

THE PILGRIMAGE OF
THE LYFFE OF THE
MANHODE

Translated anonymously into prose from
The First Recension

of
Guillaume de Deguileville's Poem
Le Pèlerinage de la vie humaine

VOL. I

INTRODUCTION AND TEXT

EDITED BY

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Published for

THE EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY
by the

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON NEW YORK TORONTO

1985

cost of insuring the manuscript while on deposit Oxford University generously gave a grant of fifty pounds, and the Charles Henry Foyle Trust a loan of fifty pounds, in the days when this represented a sizable sum.

The computer units of two Universities have given invaluable assistance in providing a concordance, which offered very much more than a mere wordlist from which to extract a Glossary. The University of Cambridge Literary and Linguistic Computing Centre did most of the work for Book 1. Similar facilities have been provided from 1970 by the University of Exeter Computer Unit, who processed the text of Books 2-4, and finally the whole text, Jim Baker, Migs Reynolds and Ivan Dixon appearing to enjoy the problems I made for them.

Special thanks are due to those who have assisted with the preparation of the book itself. Guidance on the preparation of the edition has been willingly given by Dr P. O. Graddon and Professor J. A. Burrow of the Early English Text Society. For the last few years I have been fortunate in the help of Mr W. J. Osborne, who has shared with me his learning and his time. My late father's steady understanding and support over many years of anti-social editorial activity were just as valuable as all these.

SUMMARY OF PE PILGRIMAGE OF PELYFEE OF PEMANHODE

For a study of Book 1's elaborate structure, and the overall design with special reference to Books 2-4, see my two articles in *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 87 i, ii (1986). Briefly, its complexity and meaning derive from three formal devices. First is the sequence of sacraments. These are indicated in the summary by being between * and *. Second is the manner in which two sacraments, Holy Orders and the Eucharist, are 'interrupted' in various relevant ways. The sections making up such interrupted sacraments are numbered; for example, Holy Orders is in three separated parts (at 509, 530, 785), being interrupted twice by parts of the sacrament to which Orders are so closely related: the Eucharist (in a Mass of Ordination). The Eucharist spans 525-2708. Its separated parts are numbered not simply in order, but in a manner intended to clarify the fact that some of these separated sections are themselves interrupted. For example, *EUCCHARIST* 4 is the Communion of the congregation, but in two parts: 4a (merely a move towards the action) and 4b (the action), separated by 5. Sections of the Eucharist, totalling eight, have italicised titles. The third device is the use of two extended images: Tau (in the Baptism sequence beginning 260), and Pax (during the Eucharist, at 1341).

BOOK 1

The monk collects his audience to hear his dream. In a vision of the New Jerusalem which is his goal in the next world he sees that access to it is difficult, but that some find special ways in. He dreams his birth, and in the Church is shown the main equipment for his life-journey. First and most important is GRACE herself, then the means to Grace, the SEVEN SACRAMENTS. Into accounts of these are inserted the duties of the clergy, who administer the sacraments. The dreamer is offered ARMOUR OF VIRTUES, the STAFF OF HOPE and SATCHEL OF FAITH, and sets out, assisted by MEMORY: though he will not practise the Virtues, he can recall them.

The Dreamer introduces his dream (induced by reading the *Romance of the Rose*) as he slept in his monastery at Chaalht. He saw:

THE NEW JERUSALEM in its glory, an angel with flaming sword guarding the main entrance, by which Christ and the martyrs entered. Members of some religious orders, and other people, now by-pass the angel, flying or climbing over the walls, or stripping to enter by a narrow gate.

The Dreamer longs to make a pilgrimage to the city, but realises that he is not equipped to do so, lacking the staff and satchel of a pilgrim. At once he is born, and instantly GRACE DIEU appears, explaining that only with her help may anyone enter the city. She shows him:

THE CHURCH hanging in mid-air, fronted by water he must cross to enter it. Grace Dieu summons a priest, and the Dreamer receives the first of the Seven Sacraments (the first three of which are linked by the use of Holy Oils):

BAPTISM by the priest admits him to the Church, in the centre of which is the Rood—a Tau Cross, the sign used also by a bishop in the rite of Confirmation, given to the Dreamer next.

CONFIRMATION. The bishop then gives the three Holy Oils to the priest who baptised the Dreamer, explaining their uses in Baptism, Confirmation and the next sacrament described (not received by the Dreamer):

EXTREME UNCTION (Last Rites). We move to other uses of oils:

(a) The bishop explains their use, by bishops only, in Coronation, Consecration of bishops, Ordination of priests, Dedication of altars.

(b) REASON arrives to extend the discussion of Oils, and insert an account of further EPISCOPAL (and PAPAL) DUTIES: the Oil of Mercy as it should be applied by a bishop, whose horns and labels (of the Mitre), and rod (Episcopal Staff) mean Justice and Mercy.

(c) The priest puts away the Holy Oils given him at 289.

MATRIMONY is solemnised by the priest, who turns back to the bishop still listening to Reason; the bishop then administers:

FIRST TONSURE (the shaving of monks' heads). Reason addresses the monks on moderation and rationality, and explains the meaning of Tonsure. We move logically to the next full sacrament:

HOLY ORDERS 1 (the first six of the seven Orders): 'insignia' and duties of Porter, Exorcist, Lector, Acolyte, Subdeacon, Deacon.

THE EUCHARIST 1 *The altar is prepared*: cloths laid, bread set out. The mixing of water and wine may signify either preparation for Mass, or arrival at the OFFERTORY, at which the Sacrifice itself begins. Either way, the celebrant does not proceed to the Consecration, having unfinished business:

HOLY ORDERS 2 (the seventh Order): Ordination of priests (part 1): the power to judge and absolve is given: the Sword and Keys signifying some DUTIES OF PRIESTS. The Dreamer receives only the sheathed sword and bound-up keys appropriate to the layman.

THE EUCHARIST 2 *Consecration of the Host*.

HOLY ORDERS 3 Ordination of priests (part 2): the power to consecrate the host is given.

THE EUCHARIST 3 *Communion of new priests (?) and officiating clergy*.

Consecration (Transubstantiation) is discussed. It baffles Reason, who departs. Nature, affronted by it, argues with Grace.

THE EUCHARIST 4a *Communion of the congregation*: the celebrant merely moves as if to distribute the Host, but first there is an account of the next sacrament (and the state appropriate to souls about to Communicate):

PENANCE (PENITENCE & CHARITY appear together).

PENITENCE (? as guardian of the Sanctuary whence Communion is distributed) explains that she cleanses and prepares the soul for its guest.

THE EUCHARIST 5 *The Kiss of Peace* before general Communion. 1299

CHARITY explains the significance of the Host, and that souls receiving it should be in charity. She reads:

CHRIST'S WILL, in which man is left the Gift of Peace (signified by the Carpenter's Square and *Pax Triplex*). 1341

THE EUCHARIST 4b *Communion of the (Monastic?) Congregation*. 1440

Transubstantiation: Grace explains that Charity made the dough of Christ's milled body, which Wisdom transformed into consecrated bread. Nature sends Aristotle to protest against this 'unnatural' process; he is defeated in argument by Wisdom. 1466

THE EUCHARIST 6a *The Dreamer desires Communion* but first, having seen the theory he must begin the practice and become The Pilgrim. He receives 1800

THE SATCHEL (Faith) hung with bells inscribed with the Creed. 1828

THE STAFF (Hope) of Sethim Wood with two pommels: at the top a Mirror (Christ), under it a Ruby (The Virgin). The Satchel is green, having three of its bells with one clapper; it bears blood-spots. The Staff's pommels and its untipped point are explained.

ARMOUR is also offered him by Grace:

the Doublet or Purpoint of Patience with an Anvil at its back 2078

the Habergeon of Force (Fortitude) 2091

the Helm of Temperance 2184

the Gorger of Sobriety 2230

the Gloves of Continence in deed and will 2249

the Sword of Justice 2283

the Scabbard of Humility 2319

the Sword-girdle of Perseverance 2360

the Shield of Prudence. 2398

2426

THE PILGRIM dons, and immediately doffs, the armour. MEMORY appears to carry the virtues which he can remember but not practise. 2453

THE EUCHARIST 6b The Pilgrim (after Communicating?) puts bread in his Satchel, and sets out on his journey. 2705

Books 2 and 3 form a unit in which the pilgrim learns something of his own mental, physical and spiritual nature but is nevertheless attacked by THE SEVEN DEADLY SINS (Sloth, Pride, Envy, Anger, Avarice, Gluttony and Lust) before whom he is almost helpless, not wearing the equipment supplied in Book 1. He survives by the Grace of God.

BOOK 2

The Pilgrim, puzzled by his inability to bear the armour of virtue, learns to know himself better in mind, body, and soul, but still falls victim to the first four deadly sins.

The Pilgrim worries about his inability to practise virtue.

2771

NATURAL UNDERSTANDING (*Rude Entendement*) at once objects to the very practice of Faith (the Satchel) and Hope (the Staff), preferring his rough staff Obstnacy which Grace, through Reason, orders him to abandon. Foolishly, he tries to use logic to prove Reason unreliable, but is defeated by her ability to distinguish between name and object. He then fails to show that Scripture forbids Faith and Hope: Reason distinguishes the changed circumstances that mean a change in rules. He remains imperceptive and inflexible. The Pilgrim passes by him, fearfully.

The Pilgrim goes on worrying, seeking Reason's help.

3080

THE UNDISCIPLINED BODY is revealed as the cause of his weakness. Reason distinguishes between the Pilgrim and his body: a duality which divides his will. She explains the subtle relationship between body and soul, and man's potential as the image of God. Momentarily, she separates the Pilgrim's body and soul so that he feels the true power of his spirit. Reason agrees to

3094

accompany him, though often obscured by the physical world from which Penance may give freedom.

THE TWO PATHS. IDLENESS and OCCUPATION appear,

3509

separated by the thorns of Penance. Though knowing himself betrayed by his plausible body, the Pilgrim rejects honest but humble employment, accepting Idleness's spurious argument (a parody of Reason's 'distinctions') that the body alone, not the Pilgrim himself, will pay the penalty for following her.

GRACE warns the Pilgrim to cross to the other path through the thorns, because they grow thicker further on. While he is still looking for a gap in the hedge, he falls victim to the first Sin:

3717

SLOTH snares his feet. She is wife of the Devil, mother of Idleness, armed with the *axe* of Life-Weariness (Depression) and *ropes* of Negligence, Lethargy and the Desperation (Suicide) which destroyed Judas. The Pilgrim's suicide is averted by prayer, enabling him to retain Hope: but Sloth continues to prevent his passing through the hedge. The result is the arrival of the oldest sin:

3787

PRIDE riding on FLATTERY, self-obsessed. Bred by Lucifer, she caused his Fall, then Man's. Bloated and disdainful, she is responsible for war and extravagance. Her *unicorn-horn* is Cruelty, opening wounds for other weapons; she carries the *bellows* of Vanity and a *horn* of Boasting which announces her; *spurs* of Disobedience and Rebellion drive her backwards; *Obstinacy*, her *staff*, was carried by Natural Understanding; she is winged as if with virtues; her *mantle* of Hypocrisy is white wool outside but fox-furred within. She does not attack yet.

3947

FLATTERY her mount holds up to her a *mirror*, Repeating and Agreeing With What Is Said (like Echo), to mollify the Unicorn-Pride's cruelty. She is logically followed by her daughter.

ENVY has two riders. Other people are her obsession. This shrivelled figure has, instead of eyes, *spears*, the antithesis of receptivity: Anger at Others' Joy, and Pleasure in Others' Pain.

4392

TREACHERY, mounted in front, has a *mask*, a *dagger*, and a box of *ointment* unctuously applied to her victims.

DETRACTION has, instead of a tongue, a kebab for her mother's meal: a spear thrust through the ears of all those whose good name she has stolen; in her mouth (with which she destroys people) is a *bloody bone* barbed with a spike as if it were bait.

