90b Envy ay in par. 90d outen. 91 fira pa folk full of envy. 97 meneyle. 98 toune. 99 gud. 101 par sopere. 102 Mawdelayn. 106 mysdeses. 107 Doun scho fell and wesch. 109 sythen. 110 mounred. 112 precyouse. 113 par with scho enoynted hime. 113a by for ... tyme. 113b In pe gosspl wha sa will luke. 113c par sett es of hir in buke. 113d Bot pe process. 117 enoynted him heued t fette. 118 honourd. 120 syde. 123 scarioth. 124 sythen. 125
128a sall it sone. 128b penyse þarfor tane. 129 mykell gud. 130 gyuen to pouer mens. 132 was all his. 132a had all þair. 132b tend. 132c both skath t skorn. 133 kan all counsail. 139 ðor I. 140 þat þat woman. 148 avayl. 149 Iewes. 150 all þe tales þat þou kan. 153 sopere. 154 graythely to þe Iewes. 155 all togyder. 156 Iewes. 156a þair princes gret. 156b all. 160b venged. 161 Iewes vnto him wele gan lythe. 162 þair hertes þai war ful blythe. 162c stounde. 162d Thretty plates of penyes rounde. 165 Thretty plates of þair. 19/1* enchesoun. 19/2* byfell. 19/3* our lord ihesu was sall. 19/4* thretty penyes playnly tald. 19/5* nothuer. 19/6* þair. 19/9* Symon. 19/11* hir oynement precyouse. 19/12* howse. 20/14* oynement was euell despend. 20/15* salld. 20/16* penyes to haue tald. 20/17* combyrd. 20/18* þarfor. 20/19* all þat þai had fortill. 20/20* haly. 20/21* bages. 20/22* All þair. 20/24* tend euer tok he till. 20/26* tend of þair. 20/28* cursedly h led. 21/32* thretty. 21/35* tend. 21/36* pair syluer als says þe buke. 21/39* thretty als es sayd byforne. 21/40* mykell thouht him he had lorne. 21/41* wald. 21/42* þarfor . . . salld. 21/43* nothuer. 21/44* of þe hundreth. 21/45* thretty. 169 felaws. 171 our. 172b ðor to. 174 traueland. 175 discipels. 177 will þou. 178 þis fest of pasche. 178b whar. 184 folowes. 186 ryghtwyse man of noble. 188 come. 189 sais I. 190 menehye. 193 menehye. 195 Gase þider now and graythes our. 196 swilk gud. 197 þan þa. 199 All. 200 þair. 202 þair maister and his menehye. 204 þair ines. 204b boun. 205 word. 206 Doun þai satt all at a bord. 206b Byfor his lord euen he. 209 drynk þan þai furth. 210 drynk. 215 bred. 216 blyssed . . . bowsmoly. 217 sythen he brak. 220 fro euell dede. 221 flesch. 222 Whare. 223 sythen. 224 blyssed it with myld. 224a blyssyng. 226 lyf. 232 betrayed. 233 for to. 235 sall. 236 Mynd. 242 haue walked wajes wast. 243 fullfyll. 244b sythen ded and in layr. 244c lyf. 244d soth. 245 bald. 246 Iewes has me sall. 248 penyes. 251 beforne. 252 Him had bene better haue bene vnborn. 253 discipels. 254 þair hertes bred mykell. 256 foule. 258 þugate. 264 betrayed. 265 word. 266 bord. 267 hegh. 267a rabbi. 267b gret. 270b fro. 270c wycked. 270d fullfyll. 271 sopere. 273 brest. 274 nest. 275 tok. 277 aungell. 279 aungell. 280 selcouth. 288 gud. 291 wrote. 292 apocalipsis. 292b Iohan. 293 of þis buke we will spek no. 294 þar. 295 clathe. 296 discipels wex all wrathe. 300 mast. 300a for to rewle. 300c all þair. 300d þair. 301 child. 302 myld. 303 child. 306 thought. 307 myld. 308 child.
309 heighest. 310 Tytttest. 313 maistry. 314 hegh with outen envy.
317 Ensaample. 318 bowsom. 319 het. 320 suffyr. 321 myld.
326a payn. 326b torned fro me ogayn. 327 Comforth. 328 fandeyng.
328a All pis ... tald. 328b pair. 329 word. 330 bord.
331 clathe with myld. 334 doun. 336 suld wesch. 338 nokyns.
339 falles. 345 Wesch. 346 vnweschen. 351 wesch and
wyped bathe. 352 sythen dryed þam with þe clathe. 353
albydene. 361 waschen. 362 ensaample. 362a bowsom.
364 Als till. 366 for to. 369 All. 370 Sorow or bale. 371 outen
ende. 372 lastand blis with me to lende. 373 ihesus þus þam.
374 fullfyll. 375 prophetes. 376 fullfylled. 376b sorows ... sythen.
378 sall. 381 for prophetes in þpair bokes. 382 hyrdman. 383 flok.
385 yhe þe. 387 dede. 388 Iewes. 390 thred. 391 sound.
394 mykell. 395 certes. 398 nouther. 399 All. 400 wend to
preson. 401 ded. 402 red. 405 þair. 407 sall. 409 Cok
haue crawen. 410a sall þou. 410e tak. 410i gret. 410l menehye.
415 has. 416 by him a swerd contek. 420 wapens redy grayd.
421 said. 425 þan ou. 428 discipels tyll. 430 lytell besyde. 432a
menehye. 433 disciples. 434 nama of all his menehye. 435 Iohan
and Iames. 438 mount. 440 habyde. 442 temptacyons. 444
castyng. 446 knes. 447 myld steuen. 448 vntyll his fader heghest in
heuen. 450 þes payns pass. 451 anely. 452 vouches. 454 word
and wyrk. 457 gret. 458 blode. 458a doun on þe ground. 458b
stound. 459 angel. 460 flëghand fro. 462 fader. 463 wande.
464 discipels. 465 tok. 471 houre. 473 heuen. 477 before. 479
chere. 481 prayd. 482a payns. 483 Sythen he rayse. 484 discipels.
486 slepand. 487 thred. 489 dede. 494 Till his discipels. 499 salld.
500 bale þis be yhe bald. 502 comand. 503 counsail. 506 shende.
508 mykell es feld of his pouste. 51/1* fraude. 51/2* iewe. 51/5* þan
said Iudas I. 51/6* outen. 51/9* Iewes. 51/10* Spak. 51/15* tray-
tour kene and bald. 51/16* tald. 53/20* furth fast. 513 gret rout.
515 glyues. 518a graythely se þe gate. 518b euenyng. 525 allway.
527 wend. 528a Telles vnto me all. 528b whame. 529 þan answerd t
said all by dene. 532 sothely. 532e so astond þam in þat stound. 532d
ground. 535 rayse þai up and stod. 537 whame. 541 say yhow sothly.
542a shewed. 543 sekeyng will noght sese. 544 menehye pass. 547 Hail.
550 þare. 552 tresone. 554 whare to comes. 554a bitrayes thurgh
þi kyssyng. 555 discipels. 556 þair herties þai had gret. 556c none
bot fle. 556d ded. 557 fro. 558 All bot saint peter and saint Iohan.
562b Bysschop. 563 Malchus. 564 lanterne. 565 saw þat dede.
568 slayne. 569 Iwyss. 570 peryss. 575 aungels. 576 lytell.
578 Iewes. 578\text{a} fullfyld. 578\text{b} wryten. 582 All \text{pat} \text{pai} said I sall fullfyll. 584 shorn. 588 parfor. 590 thefe. 592 thefe. 593 glauyes.
594 thefe. 598 betwene. 604 gud. 606 vnto \text{pai} come till Cayphas.
607 Iewes habade. 608 Tyll. 609 discipels. 610 pair. 611 \text{pai}.
612 Iohan. 612\text{b} folowd euer euer on. 612\text{c} graythely. 612\text{d} come tylly Cayphas.
613 Iohan son. 614 knawen lang byfore. 615 \text{pare}.
616 gret. 617 Iohan spak vnto \text{pe} vscher. 620 als so. 622 \text{pair}.
623 stod. 624 Iohan had a mantyll. 625 Iewes. 627 be \text{pe} lapp.
628 schapp. 631 stirt. 634 pare in durst he com nomore. \text{Accusacio}.
636 Iewes full myld. 638 sownd to any syn. 640 gret. 642 avow.
644 Our mykell temple \text{pat} we. 645 rays. 646 Ryght vp ogayn within thre days. 649 Cayphas. 651 \text{pare}. 653 will \text{pou}. 654 accuses.
657 Cayphas. 658 spak. 663 myld. 665 certainly. 666 heuen.
667 \text{pair}. 668\text{b} godes son. 668\text{c} envy. 668\text{g} Iewes. 668\text{h} godes son by. 668\text{j} godes son. 671 raue. 672 sythen. 672\text{a} Iewes.
672\text{b} Whareto suld we. 672\text{c} grauntes. 673 grauntes. 675 parfor says what es yhowre red. 676 ded. 677 gon. 680 foul. 681 stod. 682\text{a} bald. 682\text{b} cald. 682\text{e} Iewes. 685 Iewes. 690 Spak to peter in pat tyde.
692 Ertow noght ane of his meneyehe. 694 gud. 700 to-gyder. 702 pis wordes scho said. 703 Sertainly. 704\text{b} prophetes.
704\text{c} may men se. 705 bi \text{pi} spech. 706 gret. 709 might gayne.
710 fayne. 712 yhe yhate. 713 biforne. 714 shorne. 715 byshop.
718 to him. 719 ertow. 723 heled. 731 wrange. 733 saw.
734 cokkes onane bigan to craw. 736 myld. 740 loked. 742\text{b} cok had krawen. 743 enmyse \text{pat} \text{pare}. 744 \text{pare}. 745 myld. 747 opposed.
748 meruayls. 749 discipels he spyrd allswa. 750 whyder.
751 our. 753 \text{pi} techyng. 757 Iewes. 761 werk. 762 gud.
763 whare to. 764 teching. 765 wayte. 766 noght. 768 sall \text{pou}.
769 of Iewes. 770 And omitted. 771 \text{pair} stryfe. 772\text{a} gret byrr. \text{responde}s. 774 Bysschopp. 774\text{b} gret. 775 wryten. 776 loked on him pat had him smyten.
780 pow. 781 ryghtwyse. 784\text{a} Spak. 784\text{b} ensaumplcs. 791 betyde. 792 be my. 793 pouste. 795 \text{pare}
dedes. 798 Iewes. 798\text{a} doune him beforne. 798\text{b} gret hethyng him to skorne.
800 clathe. 802 gret envy. 802\text{b} es it \text{pat}. 802\text{d} soth.
804\text{a} gud. 804\text{b} All payns. 807 dede. 811 graythely. 812 \text{pair}.
813 outen. 814 touched \text{pe} crowne vnto. 815 gret. 818 befell.
820 euell. 822 wickedly. 826 nane to. 826\text{a} hert \text{pan} wele.
826\text{d} mykell. 828 Iewes war samen. 828\text{a} stryfe. 828\text{b} pass.
829 Sir sothely I haue synned he sayd. 830 ryghtwise blode. 831 My. 

\text{NORTH. PASSION.}
832 yhow þe mony toke. 832a befor yhow all graunt. 832b trayturly. 833 said. 834 turned full many. 834a þarfor. 835 Iewes. 838 pare of haue we no thing to do. 839 Anyse. 841 to him vnyght. 842b No here. 843 said. 844 fayr mone for him we tald. 846 amendes. 849 befor. 850 qwoke for wha. 850a bale him thoght. 851 o pay-
ment. 852 lapp. 853 doune bifor þar. 854c And when he saw þai wald spare. 856a wickednes. 856c entysed him fast pare tyll. 856d despare. 860 hiller. 861 wamb clefe. 862c cause. 862d crist had. 862e outen. 862f saule. 863 lyf. 865 shent. 866 outen end. 867 Iewes saw þe plates round. 868 ground. 869 profytt pare of.
872 Som said sa þ som. 872b pare to. 873 be deleted after be. 874 our tresoure in carbanan. 876 it es pryse. 876a þar pare hale counsaile. 876b mast avayle. 878 all tyll ane. 880 þar. 881 Iewes to ded þare in. 882 All þat suld suffer. 883 pare in. 885 ordaynd on þis.
886 made þe marchandyse. 888 þar. 895 tald. 896 Iewes him sald.
897 sythen a feld þare with. 900 Iewes gert call þe feld of bode. 900a call.
903 enmyes. Accusacio. 905 Iewes. 906 leghe. 908 mykell.
911 ane other. 912 Iewes. 914 Cesar our. 914a þat es. 914d ilkane.
915 myld. 922a Iewes. 922d kenely. 922f þare. 922g Pilate.
922h amarvaild. 922b kan. 922n Pilate gret meruaile. 923 spak with 
voyce stout. 924 Iewes. 925 kan. 926 kan. 927 cause in him 
kan. 929 Iewes began. 930 gret envy. 931 our. 933 wend.
935 our lawes. 936b our sabbot. 936c aywhere. 936d Trowage to pay to sir Cesare. 937 fro. 939 Pilate. 940 counsaile. 942 fro. 
944 fro. 945 sertanly. 950a pregidyse. 950b herode. 950e 
vnderstand. 950f Pilate. 951 Herode. 952a says how. 
952b our. 953 after. 956 graythely. 958 vntyll þai come tyll. 
962 Gret. 962b spbk. 962d ferlies he before. 963 Herod. 964 þar. 
965 þair. 968 ioystull. 969 welcom. 973 hyder. 974 mykell. 
975 meneyhe. 984 selcouth. 990 selcouth signe. 994a Herode. 
994b meruaile. 994c said. 996 sithen. 998 skorned both of gret. 
998a þair. 998b þare tyll. 999 Herode gert for gret. 1000 clothes. 
1001 sythen. 1003 ogayn yhe sall. 1004 shewes. 1004a þarfor. 
1004b saill. 1005 Pilate. 1006a him self whether him. 1006b Mi gud 
will graunt. 1006d faes. 1007 knyghtes. 1008 Playnly. 1009 gud. 
1010 herode. 1010a less. 1012a fyndes. 1012b wharfor. 1013 to-
gyder. 1017 kan. 1018 bete or. 1018b fortill. 1018c kan. 
1018e þarfor. 1019 red. 1020 chasty. 1021 costom. 1025 Our. 
1026 gret sollempnite. 1027 þarfor I red. 1028a wend whore. 1028b fondene.
1030 sithen ger him of land fle. 1031 Iewes so kene and proud. 1032 on
Rawlinson Poetry 175.
1034a

lowd.

he led Ihesws
pat

10346 condicions.
1039 allway.
1010

euell.

out.

f>are

war with him.

1053 Pilate.

man

1018

1054

pat

1031c lytherly.

wele

1071

]>areto.

1079 red.

1096 dede.

greuouse.

1098a bad pou no.

1101

pair.

1102

1109

pilate.

1111 sklaunders.

1115 openly.

1120a pair saiynges.

Ane

1130d

1131 ryghtwyse.
1150

fair.

11526 aungels.
1157

Pilate

1161

world.

note

make.

Mi

.

1161a

was.

1171

And

1131

11366

our.

1111

All.

1203 skorn him pare.

.

.

our.
pair.

synnes.

sail fullfyll.

1160 world.

1165

all

lufes.

)>at

1168 soth-

.

.

som what.

.

1185 pair gret

1187 mykell.

11886 cryde.

1188/ pair will atteyne.

him

1197 bett.

pai ke&te.

1198 skourge.

1201 pair knes doune.

1210a doune.

1210 syde.

1138
1142
1152

.

dene.

bi

all

world.

1171 Iewes

gret.

1195 skourges kene pai ordaind.

1202 purpure.

1127 spak.

11306 for to

1193 All his clathes fra

1192 thefe.

pai.

1191 pyler.

pare.

1167 sothfast.

1188e Pilate gan a falshede.

1188c hegh.

when he

pou.

sail

11826 gaynsais Cesare.