From behind they attack the Pilgrim's (newly perceived) horse, whose four hooves are the qualities necessary in one who 'bears witness': good name, legitimacy, sanity and free status. PRIDE now joins in. The Pilgrim still retains his Hope, but another Sin approaches while he is down:

ANGER (called Touch-me-Not) is hedgehog-like with hatred; she carries two *flints* to kindle the fire in which to forge the *saw* (Hatred) for severing relationships (including her own with God). It was made on the *anvil* of Spite with the *hammer* of Chiding, and ironically toothed by the action of Justice's file Correction (which Anger will not tolerate). She causes uproar and discord, even in the microcosm of man himself. She hopes to hand over to the Pilgrim the *scythe* Murder, making him a murderer and then executing him.

4711

MEMORY begs the Pilgrim, overcome by the four most 'intellectual' sins, to put on his armour of Virtues. He is too idle (and yet too busy) even to try, but he does get up with the help of Hope.

4807

BOOK 3

The Pilgrim now descends into a deep valley, signifying that he is about to succumb to the last three, most crude and materialistic, sins. They bear a logical relationship in their addiction to worldly 'goods': the fruits of Avarice facilitate Gluttony, which leads to Lust. When he is subjected to all seven sins, and has lost even Hope, he is regretful (not quite remorseful: lamentation is not repentance). As a result of this minimal movement to virtue he is simply given Hope, and taught the 'A.B.C. to the Virgin', after which cry of repentance and supplication he is led to bathe briefly in Penitence, and is again supposed to make a choice of direction.

AVARICE is in tatters, and yet appropriately cluttered. Spider-like, she has eight arms—or six arms, and two stumps of her 'giving' hands. The six profitable arms are Rapine, Theft, Usury (holding a file and scales), False Beggary (holding a dish and bag), Simony

4853

(an S-shaped *hook*), and one for corrupting Justice, with five names (including Conflict, Trickery), which moves unpleasantly between her *diseased tongue* (Perjury) and a *sore* on her hip (Lying), lamed in flight from Truth and Equity. There is an idol on her head, and a hump (of possessions) on her back.

GLUTTONY AND LECHERY are interdependent, and attack together.

5472

GLUTTONY is disgusting, showing many traits of Lechery. Long-nosed and staring, she is an animated stomach, thrusting food through the funnel of her throat into the bag of her belly and leaving a dung-trail as she goes. She resembles Pride, for in her cups she is unicornish in rage; she also resembles Envy, because like Detraction she ruins reputations, with her drunken gossip and foul language.

LECHERY is hooded, masked make-up and riding a pig (Unnatural Desires). Her instruments, too horrible to show, are Violation, Rape, Incest, Adultery, Fornication and a sixth too horrible to name. She leads the last attack:

THE SEVEN SINS rob the Pilgrim of Hope (but not Faith). He laments the loss of penitence, chivalry, the sacraments and heaven, at which Grace hands him back his Hope, and teaches him:

5722

THE A.B.C. TO THE VIRGIN (Chaucer's translation).

5833

THE ROCK OF PENITENCE is revealed to the Pilgrim by Grace, in answer to his appeal to the Virgin. A great eye in it weeps tears into a basin below. The Pilgrim bathes in it, but climbs out before quite healed. His new journey is at once hindered.

6019

BOOK 4

BOOK 4 is in two contrasting halves: life in the turmoil of the world and the calm of the cloister. Attempting to skirt the treacherous SEA OF THE WORLD in which the DEVIL nets those not trapped by shoals, whirlpools and other natural hazards of ordinary life, the Pilgrim successfully resists challenge to his Faith from intellectual HERESY. Irresponsible pleasure-loving YOUTH carries him above the Sea until TRIBULATION strikes him down. Back where he

started, GRACE shows him the SHIP OF RELIGION. Entering a monastery on it he watches the orderly MONASTIC VIRTUES. Submitting to OBEDIENCE he is at once overcome by INFIRMITY, SENILITY and DEATH. The terrified monk wakes.

THE SEA OF THE WORLD confronts the Pilgrim; afraid to cross it, he is at first prevented from skirting it by the DEVIL. For the first time, the Pilgrim's Faith is challenged:

6136

HERESY, running backwards with a faggot, denies the truth of Scripture. The Pilgrim's resistance earns him the support of GRACE, who explains the Sea and those who, choosing or forced to swim in it, are weed-tangled, or blindfolded. The traps of the Devil (which the Pilgrim now passes) are described.

6187

YOUTH now lifts the Pilgrim for a while over the sea's dangers—the sandbank of Individual Will, the whirlpool of Worldly Occupation, the rocks of Adversity, the equally dangerous quicksand of Prosperity, the singing siren of Pleasure—until (Grace simply forgotten) he is distantly addressed by

6343

TRIBULATION, who is comfortable on the sea. As Heaven's Gold smith she bears the hammer of Persecution, tongs of Distress and apron of Shame, made of her victims' skin. With different commissions from each, she serves God and the Devil (depending on her effect). She strikes the Pilgrim into the sea, where Hope supports him until Tribulation beats him to shore and GRACE.

6442

GRACE sends Tribulation away, promising the Pilgrim a short cut (equivalent to the hedge of Penance which he never braved) to New Jerusalem.

6647

THE SHIP OF RELIGION (Monastic Life) is at hand, its ribs bound with osiers of Observances, some so broken that the ship is weakened. However, its function is to bind up again the disintegrating souls of men. The mast is Christ, the wind the Spirit; Cluny and Cîteaux are on it, both available to the Pilgrim. The Porter of the one he chooses is The Fear of God, who strikes the Pilgrim with a blow equivalent to the pains of Penance.

6700

THE MONASTIC VIRTUES are harmoniously at work inside,

6802

some wearing the Pilgrim's rejected armour, and each with a place or direction.

Outside the enclosed monastery/convent:

CHARITY (who held the Testament of Peace) is hosteller.

Inside Cloister and Church are, in or near the dormitory:

VOLUNTARY POVERTY singing, wearing only the *Gambeson*,

CHASTITY is making the beds, and wearing the *Gloves*;

moving to the Chapter House:

OBEDIENCE, Prioress under Grace, bearing *corde*s, with

DISCIPLINE, a *file* (Correction of Evil) in her teeth, and wearing the *Shield*;

moving to the Cloister:

LESSON (STUDY) with a *document*, followed by the *Dove of Spirit*, the *food of Holy Writ* carried in parchment;

moving to the Refectory:

ABSTINENCE wearing the *Gorger*;

in the Chapel:

PRAYER with a heaven piercing *awl* (Fervent Continuation) and a *box* of prayers for the dead, who feed the living;

WORSHIP, an entertainer with a *musical horn*.

OBEDIENCE is accepted by the Pilgrim.

6992

INFIRMITY comes to him. She has a *bed* on her head, and wrestles with HEALTH, sometimes losing because of MEDICINE; though she drinks blood and eats flesh, she is essentially friendly, recalling Penitence.

7058

OLD AGE brings him *crutches*; she and Infirmity beat him to his bed.

7158

MERCY suckles him with milk compared to Christ's blood (the sacraments) which Charity turned to the milk of kindness. She pulls his bed to the Infirmary.

DEATH approaches: Grace comforts the Pilgrim, promising him Resurrection. He is at the gate he saw at the start of his dream,

7230

and must promise Penitence payment of outstanding debts in Purgatory (the subject of *The Pilgrimage of the Soul*). Death scythes the Pilgrim.

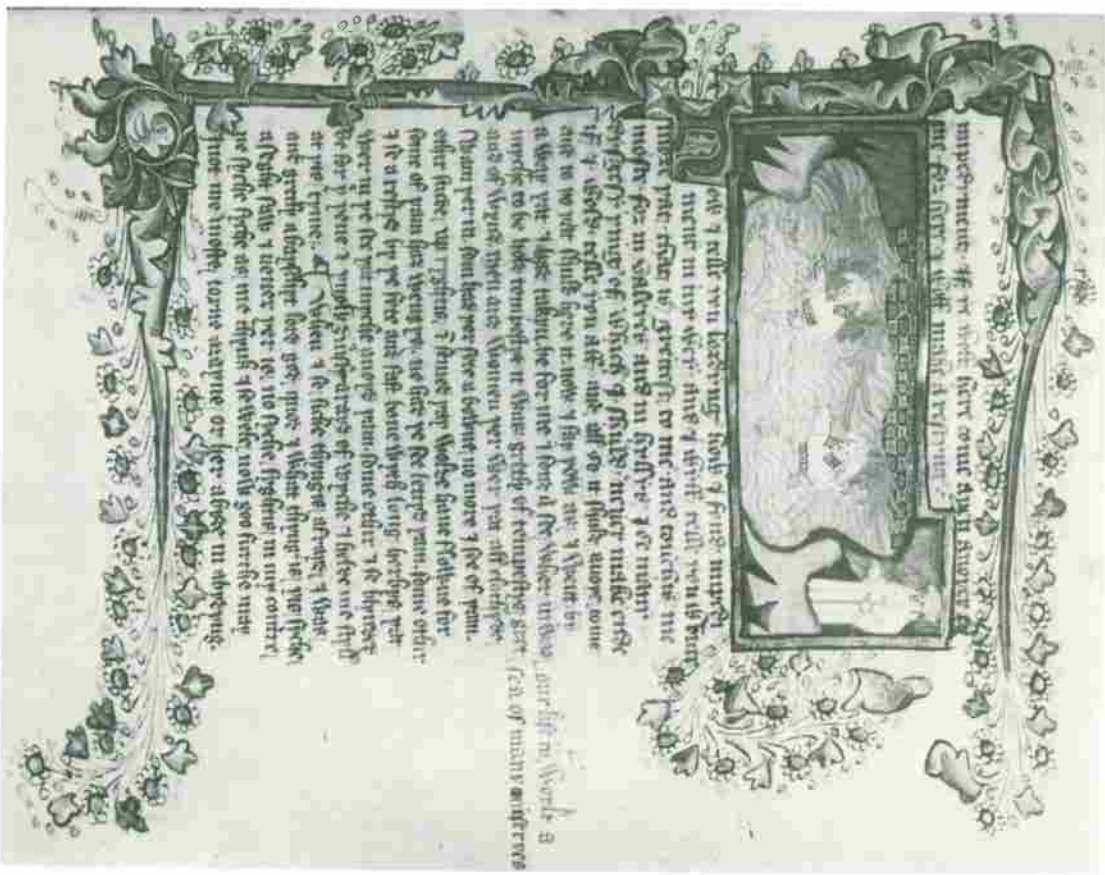
The terrified Dreamer wakes to Matins in Chaait, and explains the aim of his writing.

7271

BE LYFFE OF PE MANHODE

[f.5r] To pilke of pis regioun whiche han noon hows (but alle,
 as seith Seynt Poul, be bei riche, be bei poore, be bei
 wise oper foolles, be bei kynges oper queenes, alle bei ben
 pilgrimes) I wole shewe yow a sweuene *pat bifelle* me be
 tooper day. I hadde in wakinge rad and considered and wel
 seyn be faire romance of be Rose, and I trowe wel *pat pat*
 were thing *pat* most moouede me to mete pis sweuene which I
 wole after shewe yow. Now cometh neer and gadereth yow
 togideres alle folk, and herkeneth wel; let per be no man
 nor womman *pat* drawe bakward: alle bei shulden putten hem
 forth, alle bei shulden sitte and herkne, for pis towcheth
 alle, bope grete and smale, withouten any owtaken. In
 [Frensch] I haue set it so *pat* lewede mowe vnderstande it;
 and perinne may {ic}he wight lerne whiche wey men shulden
 taken and which forsake and leue: and *pat* is thing *pat* miche
 nedeth to pilke *pat* in pilgrimage gon in pis wyilde worlde.
 Now vnderstandeth be sweuene *pat* bifelle me in religionn at
 be abbey of Chaalit, as I was in my bed.