1182 frende.

euell.

1156 assent I

falshede.

11666 to fam.

1186 pat to Cesare toke party.

envy.

.

11126

1158a maistry.

1158 be.

1166a Pilate.

.

dred.

1123 bysshopes.

Iewes.

11516 wryten.

fullfylled.

1170 nouther.

1181 wickedly.

1126

outen

pair.

a clathe.

gret.

pai

1151

of.

pan ertow.
1162

1166 ways.
fastnes.

1191

fare

1151a

said

1130/

pis

11086

of

full

1099 hydusly.

all.

1118c Pilate

es.

pam on

1095 pou

1097 aungell

1122 pair sawes.

Iewes with

11106 pe

1088 rayse.

parfor.

skath.

Bysshopes

]>at

other.

1135

1110a spake.
1116

1125

1075 slepand.

1093 tak.

1117 Iewes.

1130a sythen dryed

skathe.

outen

1120c bitrayd.

1121 obout to do pe skath.
1130 wesch.

1086a

1098c ordaine in

1110a

All.

1070 moght

1069 tresone.

1096a mykell.

1108

procured.

10606

1062 witcrly.

1071 pilate wyfe.
1092 Pilate.

hall.

trow noght pe Iewes.

1110

1061 envy.

1086 tresone.

1091

tyll.

1051/ kan.

1060a be our.

1067 parlor.

aungell.

1085 outen.

1090 soth

1052 be tane.

1054e assay.

1059 thefe.

1061 saule suld with his blode.

com

1012 Iewes

1019 presone.

1060c Pilate herd fair hydose.

pass.

1037 parfor

1011 spak.

Till.

pai.

10516 Iewes.

all so.

1056a Iewes war euell payd.

163

1205

pair.

12106 vntyll his croune.

1206 Iewes.
1212 blode ran doune.
1212a kelyng.
1216a
1210a perched pe harn.
1216e kan.
12166 Pilate to pe pople.
1218 fote.
rewthe.
1

1218a

Pilate.

1218/croyse.
1218? wharfor.
1218a; pare out.

Iewes

1218c

1218a Pilatt

.

.

.

1218>« parfor.

1221 mykell.

so

pair.

and proud.
1218c voyse.
1218/ tak him pan yhow.
1218&kan.

kene

1218^ pare.

1228 has pou.

1218/ our.

1230 ert here

1218a' showt.
in.

1236a


slayn. 1238 power. 1239 hastow. 1240 graunted. 1240a gyfen
till. 1240c fiorji of me. 1240e forar þou es gretly. 1240f mykell shame.
1241 mykell. 1242 bitrayd. 1242a Pilate. 1244b doune. 1244d sted.
1244e Lychostratos was it cald. 1244f þair. 1245 Pilate. 1247 ogayne.
1248 tyte to hyng. 1265 Pilate. 1266 cross yhoure kyng. 1266a all þe lewes.
1269 graunt vs now for cesare. 1270a him ga white of our.
1271 Pilate. 1273 þat ill menyeche. 1274c Pilate. 1274d þair.
1274f ryghtwisly his state to. 1276 þair. 1276a þair. 1277 þan
comand. 1278 presonue. 1278b sterenly. 1279 purpurement.
1280 war hardend all with his awen blode. 1280b flesch. 1280c rugged.
1280d flessh. 1280e þair. 1280f eftson bath. 1280g payn. 1280h ser-
tayn. 1282 cled. 1284 hyng hegh. 1285 damped. 1286a Ikane of þam
till other spake. 1286b cross myght make. 1293 cross. 1294 soth.
1296 lytell. 146/1* our fourm. 146/2* eld. 146/3* þare to thretty
þan. 146/4* lyf. 146/6* befor. 146/9* cald þam vnto. 146/10* stod.
147/15* whareto þas hou cald vs hyder. 147/16* all togyder. 147/18* payn.
147/19* ogayn. 147/20* payn. 147/22* soth. 147/23* world.
147/24* seynes. 147/25* soth. 147/27* for to. 147/29*
þarfore lyges. 148/31* paradyse. 148/35* aunegg. 148/36*
fruyt þat þou wald ette. 148/38* yhern no fruyte ne nothing elles.
148/39* outen. 148/40* euell in all. 148/41* bedene. 148/43* greues.
148/44* whare to. 148/46* All my sons herkens. 148/49* paradyse.
148/52* both. 148/53* paradyse. 148/55* pouste. 148/56* will at be.
148/58* Both þe west t þe sowthe. 148/59* aunegg. 148/60* fro.
148/61* soth till. 148/62* Our aunegg went fro. 148/63* Before god
þair. 148/64* þan þe . . . our faa. 148/67* ete als he hir rede.
148/68* fruyte þat god vs bath forbede. 148/69* ete. 148/70* our.
148/71* garred. 148/72* als so. 148/73* our. 148/76* broken my.
occupyde. 148/86* our. 148/87* our lord god allmyghty. 148/89*
worldes. 148/91* tald. 148/92* many fald. 148/96* medesyn to me
149/109* Our lord of heuen þat it has send. 149/115* yhate. 149/116* godes.
149/117* to þe erth and powdre. 149/118* mercy of. 149/120* aunegg.
149/121* whilk spryng þe oyle. 149/123* medesyn. 149/123* þare of
forþo. 149/128* aunegg. 149/131* all so. 149/133* sertify.
149/134* witerly. 149/137* If he þat sande now to me send. 149/140* whare-
by. 149/142* paradyse. 149/143* fotesteppes saþ þou. 149/146* Both.
149/150* our. 149/152* gret and gude. 149/153* stede our. 149/154*
gryss. 149/156* our. 149/157* saþ þou fynd. 149/163* welked.
149/166* Paradyse. 149/167* doune. 149/168* powder. 149/169* my-kell mornynge. 149/170* sorwold. 150/173* oyle. 150/175* prayers. 150/177* bad Seth pat he. 150/180* godes. 150/183* certainly. 150/184* noother. 150/185* oyle. 150/188* thowsand. 150/189* hun-dreth and twenty pare tyll. 150/190* all so aght als es godes. 150/191* doune. 150/192* world. 150/193* mans synnes þan sall. 150/196* thred day right fra dede. 150/197* lyfe ogayn in lym. 150/201* þai ryse vp ryght. 150/202* wend. 150/204* paradyse. 150/207* sawles. 150/208* de-fend. 150/209* sall he gyff. 150/210* To all þat in his law will lyfe. 150/211* Vntityll all. 150/212* Sall. 150/214* paradyse. 150/215* parfor. 150/217* days er dryuen vnto þe ende. 150/218* lende. 150/221* Para-
derse. 150/222* þare ate. 150/223* þare out. 150/225* selcouth. 150/226* ogayn. 150/228* selcouthes. 150/229* noys and noble. 150/231* treese. 150/232* gret. 150/233* paradyse. 150/234* schyne-
154/367* aungell said to pam. 154/368* this. 154/370* sall.
155/396* groueand. 155/399* thurgh. 155/400* meneyhe. 155/401* mykell.
155/402* gret. 155/403* passed þe see both hale and sownd. 155/404* drownd. 155/405* þair faes. 155/408* mare.
155/412* gret honoure. 155/413* soth. 155/414* trintte. 156/420* noble.
156/421* gud. 156/429* relyke. 156/430* worthi.
156/432* four. 156/433* Smyten. 156/434* wyld bestes byten.
156/435* neghe þa woundses. 156/438* towchyng. 156/440* for at þam. 156/441* þair. 156/443* allbidene. 156/446* stedfast.
156/447* water full gud. 156/449* byden. 156/452* lyfe.
156/454* water þast out gret. 156/455* þair. 157/456* þair. 157/457* tok.
157/480* growed in lyke. 157/481* gast.
157/482* wend in hast. 157/485* þare for to fett. 157/486* propheete.
157/489* dyuere dedes. 158/495* sted. 158/498* honourd.
158/499* out of þe ground. 158/500* stound. 158/501* noble melody.
158/502* diuere manere. 158/503* meneyhe.
158/504* gast. 158/505* mykell. 158/506* noble nøyse and saoure.
158/507* þat Dauid. 158/508* case all. 158/513* gud. 158/517* nyghend.
158/519* godes. 158/524* Bisyde. 158/525* syker.
158/526* þat he sudd. 159/533* wirscheped. 159/533* sound.
159/534* groueand þe ground. 159/535* gret. 159/536* remew.
159/537* ryght. 159/538* godes. 159/539* þarfor. 159/542* styf.
159/543* Stallworthly. 159/543* yhit. 159/550* cropp was braunches.
159/551* swa. 159/552* sercle all. 159/555* sowdew. 159/554* tre.
159/556* mykell. 159/557* gret thurgh godes. 159/558* And so lang in lytell.
159/559* sted. 159/560* Thretty. 160/564* his he.
160/572* psauter buke ryght to þe end.
160/573* remyssyoyne.
him bath. 160/579* was a synfull. 160/581* sall pou. 160/582* syns.
161/604* þair birying. 161/605* gret sollemntyte. salamon. 161/607* corround.
1490 hi handes. 1494b myself I sall. 1497 Iewes helped. 1498 |at tre
navles war made full tyte. 1501 gret. 1502 forsoke. 1503 navls.
1506 Vnto pai com. 1507 Iewes. 1508a manere. 1508b ded. 1509
assygned pai sertain. 1512 truss. 1513 strane. 1515 sall. 1516 pare.
1520 myld. 1525 mykell. 1526 Bfore bilynd. 177/1* weped.
177/5* pair. 177/10* beten. 177/13* pass. 177/14* Ane other way.
177/15* noight at. 177/19* outen toune. 177/20* drerily. 177/21* mykell.
177/24* awen. 177/25* tuled. 177/26* couth. 178/27* ryuen.
178/28* sitthen with dust all ouer dryuen. 178/30* mykell sorow it was.
178/33* ground. 179/34* swound. 179/35* Till him scho. 179/37*
manhede. 179/38* mouryan. 179/39* folowd. 179/40* mykell.
1528 namare. 1529 pair. flere. 1531 ye. 1532 Bethlehem.
1533 morn. 1534 na. 1536 mourn. 1537 days. 1539 sall. 1541 warto.
1542 wicked werdes er vs biforn. 1543 warto. 1544 Better. 1545 hylles.
1546 vnto pe mountayns. 1547 fall. 1548 mountains. 1548a hi
deleted before vs. 1548c sertaine. 1548d Blyssed be pe bodyse.
1548e world. 1548f yhow pan sall. 1550 meruayls yhit sall. 1551 Iewes.
1552 Drogh. 1552a mykell. 1552b maisters him about. 1555 soth.
1558a Iewes. 1558c bereynge of pe heuy. 1559 pair iournay. 1561 e rt.
1562 has pou pi trauaile. 1563 omang. 1567 gret byrden. 1568 mykell.
1569 our. 1571 sall. 1572 Mikell. 1574b pareto. 1575 Iewes.
1576 bidene. 1582 Ogayns. 1586 mount of Caluerv. 1586a olang pai
laid it doune. 1586b boune. 1587 pai wicked thoght forto fullfyll.
1588 And Ihesu. 1593 And said . . . clothes schere. 1594b bi. scindamus.
1595 wroght pai will. 1596 skorned him with outen skyll. 1604 doune.
1605 armes. 1606 bfore. 1606a als so. 1606b pai. 1608 rech.
1609 pe taa. 1610 pe toother fayled a fote. 1611 Iewes. 1612 pai
hertes had gret. 1614 farfor gret. 1616 blode. 1620 raue. 1621 gret.
1622a payns. 1622b vyans. 1623 fro. 1624 bfore. 1627 drogh.
1629 flessh and syn. 1630 skyn. 1630b fette. 1632 gret navle tyte
tok. 1634 pai draue . . . thurgh. 1635 blode. 1636 nane.
1643 hegh. 1644 towch. 1645 fote. 1646b tok. 1646c cross.
1646d sythenfast pai lete fall. 1646e payns. 1646f vyans. 1646g And
so pai shogged. 1646j mykell. 1646k tyte. 1646m hanged pam.
1647 cryde. 1648a Our mykell. 1648d Ryght vp ogayn. 1649 Godes.
1650 com doune fra. 1655 awen hand ilk a word. 1656 festend it opo
a palme bord. 1658 myght it se. 1660 wryten. 1664 wryten.
1665 grew Ihesus. 1666 Iewes. 1677 Iewes pai it couth. 1678 war
euell. 1680 gret. 1681 Iewes. 1682 lely. 1683 iewes. 1684 rewes.
1684a he so him seluen. 1686 wryten. 1687 lat it stand. 1694a samen.
Variants and Fragments.

lokkes. 242/23* All. 243/24* nouther. 243/25* rysen fro. 243/26* euen vnto. 243/28* with outen. 243/29* his cete. 243/30* In Aramathy. 243/31* Iewes. 243/32* awonderd. 243/35* our. 243/36* selcouth. 243/38* qwyte. 243/39* gret. 243/43* presoune. 243/46* hardiar. 2050 Iewes. 2051 soth. 2053 rysen. 2055 mykell. 2056 angell. 2057 pare opon. 2059 angell. 243/2* Qwik. 243/3* Iewes gret. 243/4* traytours so es it wroght. 244/10* Hangen. 244/11* answerd sone in. 244/12* carped. 244/13* soth. 244/15* flor wonder. 244/17* our. 244/19* suthely. 244/20* cowth. 244/22* Rysen he es and gane. 244/25* þe kayes. 244/27* þarfor all þis stryfe. 244/29* Iosep. 244/31* Iewes þan thoght gret. 245/33* aw. 245/35* wele if þat we. 245/37* yheld. 245/38* yheld. 245/40* awen. 245/41* all so. 245/43* Iewes. 245/44* mykell. 245/46* Our folk sall turne. 245/47* counsail. 245/48* kyd. 245/49* He wend nane. 245/50* wyse þai Ioseph. 245/52* manere. 245/54* sall þai leue our. 2064a our sawes. 2064b forguyen. 2066a soune. 2066e yhe. 2067 mykell. 2068 graue bi. 2068a Sodainly als yhe sleepand. 2068b oway. 2068d with outen. 2069 And þis tresore to yhow we gyf. 2070a graunted. 2070b þair. 2072 þair. 218/1* halely. 218/2* Iewes. 248/3* blode. 248/4* mykell. 248/5* our. 248/8* ways. 248/9* fullfyll. 248/12* preciouse. 249/14* vntill þair. 249/15* blyssed. 249/16* days of pardoune. 249/17* gyfen with gud. 249/18* gud. 249/19* þair. 249/20* lesson. 249/22* þou. 249/23* our syn. 249/24* our. 249/26* with outen.

[At end of Rawl. MS. (f. 76) is "Explic — [&c.]," mostly illegible.]
4, 5. Two Fragmentary Texts

Harleian 215.

And moste heighest of dignite* 300
Ihesu godnesse was noȝth to seke
He toke a child þat was ful meke
And sette hit down hem among *[fol. 161b]
Me penkeþ he saide ihe hadde wrong
Also meke ihe sholde be 307
So þat child ihe here yse 308
Who so beret him symple & stille 311
In baile he shal haue alle is wille 312
And wo so beret him hext of alle 309
Out of baile he shal falle 310
I ne cam noȝth hider wip mastric 313
To bere me heþe wip enuye
I am aredy to servui alle
Of what þat ȝe wolde to me calle 316
When ihesu hadde said þat word 329
Vp he aros fro þat bord
He aros vp wip milde chere
And toke a basyn wip water clere 332
And a cloþ whet wip alle
Ihesu fenge in þe halle
To fore Peter vn knes he set
And saide he wolde wasshe his fet 336
Peter spake & saide nay
Ihe ne shal noȝt lord bi þis dai
Hit ne falleþ noȝt to me
Swich service to haue of þe 340
Ihesu saide Peter bote ȝef y do
Non of my blisse falleþ þe to
In heue[n] in my fader riche 342a
And þo gan Peter for to siche 342b
Peter spake and oper mo
Lord noȝth nelle we þat forgo 344

172
Harleian 215.

Wasch honden & fet we bidde pe
No pinghe vn waschhe pat per ne be
And ihet forget pou nost pat heued
Vnwaschhe pat it beo billeued 348
Ihesu him selfe sone anon
Wesh his diciples everich on
And sithe he dreides wip a clop
Pat seruise beo ous neuere lop 352
And whan he hadde wasch hem al bidene
Adoum he sat hem bithene
And saide as he down sat
Ich haue iko 3e nete neuere what 356
3e clepet me 3ore lord alle
3e nete neuere what Wolfe by falle 1
3e clepet me lord & maister also
To fore ich haue ykneled 3e to 360
And iwaschhe ihore fet
Takep of me ensample 3et
Also he 2 sholdhe do eeh bi opeper
Also ihe were suster & broper 364
A fair ensample ich haue low 3ene
To be meke while 3ow lyne
Of me panne shulle he 2 hane mede
In heuene ich wole 30 clopy & fede* 368
And alle pat euere suffrip for me
In paynis oper in sorwe be "Vol. 1616
In heue[n] pey shulle be wip me
Wip oute þende in lolifte 372

Ye clepyth me yowre lorde AH "Vol. 1914
Ye wote neuer what schaH be faH
Thow y be lorde & maister also
Before yow y have knuelyed to
fîor to waschen yowre fete
Takyth ensample of me ytt
So schaH evry man do tyH other
Rght as hij werene other Brother
A gode ensample y have yow yve
To be mylde whyle ye lyve

3 þe prophecie spekep of me for 3oure [sake]
Of pat delp pat i sal take 376
To niȝth 3e shulle be sone adrad
Whan pat y am fro 3ow lud

Than seyde Ihesu weH styH
The tyme ys come to fuHfyH
The prophecie for owre sake

Speketh of deyth pat [y] schaH take
This nyght he 4 schaH be sone adrede
Whan that y am frorn yow ledd

1 357–8 repeated: 3e clepet me 3ore lord alle
3e neteþ neuer what while bifalle. 2 read
3 vr. 375–6 follow v. 386.
4 read yhe.
Harleian 215.

So faste shulles ye fram me fly
pat som of 30w shal for sake me
Hit is iwrite as ye 30w say
pat herde pat go® in pe way

Ich am pat herde & ye pe shap
Ich shal be take ere time of shap

I sal deye & breke pe lay
And rise vpon pat pridde day
Janne 3e shulle me finde and se
In pat lond of Galile

Whan Peter herde pat reful tale
He wende haue do bote of bale
And saide lord pat sal neuere be
pat y pe sal bitraid se
I wilpe folwe per pow wilt go
Amonge pi frend among pi fo
Peynes i wolde for pe take
To prison go for pi sake

fiur pe ij® whilli take pat de®
ne sal me neuere rewe pat red
Pat sal saide is diciples alle
Pat per weren in pat halle

Pat saide ihesu Peter y graunti pe
A while pat pow folwe me
Or ye can hap pries bre® itake
Pri® pow wilt haue me for sake

Bote for ihoire fon pat wolleep deren
Swerdes moste 30w haue & heren
He pat hap a kerdel to selle

Cotton Vespasian D. IX.

ye scha® fro me fast fly
And sum of yow for sake me
AH ys wrytone that ye saye
The herde when he goth by the waye
And his hounde go hym be syde
His Bestys spredene wonder wyde
I am the herde & ye the schepe
Scha® be none or tyne of slepe
fiur yow y scha® be done to deth
Soche ys now the Iywes rede
y scha® dey & breke the laye (ed. 1612)
And ryse vpon the ii® daye
Than scha® ye fynede & se
In the londe of galale

Peter herde that rywfulH tale
He whente to have ben bote of Bale
He sayde lord et scha® nott be
As longe as y may folowe the
y wy® the folowe where thow gone
Among thi frendys & thi floone
fiur the y wy® paynes take
And go to prisone for thi sake
Wyth the y scha® take the deth
Scha® no man reue me that dede
This saide the appostols aH
That by hym sate1 in haH
Ihesu answeryd to that sawe
And sse to Peter aH with lawe
O thying I graunt the

A while thow schalt folowe me
Er the cok have thries brethe ytake
thries yow schalt me for sake
Do now as y yow te®

Hit ys for goodle that y yow spe®
fiur dowte of ham pat wy® yow dere
Swerlys schu® ye aH bere
He pat none hath his kerte® seh

1 MS. paune?

1 MS. sa deleted before sate.
Harleian 215.

Bey a sword conteke to fullé
Janne saide on pat sat bi side
Lord for o3th pat may bitide
Swerdes haue we gode to
And opre wepnes haue we mo
Ihesu answere wythe stille
Takep no3th my wordes on ille
Arised vj & folwep me
Here woll y no lenger be
To a towns pat toke pe gate
Me callep hit betonye pe bate

Ther ye shullep be abide
While pat i go here bi side
While pat y make my pрайere
T[o] my fader pat is me dere
Whip pat word ihesu gan forp wende
And tok whip him pre men hende
Peter & Ion & Iames is broper
Ech he louede bet Janne ojer
And ladde hem whip wordis swete
To pe mount of olyuete
And saide to hem alle pre

Cotton Vespasian D. IX.

And by hym a sword conteke to foH 1*
Than saide on that sate be syde
Syre for thyng that may be tyde
y have redy swerdyss two 2
And other wepens also

Aryse he saide and follow me
Here wyH y no lenger be
To another towe they toke ther gate
That mene clepene betany the Bate
pan saide Ihesu woH styH
To his discipuls with gooode wiH
Here ye schaH me abyde
The wyle y go here be syde
There y have sumwhat to sey
When y have don y come ayene
With that worde he gane forth wende
And toke with hym iij mene hende
Peter Iohne & his brother
Enerych he louyd mo than other
he lade hem with wordes swete
To the monte of olyuete
Than saide Ihesu to hem thre
He[re] ye schaH abyde me
Slepe nowght be wakyng
for drede my filesh ys quakyng 2
After this sone anon
He whent fro hem the cast of a stone
Vppon a hyH above pe towne 3
On his knees he sett hym downe
Sone anone he gan 3 caH
His fader is name heyst of aH
ffader he sayde hiff hit may be
Late this deth passe fro me
but yff hit not be so

1 read fell.  2 Loop of final g lacking.  3 gah deleted before gan.
That me behouyth onys to do 452
y am redy to do thi wyH
Erlych late lowde & styH
After this he siked sore
His Anguise was mechiH pe more
y dar sey that y weH wote 457
He swett blode from hed to fote
There come downe from heuene lyght
An angeH faire & bryght 460
To conforte hym weH stiH.
As hit was his ffaders wyH
After this he rose anone
To his discipus he gan gone 464
They were agreuyd of wakyng
They had take grete spekyng
Ihesu fonde hem slepyng aH
Peter ffyrst he gan caH 468
He seyde this ys nott thi dede
That y Comaundyt or y yede 470
NOTES

For notes on C 1*-196* (Vol. II, pp. 126-8) see below p. 193-94.

2/16.* H.  inglische.—Scribal error for “inglische.”


for he thought if he had god hede
To hunger suld he have no nede
he suth of him fayn wit he wald
To what sertayn he suld him hald.

See also The Charter of Christ (ed. M. C. Spalding, Bryn Mawr Monographs, XV, Long Charter, B-Text), vv. 63-64; York Plays, XXII, vv. 19 ff.


3/55*-6.* H. Cf. vv. 95-96; and Northern Homily Collection of Harl. 4196, fol. 61b:—

When ihesus lazarus had raised
Sum of pe puple fast him praised.

11. G₅, hald,—old. h is occasionally prefixed to a word beginning with a vowel; in G₅: “hend” (end) 866; “hall” (all) 1041, 1749; in G₁: “hende” (end) 372; “heuche” (each) 556; “here” (ear) 562; “herthe” (earth) 1602; and cf. Introd., p. 22; in I: “heven” (even) 1039; in C: “wij houte” II, 129/91; “hentred” II, 134/613. Cf. also Ellis, English Pronunciation (E. E. T. S., 7), pp. 431, 477, and Mätzner, Altenl. Sprachproben, II², pp. 383-5.


pat fest lasted fourty dayes
To do men knaw my new lawes.

12a-12b. I. The rhyme drynke : kynge shows that the scribe’s pronunciation was nearer “kynke” than “kynge.” Similar rhymes in the poem Caiphas are commented on by Prof. Carleton Brown, Mod. Lang. Notes, XXIX, 61. Cf. also Wulfstan’s Homilies (ed. Napier) “binge” 305.7, 266.19; “cyninge” 137.3, etc.; and Napier, Old English Glosses (Oxford, 1900), p. xxx; “thynke” (sb.), The Ar manyge of King Arthur (Robson’s Three Metrical Romances) LXII, 16; “henked” C. 1566; “dringke” C. 272. In a few texts the confusion has resulted in -ng being written for -ne; cf. “thing” (vb.) Anturus of Arther (Robson), XXV, 10; “thynge” (vb. Ar. of K. Arth. LXI, 16; “dring” C. 1725 (II, p. 144); and cf. Kolbing, Altenl. Bibliothek, II, p. xxi.

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Notes.

21. Sareçens (G, G, A, C, II, p. 129).—This curious error for "Phareçenes" (Ad) may have arisen from the similarity in spelling.
29–30. The Fairfax MS. of Cursor Mundi varies the rhymes of the other texts, vv. 14526–27:

Cayphas saide in that time
Wordes many we may not rime.

Taken in connection with a second peculiarity parallel to our poem (cf. Introd., p. 83, note 5), this appears to indicate a dependence of the Fairfax MS. (XV century) on the Northern Passion.

40. G5. pa (for other citations see Glossary) is rare enough to appear like a mere error for "pai." The six occurrences in this MS., however, establish the existence of the form. Perhaps this vowel may be due to the confusion between a and ai which is frequent in Scottish or Northern MSS. Cf. note on v. 394; "the" I. 1327, and note.

44. I. Estorne daye.—The term "Easter" is applied to the Jewish Passover as early as the Blickling Homilies (E. E. T. S. 58, etc.), p. 67: "Hælænd cwom syx daqum ær Iudaæum æstram." Cf. also Anglo-Saxon Gospel of Mark (ed. Skeat, 1871, p. 108), xiv. 1: "Æfter twam daqum weren æstron" (Vulgate: "Pascha et Azyma").

52–II. p. 151. R. The order should be: "were passede thatt hye tyde," as in H.

55–56. The correct reading is probably preserved in G5 and G; the lines appear to mean: "until they should devise some other plan by which they might kill a man on that day" (i.e., the Passover).

57. G3. he thryd day.—Other MSS. "ssext," and O. Fr. Passion, v. 33 (II, p. 103) "sis iorz," following John xii. 1. G3 follows Matthew xxvi. 2, but differs from Matthew in that it represents the Entry into Jerusalem on the same day as Mary’s Anointing. The weight of authority is against G3 (cf. Augustine De Consensu Evangelistarum, Migne, 34, cols. 1152–54), chap. lxxviii.


59–60. H. Cf. Southern Passion (Harl. 2277) fol. 5a:

t toward his dep as he wel wiste: toward his foman he rod,
both depending ultimately on Matthew xx. 18.

70a–70b. H. Cf. Matthew xxii. 3.

76. G5. to hend.—A rhyme-tag appearing to mean "at hand," "near by." Perhaps it is a corruption of "so hende."

85–6. In Ad these verses follow v. 90. In C (II, p. 129), vv. 87–88 follow v. 90, and fourteen verses are inserted after v. 86 (II, p. 129, vv. 86a–86n).

86k–86n—II, p. 129. C. The text is corrupt; the lines appear to mean: "Thirty of the Jews, carefully numbered, were sold for a penny, both of relations and of acquaintances. That was granted (decreed) by his word." I read "of" for "porz" (86l); "Bothe" for "Bote" (86m); and "granted" for "graued" or "graned" (86n). The latter may be "graved," engraved, fixed deeply in the remembrance. The Destruction of Jerusalem is, of course, referred to. Cf. Vindicta Salvatoris (ed. Tischendorf, Evangelia Apocrypha, 1876), pp. 484–5: "Et dixit Vesperiansus De iis qui remanserunt quid autem faciemus? Titus respondit illi Iudaici vendiderunt dominum nostri triumphus argentis: nos autem vendamus ex eis triginta pro uno argentio. Et ita fecerunt."

93. G4. For,—forso. Cf. also vv. 1511 and II, 137/1013; Moral Ode (Lewin, Poema Morale, 1881, p. 62), v. 182; and Layamon, Brut, vv. 13305–7:

Ich æm icumen þe þus nær
for muchelere neode
for suggen þe tivende.
While the O. Fr. Passion (II, 103/35-36) follows John xii. 1 (ubi Lazarus fuerat mortuus, quem suscitavit Jesus) in merely referring to the raising of Lazarus, the English poem alters this to a statement that Lazarus was raised from the dead at this time.

99-100. Cf. Cursor Mundi, vv. 13986-87:—

A man hat light symun leprus
At ete he preyed him til his hus.

And Magdalena (Auchinleck MS., ed. Horstmann, Alteengl. Leg., 1878, p. 163), vv. 17-18:

In halle wip Simound leprous,
Where she fond him in an hous.


107-110. Cf. Introd., p. 7 and Northern Homily Collection of Harl. 4196:—

fol. 65b par-with some scho enoynted jam jare
And sebin dried jam with his hare. . .

fol. 86b Mari Magdalene hat rase
sfra ded of syn and sare gan grete
And with his teres wesche cristes fete. . .

fol. 120b Scho went whare ihesu crist was sett
And for his sins sare scho gret.
And afterward jan with his hare.
To dri his fete wald scho noght spare. . .

fol. 121b Scho sesed noght to wasche my fete
With pe teres hat scho grete.

fol. 157 (printed by Horstmann, Alteengl. Leg. n. F. p. 81), vv. 51-54.

113. G. Wyth is the adverb. Mätzner (II, 548) cites a similar use of “mid” from Ancren Riwle (ed. Morton, p. 372): “NICODEMUS brought smuricles uorte smurien mide Louerl, al riht so pe peo Maries brought deorewurthe aromaz uorte smurien mide his bodi.”

113b. H. pe last godspell saue ane,—i.e. the Gospel for Monday in Holy Week, relating the story of Mary’s Anointing. I quote from Horstmann’s table of the contents of Harl. 4196 (Alteengl. Leg. n. F. p. lxxx):—


It will be seen that only the Gospel for Thursday in Holy Week intervenes between the story of Mary in John xii. 1-9, and the Passion. In P, which contains the Passion without the other Homilies, vv. 113b-113c are changed to read (II, p. 158):—

In pe gosspell wha sa will luke
hat sett es of hir in buke.
117-18. Cf. Northern Homily Collection of Harl. 4196:

fol. 121b: And with hir oynement gude & swete
Has scho well ennoit my fete. . . .

fol. 60a: And þat sepin hir bales to bete
With hir teres wescbe ihesu fete. . . .

fol. 65b: þe boste scho broght hir bales to bete
And fell doun bifor ihesu fete.

131. I. settyth.—Scribal error for “seyth.”

135-6. Cf. Northern Homily Collection of Harl. 4196, fol. 65b:—

Pouer men may get almus to craue
And me sal þe noght euermore haue.

139. G. Men ne sschulle noth yeye þos longe. Since þ and y are made alike in this MS., and only occasionally distinguished by a dot, the word “þepe” (on p. 17, n. 6) should be read “yeye”; and the meaning is: “Men shall not long thus cry out against her.” For a similar intransitive use of “yeye,” see Codicem Manu Scriptum Digby 86 (ed. Stengel, Halle, 1871), p. 97, st. 30: “Helpþ hit nout þenne to þeen ne to reme;” and Layamon, Brut, vv. 27750–51: “þa þeiden lude / alle Rom-leode.”