Me thowhte as I slepte *pat* I was a pilgrime and *pat* I
 was stired to go to be citee of Jerusalem in a mirour: and
 me thoubte it was gret withoute mesure. I hadde aperseyued
 and seyn pilke citee from ferre, and me thoubte it of riht
 gret aray: be weyes and be aleyes of pilke citee bope
 withinne and abowte weren paved with gold, be foundement
 and be masourne of be citee was set on hy and of newe stonnes
 it was mad, and an hy wal enclosede it aboute. Many per were
 with [f.5v]inne of howses, of places and of dwellinges: [perel]
 was al gladshipe, ioye withoute sorwe; [perel] hadde iche wight
 (shortliche to passe me) generallliche of alle goodshipes
 more pan euerre bei cowde aske or think. But it discomforted
 me michel *pat* eche wyght entred not at his wille, for be
 entre whiche was riht strongliche kept. Cherubyn was
 porter berate, which heeld in his hand a foorbushed sword
 wel grownden with two sharpe egges, al skirmynge and
 turnynge. Wel he coude helpe him berwith for per is noon,



O. Oxford: Bodleian Library MS. Laud Misc. 740, f. 109r, (Hand C).

In the margin of the first leaf of the manuscript of the 'Be Lyffe of Pe Manhode'...
the name of the author is given as 'Willelmus de...
the name of the scribe is given as 'Willelmus de...'

kan he neuere so miche on pe bokelere, pat [pere] mighte passe
 pat ded oper wounded he [ne] shulde be; [nouth] pat pe
 prince of pe cite, for he hadde manhode, [ne] receyuede deth
 at pe [passage], and hadde pe spere in his side and left his
 blood in [payage] alpouh he ouhte no ransome; and so diden
 also hise knyghtes, hise champaignes, his sowdiours: alle
 pei drunken of his chalys, and alle pei resseyueden deth
 at pe passage. At pe kernelles ouer pe yate of whiche pe
 porter forbereth noon, I seyh pe penselles hanginge steyned
 red with blood. Whan I hadde aperceyued al pat, I sih pat
 entre pere I muste needes, if per were noon ooper passage:
 and algates bi thlike wey I seyh non but passe.* Eche was
 agast whan he hadde seen Cherubyn, but hennesforthward
 he may wel putte his brennyngesword in safete.

But right as I lyfte myne eyen an hy and biheeld,
 a wol gret wonder I sigh, wherof I was gre{f}liche abashed:
 Seint Austyn I sigh an hy on pe kernelles and sat and wel
 semede a foulere oper a [f.6r] feedere of briddes. With him he
 hadde many oopere grete maistres and doctours pat holpen to
 feede pe briddes, for for pe feedinge pat pei hadden and pe
 seed pat pei shadden bi crownede morcelles and here swete
 [seynges] and faire, many folk bicomen briddes and after flyen
 euene upright. Many certeyn I seigh of Jacobines, of

Chanowes and of Augustines and of alle manere of folkes
 lewed and seculere, clerkes and of [religious], and of beggeres
 and of needy pat gadered hem feperes and maden hem grete
 wynges and sithen bigunnen to flee and for to clymbe hye into
 pe citee. Aboue Cherubyn pei flyen, whertore pei tooken n{f}
 keep of his dawngere. Als soone as on pat ooper side I turnede
 my sight and my biholdinge, yit more I wundrede me
 of a thing pat I seygh: aboue pe wallis of pe citee I seygh

oopere folk of auctoritee pat holpen here a{q}ueyntees and
 bi sleighthes putten hem in. First I seih Seynt Beneyt pat
 on hy ayenst pe wallis hadde a gret ladder dressed wherinne
 weren stiked twelve degres of humblisse bi whiche cloumben
 wel swiffliche into pilke citee pilke pat weren of hise folk:
 monkes blake and [white and greye], withoute vndertakinge of
 any. After I seyh Seint Franccys pat wel shewed hym frend to
 pilke of his religion: for as I hadde in metinge, a corde
 wel wripen pat bi places was knet he hadde set downward
 pe wal, bi which eche pat was his aqueyntee ran up; per was
 noon, were his handes neuere so enoynted, pat he ne ran up

soone inowh and he gripede faste to pe knottes. Many oopere
 on pe wallis I seih, of which I am not sure to telle yow
 alle pe names nor how pei maden [f.6v] here aqueyntes
 clymbe pider on alle sides, for only my lookinge was upon
 pe side pat was to meward: ferpere micht I not see, whertore
 me forthouhte sore. But so miche I sey yow shortliche, pat
 in pe wal pat was to meward I seih a dore litel and streyt,
 which pe kyng of pe citee made keepe in equitee. Pe keye
 perof he hadde taken to Seint Peeter, in whom he wel triste
 and certeyn wel michte triste in him, for perbi he suffrede
 noon to passe but onli poore folk: for pilke pat lyeth nouth
 hadde seyð pat pe riche mighte not entre pere no more pan a
 camele micht passe thoruh pe eye of a nedele. pe entre was
 wunder subtil, and eche wight oncloped him and naked him at
 pe entrenging. Pere men michten fynde olde robes gret plente,
 for perbi passede non cloped (but if he hadde o{f} pe kynges
 robes, and pilke passeden al dai whanewere pei wolden). Miche
 likede me pis passage for pe commune awantage pat alle folk
 hadden pere if pei bicumen verrey poore. per was no dawngere
 so men wolden despoile hem, and here olde robes leue withoute
 for to haue neue whinne pe cloos. pis [thing] ouhte wel to
 like, for [per] is not miche to doone: per was neuere noon
 so riche pat he ne may be poore if he wole; and certeyn good
 it is to be it, for to entre perbi into swich a dwellinge, and
 good it were to faste a litel for to haue ful saulee at pe
 sopere. Now haue I seid yow shortlych inowh of pe faire citee,
 how in pe faire mirour I aperceyued it, and perfore to go I
 meeyed me, for pider I wolde be a pilgrime if I michte elleswhere
 see as I mette.* Noon [f.7r] reste I seygh, but wel me
 thouhte pat gret reste I shulde haue had if I hadde be whinne
 pe cloos. Neuere thouhte I to departe pens if I michte
 fullliche come pider.

As I hadde thought pis, amoon after I bithouhte me pat
 me failede scrippe and bourdoun, and pat me needed to haue
 hem: for it is thing wel sittinge to eche walkinge pilgrime.
 Panne I ysedde me out of myn hous in whiche I hadde ben ix
 monthes of pe sesoun withouten any ysinge. A bordoun I bigan to
 seeche, and a scrippe, necessarie to pat [pat] I hadde to doone.
 And as I wente wepinge and bimenyng me, seechinge where I
 michte fynde a marchant pat michte helpe me perof, I seygh
 a lady in my wey: of hire fairnesse she dide me ioye. She
 seemede douhter to an emperour or to a king or to sum ooper

gret lord. She hadde on a rochet beten with gold, and was
 120 gert with a grene tissue pat was, as me thoughte, al along
 arayed with charbuncles. On hire brest she hadde a broche
 of gold, and in pe middes perof per was an {aj}melle, and in pe
middes perof a sterre, wherof certeyn I hadde gret wonder.
 Hire hed was coronwed with gold, and al aboute envitrowned
 125 with gret foisoun of shinyngre sterres. Wurpi he was
 certeyn pat hadde yive it hire and so arayed hire. Curteis
 she was as me thoughte, for she saluede me first, and askede
 me goodliche what I wente so seeching. And panne I was al
 130 abashed, for I hadde not lerned pat a ladi of so gret aray
 shulde deyngne to caste hire chere to meward. But anoon I
 avisede me pat as I hadde lerned and woot wel, pat who pat
 hath in him [f.7v] most bountee hath in him most humblesse,
 and pe mo appelen pe tre bereth pe more she boweth to pe
 135 folk. Humblesse is pe signe of goode hertes and of
 benygne, and ho pat bereth not in him thilke banere, hath
 not in him hool bountee. panne I answerde hire, and tolde
 how it was bifalle me: pat I was excited to go to pe citee
 of Jerusalem but pat I was sori bi as miche as I hadde
 140 neiper scrippe ne burdown, and pat I wente seeching hem,
 and askinge hem heere and bere. And she answerde and seide:
 "My freend," quod she, "if pow wolt heere goode tidinges
 of pat pat pou seechest, come with me: for per bifel pe neuere
 so gret a good as pat pou hast founde me and met with me heere
 today, for I wol helpe pe anoon of al pat euerre pou hast
 145 neede."
 And panne anoon I miht no lengere holde me pat
 whateuere bifel me I ne wolde wite al: bope hire name and what
 she was. "Ladi," quod I, "youre name, youre cuntre and
 150 youre region, and who ye ben, al I wolde fain in sooth wite,
 and praye yow ye wole telle [it] me; and I trowe I shal be
 pe gladdere." And panne she answerde me and seyde: "In
 time* I wole telle it pee: I wol noper be to pee doutows ne
 [suspecionous]. I am doughter to be emprour pat is lord aboute
 155 alle oopere. He hath sent me into jis cuntre for to gete him
 freendes: nouht for pat he hath neede, but for pat
 it were him riht leef to haue pe aqueyntance of alle folk
 and pat oonliche for here owen profitte. Seeste", quod she,
 'How I am arayed and dight queyntliche with charbuncles and
 with sterres, pow seye neuere noone fairere? And pat is for
 160 to yive light to alle po pat wolen take pe weye bi nyghte [f.8r]

and it is pat eche wight fynde me as wel bi day as bi nite,
 and bi nite as bi day, so pat pei doo no folye. I am thilke
 pat pou shuldest seeche whan pou gost into straunge londe:
 for \as/longe as pou hast me in cumpanye, pou miht haue no
 165 better freend. If pou gost withoute me in jis cuntre, it
 may not be pat pou ne be bihated bope of my fader pe grete
 kinge and of alle po pat ben with him. per may no wight do
 wel withoute me: I am needeful to alle folk. pe world hadde
 ben lost er jis ne hadde I mayntened it. Whoso hath me
 with him, nothing failieth him, and who hath not me, alle
 thinge failieth him. I am gouernouresse of alle thinge, and
 of alle harmes I am leche: I make pe blynde see, and yive
 170 strengthe to pe feeble; I reise po pat ben falle; I
 redresse pilke pat han [forveied], and I wole withdrawe me
 fro no folk but from hem pat sinnen dedly, and of swiche
 I haue no cure as longe as pei ben in swich unclennesse.
 Grace Dieu I am cleped, ne ooperwyse am I not nempned.
 Whan pou shalt haue neede of me, so pow shalt clepe me: and
 180 certeyn pat shal be riht ofte er pou come fulliche* to pe
 citee pat pou hast seyn, for pou shalt fynde lettinges
 and mischeeves of aduersitees and encombrances which pou
 miht not passe withoute me (noper pou ne noon ooper),
 leue me riht wel. And pouh pou mihtest passe fourth or
 185 eslake without me (which thing may not be) yit I sey pee
 pat into pe dwellinge of Jerusalem pou shalt not entre
 withoute me, ne sette pi foot berinne: for alpouh pou
 haue seyn many thinges and aperceyued pat summe entren
 al naked, [f.8v] and pat summe fleen in bi above, and pat
 190 summe entren bi sleychtes, and summe oopere bi Cherubyn,
 per entreth noon but bi me, be pou riht siker: for pilke
 pat ben naked* I make hem vncloupe hem withoute, for to
 clope hem be bettere ayen withinne; oopere I make feperre
 with my vertues for to flee wel, and panne afterward pei
 195 flee as I wole. jis pou hast wel seyn at eye. Oopere I
 putte in pe beste wise I can to assaye, so pat alle I
 make hem passe in and entre. Now pou miht wite withoute
 dreidinge wher myn aqueyntance be good. If pee like it,
 sey it anoon, and let pi speche no lengere be hyd."
 And panne anoon I answerde: "Lady, I crye yow mercy
 200 for pe loue of God pat with yow ye wole aqueynt me and
 pat ye wole neuere leue me: per is nothing so necessarie
 to me to pat pat I haue to doone. And gretliche I thanke

and but [if] he be passed bi my maillet and maad clene with my beesme. Now eche wih't keepe him wel as for himself, for I do pat pat I ouhte. And pis is be cause for whiche I am in swich wise comen hider."