142a. F. Hir mede shall in grave be leyde.—Why Mary’s reward should be buried in a grave is not clear. The scribe was perhaps confused by a recollection of Matthew xxvi. 12.

148. G. his.—Scribal error for “this.”
148–51. Cf. Introd., p. 60, and Northern Homily Collection of Harl. 4196, fol. 66b:—

He thought he wald no langer dwell
Bot to þe iews he wald him sell.

161-3. With the French original of these lines (II, 104/135–37) cf. Robert de Boron’s poem (Furnivall, Seynt Graal, Roxburghe Club, 1861, Appendix to Vol. I), vv. 293–94:—

L’uns en sa bourse pris les ha
Et tantost Judas les donna.

19/1*-21/46*. Cf. Introd., p. 76.
179. G. þan.—Scribal error for ”þam.”
183–II, p. 130. C. gep.—Scribal error for “grip.”

In the Hegge Plays, it will be remembered (cf. Introd., p. 90, note 7), the same Simon the Leper who entertained Jesus at Bethany (Matthew xxvi. 6) is the host at the Last Supper. This form of the tradition also occurs in Robert de Boron’s versified Roman du Saint Graal (Furnivall, Seynt Graal, Roxburghe Club, 1861, Appendix to Vol. I), vv. 375–79:—
Notes.

Diez fu en la maison Simon,  
Et il et tout si conpeignon  
Judas eut les Juifs mandez.  
Et l’un après l’autre assemblez ;  
En la maison Symon entrent.

The compiler of the Hegge Plays may very well have known this romance written at the end of the twelfth century (cf. Suchier and Birch-Hirschfeld, Geschichte der Französischen Litteratur, 1900, p. 132). Cf. also Passion de St. Geneviève in a MS. of the middle of the fifteenth century (Jubinal, Mystères Inédits, II, 167 ff.).

204. F. alle wreith.—Perhaps a corruption of “alle was greith.”

208. G₃. dryng.—Possibly (1) a verb “to serve” from “dren,” “dring,” (sb.) originally a feudal tenant (cf. Maitland, English Historical Review, V, 628 ff.), later “a wretch,” “a poor fellow.” Cf. the citations in Jamieson, Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language, II, 110; and Stewart, Cron. Scot., III, 278, “ane wrache or dring” (quoted in N.E.D.). Or “dryng” may be (2) a scribal error for “bryng.”

213–14. See Introd., pp. 63–64 (1). Long after the fish as a symbol had disappeared from Christian art, it was represented as the food of Jesus at the Last Supper (cf. the references in Roy, Le Mystère de la Passion, p. 29*, note 4). It forms an important part of the Eucharistic banquet in Robert de Boron’s poem on Joseph of Arimathaea (cf. the summary in Nutt, Studies on the Legend of the Holy Graal, 1888, p. 64 B). It is also the principal food in the supper at Simon the Leper’s pictured in Fitzwilliam MS. 20, fol. 186 (reproduced in James, Catalogue of the MSS. in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Plate I). Petit de Julleville quotes the Passion of Jean Michel (Histoire du Théâtre en France, II, 444): “‘est a noter qu’on ne servira que de poisson et de beurre’ attendu que la scène est en carême.”


219. I. Syth.—Scribal error for “etlyth.”

227–30. A (p. 26, note 3).—These verses, which occur only in A, are numbered as part of the original poem, rather than as an addition, because they appear to correspond to vv. 198–202 of the O. Fr. Passion (II, p. 105). The ultimate source is I Cor. xi. 29; probably the lines of A (late fifteenth century) are an independent adaptation of the scriptural passage.

239–42. Cf. Introd., p. 75.

240. G₄. kingk.—Cf. note on 12a–12b.

240–II, p. 130. C. wide zore.—Scribal error for “wide whore.”

249. G₅. Who be pat man.” “Who” is a form of the substantive “wo” (cf. G₁). Wh for initial w is not unusual in G₃; e.g., “whas” 1129, “whar” (vb.) 1151, 1541; “whenyss” 1231; “whe” 1470, 2084. Cf. William of Shoreham, Seven Deadly Sins (E. E. T. S., LXXVII, p. 98), v. 21: “And senne make| al pe who,” also vv. 29, 46; and cf. Glossaries of Morte Arthure, Rule of St. Benet, etc.

Ad changes the construction, and makes “wha” a pronoun.


287. G₇. wodir.—Scribal error for “wondir,” due to the omission of a stroke. Similar errors occur in “euenig” H 518b; “feden” I 575; “murnig” H 149/169*, etc.

287e. G₇. pe wangeliste.—The initial e is elided when the definite article precedes. Cf. Cursor Mundi (Gött.), v. 13977 and Roulant and Vernagu (E. E. T. S., XXXIX), v. 153.

287h. G₇. maundye.—Cf. N. E. D. Maundy, especially 2; and Hegge Plays (Shakespeare Soc., 1841), p. 259: “Lord! where wolde thou kepe thi maundé?”

Notes

321. I. mone.—An error for “mode,” as shown by the rhyme word “stode.” The eye of the scribe was deflected by “myne” in the line above.
372. F. holite.—Cited by N. E. D. only from this passage; probably an error for “holite.”
384. G. sendes.—Scribal error for “spredes.”
394.—G. wenynd.—Scribal error for “wenyd,” or “weynd”; cf. “heynd,” 197, 434, 784; “weynd,” 198, 433; “stale,” 213; “feynd,” 783; “faynd,” 1069; “wynte” (“wrette”) 1654; “vnheynge” (“ende”) 1729; “vnheynyd” (“wényd” inf.), 1855; “wényd” (inf.: “ende”), 2087; “3eide” Ad 960, “whayme” Ad 2080. The insertion of i or y after a long vowel is common in Northern MSS. of the second half of the fourteenth century and later. It first appeared in districts where the diphthong ai was so confused with a in pronunciation that the two could be rhymed together, and were often used indifferently; cf. Morsbach, Mittelenglische Grammatik, pp. 190-1.


And petur pryyes wip-Inne a prowre
flor-sok him, ar cock hedde prics crowe.

410—II, p. 132. C. wonen.—The rhyme word “krowen” shows that “wonen” = “wonen.” Perhaps we should read “krowed: vowed.” W is occasionally found for v (cf. note on 1774), and e for w (cf. note on 668). “Vow” is a weak verb in Mid. Eng.; and “crowe,” originally strong, acquired a weak past participle in the sixteenth century, (cf. Romeo and Juliet, IV, iv, 3).

410i-410j. H. Cf. Northern Homily Collection of Harl. 4196, fol. 6a:—

And in hir hert scho had grete thought
Thurgh his wordes what sulde be wroght.

411—II, p. 132. C. Hos.—Scribal error for “Dos.”
423. A. sylkye,—“sit,” imperative plural. A similar form is “weyteh,” A. 941, from “wite,” to know, to learn.


452—II, p. 132. [pat y essal nedinge] perto.—that I must necessarily go to this (i. e. suffer this). “Nedinge” is for “nedings,” the adverb which appears in Cursor Mundi, vv. 2450, 5926.

474. F. fordynge.—Scribal error for “fondynge.”
508. F. slacun.—The verb “slake” is weak; I have not found the strong past participle elsewhere.

509. I. waht.—Cf. the metathesis of h with a preceding vowel in “wyht,” English Metrical Homilies (ed. Small, p. 67).


524. A. gynem.—Scribal error for “ythe hymn.”
528. A. fhouht.—An original f seems to have been altered to a t. One would expect “souht”; but all the other texts except F read “thought.”

563. H. Cf. Introd., p. 83. The Malchus mentioned in the gospels as the soldier whose ear Peter cut off, became in later tradition one of the chief tormentors of Christ. Cf. the suggestion in Peter of Blois (Migne, 207, col. 1129), “Malchus in Christi faciem”;


> and aiper wald þei haf it hale,
> Bot þai mai neuer com to þat gale,

where Gött. MS. substitutes “tal,” account.

Sale (G) may be (1), “happiness” (<O.E. “sæel”). Cf. Avowynge of Arther (Camden Soc., 1842), st. LXIII, 2–3:

> “Sir,” he sayd, “as have I sele,
> I will ye thou wote hit iche dele;”

or (2), a figurative use of “sale,” bargain.

571–11, p. 133. C. draue.—Scribal error for “craue.”

575. F. feden.—Scribal error for “fenden.”

584. F. of-thorne.—Scribal error for “of-torne,” or “of-shorne.” Of-corn (G; and cf. G, 716) is a variant spelling of “of-schorn.”

623–34. John procures Peter’s admission to the hall of Caiaphas, and later escapes, leaving his cloak in the hands of his enemies. This incident, which is found also in the O. Fr. Passion, vv. 550–66 (II, p. 110) represents a fusion of John xviii. 15–16 and Mark xiv. 51–52. In neither passage is John named, but he was early identified with the “adolescens” of Mark (cf. Gregory the Great, Moralium, Migne, 75, col. 1068). The combination of the two passages is found in The Passion of Our Lord (E. E. T. S., 49, p. 43), vv. 221–36.


636. D. iewiþ.—Scribal error for “iewis,” probably due to the “wip” immediately following.

645. H. himself.—The same construction occurs in the Trinity Homilies (E. E. T. S., 53, p. 121): “also him self seiþ”; and Robert of Gloucester, Chronicle (Rolls Series), v. 271: “Mani was þe gode bodi þat himself slon a day.”

646. H. Righ.—P. (II, p. 161) reads correctly “Ryght.”

656. G5. wonid.—Scribal error for “wondid.”

668. G5. vnysse.—Other instances of the use of u (v) for w occur in G5: “vynter,” 935; “vnvyn” 1242; “vex” 142/62*, and in G1: “ver” 845, “vinne” 1242. These u (v) forms are not uncommon in Northern MSS.; cf. Edinburgh MS. of Cursor Mundi (E. E. T. S., Introd., p. 129*), “verd,” 22742; “verk” 22541; Barbour, Bruce (Scot. Text Soc., 33), Glossary under V.


678. G5. Gounid.—The MS. reading is really “gound,” corrected from “gound.” This is from “gone,” more often “gane” (O.E. “geónian”), to yawn. Cf. Mätzner s.v. “geóni.”

680. G5. pace.—Scribal error for “place.”


691. G. whelyn.—This is probably the same as “when” 1223 (<O.E. “hwane”)) with y inserted as in “weynd” (cf. note on 394); though since p and y are alike in this MS. it might also be read “weljyn” (<O.E. “hwejen”). The form without a connecting vowel after p would be rare.

694. Par ma fay, I, par fay.—French phrases or ejaculations are not uncommon; cf. “par auenture” H. 149/119* and “belamy” H. 1444.

705-6. Cf. Matthew xxvi. 73. These two lines in D should be lowered so as to stand opposite 705-6 in H.

715 ff. Cf. Introd., pp. 64, 83, and see note on v. 563.

745-82. Cf. Introd., p. 66.

774a. H. Lad.—Similarly in York Plays (XXIX, 390) “lad” is used contemptuously; cf. also Morte Arthure (E. E. T. S., 8), vvs. 4093, 4190, 4302, cited by Björkmann in Minneskrift . . . Axel Erdmann (1913), p. 50.

796. I. flemyg.—Usually found with a preposition (of, from, etc.), as in G5, etc. The ellipse of the preposition is also found in Fabian, Chron. VI, cxxii, 229: “Algarus was accused by malyce, and flemyd the lande” (N. E. D. s. v., fleme, 1 b.).

wilde (Ad) is probably for “wille,” since the present tense should accompany “nowe.”


And so ii stoode boundene al pat nyghte
Tyl one pat morowe pat it was daye lyghte.


9-10 The Jues pei toke peir gate,
To pei come to sir Pylate. . .

6-7 With-outen hym we may not do
The thingis pat touch pe e rhoune vnto.

814. G5. pe covent,—for “pe[m] covent.” A Latinism (convent) = was fitting for them.

816. H. Iury,—the land of the Jews, Judea (see also H. 919, H. 1246, H. 1796, H. 1896b, H. 2062). Note the peculiar use of “pare iewry” 1796 and “3owre iewry,” 1246. In H. 164/710*: “han goddes pat in pe iewri ware,” the meaning is, perhaps, “the Jewish quarter,” “the Ghetto” (cf. Chaucer, Cant. Tales, B. 1679). The reference to the idols of the Jews may be compared with the oath “be pare god Mahowne” (2073).

830. H. A rightwis blude.—“Blude” is occasionally used of a person; see Genesis and Exodus (E. E. T. S., 7), v. 1191-2:—

A ðusant plates of siluer god
Gaf he sarra ðat faire blod;

and Cursor Mundi, v. 1055: “his Abel was a blisseyd blod.” But in H a suggestion probably came from Matthew xxvii. 4: “trades sanguinem justum.”

834. turned,—appears to mean “returned upon me,” and hence “multiplied.”
854. G₅, schete,—the infinitive < O.E. “sceotan,” to shoot. Schette (Ad 853) is a weak past from the same verb. Schette (I) is an adverb (> O.E. adj. “sceot,” quick), which occurs also in 861 and G₉, Ad 963.

Asket (G₅) may be (1) an adverb meaning “quickly,” formed on the basis of O.E. “asceotan”; or (2) an error for “aslet”; cf. Prompt. Parv. (E. E. T. S., CII, 16), “Aslete, oblique, aduerbium.” More probably it is (3) an error for “and sket,” or “at sket.” The phrase “sone and skete” occurs in I 853 and Ad G₉, 963, also in Towneley Mysteries, VII, 221.

With a bow skete (A 861), appears to mean “with a bow-shot” (cf. O.E. “gesceoot,” a shooting, hurling).


865. Cf. Introd., p. 60.

874. H. corbanan.—The sacred Treasury in which the gifts for the Temple, or the alms-box in which the gifts for the poor, were kept” (Jewish Encyclopedia, s. v. “Korban”). The word is not frequent in Middle English; cf. Cursor Mundi (Cott.), v. 16337.


876b. I. Sadyl.—(1) Possibly a corruption of “scayl,” wrong, injury; cf. Morte Arthure (E. E. T. S. 8), v. 1642. Or (2) a scribal error for “catyl.”

881. Theuenys (I, G₅, C, II, p. 136); Lewis (G₅, AD, F, A).—The scribes often wrote “Lewis” by mistake for “Theuenys” as in 1523 (G₅, I, F, C, II, p. 141), and 1691 (I, F). Strue (G₅), (F stry) is the correct reading. Streuye (AD) is a mere variant in spelling. In A the scribe has substituted strew, to scatter.

894. G₃. “So deceived was never man as by this money.”


928. I. Ispylte.—Scribal error for “Ispylte.”


950. I. “he (Herod) schal don hym (Jesus) sweryn (allegiance) to me.”

960. Ad. lykange.—A hybrid form “lykande,” the Northern pres. pple., and “lykinge,” the verbal noun.


1016. pat we waiten him with schame.—This is the correct reading from which F and AD are corrupted by the omission of “with.” Cf. Cursor Mundi (Fairf.), 899, “ pou sal wyte wommon with schome;” cf. also 7833.


1034c. H. leperly.—See note in Minneskrift... Axel Erdmann (1913), p. 51.

1036. in his heuyd,—i. e. “to his (Pilate’s) face”; or possibly the phrase is to be connected with “greuyd.” The first interpretation is favoured by G₅: “spaken in his hede.”


1076. G₅. Something is omitted; perhaps one might restore the line: “Tristilich in hir [a luke he] caste.”

1090. I. domesgate.—The gate of the city, in Biblical phraseology, was the place of judicial assemblage; cf. N. E. D. gate sb¹, 2.

1137. len.—Cf. H 249/7*, 23*. The two verbs “lenc” (< O.E. “lænan,” to grant,
give) usually with an accusative of the thing granted; and "leue" (< O.E. "lifan," "lefan," to permit, allow) usually with an object clause, are often indistinguishable in MSS., owing to confusion between u and n. Where the word lacks final e, we may assume that len was intended, since u would require a supporting vowel. Skeat (note on Cant. Tales, B. 1873) is probably mistaken in stating that "len" is not found in the sense of "permit" with a dependent clause. For example cf. Cursor Mundi (Galb.), v. 27820: "God len us to forgif man kyn"; English Metrical Homilies, p. 125: "Our Lauerd len us that we mai ..." Sir Eglamour (ed. Schleich, Palaestra, 53), v. 144: "Cryste len, þat ze part frende." See also citations in N. E. D. under lend 2, b.; Piers Plowman, (A), V. 263: "God lene þei so mote" (changed by Skeat); Legend of Good Women (I MSS.), 2083: "And lene me never swich a cas befalle"; Cant. Tales, D. 1644 (Harl. and Petw. MSS.): "And lene this sumnor good man to bicone"; Cant. Tales, B. 1873 (Lansd. MS.): "Ther he is now god lene us for te mete"; Böddeker, Altengl. Dicht., Geisl. Lieder, III, vv. 105-6: "God vs lene of ys lyht Þat we of sonses habben syht."

1144. "That were not familiar or well-known in former times." Cf. Emaré (E. E. T. S., XLIX), vv. 1030-31:—

Thys ys on of Brytayne layes, That was vsed by olde dayes.

1190. G, als þhe wyll fall,—i. e. as is fitting for you. "þhe" appears to be a scribal error for "þhow."

1190a-1190f. I. The release of Barabbas, which occurs in all the MSS. at vv. 1277-8, is here anticipated, perhaps following the order of Mark xv. 15. In Mark, however, the crucifixion follows immediately on the scourging; while in the poem, it is separated from the scourging by several incidents.


He was tane as a thie, t bounden wonder fast, 
þat bette with hard knotty stringes whil thei wold last.

1203. F. purpalle.—Scribal error for "purple palle."


And a-lowede crie on hir scornynge welcome be thou Iwys kynge.


Of wilke þe prykkes ware swa scharpe þane That þey percede nere thurgh þi herme panne;


1218a-1218c. H. Cf. vv. 1249-64.


Sythene was þou demede at þe Jewes voyce, 
Thurgh Pilate to be hynged on þe croyce.

1218m. H. cheuis zow and him,—you and he look out for yourselves.


1249-50. Pilate said, "Is it your request, to condemn a man without knowing why?"


1292a-1292d. I. Cf. vv. 1383-1411.


1305-6. I. These lines give the substance of the O. Fr. *Passion*, vv. 1189-92 (II, p. 119). In the *North. Pass.*, however, the angel brings three rods, instead of one.


1336. G, vca. Read "wa[s]."

1368. *lokenden*,—probably a scribal error for "lokден." 1370—II, p. 140. C. of "he poper."—Since "poper" is a contraction of "he other," "he poper" is a pleonasm. It was perhaps used in imitation of "he toper" (from "pat poper").

1374—II, p. 140. C. Supply "be" after "no3t."


1415. F. *tronys.*—(1) Possibly this is from "trone" = "a wooden pillar or post set up in a market-place and supporting a horizontal beam on which were hung the town scales for weighing wool, and other articles" (*Cent. Diet.*, "tron," and cf. citation, s. v., "trone," from Child’s *Ballads*, VII, 143). (2) More probably "tronys" is for "cronys," crowns, tops, ends.

1424. Originally the text probably read "*smelle*" : "alle"; cf. the story in Mandevile, quoted in *Introld.*, p. 69. "Smelle" must have been changed to "small" for the sake of rhyme, and the reading of F (“sweete small”) resulted. "Seme" (G, G,) may be the adverb (cf. *Pearl*, 190); but any scribe seeing the phrase "same small" would take "same" for a verb with "small" as its complementary adjective. C (II, 140/1424), represents a further change: "was ferly small."

1426—II, p. 140. C. primed.—In the sixteenth century "prime" means "to load," "to charge," in the seventeenth, "to prepare a surface for painting." One occurrence of the noun “priming” in the fifteenth century seems to show that the second meaning was in early use: "1427-8 Records of St. Mary at Hill, 67: Also for primyng of *he hal* water stop, viijd." (N. E. D., s. v., priming vbl. sb. 1). In the *Northern Passion*, the text is probably corrupted from "pinned."


Emend by omitting "Moyse." "Mount abor." was probably written "Mounttabor," then "Mountabor," and "Mount Abor."

The note prefixed to this Psalm in the Vulgate is: "In finem, psalms David, Cum venit ad eum Nathan prophetis, quando intrauit ad Bethsabee."

These are the opening verse of a poem on the Last Judgment, which is an acrostic on the name of Jesus. The poem is quoted by Augustine, De Civitate Dei, XVIII, ch. xxiii, (Migne, 41, col. 579). An uncertainty as to the time at which the Sibyl lived is denoted by Augustine's remark (Migne, 41, col. 581): "Nonnulli sane Erythrean Sibyllam, non Romuli, sed belli Trojanu temporae fuisse scripturm."


The Vita Ade et Eve is also printed in Herrig's Archiv LXXIX, 459-65.


According to Daniel x. 21 and xii. 1, Michael was the special guardian of Israel.

The verb with this sense is usually reflexive; cf. Amenemhat I (Cameren Soc., 1853), p. 18; Cure Mundi, v. 11694.

Probably a scribal error for "sethe." Cf. Latin Legend (Archiv LXXIX, 467/2-3): "n viso illo stupefactus redigit."

Seth's entrance into the garden was contrary to the angel's previous instructions (Archiv LXXIX, 466/33-4): "intromissos solummodo capite." The Latin of this passage reads (467/3-4): "ipse vero ad hostium tercio regresus vidit . . . . "

"And in the midst (there is) the tree of life, in that place, on which God rests, when he comes into Paradise."

Apparent the tree pointed to the pole of the heavenly spheres.

Bot þou sal tak þis pepins thre 
þat. I. toke o þat appel tre.
152/157*-8*. Ad. Cf. Cursor Mundi (Fairfax), vv. 1397-8:—

Of þi dede he bad me say.
|at þou sulde deye þis þrid day.


Ful many yier ilike grene,
Halines was o þam sene.

154/220*. hafe.—Scribal error for “hase.”
155/233*-S. These lines are based on Exodus xv. The Cantemus Domino does not occur in the book of Psalms, but it was contained in the Psalterium used by the Mediaeval Church; cf. Gasquet and Bishop, The Bosworth Psalter, London, 1908, p. 11; and Catholic Encyclopedia, s. v., Psalterium.
156/264*-5*. Cf. Genesis xii. 7.
157/309*. Now.—Scribal error for “noght.”
157/314*-16*. This is God’s answer to Moses’ question: “Now lorde who saft the lande see” (313*). The Legend reads (Archiv LXXIX, 467/51-2): “Nullus eorum ingredietur in terram promissionis preter Caleph t Josue,” Cf. Numbers xiv. 30.
158/354*, fulfillide,—filled. Perhaps “forthe” in the preceding line belongs with “fulfillide”; see Lord Treasurer’s Account Scott. (1877), I, 30: “Item iiij quarteris of blak to fulfill furth the lynying of the Queynis goone,” (N. E. D., s. v., fulfil 3).
158/401*—2* and 511*-12*. Cf. Introd., p. 80.
159/386*, on beme.—“All the folk beam (or shine) with bliss.” The simple verb “beme” is used in Life of St. Katharine (1884), 46: “For angels come from heuen and conforhted his, becomy pat place of derkenesse wyth vnspekable cleenesse,” (N. E. D., s. v., beam. vb. I, 1).
159/545*-6*. Cf. Introd., p. 80.
160/418*-25*. Cf. 2 Kings xi—xii.
160/428*. Cf. note on 144/181*.
160/431*, tempill deyon, 162/473*, “deyon” 163/510*; and “temple deynonye” 161/457*. In vv. 431* and 457* the corresponding Latin of the Legend is (Meyer, p. 144): “templum domini” (variant reading of Queen’s Coll. MS., Archiv LXXIX, 468/35, 42: “t. dei”); in 510* Meyer (p. 145), reads “domum dei”; and the Queen’s Coll. MS. (469/1), “domum”; 473* has no Latin corresponding to it. “Deynonye” is probably the scribe’s blunder for “domini”; the corruption beginning, as Mr. W. A. Craigie informs me, by reading dom as deyn, deyn. Other suggestions are (1) a
corruption of “de Adoney” (cf. N. E. D. Adonai; Towneley Plays, XXVI, 45; and Engl. tr. of De Guilleville’s Pilgrimage, E. E. T. S., Extra Series, v. 15973, 16118). (2) Mr. Henry Bergen suggests “de novi.” (3) Mr. I. Gollanze thinks it may have arisen from “Sioni” (djeonye, deonye?).

160/576*. Cf. note on 144/181*. 
162/478*. Lynde.—Apparently a scribal error for “lynne” ; but note that it rhymes with “fynde”!
162/650*. “Since they were well known to be so skilful.” A similar use of “kid” is found in William of Palerne (E. E. T. S., I), v. 110: “Komen was he of kun þat kud was ful nobul.”
164/542*-3*. Cf. Cursor Mundi, vv. 8903–4:—
And þan bigan sco for to cri.
Als wit a voce o propheci.

164/572*. thase tithes.—Probably an error for “as tithes.” Robert Thornton, a Yorkshireman, would write “als,” but since he was copying from a Midland MS. (cf. Introdot., p. 28) he may have misread “as” into “thase.”
164/710*. Cf. note on 816.
165/609*. Probatica Pissina.—Cf. John v. 2. The name “Probatica” (<προβατόν, sheep) is supposed to have been given the pool from its proximity to the sheep-gate (cf. Catholic Encyclopedia, s. v., Bethsaida II). The Latin Legend (Archiv LXXIX, 469/10, 11), followed, by Ad (164/571* ff.) identifies it with the pool where the temple offerings were washed.
Pai drou it þen and mad a brig
Ouer a litel burn to lig.
166/618*-19*. Cf. Introdot., p. 72 (6).
166/644*. þame.—Probably a scribal error for “þame.”
167/650*-1*. Cf. Cursor Mundi, vv. 8957–8:—
And for to here of his wisdom.
Quen þat sceo to þe cite com.

1453. Ad. hete.—Scribal error for “herte.”
177,1*–179/40*. Cf. Introdot., p. 78.

1545. F. Sande.—Probably scribal error for "fande."


1558d—1559. H. Cf. Pseudo-Anselm, Dialogus de Passione (Migne, 159, col. 281): "Quod fecerunt non causa miserationis, sed quia pre debilitate id facere non poterat."

1586a—1586b. Ad. Cf. 1645—6. Vv. 1567—84 follow 1588 in this MS.


1599 ff. Cf. Introd., p. 66.

1612. F. disturablinge; C (II, p. 143), destorbinge.—In the 1388 version of Wyclif's Psalm xxx. 21, "disturbyng" is substituted for "disturbyng" of the 1382 version, as a translation of the Vulgate "conturbatione," (N. E. D. s. v. disturbing).

1627. This line in G, is corrupt. Cf. "out wring," 1880.


1640a—1640j. H. Cf. French Passion of Egerton MS. 2781, fol. 156: "leuerent la croze t a si grant force feruente le pee de la croze en la mortays que la croiz brauindist come vne espee t feust la peine tant fort t hidous qe les veyns de soum tendre corps rumprent . . ."; and William of Nassyngton's poem (E. E. T. S., 26, p. 66), vv. 239—46.

1646k—1646m. H. Cf. other texts, vv. 1691—2.


1694 ff. Cf. Introd., p. 75. The poem differs from the Vulgate (1) in making the good thief speak first with an earnest prayer, rather than the bad thief with a mocking appeal; and (2) in the speech of the bad thief, which is adapted from Matthew xxvii. 42. "He" in v. 1699 refers to the good thief; the original copy probably made no mention of "god" (G) or "Theasu" (A) in v. 1699.


1735. G, pa.—Scribal error for "pam."

1742. Behald bi son apon rude tre.—A possible, but not usual, translation of "Ecce filius tuus" (John xix. 26). The O. Fr. Passion (II, p. 122), vv. 1381—2, gives no authority for this interpretation. In D, F, Ad and C (II, p. 144) attempts have been made to bring the line into harmony with the received interpretation.

And namely my modir swete
that for me blody terys gan lete.

1749. G₁. bebed.—Scribal error for "bebled."

1754. Cf. Peter Comestor, Hist. Schol. (Migne, 198, col. 1631), ch. CLXXIV: "Quod virgo virginii commissa est"; Northern Homily Collection of Harl. 4196 (Altengl. Leg., n. F., p. 35), vv. 23-6. Legend relates that at the Marriage of Cana in Galilee, John was the bridegroom and Mary Magdalen the bride; but John forsook his bride and followed Jesus. Cf. Hist. Schol. (op. cit. col. 1559); Cursor Mundi, vv. 13424 ff.; Northern Homily Collection of Harl. 4196 (Horstmann, Altengl. Leg., n. F., p. 81), vv. 11-16; and Harl. 4196:—

(fol. 33b) To þat bridall was Ihesu cald
ffor his cosin þe fest suld hald
John þe sun of þebedu
He was deceple into ihesu
Wife þat day forsoth he wed
Als it es in storis red . . .

(fol. 34a) And þe bridegome of þe hows
Left þe bridall and his spous
He left his wife als men wele wist
And furth he went with ihesu crist
He saw him þore so ful of grace
Al he for-soke and foloud his trace.


1770. G₁. (F, C (II, p. 145). He wex blaker þan any cole,—i. e., Jesus. Cf. þe Lamentacioun þat was bytwene vre lady and seynl Bernard (E. E. T. S., 98, p. 311), Dd. I. 1, v. 317: "þan wex he boþe þebed wGRENE."


Velem templum scissum est interiora
Per se tabernacula patent in hac hora
Templi quoque scinditur super liminare
Atque tune patificorum rumpitur altae.


1791-2. Cf. þe Lamentatioun, etc. (E. E. T. S., 98, p. 321), D, vv. 563-4:—

'sfader, God, In trentyte,
Whi forsakist þou me whi?'

1804e-1804j, 1637-40 H. Cf. other texts, vv. 1637-40, on p. 193.
1808a-1808i. H. Cf. Introd., p. 76, note 3; and other texts, vv. 1829-36.
1808a-1808v—II, p. 146 C. Cf. Peter Comestor, Hist. Schol. (Migne, 198, col. 1630), ch. CLXXII.


1827. I. dealyly.—Scribal error for "deuelys."


1837–40. The belief that the centurion was converted and later suffered martyrdom, was current in the time of Chrysostom (see R. J. Peebles, "The Legend of Longinus," Bryn Maur Monographs, IX, p. 10). Possibly we have here a confusion with the story of Joseph of Arimathea (see below, vv. 1917 ff. in H.).


1840q–1840r. H. Cf. vv. 1896m–1896p, and Introd., p. 79.

1840d. H. At this point the parallels with the Middle English Gospel of Nicodemus begin. Cf. Introd., pp. 77–8.


1864c–1804d. Cf. Introd., p. 79.


1880c–1880f. Cf. Introd., p. 79.

1894. G. peder wandre. These words should be transposed.


1925–6. The second and larger group of parallels with the Resurrection poem in Ashmole MS. 61 begins here; cf. Introd., p. 95, note 2.


When christes discsiples p[ir] wordes herd
with mekill ferly all þai ferd.


2049—II, p. 148. C. fourfe.—Scribal error for "fourfe."


Notes on vv. 1*–196* of Rawl. C. 655 (see II, pp. 126–8).


Prityye wynter and pride halie yere
Hauy woned in londe her.

North. Passion.
Notes.

29*—II, p. 126. Seint lucas in doue licnesse, clearly belongs with line 28*; "Seint Lucas" is parallel in construction to "Seint Marke" (30*).
84*—II, p. 127. oure.—Either a personal pronoun modifying "lord" (v. 83*), or an error for "honoure."
GLOSSARY

[In this Glossary no attempt has been made to cite all the occurrences of words, nor of their variants in spelling. For the sake of convenience, the spelling of MS. G (printed in the third column of the parallel texts of Volume I) is used, and all line-references not preceded by a MS. reference (H I Ad, etc.) apply to this MS. (e. g., in “amang, omang,” col. 2 below, “amang” is the reading of G in v. 25, and “omang” is the reading of another MS., Ad, in the same line). A reference consisting of two numbers (e. g., 142/16*, or H 207/1725) is to page and line; one preceded by a II, is to a text printed in Volume II (e. g., II. 137/1041)].