Whan pis lady hadde spoke and told hire doinge, pat ooper ladi pat was pere and heeld be scripture in hire hande wolde also telle hire tale and rede hire scripture bifore alle folk. "Lordinges," quod she, "wel it is sooth pat withoute lesinge and disceynte Penitence hath told yow and divided yow hire grete office: and *perfore* I wole telle yow also wherof I serve, and who I am. I am pilke pat hadde neuere in despyte neiper grete ne smale; pilke pat loueth alle folk with hol herte, withoute yuel wil; pilke pat seecheth no vengeance, ne neiper showveth ne smyeth; pilke pat hath set hire entente to forbere hire enemies. I am be mooder of vertues: pilke pat [clopeth] be naked folk, pilke pat made Seint Martyn vncloupe himself for to clope be poore man. I am nourishe of orphanynes, osteleer to pilgrimes, pat of pe harmes of oopere I make myne: and to alle, my goodes ben commune.

My name if ye wole wite it, Charite ye shule clepe me: for charitee holt in cheerte pat *pat* oopere holden [f.28r] in vilitee. I feede be hungri and visite be languishinge. I am pilke pat of ooperes good am as glad as of myn owen: pilke pat debonaistiche suffreth al pacientlich, pilke pat keepith not heere bakbitinge ne murmur, pilke pat neuere misseyde of oopere ne misside oopere, and nout for pame I haue maad doo sum harm withoute misdoinge. If ye haue ouht herd speke of be king Ihesu and told how he wolde bicomme man and suffre deth for be men, ye shulde wite pat I am she pat made him haue swich annoye: for I made him come down from heuene, and made him take flesh of mankynde. I made him bounde to be pileer and corowned with thornes; I made him sprede hise armes in be cros, dispoile him and opene his side; be feet and be handes I made tacche of him, and perce hem with grete nailles. Sithe I made his blood come out of his tendre body, and hys gost yelde. But witeh wel, I made hise harmes turne yow to gret good: for I made him descenden down into helle for to fecche yow alle, for to caste yow out of be deepe pit and *lede yow* into Paradise, to yive yow and [leue] yow a yifte pat he hadde riht cheere—pat is

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pees, [with] which be heuene shyneth, and of whiche Paradise gladdeth. be *fourme* how he yaf pis yifte and granted it is writen in pis testament pat I holde heere present bifore yow: Testament of Pees it is cleped.

Now heereth, I wole rede it:

"I, Ihesus be some of Marie, weye, soothnesse and yf: in my deth pat is [nyh] and pat is to me al certeyn I make my laste testament, in whiche I leue freliche to hem pat ben in be vale of weepinge and in be lond of labour, be yifte of pees pat is my jewell—be moste [f.28v] graciows and [pe] faireste pat is in heuene or in eerpe, or pat men moun fynde or seeche. pat is be jewell with whiche I played me sumtyme in Paradise: of whiche I made my solace whan I was in my cuntre. But with it I playede no more sithe I entrede into pis world, for whan I was bicomme chyld and comen into pis world, whan time was I shulde pleye and *pat* I [hadde] had my jewel, my ministres of Paradise beren it into pis cuntre, and maden present berof to pilke for whiche I shulde haue tument, with whiche jewell bei haue pleyed euere sithe be time pat I was born, nout for it was hers, ne for it shulde be hers (for my seruantes pat kepten it mihten not yuen it hem, ne bei weren not wurpi to reseeyuen it ne to haue it in havinge): bei haue had it oonliche to repete it at my lust, for saue I may no wyht yive it ne shulde yive it. But alleweys be grete maistresse Charite, my ledere pat ledeth me as a chyld and dooth with me at hire lust, bi hire rihtes hath bertro brought me pat I haue yiven to hem pilke faire jewell and yit freliche yive it hem and abandone it hem. A fairere yifte yaf I neuere, but if I yaf myself. It is a jewell pat was *fourmed*, forged and maad and carpentered of my fader, withoute smytinge of strok and withoute heeringe of makinge noise: for noyse and strokes maken it nout but tobreken it and vnmaken it.

If per were any pat wolde wite of his facoun, I wolde wel take be patronn propriliche to hem of good understandinge. Whoso tooke a carpenteres sqwire, and sette upward be first ende, if he sette pat ooper down, with be cornere in be euene lynre: if it were so pat [wel a] poynt [f.29r] in be cornere pat ioyneh be lynes were fastned and sette an 'a', and in be endes were sette 'p' and 'x' so pat 'x' were on hy, and 'x' 'p' alowh, as it is heere figured:

p	a
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 lightriche he mihte wite his facoun, and aperceyue bere his name riht wel writen. These thre letteres heere doon to wite pat to thre thinges shulde pilke haue pees to whom is left and granted pis faire jewell: pat is pat first

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- on hy pere 'x' is set in scaffold, bi which I am in short
 vnderstonde and tokened, he shulde haue perfite pees in
 swich manere pat alle dedes don ayens my wille ben
 restrained and amended. Afterward in pe anglet wel sett
 and where she is sett and nestled, 'a', bi which is
 vnderstonde pe soule pat in pe bodi of pe manhode is,
 shulde also haue good pees bi destroyinge of misdedes
 whiche shulden be defaced and arased bi penance: for
 pilke may not be in pees pat is werrid with sinne, and alle
 ooper pees is nouht for him if he apese not pe werre
 bitwixe him and conscience bi pe instrument of penance.
 Afterward yit to his neihbour, pat bi pe 'p' of pe laste
 ende is vnderstonde, he shulde haue pees; which to haue
 ouhte to meeve him pe same degree pat he is inne,* for it
 is noper hyere ne lower: bope in oo degree I sette hem
 whan pe scripture I fourmede and maade. Alle ben dedlich,
 bope pat oon and pat ooper: worm is pat oon and worm is
 pat ooper. It is nothing woorth disptuous herre and fers
 ne nouht is woorth noper pride ne daunger. Alle we shule
 passe bi oon hole, grete and smale, michel and litel. Now
 let hem do so miche pat bei leesen not my jewel bi here
 pride. Eche wint haue pees with his neyhebour, and so
 shal pe patron [f.29v] be ful maad of pe squyre of whiche
 I haue spoke, and be pees whiche I haue figured.
 1405
- pis figure and pilke patron is a [notarye] signe with
 whiche shulden be signed and marked alle goode testaments:
 and with pilke signe openliche I haue signed my testament.
 To alle folk I haue yiven pees and granted and confemed.
 Now eche wight keepe it as for himself, after pe loue pat
 he hath [in] me: for after pat men louen me, *perafter* eche
 wint wole keepe it.”
 1410
- Whan Charitee hadde al rad pis testament and rested,
 panne she bigan ayen hire parlement, and suiche woordes she
 seyde afterward: “Lordinges, now ye haue herd bi pis
 scripture pat I haue rad heere how Ihesu hath loued yow,
 and yiven yow his jewel, and also how he grantede and yaf
 it yow at my request. Now wole I \yit/ telle yow shortliche
 whi I haue sett me with pilke testament bitwixe yow and Moyses
 boord. Write ye shulden *pat* I am awmenere and dispenser of
 pe relief; and as Penitence hath preched you and told yow
 pat withoute hire ye shulden not go *per*to but ye wole misdo,
 riht so I telle yow pat withoute misdouinge ye shulden not
 withoute me drawe yow pidder, ne withoute me ye shulde not
 come *per* nygh if ye ne wole offende me. *pe* testament of *pe*
 1425

- yite of pees and *pe* jewell which *pe* sweete Ihesu lefte
 bifore his deth with me *perfore* I bere to pat ende pat I
 [avise] yow so pat to be relief in no wise ye approche ne come
 but ye haue *pe* jewel of pees. For in *pe* anglet of pilke
 jewel, bicause it \is/ priuee and fair, wole pilke holi relief
 be put and resseyued and gadered. And *perfore* if ye hadden
 it not ye mihten be punished [f.30r]; *perfore* I rede yow
 in good feith *pat* ye beren pees and *pat* ye passen bi me,
 pat am departere and yivere of *pe* relief: for if ye comen
 nouht bi me and passeden bi oopere weyes, thefte it shulde
 be holde, and harm mihte come yow *per*bi. Now keepeth
 yow wel, offendeth nouht; for I do wel inow my devoir,
 and *pat* is *pe* cause for which I am come hider fro my
 chamber.”
 1435
- Whan Charitee hadde al ful seid and preched withoute
 ayenseynge, panne I sigh many pilgrimes pat were [encline]
 to obeye: bi Charitee evene *pei* wenten and *pe* jewel of pees
 beren, sihe passeden bi Penitence withoute havinge
 drede of hire. *pei* vnderputten hem to hire maillet, and
 with *pe* beesme *pei* swepten hem; with yerdes I sigh *pei*
 weren bete; and afterward of *pe* relief *pei* resseyueden, *pe*
 which Moises yaf hem as Charitee ordeyned it. Sihe I sigh
 summe cusede *pat* *prive*liche bi oopere weyes hydinge hem
 fro Charitee and fleinge Penitence withoute any shame [pe]
 wenten to *pe* relief and resseyueden it. Moises, withoute
 any exceptinge and ayenputtinge, pis relief amynnistrede
 hem, and curteysliche took it hem. But I wole telle yow
 how it bifel of hem and \how it misbifel hem/whan *pei* hadden
 had pis relief: riht as poun *pei* hadden be comen out of a
 riht biac colyeres sak, ooper out of a foul dong-hep, al
 biac *pei* bicomen and salwh, foul and stinkinge and elded.
 1455
- And yit more, [alle] hungry *pei* kamen ayen, and needy—
pei weren na more sauled *per*with pan if *pei* hadden fleinge
 passed bi *pe* doore of an obley-maker withoute anything
 havinge [peret] to etc. Of *pe* oopere it was not so: but whan
pei hadden resseyued *pe* relief of whiche *pei* hadden, alle
pei [f.30v] weren so fulfilled and sauled *pat* ooper
 thing *pei* wolden noon, ne nothing of *pe* world *pei* *preys*den.
pei bicomen so faire, so gentel *pat* as to regard of hem me
 thoughte alle folk foule, as wel *pe* clerkes as *pe* lewed.
 1465
- Now [I wole] telle yow withoute lesinge *pat* *pat* made me
 michel abashed. Wunder it is *pat* litel thing may fulfill

a gret thing, but pe wundres ben grettere whan many thinges
pat ben grete mown haue, of *pat pat* is not gret, fillinge
 sufficient. Alle *pe* releef *pat* I sigh *yve* was so litel
 to my seemynge, *pat poun swiche* ten I hadde had to a dynner,
 I hadde not be fed sufficientliche; and algates not fullliche
 oon, but *pei* eche on weren fulfilled and suffsed: a litel
 to eche of hem suffsed, and ful of a litel eche of hem was.
 This made me gretliche thinke and trouble myn vnderstondinge,
 and to whom to speke I ne wiste if to Grace Dieu I ne speke;
 and nought for *panne* to hire durste I not speke ne come nyh
 hire for she [was] lened hire at pe ende of be arayed bord where
 she biheeld be releef yiven and [almused]. Algates I hardied
 me, and went wel nyh to hire. Whan she sigh me, anon she
 turnede hire towards me and goodliche seide: "What seechest
pou heere? I see wel per lakketh pee sumwhat." "Serteyn,"
 quod I, "[soothliche] ynowh me lakketh, for I vnderstonde nought
 how *pis* releef *pat* is so litel suffceth to so michel
 folk, for to me alone it shulde not suffice, *poun per* were
 swich ten: wherfore I preye you *pat ye* wule teche me *perof*
 a litel and preche me." [f.31r]