A

a, interj. ah! 1105.

a, pron. he, 1809, G, 2016.

a, see scho, pai.

abauede, vb. pa. pple. confounded, 156/272*.

a-bayschyd, vb. pa. pple. abashed, A 254.

abide, vb. wait, wait for, 51; abad, pa. pl. H 607.

a-bouen, adv. and prep. above, D 1657;

obouen, H 76, 159/239*; abone, G, 662;

abowne, Ad 1502, 151/111*.

a-bowte, prep. and adv. about, 514;

about, H 20/21*, H 514, H 1450;

abote, II.128/145*; abought, II. 150/14.


acht, G, 1682, see note.

acouped, vb. pa. sing. accused, II. 135/747.

See also culpuid.

adon, adv. down, II. 127/59*, II. 130/106.

See also don.

adrede, adj. afraid, 377; adrad, G, 533.

See also drade.

aferde, adj. afraid, I 1813.

a-gayne, adv. again, 487; azen, D 585;

ogayne, H 169, H 464.

agayns, ageyn, ogains, prep. against, 140,

788, H 913; opposite to, 64, 210;

a-gelynste, I 960.

agh, adj. eight, 150/190*.

agh, see owe.

a-gryfe, vb. agrieve, I 1926; a-greywyde,

pa. pple. I 465; a-greyyde, I 992.

See also greyyd.

ahye, adv. on high, II. 139/1342; aheiz,

II. 146/18086.

albidene, see bidene.

alde, adj. old, Ad 146/49*; hald, 11.

alkyn, all kinds of, 1158, 143/130*;

alkyns, H 1164 b.
alane, adj. alone, Ad 478.
al, see hail.

dallane, see gate.
almons, sb. alms, Ad 136.
almons-dede, sb. deed of charity, 136.
als, conj. as, 9, 73, 172.
alswa, adv. and conj. also, as, H 749;

as, while, Ad 9, Ad 307, Ad 729; alswa

pat, conj. while, Ad 1786.
alther, adj. of all, 274; allir, G, 287 f;
al, 361.
alwelandand, adj. all-ruling, 152/309*.
alvyche, adv. alike, I 101; alvyke, I 1330;
alvyke, 153/175*; ilyke, 157/480*; ilyke, 153/174*.
amaid, adj. amazed, H 1166 a.
amang, omang, prep. among, 25; omanges, Ad 26; omanges, H 641.
amange, adv. along, 158/361*.
amend, vb. amend, increase, H 974.
ameruailed, adj. stricken with wonder, H 922 h.
amyse, adv. amiss, I 730.
amcules, sb. pl. ankles, II. 143/1629.
ane, adj. an, a, H 459; o, D 642; one, alone, 478.
anes, adv. once, H 1034 d.
anger, sb. affliction, H 319; angers, pl.
sorrows, pains, H 442 b, H 456, 148/100*.
angerd, adj. afflicted, H 458 b, H 656.
angwys, angwyssche, sb. anguish, 456.
anly, adv. only, H 451.
anodur, adj. another, F 506, F 1437.
an-ouen, adv. above, G, 1426.
anftware, sb. answer, 142/48*.
a-partye, adv. in part, I 906.
apertly, adv. openly, 906.
apoon, prep. upon, 244, 334, 390; opon, H 461.
are, adj. former, 114.
are, adv. before, formerly, 20/30*, 21/38*.
Ad 476; ore, 165/587*; ere, prep. II. 174/386.
are, sb. grace, mercy, 1144.
aredy, adj. ready, II. 172/315. See also reedy.
arende, sb. errand, I 488; herand, 488; herend, G, 1556.
atou, see be.
aysay, vb. essay, try, H 1054 e; asaiede, pa. pple., II. 135/761.
asent, sb. opinion, intention, H 1156. (See Piers Plowman, B IV. 187, Gower, Conf. Am., I. 2623.)
asket, G, 854, see note.
aslake, vb. diminish, grow weak, G, 1834.
asoigne, asonye, sb. excuse; kast a-soigne, make excuse, 918.
as, vb. ask, H 1060 a.
assemble, see ensamplly.
asse, sb. ass, 60, 75; a nasse, an ass, 67.
asise, sb. required standard, measure, 162/643*.
astate, sb. estate, dignity, H 1274 c.
astond, vb. pa. sing. stunned, T 532 c.
aswippe, adv. as quickly as possible, immediately, II. 131/267.
at, conj. that, 53, 504, 143/127*.
at, prep. to, H 56, H 318.
at, pron. which, who, 64, 250, 143/139*.
athe, othes, sb. pl. oaths, 550.
atu, adv. in twain, II. 145/1774.
aue, sb. ave, a prayer to the Virgin Mary, II. 157/2080 j; aues, pl. 248/9*.
aues, see hafe.
aungel, sb. angel, 459.
aung-is, sb. Augustinian monk's, G, 99.
aunter, sb. altar, II. 145/1782 v; autres, pl. II. 145/1782 o.
avyce, sb. advice, Ad 1835.
avysed, vb. pa. pple. warned, A 944.
aw, sb. fear, H 706; awe, power, Ad 636, D 1473.
aw, au, see owe.
awen, adj. own, 146, 435; awne, 189; mi-nowen, mine own, G, 1234.
a-wonderd, adj. astonished, 154/363*.
awow, vb. maintain, H 642.
ay, adv. ever, 40.
ayere, sb. heir, 161/453*.
ayles, vb. pres. sing. ails, 777.
ayther, adj. either, 1438; aydur, F 1418; 
a'jer, 166/793*; eydur, F 1617.
ayware, adv. everywhere, H 936 c.
ayzell, sb. vinegar, 1722.

B
bald, baulde, adj. bold, 245. See also unbald.
bale, sb. evil, distress, H 254, H 370, 394.
balk, sb. beam, 161/617*.
baly, sb. control, jurisdiction, 310, 312.
bane, vb. curse, H 2031.
bundy, sb. pl. bonds, 590.
bane, sb. murderer, H 214.
bane, sb. bone, 142/25*.
baptist, vb. pa. pple. baptized, 150/206*; babtisud, II. 126/18*.
barayne, adj. barren, H 1548 d.
barn, sb. child, 152/289*.
barnage, sb. baronage, G, 1843.
bath, conj. both, H 647.
bawndoun, sb. control, 884.
be, vb. be, 2/12*; ben, I 232, D 623; am, pres. 1 sing. 385; besie, 387; ert, arte, pres. 2 sing. 323; bese, 1181; es, 
H 1230; ertow, art thou, H 668 h; artou, G, 1224; 
nart, art not, G, 1181; es, pres. 3 sing. 44; is, blys, 508; isse, 270; his, G, 160; is, is not, G, 601; er, 
ben, are, pres. 3 pl. 234; aren, G, 578; 
besp, II. 133/578; is, 500; be, subj. pres. sing. 249; beo, II. 173/348, II. 173/352; 
be, subj. pres. pl. 34; bese, be, impera. pl. 
441; was, were, ver, pa. 3 sing. 845; was, 
pa. 3 sing. 29; whas, 1129; wa, 
G, 1336; nas, was not, G, 894; war, 
ware, were, pa. pl. 845; wern, I 798 a; 
war, were, subj. pa. sing. 52; wer, ware, 
364; wore, F 592; bene, pa. pple. 
597.

beded, G, 1749, see note.
bede, vb. offer, H 207/1724; show, declare, 
157/329*; bed, pa. sing. offered, 148/ 
69*; bede, pa. pl. offered, A 1727.
befall, vb. happen, 32; befallily, pres. 
impers. is fitting, I 339.
befoyn, prep. and adv. before, beforehand, 
33, 251.
begetyn, vb. pa. pple. acquired, 894.
be-haldyn, vb. behold, 624; behaulde, 
impera. sing. 151/107*.
Glossary.

buffet, vb. buffet, H 682 a; buffyt, pa. pl. 678.

buke, sb. book, 204.

burd, sb. board, 205; bord, 330.


buxsumnes, sb. obedience, A 364 b.

Bybill, sb. Bible, 142, 68*.

bydand, vb. pres. pple. abiding, H 1862 b.

byddyth, vb. impera. pl. pray, I 473; bad, bade, pa. sing. ordered, 62, 206; prayed, I 481; bedin, pa. pl. ordered, G 1444; bede, pa. pple. prayed, F 507; ordered, II. 127/62*; bidden, 156/449*.

bydyng, sb. bidding, 144/191*; bedyng, 1992.

byen, vb. buy, I 879; bye, subj. pres. sing. 416 c; bigge, impera. sing. G 416; ybo3te, pa. pple. II. 126/8*.

bygg, vb. build, 144/185*; begged, pa. sing. 160/575*.

byheste, sb. promise, 155/262*.

by-hynde, prep. behind, Ad 589.

byscamed, vb. pa. pple. reviled, shamed, II. 138/1114.

byse, vb. refl. impera. sing. attend to, take care of, H 839.

by-southte, vb. pa. pl. besought, Ad 1560.

by-thynke, vb. thinketh, Ad 738; by-thynke, I 135/738.

byfo[e]nus, vb. pres. sing. betokens, II. 143/1662; bitoken, pres. pl. 152/308*; betakenyd, pa. sing. 1608.

C

c, see also k.

cald, adj. cold, 682.

can, con, see gan.

carped, vb. pa. sing. spoke. H 672.

carping, sb. speaking, H 275.

caste, vb. pa. sing. cast, G 1076 (see note); kest, 257; kasten, pa. pple. H 868; castyn, 145/276*.

castel, G 893, see note.

caytiff, sb. wretch, 148/94*.

cedre, sb. cedar, G 1323.

cendill, sb. shroud, 1904; sendale, 156/274*.


certys, adv. certes, assuredly, 159; sertes, H 395.

cete, sb. city, I 59.

charge, vb. pres. pl. care for, reck, regard, H 840; charged, pa. pple. ordered, 1947.

charle, sb. charity, love, II. 144/1714 f.

che, see scho.

cheke, sb. cheek, H 772.

cheke-bone, sb. cheek-bone, Ad 147/67*.

chene, see schene.

chef, see schepe.

chere, sb. mien, 224, 331; chier, 176.

chere, vb. cut, H 1593; schare, pa. sing. H 562; schorne, pa. pple. 584; seerde, II. 140/1415.

chese, vb. choose, 249/22*; pa. sing. 154/202*; chesed, pa. pl. 1949.

cheuairye, sb. men-at-arms, knights, 158/343*.

cheuis, vb. impera. sing. provide for, care for, H 840; impera. pl. H 1218 m.

chire, adv. kindly, H 682 d.

chyde, vb. scold, Ad 626.

cirtill, sb. man's coat, 415.

clarte, sb. splendour, G 1342 b.

clathe, sb. cloth, 295, 351.

cleime, vb. cry out, G 1815.

cleyn, vb. pres. pl. call, name, I 357; clepet, II. 173/357, II. 173/359; clepyd, pa. sing. I 61; pa. pple. 144; I 921.

clethe, vb. clothe, 368; clothy, II. 173/368; clede, pa. sing. 140/26*; cled, 999; closed, pa. pl. 371.

clethyng, sb. clothing, 999.

cleue, vb. slay, G 1266; cleue, cleefe, pa. sing. split, 861; Ad 1774.

clewed, vb. pa. sing. adhered, clung, H 1280 a.

cocke, sb. cock, 409.

comauauid, vb. pa. sing. commanded, 470; cumand, 161/623*.

comberd, vb. pa. pple. burdened, corrupted, 122; camberd, H 20/17*.


conne, couth, see kun.

condempnyd, vb. pa. pple. condemned, 1082.

condiciowns, sb. pl. qualities, character, H 103½ b.

coniure, vb. pres. sing. adjure, conjure, 659.

coniuryng, sb. adjuring, 659.

contake, sb. strike, 298, 416.

cordeede, vb. pa. pl. agreed, II. 129/10.

crownmold, vb. pa. pple. crowned, D 1246 b; corond, 161/607*.

cors, sb. body, corpse, 142/37*.
Glossary.

cosyn, sb. cousin, friend, H 1730 e.
cotell, sb. knife, A 870; cutell, A 1512.
coth, vb. pa. pl. quothe, said, 1561.
couatyse, sb. covetousness, H 20/17.*
couent, 814, see note.
couyte, vb. pres. pl. desire, D 674; couait, pa. pple. H 962 a.
couthe, adj. well-known, 647; coupe, sb. acquaintances, II. 129/86 m. See also kun, vnkouth.
crawe, vb. crow, 409.
credill, adj. cradle, 151/113*.
criein, vb. proclaim, G 1 178.
croppe, sb. top, 151/115*.
cros, vb. crucify, H 1266.
crowkaid, adj. crooked, deformed, 987.
crowne, sb. crown, I 814; corowne, H 1208.
croyce, sb. cross, H 1218 f.
culpid, coupled, vb. pa. sing. accused, 747. See also acouped.
cum, vb. come, H 634; come, pa. sing. 467; cumen, pa. pple. H 477.

d
dale, sb. share, 570.
damned, vb. pa. pple. condemned, Ad 1285.
dared, vb. pa. pl. lay motionless, H 533.
dauysung, sb. dancing, 143/131*.
dawe, sb. day, 167/659*; dawys, pl. 12; dases, I 806; done of dawe, put to
deth, 166/620*, 167/659*.
dawunynge, sb. dawnning, I 1971.
daynte, sb. esteem, 143/88*.
dede, adj. dead, I 534.
dede, sb. dead, 141; dead, 220.
deed, sb. death, 56; deeth, 94; ded, 401.
def, sb. deaf, 986.
defaut, sb. sin, H 256, H 926.
defende, vb. forbid, 150/208*; defendes, pres. sing. H 936 c.
defle, sb. part, Ad 146/41*; euer-dele, wholly, 116; euer ilke dele, 288; ilkadele, 976; notht del, no way, 1370.
defleuede, vb. pa. sing. dug, Ad 147/90*.
deme, vb. judge, H 56; demydy, pa. pl. I 49, I 56.
demeing, sb. judgment, H 950.
dene, sb. din, G 1 1779; dine, II. 146/1808 k.
dene, sb. den, II. 155/1764 d.
denys, dygnes, vb. pres. 2 sing. deigns, 1229; deignestou, deignest thou, G 1 1229.
dere, ade. dearly, 4.
dere, sb. harm, Ad 1154.
dere, vb. injure, 413, H 508 b.
despende, vb. pa. pple. spent, H 20/14*.
despitusly, ade. scornfully, H 658.
destorblinge, sb. disturbance, II. 143/1612.
note.
ding, vb. strike, H 1962 d; dange, pa. pl.
Ad 1197.
discryed, vb. pa. pple. discerned, 2046.
dispoute, sb. contention, G 513.
disturbalyng, sb. disturbance, F 1612; distorbynge, G 1 143/1690.
do, don, vb. do, 559; duse, dose, pres. 2
sing. 127; dose, pres. 3 sing. 225;
do, don, pres. pl. 503; do, subj. sing.
341; dyd, dede, pa. sing. 1100; ded,
II. 156/1891; dyd, dedyne, pa. pl. 200;
done, pa. pple. 443; do, II. 174/394;
ido, II. 173/356.
dole, sb. sorrow, pain, H 148/39*.
dolt, vb. pa. pl. dealt out, shared, 1592;
delt, 1594; delyd, pa. pple. A 894.
dome, sb. judgment, H 668.
dome, vb. judge, 1091. See also deme.
domes-gate, sb. place of judgment, I 1090.
domes-man, sb. judge, H 816, 165/764*;
domes-men, pl. II. 128/195*.
domes-sete, sb. judgment-seat, A 1090.
domys-bynk, sb. judgment-seat, 1090.
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dore-entre, sb. entrance, D 687. See note.
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grede, vb. call, cry out, Ad 1545.
grefe, sb. grief, 1184.
grene, adj. fresh, unsalted, 164/574*, Ad 1904.
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heyst, II. 127/57*; highest, hyest, super. 
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helded, vb. pa. pl. inclined, bent their 
course (in hostile sense), II. 138/1142 
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hele, sb. cure, salvation, 153/184*, 181/46*.
hele, sb. heel, 148/81*.
hele, vb. conceal, 2041; helin, D 1548; 
holyde, pa. pple. Ad 754.
hely, adv. highly, emphatically, H 1682.
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herdes, sb. pl. hards, the coarser parts of 
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herlot, sb. rascal, 1576.
hern-pan, sb. brain-pan, H 1210 d.
herthes, sb. earth, G 1062.
herting, sb. encouragement, hope, 242/5*.
herto, adv. hereto, H 2/8*.
hest, sb. promise, 156/424*.
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iche, pron. and adj. each, A 363; heuche, G 556; ech, II. 173/363; euche, G 14.

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in, prep. into, Ad 1996.

in-mydd, prep. amidst, D 680; in-myddis, D 722.

inogh, inowe, see enoghe.

ins, sb. abode, H 204.

in-samen, adv. together, D 757.

in-tyll, prep. into, 10.

iolifte, sb. pleasure, G 372.

iornal, journey, H 1559.

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iuellle, sb. jewel, 181/309*.

iustifie, vb. judge, H 1178 a.

i-wyssse, adv. certainly, 269, I 785; iwis, H 569.

ive, see the.

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katell, sb. money, 803, 1945.

kay, sb. key, 244/24*.

kele, vb. become cool, become less, 149/124*; keleing, pres. pple. H 1212 a.

ken, vb. teach, 599; recognize, 51/14*; know H 2/14*; pres. sing. know, H 725; kend, pa. sing. knew, H 146/3*; pa. pple. known, H 20/13*; taught, 152/313*.

kene, adj. bold, H 51/0*.

kenly, adv. boldly, H 922 a.

kepe, sb. heed, notice, H 275, H 465.

kepe, vb. keep, care for, wait for, 220; observe, Ad 276; kepe, pres. pl. care for, 674; kepyd, pa. pple. 79.

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kinde, sb. nature, race, 153/341*, 1718.

kingk, sb. king, G 1 240.
lefe, leef, adj. lief, 770, F 132 b; lewe, 1822; lef, II. 144/1714 s; leuer, compar. 630.
lefe, sb. leaf, 150/242*.
leiche, sb. equal, peer, G, 159.
elien, vb. lay, G 84; ley, pres. pl. D 653.
elly, adv. leally, faithfully, 143/89*.
len, vb. subj. sing. grant, 1137, 2085, 249/7*; 249/23*; lene, 2081; lent, pa. sing. gave, 143/134*, 148/78*.
lendys, sb. loins, I 1864.
lenger, adv. compar. longer, G, 153, 424; langir, 810.
lenkith, sb. length, H 444; lenthe, 1423; lenghe, 153/177*.
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lerc, sb. teach, H 2/16*, F 6; learn, 2052.
les, vb. lessen, H 826 b.
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lesing, sb. lying, G, 207, D 650.
lest, adj. least, 20.
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leste, vb. last, I 590.
lethet, vb. pa. sing. abated, ceased, F 1768.
let, sb. hindrance, H 75.
lett, vb. hinder, H 828 a, H 1068; forsake, 163/525*; pause, H 206 a; lettit, pa. sing. hindered, F 723; lette, stopped, H 1140; letted, pa. pl. paused, H 957; lett, pa. pl. forsook, Ad 146/13*.
lettyngse, sb. preventing, Ad 207.
leperly, adv. wickedly, H 1034 c.
lene, sb. leave, 194, 148/50*.
leue, vb. leave, stop, H 398; lathe, pa. sing. released, II. 126/10*; leuyd, lefte, laft, pa. pl. left, 587; leuyd, pa. pple. 348, 1637.
leue, vb. subj. sing. grant, I 1137.
leuedi, sb. lady, G, 1753, II. 144/1737.
leuyyn, vb. believe, I 27; leue, Ad 146/11*; lefe, imperu. sing. 1095.
levyn, vb. pres. pl. live, 366; leueande, pres. pple. Ad 659.
lewte, leaute, sb. loyalty, 925, Ad 187/1683.
lighe, sb. lie, H 906.
lihte, adj. easy, D 1938.
kirnells, sb. pl. kernels, 152/141*.
knav, vb. know, 261; knouen, pa. pple. II. 134/614.
kneghtes, sb. pl. knights, H 1007.
kneled, vb. pa. sing. kneelt, 106; knewede, II. 130/107.
knewleche, sb. knowledge, II. 145/1782 l.
kounnsal, vb. pres. 1 sing. counsel, H 503.
kun, vb. know, H 2/14*; konne, 161/443*; conne, pres. 2 sing. knowest, Ad 662; kan, H 802 c; conne, pres. pl. can, G, 764; couth, cowde, pa. sing. could, 288, 743; kowth, pa. pl. knew, 153/348*. See also conthe, vnkouth.
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kundely, adv. properly, 152/313*.

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lad, sb. lad, knave, H 774 a; laddis, pl. D 713.
lagyns, sb. laughing, 152/160*. See also lughe.
laine, vb. conceal, H 148/44*.
laire, sb. grave, H 244 b.
alithy, lolich, lothlech, adv. in a loathsome manner, 1009. See also lothely.
lake, sb. lack; with-owtyn lake, without fail, 1418.
lake, sb. brook, stream, 166/782*.
lamazabethany, lamma sabacathani, 1788
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langare, adv. long ago, 720.
lang on, prep. owing to, H 1125.
langus, vb. pres. 3 sing. beseems, belongs, F 339; langys, 342.
lap, sb. flap, bosom, H 327; iappe, 852.
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lawely, adv. in lowly manner, 145/283*.
lay, sb. law, 389; lawe, 406; lawys, pl. 11; laus, H 935. See also vnlawe.
lazer, sb. leper, 94, 95.
leche, sb. cure, I. 126/52*.
lecture, sb. reading, what is read, I 289.
lede, sb. lead, I 533.
lede, sb. people, 157/330*.
lede, vb. lead, Ad 74; ladde, pa. sing. II. 126/36*; vlad, pa. pple. II. 131/378.
ledere, sb. leader, 154/217*.
liking, sb. comfort, enjoyment, 150/174*.
list, sb. hearing, attention, II. 126/2*.
list, vb. impers. pleasing, 153/333*, II. 129/86 f.
lith, vb. listen, H 161.
litill, adj. little, H 576.
litue, sb. life, 1297; lef, G, 1315.
linter, vb. deliver, H 1188, 244/30*.
lokeneden, G, 1368, see note.
lokyngse, sb. look, glance, I 1076.
løkkøs, sb. pl. looks, H 1920 m.
longede, vb. pa. sing. longed, yearned, II. 126/14*.

lordynys, sb. pl. lords, A 1.
lote, sb. lot, H 1594 b; lotes, pl. H 1591.
lothely, adj. loathsome, 151/102*.
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louered, sb. lord, G, 124; lord, poss. lord's, 1736.
loumbe, sb. lamb, II. 128/192*; lombre, II. 128/193*.
lowted, vb. pa. sing. bowed, H 1807.
luf, luffe, sb. love, 989.
luf, vb. pres. 1 sing. love, 159; luffid, pa. sing. 436.
lughe, vb. pa. sing. laughed, 142/49*.
lounge, 152/160*; law; ande, pres. pple. F 960. See also lagynge.
luke, vb. regard, consider, 144/183*.
ly, leye, vb. lie; ly on, tell lies about, 906, II. 128/153*.
lycorye, sb. liquorice, I 120 a.
lygge, vb. lie, recline, 400; lig, 165/742*;
ligand, pres. pple. H 146/14*; liggen, pa. pple. H 1896 l.
lyghtid, vb. pa. sing. alighted, 89.
lyked, vb. pa. sing. was pleased, A 107 b;
lym, sb. limb, F 976 a.
lynde, sb. linden, 161/469*.
lynde, 162/478*, see note.
lynte, sb. line, measure, 162/485*.
lyst, vb. listen, 1831; lustet, impera. pl. G 1019.
lyte, sb. light, I 517.
lythe, sb. limb, 142/25*.
lyuyng, sb. living, 931; lyfyingd, 144/190*.

M

ma, vb. make, H 478; mase, pres. sing. Ad 1114; mad, pa. pple. 1335; makid, 1336.
macoun, sb. mason, G, 1897.
maistires, sb. pl. masters, 23.
make, vb. match, 1408.
malasyd, vb. pa. sing. regarded with malice, I 1099.
manas, vb. menace, 1967; manacyd, manast, pa. sing. 1099.
mane, sb. moan, 179/40*, H 2016.
manechyn, sb. menacing, 1000.
man-slaughte, sb. manslaughter, I 1024.
marchildyse, sb. merchandise, bargain, 886.
mased, vb. pa. sing. dazed, F 1099.
mast, adj. and adv. greatest, most, 23, 309, 644; meste, G 156; mesti, G 840.
mate, vb. pa. pl. measured, D 1364.
maunde, sb. the Last Supper, G 237 h.
See note.
mawgre, sb. blame, reproach, 154/220*.
may, vb. pres. sing. may Ad 312; may, pres. pl. I 196; pow, F 2; moo, F 642;
myght, mistht, pa. sing. 572; moughte, Ad 211; moght, H 818 a; myth, pa. pl. I 471; mist, G 1153. (Cf. Pearl 460.)
mayn, sb. might, H 899.
mayne, adj. mighty, Ad 1194; mayn, 142/70*.
me, pron. they, people, G 688, II. 175/426.
meche, sb. match, 1344 b.
mede, sb. reward, praise, 157, 367, 157/457*.
mede, sb. meadow, II. 127/77*.
medeful, adj. meritorious, H 2/12*.
medisin, sb. medicine, 148/96*.
mene, vb. complain, H 2012 f; refl. 160/566*; meneand, pres. pple. 242/4*.
mene, vb. pres. pl. mention, H 1218 b;
meynd, pa. sing. meant, 147; ment, 152/281*.
meneing, sb. meaning, intention, H 207/1727; remembrance, 236, 160/590*, 2082.
mening, sb. mourning, moaning, 1355.
mentil, sb. mantle, D 632.
meny, sb. company, followers, 91; meyn-
the, 202; meny, G 97, H 975; meyn, D 692 a.

merke, sb. mark, I 570, D 1371.
meruail, sb. marvel, 150/243*.
meruyloyous, adj. marvellous, 159/400*.
eseld, adj. leprous, 159/371*.
message, sb. errand; in message, on an errand, 166/633*.
met, sb. measure, 1370.
mete, adj. meet, 162/474*.
mete, sb. food, 201, 203; meeth, 195.
mete, vb. meet, 512; mette, pa. pl. 1318.
metinge, sb. measuring, II. 152/1610.
metyng, sb. dreaming, 284.
mid, prep. with, G, 1067.
midelther, sb. earth, world, 149/150*.
miming, sb. remembrance, G, 2082.
minde, sb. remembrance, H 236.
mi-nowen, see awen.
mirknes, sb. darkness, 602.
mis, vb. miss, 51/17*; mysse, 523; mist, pa. pl. 245/50*.
mistare, sb. misfortune, H 177/2*.
misaid, vb. pa. pl. reviled, H 680; pa. pple. II. 128/172*.
mister, sb. men of mister, craftsmen, 1341.
mis-trowand, vb. pres. pple. unbeliving, 156/442*.
mistrowing, sb. unbelief, H 1715.
mo, adj. and pron. more, 234, 343; mare, Ad 456; ma, H 754, 149/148*.
mode, sb. mind, manner, 932; mude, 1506; might, strength, H 890.
mone, vb. subj. 2 sing. mention, II. 134/662*; monede, pa. sing. Ad 147.
mone, I 321, see note.
mone, sb. money, 164.
morthner, sb. murderer, H 1050.
morwe, adj. morrow, D 2005.
mote, sb. discussion, 788.
mote, vb. dispute, H 848.
mote, vb. pres. 1 sing. must, Ad 8; mot, may, Ad 696; mot, pres. 2 sing. 166/643*; must, pa. imper. 8.
mote-haulle, sb. judgment-hall, Ad 1090.
mone, vb. trouble, H 1178 b.
moot, sb. mouth, II. 133/546.
mun, vb. pres. sing. must, H 842.
muring, murnig, see note on 149/169*.
myghtfull, adj. mighty, Ad 1763.
mykell, adj. and adv. great, much, 2; mekyll, 96; mochil, G, 456; moche, D 572.
myyn, adj. less H 1041.
myngyst, vb. pres. 2 sing. stirrest, I 782; mungid, pa. pple. 746; mingled, 1722.
myrke, adj. dark, 1772.
myrthis, sb. pl. pleasures, 142/42*.
mys-bede, vb. pa. pl. injured, F 1214 a.
mys-fare, vb. fare ill, 166/618*.
mysferde, vb. pa. pl. fared ill, 166/630*.
mys-gon, vb. pa. pple. erred, mistaken, 694.
mysliking, sb. trouble, D 1763.

mysse, mis, sb. misdeed, 142/44*; mistake, 149/157*.
mystone, vb. pa. pple. mistaken, 694.

N

nad, nauned, see hafe.
nakynns, adj. no kind of, 53; nokynns, 54; nokyn, 346.
nart, nas, see be.
nasse (a), see asse.
nay, sb. wyth-outen nay, beyond doubt, A 1546.
nayre (a), see eyre.
ne, adv. not, I 6, 262, 356.
ne, conj. nor; with noght, 138, 441; with no, 153.
neddir (a), sb. an adder, 151/102*.
nede, vb. pres. sing. is necessary, A 789.
nede, nedis, adv. necessarily, 452.
nede, sb. business, 839; nedis, pl. D 1574 a.
nedinge, adv. necessarily, II. 132/452. See note.
nedir, nether, adv. nether, lower, 1419, I 1429.
negh, adv. near, nearly, 480; neith, G, 1628.
neghe, prep. near, 545; negh, H 612 a; ney, D 684.
nel, see wyll.
nere, adv. near, 14.
nere, see ere.
nere-hande, adv. and prep. near, nearly, Ad 1022, 161/449*, H 438a.
neshe, adj. tender. soft, II. 138/1210 b.
neste, adv. neste, 274.
neuenig, sb. naming, 163/604*.
neuyn, vb. name, 163/688*; neuind, pa. sing. 163/696*; nevenyd, nemned, pa. pple., 1762.
no, adv. now, II. 134/628 a.
nocht, see owe.
noen, adj. and pron. no, none, 166; nane, H 542a; noon, 328.
noght, adv. not, 5, 37; noth, G, 32; notht, G, 148; natt, II. 150/5.
nome, vb. take, 142/36*; nymme, impera.
nonyse (for the), sb. for the nonee, II. 155/1032 h.
None, sb. the ninth hour, about three o'clock in the afternoon, 1766.

Not, see wit.

Nothir, conj. neither, 1170; nowhere, H 19/5*, H 21/43*, H 398.

Nothir, adj. other, 491; nothir, 1674.

Nowe, adj. new, 646.

Nowre-where, adv. nowhere, 161/620*.

Now, sb. trouble, D 1500 b.

Nulle, see wyll.

Nurtoure, sb. training, H 774 a.

Nye, vb. annoy, F 657; noyd, pa. pple. 145/269*.

Nynd, adj. ninth, 158/577*.

Nyghen, adj. nine, H 146/2*; nien, 153/340*.

O

Obouen, see a-bouen.

Obout, see a-bowte.

Odur, adj. other, F 294.

Off, of, prep. of, 37; out of, 242; by, I 1305.

Of-broide, vb. upbraid, reproach, H. 127/658*.