"Goode freend," quod she, "now vnderstonde, and anyye
 pee nought poun I holde pee longe to teche pee, for I see
 wel poun hast neede. *Pis* releef heere *pat* is yiven, oon houre
 it is flesh and blood cleped, anooper it is cleped bred and
 wryn, whiche is mete to pilgrimes. Flesh and blood it is in
 sooth, but bred and wryn it is figured. And sooth it is *pat*
 sumtime it was bred and wryn, but *pou* [seye] *pat* into flesh and
 into blood it was remeved bi Moyses [to] whom I helpe: wherfore
 Nature chidde to me, and yuele wratthed hire. Bred and wryn
 poun *pow* clepe it, [I] avise pee and charge pee *pat* flesh
 and blood it be vnderstonden of pee, and stidfastliche leevd of
 pee. Ne *pat* shulde not meeve pee *pat* at pe taast and at pe
 sighte, at pe smellinge and at pe savouringe bred and wryn
 it may seeme pee: for *pilke* fourre wittes disseived *pei* ben
 thoruhout, and fooles holden. *Pei* kunne nothing. Doted *pei*
 ben, let hem go ligge: fonned *pei* ben. But *pe* wit of
 heeringe oonliche enfoorneth *pe* vnderstondinge more. *pan*
 pilke of taaste heerayens, oper of smelinge, savouringe
 or sighte. *Pis* knoweth more subtyliche and apperceyueth
 more cleerliche. And er *pis* it was figured in Ysaak and
 Esau: * for *pe* fourre wittes wolden haue disceyued him al
 vterliche, as *pow* shalt see pleyynliche, whan *pow* hast

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rad Genesis; but of *pe* heeringe he was nothing disceyued,
 for *perbi* he knew his sone Jacob and apperceyued. Right so
 I sey pee, *pat* if *pou* triste and leeve in pese fourre
 wittes, *pou* shalt al vterliche be disceyued: for foolliche
pou shalt weene *pat* of *pe* flesh it be white bred, and *pat* *pe*
 blood *perfore* be wryn, so *pat* [f.31v] *pe* soope *pou* shalt
 neuere haue ne wife bi *pilke* wittes. To *pe* herynge *pou* mostest
 leue thoruhout and triste pee: bi it *pou* shalt write *pe*
 soope, and by it *pou* shalt be enfoorned. It shal teche
pee al at *pe* fulle *pat* it is no more *neiper* wryn ne bred,
 but it is *pe* flesh *pat* was sprad on *pe* cros for *pee* and
 hanged, and *pat* it is *pe* blood with which *pilke* cros was
 \bi/dewed and spreynt. And if *pis* bred *pou* wolt nempne and
 clepe wel and wurpilyche, I sey it is bred of yf of which
 al *pe* world hath his yf: also I haue in myn vsage to
 clepe it bi swich langage. Bred I clepe it and bred I
 nempne it *pat* from *pe* heuene cam for to feede man. It is *pe*
 bred with which ben fedde alle *pe* aungeles *pat* ben in
 heuene. It is *pe* bred which pilgrimes shulden putte in
 here skrippes. Poun in liel quantitee *pou* hast seyn it,
 wel I haue [vised] *pee* *pat* to bi lokinge ne to bi sighte
pou shuldest no trist haue: *pe* heeringe techeth *pee* oonliche,
 and taketh *pee* *pe* lernynge, and *perfore* *pou* mihte wel lerne
 of *pat* *pat* *pou* shalt heere me seyn.

Charitee, *pat* *pow* hast herd speke and preche nought
 longe ago, was cause of *pilke* bred, and bi hire it was
 contrived. She brouhte *pe* greyn from heuene to eerpe and
 sew it. *pe* eerpe *per* it was sowe was neuere ered ne
 labowred: bi heete of sunne it wex, and bi dew *pat* fel
peron. Charitee made berne it and in strange berne putte
 it. Manye founden it *perre*, and throsshen it and fanned
 it. So michel beten it was, so michel fanned it was *pat*
 from *pe* straw it was disceuered. His clopynge was doon
 of him so *pat* he was naked, and naked [f.32r] afterward to
pe mille he was born, and disgisyliche grounden: for in *pe*
 hopper of *pe* mille, in whiche *per* was no lynene cloth, he
 was grounden, broken, brused and tormented. *Pilke*
 mille was maad to *pe* wynd, and with *pe* wynd of envye
 grounde; and nought for *panne* *pis* mille hadde stones *pat*
 weren nought soft: stones of yuel rowynge, stones of
 bakbtinge, with which it was frusht bifore *pat* it was
 taken to *pe* hopper. Whan it hadde *pus* be grounde, *panne*

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putte hire fourth Charite, and wolde bicomme bakere for to
 bulte and make perof bred. Hire oovene al hot was bifore,
 whiche she wolde bake it inne. But [sol] it is pat she
 cowde not turne it ne moodle it at hire wille, whiche
 forthouhte hire: but of nothing she abashed hire, for I
 wole telle pee what bifel perof. She bithouhte hire on a
 maistresse pat was pe moste subtille pat was in burgh or in
 town. Sapience she was cleped oueral pere men kneewen hire.
 ber was nothing pat mihte be thought pat she ne cowde doon it
 anon. Bifore pat time she hadde lerned pilke writ in pe
 scooles of hire cuntre. Al pe world if she wolde in a box
 she [shulde] wel doo, *oper* in pe shelle of an ey she shulde wel
 putte an hool oxe; and for pis subtilitee Charite was
 bithought of hire: for pe bred pat she wolde make of pe
 groundene corn pat was redy, she wolde it were so wysliche
 moulded and so subtilliche pat bi seemynge it were litel,
 and *pat* to alle it mihte suffice so *pat* of a riht litel
 eche were ful sauled and wel sufficed. Whan Charite hadde
 pus ythouht, to fulfillle hire wille to Sapience she wente
 and dide so michel [f.32v] pat she fond hire. She was in
 hire chayere, and took keep of al. So michel Charite
 preyede hire *pat* to bake with hire she made hire come.
 Sapience pis bred turnede, and book it: and riht as Charite
 seyde hire, riht so of al she dide; and yit more subtilliche
 she dide it and more wysliche, for she turnede it gret
 withoute mesure, for to yive perof feedinge to alle, and *pat*
 eche mihte perof be sauled and sufficed. And how wel how
 gret *pat* euere she made it, bi seemynge she made it litel;
 and vnder litel closure she made it haue his mesure. And
 yit more subtilliche she made anooper experiment: for of
 eche of pilke parties *pat* of *pat* bred shulden ben broken,
wher it were litel or gret, she made eche of hem as gret
 as pouh alle hadden be togideres, whiche thing plesede nouht
 to hire *pat* chidde with me, but certeyn michel it heviede
 hire, for she can nothing but hire riot, for eelde *pat*
 hath doted hire. But pere algates cam she nouht, for of
 me she bithouhte hire: for wel she drede hire *pat* yit she
 mihte be blamed and rebuked. But I wole telle pee what
 she dide: a clerk of hires, Aristotle, she souhte, and
 sente him to speke to hire and to blame hire and to argue
 hire.

Whan Aristotle was come bifore hire he seyde hire

pe greetings, and sihte seyde hire bi likeness: 'To
 yow, Dame Sapience, sendeth me Nature to speke, to shewe
 yow yowre mistakings. Michel it displeseth hire *pat* ye
 quassen pus hire ordinances and remeven, and also it
 pleseth nouht me, for alpouh ye ben my freend, I wole neuere
 leue for yow *pat* I ne wole seye *pat* *pat* I woot. Wel ye
 wien [f.33r] *pat* \it/ is no reson *pat* be vessel or be hous
 be lasse *pan* *pat* *pat* is perinne. On *pat* ooper side, if I make
 folk weene bi argumentes of a gret paleys *oper* of a chirche
pat it were a torell litel, soothliche litel *pei* wolden
 preyse my seyng, pe wise folk, and wolden skorne me
 and holde me for a sophistre. These thinges heere haue ye
 doon in pilke bred *pat* is disgyse: for pe feedinge withinne,
with which alle folk ben ful fedde, *pat* [in] pe world miht nouht
 —ne pe heuene miht not—suffice it*, ye haue enclosed and put
 bi a disgyse wise in so litel a closure, vnder so litel an
 [lep], *pat* pouh per were suiche foureteene, in myn hond I
 wolde wel holde hem. Pis may I nouht wel suffre, ne reson
 may not weel preeve it, ne is it not riht gret wonder pouh
 Nature mervelle hire. But pouh ye hadden so michel doon,
 and *pat* ye mihte haue doon it *pat* be dwellinge were as gret
 as pe feedinge is gret, *oper* elles *pat* be feedinge were as
 litel as pe hous is litel, wel inouh I wolde suffre it, and
 Nature wolde it wel. On *pat* ooper side, it were youre
 wurshipe *pat* withoute desceyte men wisten how gret pe
 feedinge were withoute goinge dinyng. And yit more me
 mistiketh (and Nature halt hire not stille) *pat* ye haue
 preued my maxime fals and repreved. For certeyn I herde
 neuere speke ne in my lyve sih *pat* [an] al, whatsoeuere it
 were, ne were grettere *pan* a part perof. But ye wisten wel
pat ye haue mad pe partye as gret as pe al, which is a gret
 mistakinge ayens me and ayens Nature. Pis is *pat* I am come
 hider fore, and wherfore I was sent hider. Now looketh what
 answereth she shal haue *pat* hath sent me.' [f.33v]

Whan Aristotle hadde spoken, Sapience aresoned him:

'Freend, quod she, 'pat cleymest me freend for *pat* *pou*
 louest me (and perinne *pou* hast nothing lost, for perbi
 is al good bifalle pee): wel *pou* shuldest advise pee if *pou*
 woldest, and bithinke pee *pat* tweyne scooles I heeld sumtime,
 in whiche pee and Nature I tauchte. For Grace Dieu wolde it,
 and hadde ordeyned me *per*too, to teche in *pat* oon to werche
 diuise artes and excersise, to make wonderful thinges, and

subtile and gracious. And in pilke was first Dame Nature my scoleer. Bere I tauhte hire and lerned hire noble craftes and riht subtile, as to make flourres—lilyes, gaye rosses and violettes—and oober graciouse craftes wherof to seye it is no neede. In pat ooper scoole, [pee] I tauhte [pe] vnderstandinge and enfoormed pee to argue* and to dispute and to juge and discerne bitwixe pe goode and pe wikkede, and to make canoun and lawe: for perfore was pilke scoole ordeyned. And bere was my wise doughter, Science, pat is so subtile, whiche heeld bere pe *parlamentes* and foormed bere pe argumentes: for pe loue of whom *pou* come and were in pe scooles—and so michel pow didest, what up what down, pat to marriage pow haddest hire. In pilke scoole I tauhte [pee], and pere pou were my prentys, and pere weren shewed pee alle pe secrees of Nature, for al pat euere I tauhte to Nature, riht soone after I told it to pee, nought pat *pou* shuldest mown make anything perof, but pat *pou* shuldest wel kunne juge. Swich wurshipe and swich curtesyse shewed wel pat I was frend to pee. [f.34r] And whan pow and Nature [pamel] hauen ben vnder my cure, pat han lerned in my scooles bope faire dedes and faire wordes, pouh ye seyen me now erre, yit ye shulden forbere me. Ye shulden haue in mynde of pe champyoun pat hadde tauht his kunynge to a poore man, and hadde nothing take of his. For whan bei weren in pe feeld at pe requeste of tweyne dukes pat wolden defende bi hem eche of hem here owen, for which bei hadden gret stryf, pe maister, which was [yit] wisere pan pe prentys, bigan to speke to his prentys and aresonne him. "What is pis," quod he, "come ye tweyne ayens me pat am aloone?" pis was neuere of gret wurphnesse ne of wurpi corage." And *panne* whan pilke lookede bihynde him, who was pere, pe maister yaf him swich a strook pat ded to pe eerpe he sente him. "Yit haue I nought", quod he, "tauth al my wyt to my prentys. It is euere bifalle pee today, whan pow come ayens me." So I sey pee: so God save pee, weenest pow pat I haue tauht pee now al my wit and al myn art, and pat al myn I haue yiven pee, *withoute* witholdinge anything? Euere pow woldest awurpe with me if I hadde nothing to defende me with bi sum wey: for doinge to me vyleynye pow arguest me of sophistrie, of fraude and of gile, bi defaute of discrecion. Now sey me: if I were a mercere, and shewed pee a purs pe which I wolde yive pee, and seyde pee "Loo pis I haue yiven pee, bere it

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with pee, for it is bi my wille," if it so were pat pow bere it fourth and sithe pou founde perinne [f.34v] foure floreynes or fyve or sixe, shulde it seme pee pat I hadde anything disceyved pee, or pat I were perfore a sophistre? 'Seteyn,' quod Aristotle, 'nay. But me shulde thinke suich a yifte ful of gret freedom and of wurshipp and of gret curtesyse.'