Offerande, sb. offering, Ad 146/44*.


Of-thorne, F 584, see note.

Of-torne, vb. pa. pple. torn off, F 716.

Off-sipes, adv. oftentimes, H 756, 164/724*.

Ogain, see agayns.

Ogayne, see a-gayne.

Ogayne-warde, adv. back again, Ad 1520 j.

Oght, adv. aught, 258, 268, 369; o'5t, sb. H. 117/418.

Oloud, adv. aloud, H 1032.

Oman, omanges, see amang.

Omeill, prep. among, H 17.

On-beme, vb. pres. pl. shine, 159/386*.

See note.

On-brade, adv. pres. pl. shine, 159/386*.

O

Oone, see ane.

On-lang, adv. lengthwise, H 1586 a.

On-lieue, adj. alive, H 2058.

Onone, adv. straightway, 133, 179; onane, H 483; anon, G, 155.

On-slepe, adv. asleep, 275, H 466.

Ony, see eny.

Onon, see apon.

Oposed, vb. pa. pple. questioned, H 747.

Or, conj. ere, 150/219*.

Ordand, vb. pa. pple. arrange, H 205; pa. pl. H 17; pa. pple. 2/15*.

Ore, see are.

Orysonne, sb. prayer, Ad 446.

Othes, see athes.

Ouer-dreyyn, vb. pa. pple. covered, 178/28*.

Ouer-gane, vb. pa. pple. covered over, H 1768.

Oure, adv. anywhere, H 1950.

Oure, sb. hour, H 471.

Oure, H. 127/84*, see note.

Ous, pron. us, H 173/352.

Out-brast, vb. pa. sing. burst out, H 1210, 1616.

Out-toke, vb. pa. sing. excepted, H 148/51*.

Out-wryng, vb. rush out forcibly, 1880; out-wrang, pa. sing. 1627.

Ouyr-glyde, vb. pa. pple. passed by, A 52.

Ouyr-stone, sb. upper stone, i.e., the stone covering the tomb, 1975.

Oway, adv. away, H 90 d, 166/788*.

Owe, vb. pres. 1 sing. ought, I 489; owest, pres. 2 sing. I 840; aw, pres. 3 sing. H 873; awes, Ad 761; au, ovuds, 245/33*; aw, pres. pl. ought, H 2/3*; aw, Ad 146/11*; aught, pa. sing. ought, 754; aughte, owned, 181/17*; nocht, did not own, had not, G, 159.

Owre, prep. over, 167/670*.

Owre, pron. our, 4; owre, 5.

Oyled, vb. pa. sing. anointed, 118.

Oynamen, sb. ointment, 111; oynsnment, 117, 128; vnment, H 19/11*.

P

Pace, G, 650, see note.

Palasse, sb. palace, 974.

Pall, sb. mantle, 1203.

Par-auenture, adv. perhaps, 149/119*.

Parchemenye, sb. parchment, 1664.

Par ma fay, in faith, D Ad 694.

Paryd, vb. pa. pple. prepared, 1416.

Paske, pasch, sb. Passover, 173, 1022, H. 128/190*; pasch, H 44; Paschal feast, 193; passe tyme, Passover, 44.

Passe, sb. pace, 605.

Passe, vb. go, 450.

Pay, vb. please, 153/328*; payd, pa. pple. 74.

Paye, sb. pleasure, 159/392*.

Penye, sb. pl. peniess, 129, 247.

Payps, sb. pl. seeds, pips, 142/32*.

Pete, sb. pity, Ad 146/25*.

Peyne, sb. pain, I 2, I 5.

Peris, vb. perish, H 570.

Persaulud, vb. pa. sing. perceived, H 739.

Pese, pees, sb. peace, 544. See also vn-pees.
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rem, sb. realm, I 948.
rembund, sb. remainder, 166/789*.
remove, vb. remove, 143/150*; remu, 159/536*.
renne, vb. run, D 1218; ren, II. 147/1881.
rennande, pres. pple. D 1442 b; rynand, A 1556.
repreu, sb. shame, disgrace, II. 150/28.
resownd, vb. pa. sing. questioned, D 747.
reuth, sb. ruth, pity, 1630; reuth, distress, H 1216 a.
rew, vb. pity; rewe on me pat rede, pity me for that plan, I 402.
rewl, vb. rule, H 300 a.
rial, adj. royal, II. 151/80.
rique, sb. kingdom, II. 127/118*, II. 172/342 a; kingdom of heaven, II. 128/170*.
rigge-bone, sb. backbone, Ad 1580.
right, vb. rise, 150/201*.
rightwis, adj. righteous, H 186, H 781.
rightwisli, adv. righteously, H 1274 f, ri3t-wyslyche, II. 126/23*.
rightwisnes, sb. righteousness, H 1165.
riht, adj. right, D 562.
rote, sb. root, 1323; rute, 143/98*.
rotyn, vb. rot, G, 1431.
rowe, vb. row, stir about (?), 1394. See note.
rowte, sb. rabble, troop, 513.
ruggede, vb. pa. pl. tugged, pulled, Ad 1283; rugged, H 1590; pa. pple. H 178/27*.
ryfe, adj. famous, 1845.
ryfe, vb. arrive, 93.
ryghte, sb. to the ryghte, upright, 162/493*.
ryme, sb. rhyme, tale 58.
ryme, vb. make verses, 30.
ryse, rise, 53; rayse, pa. sing. 266, 330;
roos, I 463; rayse, resyn, pa. pl. 535.
ryght, adv. right, 92; ryght, 164; riht, D 561. See also vnryght.
ryue, adv. frequently, I 883; ryfe, widespread, 1918.

S
Sabot-day, sb. Sabbath, H 936 b.
sadyl, I 876 b. See note.
sakke, sb. ground, reason. 6.
sakles, adj. innocent, H 833.
sale, G, 570; see note.
sall, vb. pres. sing. shall, 32; schal, I 142;
xal, I 33, I 148, I 149, I 157, I 158,
I 232, I 239, I 242, I 305, I 310, I 367, I 376; sall, schalt, pres. 2 sing. 410; xalt, I 338; saltou, shalt thou, H 410 a; sall, schul, schalle, pres. pl. 135; schole, G, 371; shulle, II. 175/429; xul, I 65, I 185, I 195, I 236; xall, II. 153/156 a, II. 153/320 b; saltyay, shall they, 245/54*; sudl, schulde, solde, pa. sing. 53, 78, 299; sudl, pa. pl. 65; solde, Ad 871; xulde, I 1034.
salter-buke, sb. Psalter, 144/182*.
samen, adv. together, H 19/9*.
sand, sb. messenger, 149/137*; sande, 161/446*.
sande, F 1545, see note.
sange, sb. song, 155/235*.
sare, adj. and adv. sore, sorely, 110; sore, I 113, 455.
sarenes, sb. soreness, H 1468.
sauage, 154/213*. See note.
sawd, vb. pa. pple. soldered, 159/553*.
sawe, sb. saying, 405; sow, H 1967.
sawles, sb. pl. souls, 4.
sawyd, vb. pa. pple. saved, 1066.
schath, sb. hurt, injury, H 132 c; schatpe, II. 141/1482.
schake, vb. go, escape, 1028; schoke, pa. sing. shook, 852.
schamyd, vb. pa. pple. shamed, 1113.
schap, vb. escape, H 628; scape, I 1028.
schare, schorne, scerde, see chere.
schawe, vb. show, 142/78*; schewes, pres. sing. H 532 b.
schayne, vb. pa. sing. shone, 1767;
schinand, pres. pple. 150/234*.
schende, vb. injure, destroy, H 506; schent, pa. sing. perished, 865; schent, pa. pple. lost, destroyed, H 865; scent, injured, II. 146/1794.
schene, adj. bright, D 1398 b; chene, I 1305.
schepe, sb. pl. sheep, 385; chep, II. 131/384 c.
scheson, sb. accusation, charge, 1936.
schete, vb. shoot, 854.
schet, adv. quickly, 861; skete, Ad 963.
scho, pron. she, 104, 105, 106; yio, G, 104; he, G, 701, II. 130/104*, II. 130/165*; a, G, 1750; che, D 1981.
schogged, vb. pa. pl. shook, H 1646 g.
schonde, sb. shame, I 1113.
schone, sb. pl. shoes, 145/282*.
schorte, vb. subj. pl. shorten, F 1484.
schoures, sb. pl. attacks, 142/52*.
schout, sb. shout, H 1218 u.
schyrfte, sb. shrift, I 248/2*.
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se, vb. see, H 3/52*; sene, 756; sese, pres. 2 sing. H 1244 a; see, seen, pres. pl. 231; sowe, pa. 2 sing. I 410; saw, saughe, pa. sing. 209; sarch, G 1104; set, II. 127/121*; saic, II. 133/565; sawe, pa. pl. 522; seith, G, 1396; sowin, D 1559; sene, pa. pple. 3/54*.

sede, sb. seed, 142/45*.
sede, sb. seat, F 74 b.
sege, sb. seat, H 1244 b.
seke, adj. sick, I 861; sek, 1401.
seke, vb. seek, 146; seeche, I 1344 a; soth, pa. sing. G 155: sothen, soght, pa. pl. sought, went, 1733, 143/141*.
seker, adj. sure, 158/525*.
seknisse, sb. sickness. 1402.
selcouth, adj. and sb. strange. marvel. 280, 283, 292, A 276; selked, II. 136/854.
sele, sb. prosperity, 154/381*.
seles, sb. pl. seals, 243/24*.
sely, adj. blessed, Ad 186. I 1280. II. 128/163*; foolish. 2024. See also vnsele.
seembland, sb. semblance, appearance, H 704 c.
seme, sb. seem, in a seemly manner (?), 1424. See note.
seme, sb. seem, 165/763*; be fitting, be- seem, H 55; semes, pres. sing. seems, H 1118; semip, beseems, D 1229.
sen, conj. since, H 542 d; sithin, when, 1334.
sendale, see cendill.
senfithe, vb. signify, 152/127*.
senne, sb. sin, II. 127/92*, II. 128/141*;
sunne, II. 138/1137.
sent, vb. send, 161/446*.
sere, adj. diverse, various. H 3/36*, 376 b.
serely, adv. separately, H 257.
serkell, sb. circle, 159 552*.
sertayne, certain, H 475.
sertes, see certys.
serruand, sb. servant, H 562 a.
served, vb. pa. pple. deserved, Ad 489; seruyde, Ad 2046.
servede, vb. pa. pple. acted, Ad 2045.
ses, vb. cease, H 543.
sette, vb. set, 335; sette, sett, pa. sing. 107, 171, 354.
sexti, adj. sixty, D 573.
sibbe, sb. relatives, II. 129/86 m.
siche, vb. sigh, II. 172/342 b; sikep, vb. pres. sing. sighs, II. 132/455; syght, pa. sing. 456; siked, II. 176/455.
sille, vb. sell, G 149; silleen, G, 160; sald, saulde, pa. pple. 246.
singne, sb. sign, H 990.
site, sb. sorrow, H 148/33*.
sitte, vb. sit, 206; satte, sate, pa. sing. 76, 271; pa. pl. 207, 209.
skete, A 801. See note on 854.
skille, sb. reason, D 669; skill, 152/311*; schile, II. 142/1590; out of skill, wrong, H 779.
sklauderere, sb. slanderer, 145/257*.
sklaundrys, vb. pres. sing. slanderers, 1114.
skornyng, sb. scorning, D 1182; scorningge, Ad 1690.
skourgis, sb. pl. scourges, 1196.
skrow, sb. scroll, II. 152/1664; scrow, II. 153/1672.
skyke, sb. screech, 164/561*.
sla, vb. slay, 40; slon, D 569; slase, pres. sing. H 568; sleth, impera. pl. G 1260; slane, pa. pple. H 49, H 568; slaine, H 854 b; slawe, D 2072.
slaere, sb. slayer, 161/439*.
slake, vb. slacken, lessen, 472, D 1834. II. 127/121*; slaykyd, pa. pple. 508; slacun, F 508, see note.
siegle, adj. clever, Ad 318; sleie, 1341. See also vn-sleie.
slepyd, vb. pa. pl. slept, 467; siepe, sleptyn, 484.
slike, siche, see swylke.
slonge, vb. pa. sing. slung, I 853; slongem, pa. pl. hit him, G, 679; slang, 145/233*.
smache, vb. pa. sing. smelled, G, 119.
small, vb. smell, F 1424. See note.
smered, vb. pa. sing. smereed, G, 113.
smerliche, adv. smartly, II. 147/1882.
smite, vb. smite, H 677; smetin, pa. pl. D 680; smytn, smetin, pa. pple. 776.
sodanly, adv. suddenly, 143/156*.
sogat, see gate.
soiourned, vb. pa. sing. sojourned, H 950 e.
somdele, sb. some part, 472, Ad 818.
sonde, adj. sound, II. 142/1598 i.
sopere, sb. supper, 192.
sote, adj. true, 579; soul, II. 136/917.
sothfastnes, sb. truth, 1165.
sothnesse, sb. truth, I 1165.
southe, 151/104*; see note.
sown, vb. sown in, partake of, H 638.
spede, vb. accomplish, fare, 488; sped, pa. pple. H 820.
spell, vb. tell, 2. 412.
spered, vb. pa. pl. barred, locked, H 1920 m; sperde, pa. pple. I 1812.
spernes, vb. subj. pres. 2 sing. stumbled, II. 127/65*.
spetously, adv. spitefully, Ad 678.
spird, vb. pa. sing. asked, 749; spyrd, pa.
pl. 145/294*.

pisory, sb. spices, package of spices, 1809; 
spiecire, II. 157/2058 b.
spitt, spitted, vb. pa. pl. spit, 677; spidende, 
pres. pple. II. 134/677. See note.
spredyn, vb. pres. pl. spread. I 384; 
spreadde, pa. pl. 13; spread, 1327.
spryte, sb. spirit, A 1808.
spule, spoylen, vb. despoil, 996.
spyll, vb. spill, 128; perish, 138; destroy, 
II. 1420; spyllit, pa. pple. destroyed, 928.
sqwyer, sb. squire, 1127.
srendes, G, 384, see note.
selle, sb. blemish, II. 128/192* (<O.E.
scalle, a scab; or O.E. scalu, a scale).
stalwurthily, adv. strongly, 159/543*.
535; stoude, II. 113/535.
stane, sb. stone, H 647.
stanke, sb. pool, 145/263*.
stanyd, vb. pa. pl. stoned, 145/250*.
stede, sb. place, 699, 857; sphere for action,
148/65* (Cf. Wulfstan, 287.9.)
steke, vb. pa. pple. closed, G, 1812;
stoken, 242/23*.
stele, vb. steal, 710; stale, pa. sing. H
132 b; stalle, 213.
ster, adj. strong, 1196.
ster, vb. restrain, allay, 244/27*.
sternelly, adv. roughly, H 1278 b.
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A gratifying gift is to be made to the Society. The American owner of the unique MS, of the Works of John Metham—whose Romance of Amoryus and Cleopas was sketched by Dr. Furnivall in his new edition of Political, Religious and Love Poems, No. 15 in the Society's Original Series—has promised to give the Society an edition of his MS, prepared by Dr. Hardin Craig, and it will be issued as No. 132 of the Original Series. The giver hopes that his example may be followed by other folk, as the support hitherto given to the Society is so far below that which it deserves.

The Original Series Texts for 1912 were, No. 144, The English Register of Osney Abbey, by Oxford, Part II, containing Forewords, Grammar, Notes and Indexes, edited by the Rev. Dr. Andrew Clark, and No. 145, The Northern Passion, Part I, containing the four parallel texts of the poem, with variants from other manuscripts, edited by Miss Frances A. Foster.

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The sympathy, the ready help, which the Society's work has called forth from the Continent and the United States, have been among the pleasantest experiences of the Society's life, a real aid and cheer amid all troubles and discouragements. All our Members are grateful for it, and recognise that the bond their work has woven between them and the lovers of language and antiquity across the seas is one of the most welcome results of the Society's efforts.

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