'Seteyn,' quod she, 'so it is of pe bred pat I haue maad so subtile: for withoute I haue not shewed pe grette tresore pat I haue put withinne, but I haue riht pryely hid it for to enricheesse with pe poore folk. For if it were shewed withoute, per shulde noon dore resceyue it. Charite ordeyned it so, pat hath of pe poore gret pitee; and perinne is no gile, but dede of mercy. But if withoute I hadde shewed gret apparence, and put withinne thing pat were litel to preyse, or pat hadde not gret quantite, *panne* pow mihtest argue me of gile and blame me. Yit I answerede /pee/ ooperweys, for it is no desceyte pouh I shewe it litel to be eye and [it] is gret withinne. And I wole pat so it be bliueved stidfastliche, *withoute* makinge [deynale]. But if I wolde not pis, or if I dide it ooperweys, *panne* peraventure pow mihtest argue me of mystakynge. Now sey me yit I prey pee (pat arguest me of my doinges, pat seist it is not resoun pat be vessel or pe hous be lasse pan pat pat is withinne): seye pou neuere neyber inne ne oute pe quantite of pe herte of man?' 'Seteyn,' quod he, 'in sooth I haue wel seyn it troweliche.' 'Now sey me,' quod she, 'bi pin oth: how gret it is to pi seemynge?' 'Seteyn,' quod he, 'a kyte a litel enfamined shulde skarsliche be ful sauled perwith, for litel it is and nought gret.' 'Yit,' quod she, 'I aske [f.35r] pee if *pou* wite ouht with how michel his desire may be fulfilled, and with how michel it mihte be ful esed and sauled, or what thing [shulde] suffice it?' 'Seteyn,' quod he, 'fulfille it and saule it and stanche it mihte not al be world, pouh al at his wille he hadde it.' 'Now needeth it *panne*,' quod Sapience, 'pat [fillinge] to [suffsaunce] pow fynde it, ooper pat false[de] [bel] pi commune auctoritee pat is wide spread, bi whiche pow hast preued and seyde pat in pe world per is nothing voyd, for of sumthing it shal be filled ooper it shal be empty.' 'perof,' quod he, 'I wole sey my seyngge, for I haue wend, and yit weene, pat oo god pat is sovereyn shulde make it al ful.' 'Soothliche,'

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- quod she, 'pow seyst wel, and of nothing mistakest pee perof, but it needeth pat pilke god be grettere pan be world is gret, and so enclosed in be world it may not be pat it ne shulde ouerflowe it.' 'Serteyn', quod he, 'I may not to pat of nothing wel withseye.' 'And how shulde it', quod she, 'be put in an herte pat is so litel? pame muste be hows bi resoun be lasse pan be good pat is put perinne, and so shal bi seynges be false. Yit I wole shewe pee pis apertliche al ooperweys: Grece and Athenes pow hast seyn, and many tymes ben here. Now sey me sooth if it be in bi mynde, how michel pat oon is from pat ooper,* and if per been manye studyautes, and how grete pe citees ben?' 'Serteyn', quod he, 'I mynde me wel pat pei ben grete, and pat per comen ynowe of studiantes pider, and of scoleeres and of folk of diuerse craftes.' 'Now sey me', quod she, 'where hast pow put alle pese grennesses pat pou seist [me]?' 'In my memorie I haue [f.35v] [put] hem:.' quod he, 'certeyn I wot it riht wel.' 'Oo', quod Sapience, 'and shalt pou perfore conclude me, if memorye be in pin hed, pat in lasse place pan is pin hed pou hast enclosed tweyne grete citees with alle here studiantes? In pe apper of myn eye I wole shewe pee pis also: biholde it how it is litel, and algates per enhabitheth perinne hollliche al pi visage, as pow miht see apertliche. Also looke in a mirour, pou shalt se pi visage and his shap. And if pow wolt do ooperweys, for to assoile better pine argumentes (pat seist I haue falsed and repreved pi maxime, in as michel as eche partye \pat/ may be broken of be bred I make as gret as al) make pat al be mirour be tobroken in diuerse partyes, and if pi biholdinge be to eche of hem, per shal not be pilke in which pow ne shalt see pi visage al apertliche, and apperceyue as wel and as hollliche as pou didest first in pe mirour whan it was hool, wherinne per was but oon visage.' 'Now, lady pat hauen be engyn so subtil', quod he, 'vnderstonde ye pat localliche, virtualliche or ooperwise \pat/ alle pese things ben put in be places ye haue seyde and enclosed? For perafter I wolde answer, or perafter I wolde holde me stille.' 'Serteyn', quod she, 'localliche I vnderstonde not, but ooperweys: virtualliche I vnderstonde summe, and ymaginatyfliche summe, and representatyfliche summe of be things I vnderstond, and it thurt not reche to wite of pis noon, for I haue taken pee ensamples onliche for avisement, for to make pee

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- soone vnder[f.36r]stonde and soone [to] reche pee and lerne pee how vnder litel figure is hid be grete feedinge. For as in diuerse wises in be litel places pese things ben put, riht so withinne pis bred al be souereyn good is put, soothliche nouht ymaginatyfliche, nouht [representatyfliche], nouht virtualliche withoute more, but it is put perinne and contented bodilliche and rialliche, presentliche and verreyliche withoute any similiacion, and withoute ooper decepcion.
- The cause why it is put pere, in partye it is told tofore: for be herte is litel, be bred as litel is maad also; and for his grete capacitee, be good souereyn I haue put withinne: be litel to be litel, be grete to be grete I haue euene maad as answeringe. For after pat be herte is, riht soo be feedinge is maad. If it be litel, litel bred it hath; if it wole ynowh, it shal fynde withinne pat pat may saule it and fille it and suffice it, and perinne is no mistakinge, poun be hous for suich cause is michel smallere and lasse pan be good pat enhabitheth perinne. And suppose pat to pi seemnyge I hadde maad thing missitrynge and pat pou were not wel apayed of pat pou hast herd me [seyrn]: yit I sey pee pat if I ne [wole], I shulde not answer to pee, for if I cowde not make or sumtime dide [summething] more notable and wonderful pan oopere, for nouht shulde I be maistresse and techere of oopere. So pat see heere myn answer; if pow wolt, shewe it ayen to Nature, chaumberere to Grace Dieu and my scoleer, for for hire I wole nothing leue to do of pat pat I wolde do: for Charitee I wole alwey do [f.36v] and please hire pat pat I can. She shal nothing kunne duise me pat I ne wole do it withoute abdinge.'
- Aristotle, whan he herde pis, al dedliche he answerde hire: 'Serteynly I apperceyue weel pat of yow shal I nothing winne. It is michel better for me go my wey pan more argue ayens yow. I go. Dooth whateuere ye wole: good leue ye haue.' Thus pilke wente and tolde ayen to Nature be wit he hadde founde in hire, for whiche he was departed. Nature pame suffrede it: she mihte no more; and pat hevyede hire.'
- Whan Grace hadde pus told me pis faire tale of hire goodness, I hadde gret wille and gret hunger to haue of pilke bred to ete. "Lady," quod I, "with herte I pray yow pat of pis relief of Moyses ye wole make yive me for to ese

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with myn empty herte: longe it hath be empty ne it was
neure sauled, for it wiste neure yit of whatt men shulden
1805

filler it." "Sereyn," quod she, "pi requeste I holde not
dishoneste. Michel is pis bred necessarie to pee to be viage
pou hast to doone: for bifore pou mowe come to be place per
pou hast pi desire, bi ful wikkede passes pou shalt go, and
wikkede herberwes pou shalt fynde, so pat ofte pou shalt have
1810

missese if pou bere not pis bred. And my leue pou hast to
take it whan pou wolt. But always it is riht (as I fynde
in my lawes) pat pou haue first pat pat pow hast asked
bifore: pat is be scrippe and be burdoun of be whiche I
seide pee pat in myn hous I wolde purueye pee of hem al
bitymes, pat shulde be [f.37r] whan I hadde shewed pee be
1815

faire thinges of withinne, whiche alle folk seen nouht.
Now I haue in partye shewed pee be thinges and opned hem to
pee, I am redi to holde pee [pi] couenantes. Withoute
fallinge, be scrippe and be burdoun pou shalt haue alle be
1820

tymes pat pow wolt: and sihe if pou wolt pou miht putte of
be bred in bi scrippe, and after as good pilgrym sette pee
to pi wey." "Lady," quod I, "miche graunt mercy: pat is my
wish and my desire. Dooth me soone to haue it, for I haue
gret lust to stire me. Me thinketh riht longe pat I haue
1825

were forthward and set in be wey: for it is fer pilke citee
to whiche I am exited to goon."

And panne into a place pat she hadde where per weren
many faire iewelles she ledde me withoute dwellinge, and
of an hucche whiche she vndide, rawhte be scrippe and
1830

be burdoun. Neure I trowe man ne womman so fair a scrippe
[bar] ne burdoun lenede to, in whiche he mihte bettere assure
him, and in a wikkede pas triste. be fairnesse and be
goodnesse of hem bisiliche I lokede: wherof I wole not
holde my pees. pat sunnwhat perof I ne wole seye. be scrippe
1835

was of greene selk, and heeng bi a greene tissu. Lysted it
was wel queynteliche with xii belles of siluer. Whoseoure
forged hem, a good maister he was, for eche of hem was
enameled, and in eche enamelure per was propre scripture,
1840

be whiche riht as I sigh it at eye I wole telle yow. [f.37v]
In be firste per was wrihten God be Fader as me thouhte, be
heuene and be eerpe made of nouht, and sithe foorme man;
in be secunde God be Sone: in be thridde God be Holi Gost. But
pese thre thinges weren to me [michel] wunderful and [gretliche
dredingel], for of so nyh bei ioyneden togideres pat bei seemeden
1845

[alle bel] oon; and specialliche pis I sey: pat [in be thre I
sigh pat] per was but conliche oon claper pat to alle be thre
seruede. In be feerpe belle wrihten per was Goddes Sone Ihesu
1850

Cryst from heuene into eerpe descendede, bi be Holi Gost
conseyued, mad man, and of a mayden born; in be fyfthe He was
tormented for sinners and on be crosse doon, [nature]* ded
and buryed: in be sixte descendede down into helle for to
caste out alle hise freendes and lede hem into Paradys; in
1855

be sevenpe susstied; in be eyhtpe steyn into heuene and
on be riht half of his fader sett, for to iuge be quike and
be dede. In be nyntpe was set be holi Cristene Cherche
with be holi sacramentes pat ben solempnysed perinne; in
be tenpe be oohede and be communiooun of be seyntes, and
be indulgence of sinne bi cristenynge and penaunce; in be
1860

elevenpe risinge of alle be dede pat shulen come to be
iugement in bodi and in soule, and pere shulen heere here
sentence; in be twelfthe guerdoun of alle goode dedes, and
punyshinge of hem pat be yuel dedes haue doon and nouht
repented hem. Pis is of be belles be scripture pat wrihten
is in be enamelure, bi which (if ye wole) be bewtee of be
1865

scrippe seen ye mowen.
Now I wole telle yow also of be burdoun pat was of
anooper factoun. It was liht and strong and euene, [f.38r]
and was maad of tre of Sethim pat in no time mai rote, ne
perishe for cause of fyr. On be ende an hy was a pomelle
of a round miroir, shynynge and fair, in whiche cleerliche
1870

men mihten see al be cuntre pat was fer. Per was no region
so fer pat perinne men ne mihten seen it, and pere I sygh
pilke citee to whiche I was exited to gon: riht as I hadde
seyn it and aperseyued it bifore in be miroir, also in be
1875

pomelle I syh it, wherof I was fayn. be better I louede
be bordoun in sooth, and be more I preysede his factoun.
A liht binepe, anooper pomel per was (a liht lasse pan
pat ooper) pat was maad riht queynteliche of a charbuncle
glistinge. Who pat euere it made and cumpasede, and pat
1880

to be burdoun ioyned it, he was not of pis lond: in
anooper place he muste be souht. Ryht wel it was sittinge
to be burdoun, and ryht auenaunt. Nothing per mislikede
me in it but pat it was not yrened; but afterward, she
pat shewed it me appesed me wel.
1885

Whan pese iewelles weren drawen out, panne seide me
Grace Dieu: "See heere be scrippe and be burdoun pat I
1885

In the Middle Ages the factious is therefore finding a good basis of the
summary. Now the factious is why?
Mittel is clearly from the factious - always the great begins is

- haue bihyght pee: I make pee yifte of hem. In pi viage
pou shalt haue neede of hem. Keep hem wel, and so *pou* shalt
 be wys. *pe* scripppe *Foy* is cleped, withoute which *pou*
 shalt neuere do jurney *pat* ouht shal availe: for pi bred
 and pi *vitaile* *pou* shuldest in alle times haue *perinne*,
 and if *pou* wolt wite *pis* bi *ooper* seyinge *pan* by *myn*, Seynt
Poule shal wel enfoorme *pee*, *pat* telleth *pat* it is writen
pat *pe* iuste liveth bi his scripppe (*pat* is to seyn, whoso
 wel understonde, *pat* he liueth of *pe* good *pat* he taketh
perinne). *pis* scripppe is of greene colour, for [f.38v]
 riht as greenesse comforteth *pe* eye and *pe* sight, riht so
 I sey *pee* *pat* sharp feith maketh sighte of vnderstondinge:
 ne neuere shal *pe* soule *perfyliche* see, if *pis* greenesse
 ne lene him miht and strengthe. And *perfore* she shal neede
pee for to redye *pee* in pi wey." "Lady," *quod* I, "seyth me
 for *pe* loue of God, of pese belles so lirele, why *pei* ben
pis [atached] and stiked in *pe* skrippe: of *pe* thre also *pat*
 han but oon claper, whiche to hem is *commune*." "Seteyn,"
quod she, "in *pe* time *bifore* (*pat* was in *pe* time *pat* I
 made *pe* scripppe) it sufficed al symplliche to leue in
 God *perfyliche*: and *parne* was *pe* scripppe *withoute* ringeres
 and *withoute* belles. But I telle *pee* *pat* many *erroures*
 sourdeden sithe, and many harmes. Eche wolde *leue* in God
 as him likede: oon leuede in oo wise, anooper in anooper
 wise, at his deveys, as *pou* shuldest wel wite if *pou* haddest
 seyn here *erroures*. And so was *pis* scripppe elded and
 defouled; but for to recouere *pe* bewte, and for to do away
 alle *erroures*, and for oon bileue shulde be to alle, and
 withoute descete, *pe* twelve Apostles setten *peron* pese
 twelve belles *pat* *per* ben, and in eche of hem *propir*
 writinge *pat* *propirliche* techeth and seith in what manere
 and how men shulden [leuel] in God stedfastliche. *pese*
 twelve belles heere maken *pe* twelve articles of *pe* feith,
pat ben *pe* which *pou* shuldest stedfastliche bileue
 and haue in pi memorie. Ofte *pei* shulde awake *pee* and ringe
 at pin ere; for nought be *pei* not maad belles ne ringers:
 for if *pou* were to slowh *oper* leftest to looke *pe* wringinge,
 at *pe* leste with ringinge of summe of hem *pou* mihtest
 remembre *pee*. On *pat* *ooper* side [f.39r] Seint *Poul* seith
 and to *pe* Romayns he hath writen, *pat* bi heeringe swich
 ringinge men haven *pe* feith *perfyliche* so *pat* he putte
 not *pe* ringinge in *pe* scripppe: but it exiteth *pe* memorie

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- in what manere men shulden bileue. Nought *pat* [*pis*] sufficeth
 onliche to bileue stidfastliche, for *per* ben mo *ooper*
 things *pat* ben to bileue stidfastliche, as of *pe* wyn and
 bred *pat* ben renewed into flesh and blood; of God also in
 Trinite, thre *persones* in oonhede, wherof *pou* hast seyn *pe*
 ensamplle in *pe* belles of whiche *pou* askedest. For riht as
 oo claper serueth to thre belles wel and faire, riht so is
pe Trinite but oo God alone in soothnesse. God alone and
 thre it is, and eche of *pe* thre is God: *pat* *pou* shuldest
 bileue stidfastliche, and many *ooper*e of ringinges of
 whiche as at *pis* time I wole holde me stille, and for to
 lasse ennuye leue it: for of *pe* twelve alle *pei* hangen, whoso
 wel at here rihtes al wel vnderstant."*
- Ryght as Grace Dieu spak and diuisede of pese belles
 I, *pat* biheld *pe* scripppe and alwey hadde *myn* eye *peron*,
 sygh dropes of blood sown and dropped *peron*, whiche thing
 michel displesede me and meuede al my corage [of] *pat* I
 hadde not seyn it *bifore*, [and *pat*] I hadde seyn and appereyed
pe scripppe. "Lady," *quod* I, "newe I am discomforted euele.
 I se blood shed on *pe* scripppe, *pat* neuere er I appereyuede.
 Eyper apeseth me of pilke blood or elles taketh me anooper
 scripppe." "Haa," *quod* she, "discomforte *pe* shuldest *pou*
 nought, but *comferte* *pee*: for whan *pou* wost *pe* cause, *pou*
 shalt loue *pe* scripppe *pe* bettere. *per* was sun[f.39v]time
 a pilgrym *pat* *higte* *Steuene*, *pat* in *yowpe* bar *pe* scripppe
 in alle places *per* he wente. But he was aspyed with
 theeves for *pe* scripppe *pat* was fair: michel *pei* peyneden
 [hem] to bineme it him, and michel peyne *pei* diden him.
 But he defended him so wel *pat* he wolde for nothing men
 shulden bineme him suich a scripppe, but leuere he hadde
 men sloowen him. Algates *pei* sloowen him and mordred him
 and stoned him, and of his blood was *pis* scripppe
 bidropped and approved. But *pat* time it was fairere for
pe blood *pat* was al newe, for colour *pat* is red upon
 greene *champe* it is wel fair: and *pat* apperede openliche,
 for after his bleedinge it was boren more *pan* *bifore*, michel
 more, and more desired. Many folk comen after, and so
 michel diden *pat* *pei* hadden it, and afterward for to defende
 [it] and keepe it *pei* suffreden to dismembre hem, and
 suffreden peynes and tormentes to *pe* deth. Whoso wolde
 nombre *pe* martyres *pat* for it suffreden deth, *per* is *neiper*
 tunge coude [s:yn] it ne herte thinke it ne hond write it,

1930

1935

1940

1945

1950

1955

1960

1965

1970

so pat pouh pilke scrippe were bidropped with pilke blood and preened, it is [not] thing pat is to wundre upon, but it is thing michel [to preyse for per is non so litel drope perof pat nis michel] more woorth pan a margerye, and more precious. And I sey pee wel pat if pe dropes weren newwe pow woldest holde hem riht faire. But it is long time gon *pat* no witht bledde of his blood peron: pe bleederes ben passed and alle agoon. But *perfore* ben pe dropes of blood pat ben elded neuere pe lasse worth. Of pe bewte recche pee neuere whan *pou* hast thing pat is as michel worth; so pat be scrippe pus dropped *witht* pis blood [f.40r] and so preewed I take pee in ensample, to pat ende I sey it pat if men wolden withdrawe it pee oper bineme it pee, *rapere* pow shuldest suffre to hewe pee

1975

and sle pee pan suffre to bineme it pee. Now take it *panne* anoon, for it is sittinge to pee." "Ladi," quod I, "wel it suffceth me of pis blood which ye haue seyde me, but me thinketh riht hevy pat ye take me pis scrippe bi couenant, for I wot neuere how I shal heerfter vse it. Algates she liketh me, and nothing misliketh me *perinne*, so I wole take it withoute tarynge, sihe I haue graunt of yow." And *panne* withoute lettinge I took it, and abowte me anoon I didde it, and Grace Dieu halp me pat arayed it me at hise rightes. Wel glad was I whan I seyh it aboute me and felte it, for longe bifore it was *pat* I hadde desired it michel and asked it.

1985

Now I wole telle yow ayen of pe burdown of which Grace Dieu made me sermoun. "After", quod she, "pat I haue seyde pee of pe scrippe whiche gladeth pee wel, I wole also telle pee of pe burdown at pe shorteste *pat* I may. pe burdown hatteh Esperance, whiche is good in eche sesoun: for pilke *pat* leneth \him/ sikerliche *perto* may not falle. pe wode of sechim of which it is maad sheweth ful wel which it is. To it *pou* shuldest lene pee in alle euel paas wher *pou* shalt go. In wikkede paas holde it riht euene, and looke wel on pe pommelles, for pe pommelles shulen holde pee up and nouht suffre pee to falle. The hye pommel is *Ihesu Crist* pat is as pe lettere seith a *mirour* pat is withoute spot, in [f.40v] whiche eche wyght may see his visage: in whiche al pe world may mire him wel and considere him, for al pe world *perinne* mired is nouht as greet as aas in a dee. In thilke

1995

perinne mired is nouht as greet as aas in a dee. In thilke

2000

perinne mired is nouht as greet as aas in a dee. In thilke

2010

pommel *pou* shuldest mire pee and ofte looke *perinne*. Lene pee *perto*, and strongliche clyue to pe poyntes, for whan withinne *pou* seest wel, *pou* shalt neuere haue discomfort of nothing, and as longe as *pou* lenest pee *perto* *pou* shalt neuere falle in wikkede paas. Now think heeron if *pou* be wys, and pe bettere *pou* shalt do pi viage. That ooper pommel is pilke of whom he was born, pat is pe *Virgine Marie* mooder pat conseyuede and bar hire fader; pat is pe charbuncle glisteringe pat enlumineth pe niht of pe world, bi pe which ben broght ayen to *wey alle pat* ben distracte and forweid, bi pe which beth enlumined alle pilke *pat* beth in derknesse, bi pe which beth raised be fallen down and pe ouerthrowen. And *perfore* she hath be grafted bi subtile art, and ioyned to pis burdown pat is so fair, to pat ende pat she be oo pommel, for first *per* was but oon allone whiche sufficed not: eche miht not come *perbi* *perto* ne holde it; but bi pis, men comen and lenen *perto* anoon, so pat pis is necessarie to eche wight pat is pilgrym. *perfore* I rede *pat pou* lene pee *perto* and triste in alle times, for bi it *pou* shalt be meynented and susteyned in alle wikkede paas, and bi it *pou* shalt mown come to *pat ooper* pat is hyere, so pat whan *pou* art lened and affeched to twey pommelles, wel I telle pee *pat* sureliche and sadliche *pou* miht go, and *perfore* in pe burdown *pou* miht wel triste pee and assure [f.41r] pee, for pe pommelles *pat* ben set *peron* shulen susteyne pee in alle euele paas. Pis is a good burdown. Keep it wel. I haue yive it pee so *pat pyn* it is." Thanne in pe hond she put it me wherwith to myn herte she didde gret ioye, for wel I seyh *pat* [redy I was] in al to putte me to my weye.

2020

But algates it mislikede me of pe burdown pat it was not yrened. "Lady," quod I to Grace Dieu, "I may not holde me, bi God, pat I ne sey yow my thought of pilke burdown pat is not yrened. It misliketh me michel, wireth it wel: for alle *ooper* I see yrened, *perfore* if ye wole, seith me whi such ye haue take it me." "Haa," quod she, "what *pou* art a fool! It needeth pee not a belle at pi nekke! Haue I not right now seyde pee (if *pou* woldest a litel remember pee) *pat* to pe eende aboute *pou* shuldest triste pee, and lene pee to pe pommelles, for pe pommelles shulen holde pee up and not suffre pee falle? pe eende *binepe* dooth pee nothing, and nouht for *panne* wel *pou* wost *pat* a burdown yrened

2025

nothing, and nouht for *panne* wel *pou* wost *pat* a burdown yrened

2030

nothing, and nouht for *panne* wel *pou* wost *pat* a burdown yrened

2035

nothing, and nouht for *panne* wel *pou* wost *pat* a burdown yrened

2040

nothing, and nouht for *panne* wel *pou* wost *pat* a burdown yrened

2055

weyeth more pan pilke pat is vnyrened. Vnyrened I took it
 pee for to my wenyngge *pou* shuldest bere it be bettere.
 And on pat ooper side, yrened burdoun stiketh deppere in
 pe fen and in pe dunge pan pilke *pat* hath noon yren: and
 be deppere it stiketh, be more is pilke empeched *pat* bereth
 it over pilke *pat* bereth it vnyrened; {and} *perfore* I haue
 take it pee swich, for I wol not *pat pou* be empeched,
neiper in forwth ne in mire, ne *pat pou* haue noon encombrance.”

2060

“Haa lady:” *quod* I, “yit oo woord. Me thinketh I am not a
 fool: nouht for *pat pat* ye haue seyð, but [f.41v] for *pat*
 of which ye spoken nouht. If houndes assaile me oþer theeves,
 and my burdoun be not yrened, trowe ye *pei* wole drede it so
 michel as if it were yrened bifore? And for *pat* cause onlich
 I [spekel] *pis*, and noon ooperweys.” “*perfo*” *quod* she, “I
 make pee answer, for burdoun is not to smite with ne to
 fyghte with, but withoute more to lene [peel] to. And if *pou* seye

2070

pou wolt withoute more defende pee, armures with which *pou*
 shalt wel defende pee withoute offence, and with which *pou*
 shalt wel discourmyte *þin* enemy's riht anoon I wole take pee:
 for I wot wel where I shal fynde hem.” “Haa lady,” *quod* I,
 “*bi* swich condicioon *pe* burdoun liketh me wel, wherfore I
 pray yow *pat* ye fecche pese armures and takeh hem me.”

2075

And *parne* Grace Dieu entrede into hire curryne, and
 clepede me: “Now bihold”, *quod* she, “an *hy* to pilke *perche*.
 I muste go to fecche armure to go fer with. *Ynowh *pou* seest
 to arme pee with: *per* beth helmes and haubergouns, gorgeres
 and jakkes, taarges and al *pat* needeth to pilke *pat* wole
 defende him. Now take *perre* *pat pat pou* wolt haue, and
 arme pee: *pou* hast leeuē.” Whan I syh pese faire armures,
 michel I reioysede me of *pe* bewtee of hem: but algates I
 wiste not wel with which I shulde do me *profyt* best, for I
 hadde neuere vsed armes, ne I hadde nouht ben armed.
 “Lady,” *quod* I, “sheweth me now I pray yow, if ye [f.42r]
 wole, whiche armures I shulde take, and how I shulde arme
 me: for but if ye helpe to arme me ye hadden do nothing.”

2090

And *parne* she took a doublet of a diuers facioon; I sigh
 neuere noon swich, ne neuere herde speke of noon swich,
 for riht euene bihynde on *pe* bak was set an aneuelt *pat*
 was maad to resseyue strokes of hameres. Of it at *pe*
 friste bigynnyngge she made me yifte and present: “Lo,oo
 heere” *quod* she, “a doublet, *pe* beste *pat* euere man sigh:
 for whoso hadde *neiper* handes ne feet, and were [fached] to a

2095

[pile], [but] *pat* he hadde *pat* upon him withoute more he
 shulde neuere be vengished, but he shulde with gret
 wurship be victour of alle hise enemy's. And ouer I sey pee
 (and be not abasht) whoso hath on pilke garment, he
 dooth his *profyt* with *pat pat* oopere doon here vnprofyt
 and here harm: clowdes maken his corn growe, and
 tempestes fylleth hise gerneretes, and pestilence hise
 seleeres; of grete hardshipes he hath a softte bed, and of
 tormentes his grete delite; hise deyntees he maketh of
 pouerte and his solas of aduersites; fastinges maken *hym*
 fat, and syknesses strengthe; pouerte and tribulacion
 maken him his recreacion. *pe* more men prikken it *pe*
 hardere it is: and riht as *pe* cleped a purpoynt) riht so whoso
 poynynges (for whi it is cleped a purpoynt) riht so whoso
 hath it on, of prikkinges he bicometh armed. *Bi* prikkynge
 it is worth *pat pat* it is, and withoute prikkinges it is
 nothing woorth. If *pou* wolt wite what it hatreth, Patience
 men clepe it, whiche is maad to suffre peynes and to
 susteyne [f.42v] grete prikkinges, for to be as [an] aneuelt
pat stireth not for *pe* strok of a feber, [for to resseyuel]
 and [endure] al with good wille, withoute *murmuryngge*.
 This doublet wered on *Ihesus* whan in *pe* crosse for *pee*
 he was hanged: vpon him it was rihted and prikked and
 measured ariht at his rites. Al he suffrede and al
 endured, and no woord seyde ne sownede: an aneuelt he
 shewede him and was to alle *pe* strokes of whiche he was
 smite, and *perfore* on him was forged and moneyed *þi*
ransoum. *pe* wikkede smibes fo\rgeden him on his bak and
 moneyden him; so *pat pou* schuldest wel suppose *pat* whan *pe*
 kyng wolde arme him with pese armures *pei* been goode, and
pat *pei* ben not to refuse: wherfore take hem and do hem on,
 and so *pou* shalt be miche *pe* rediere to do on *pat* ooper
 armure *pat* upon pese schulden be, for *þinepe* goth *pe* doublet
 whoso wole arme him *bi* resoun.”

2130

And *parne* I took *pe* garment and cloped me: I ne wot
 how; hevi me thoughte it, and streyt, and to bere it michel
 it greuede me. “Lady,” *quod* I, “youre purpoynt was not a
 poynt shape for me: swich milite I not bere it withoute
 greuyngge me to michel.” “Seteyn,” *quod* she, “*pe*
 purpoynt were shape for *pe* ariht if *pou* were ariht shape:
 but on *pee* it holt *pat* art not rihted ariht after his
 riht, for *pou* art to fat and haste to miche grees vnder

2135

pe wyngre and art to boistous, to rytous and to michel fed. Swiche thinges maken pee so gret pat withoute grevance pou miht not bere pe purpoynt on pi bak, and perfore in al pou mustre confoorme pee to it, not it to pee, doynge away pat pat is to michel [in] pee: [f.43r] michel smallere pou muste be if pou wolt be wel cloped." "Lady," quod I, "teeth me now how ye vnderstonden pis: to write soothliche wherper me neede ouht a carpentere to hewe me, how I mihte be rihed and shape to his rih." "Serteyn," quod she, "rytous pou art inowh and enyvous. Write pou shuldest pat pe purpoynt wole rihthe pee if pou wolt bere it withoute dispylinge; pee needeth noon ooper carpentere: it shal hewe pee to his rih, and after it rihthe pee. [pouh pee thinke sore perof at pis firste tyme, it nis but for to rihthe pee:] but after whan pou art rihed it shal be to pee neiper grevous ne harmful. If per be any pat [missey] pee, or pat dooth þe vileynye, turne pe bac towards him: lawhe in pin herte, and sey no woord. It shulde nothing recche pee to haue pe berkynge of howndes: turne pe anevelte, and lat him smyte al at his wille, for bi pe strokes he shal yive pee he shal rihthe pee pe purpoynt. And also I sey pee pat perbi pou shalt haue pe gryndinge of corowment:* for bi swich snyynge and forgyngre and bi swich knockingre shal be forged pee pe coroun pat no man kowde make; pat is pilke with whiche ben corownd [pe] martires pat pe purpoynt loueden, [pat] upon pe anevelte suffreden to knokke so michel and strokes to yiven pat bi pe strokes was forged hem and arayed hem pe coroun. And perfore in good feith I rede pee pat pe purpoynt withoute lettingre pou bere, for in oo tyme pat hastliche shal come it shal neede pee: pat shal be whan Tribulacioun shal aspye pee, and assaile pee in feeld, in wey and in hous, and shal sende pee hire seruantes pat so grete strokes shulen smyte upon pee, and so michel [f.43v] shulen knokken upon pee pat if pou haddest not on pe doublet, in gret perille of deth pou shuldest be. Now do perof pi pleyn wille, for of pe seyngre I do my devoyr." "Ladi," quod I, "michel it liketh me pat pat ye seyn, ne of nothing I ayensey yow, but of so michel pat my powere is not so gret, as I trowe, pat it mowe suffice and susteyne pe doublet: algates afforce me I wole to bere it as longe as I may. If ye

2140

2145

2150

2155

2160

2165

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2180

wole take me more, looketh wherof I haue neede: I wole be sufficientliche armed pouh I shulde berste." Thanne she rauhte an haubergeoun of a fair and pleasant facion, and seyde me: "Take pis garment, whiche was maad in olde time, for to fight ayens deth and ayens alle thilke of his ost: pat is, ayens peynes and tormentes and alle here dreses. For deth is a beste so wyldre pat whoso seeth it he woodeth: he leeseþ purpos and cuntenance, and pe burdoun of Esperance. He is yuele bitaken and lost pat is not panne cloped with pese armures; but [who] pat with pilke haubergeoun is cloped preyseþ it nouht at a bodde: he gooth suerliche in alle werres to haue loos and conquere prys. For drede of deth he shulde not deyne to turne ayen, ne [ne] wolde not. pis garment forgeþe sumtime pe smith of pe hye cuntre, pat forgeþe pe light and pe sunne withoute tonges and withoute hamer. In pilke time per was appreueþ ne allowed noon ooper armure: ne yit he is not wel armed pat perwith is not armed ne cloped. This haubergeoun harteþ Force whiche Ihesu Cristes champions wreden in old time, whiche [f.44r] weren so stable in werre and in tournameþt, and so stronge, pat þei setten pe deth at nouht; and pat was for pe haubergeoun which was of so stronge a shap pat for \no/ wepene ygrounden per was neuere mayl ybroken: but cause per was al preewed, whiche shulde not be heled, for with pe nailles with whiche was nayled pe some of pe smith and ryven, þe mailles were enclosed and rivetted. þe yren was also tempred in pe blood pat com out of hise woundes, wherfore pe haubergeoun was michel pe strengere and pe more sure. And alle pilke pat weren pat time perinne cloped, weren so rih strong pat per was no mortal werre ne [tormen]t, were it neuere so strong ne so cruelle, pat þei dredden a straw. And perfore pou shalt do it upon pe purpoynt if pou leeuwe me, and se if pou be meete þertoo." And panne pe haubergeoun I took, and anon after seide here: "Lady, I pray yow pat goodliche er ye make me don on pis garment, pat ye wole shewe me al pat pat ye wole arme me with, for after pat pat I sigh I wold redye me to be armed." And panne a gorgere, an helme, a targe, a peyre glooves and a swerd she rauhte me withoute any taryngre, and seyde: "With alle pese armures it needeth pou arme pee at þe leste: and if pou kunne defende pe wel þei shule suffice pee ynowh, al be it I wolde take pee

2185

2190

2195

2200

2205

2210

2215

2220

oobere if I founde gret miht in pee; but I wole keepe hem
to oobere pat I shal fynde strengere pan pee. With pe
2225

helme and with pe gorger for to keepe hool pin hed pou
shalt first arme pee, whan pou hast down on pin haubergeoun,
and sihe pe glooves pou shalt take with which pou shalt
[f.44v] glooven pin hondes: for if in hem pou hiddest hem
nouth, pou were not wel armed. This helme as pow shuldest
2230

wite is Attemperance of pe sighte, of pe heeringe and
of pe smellingge: thinges pat mown greewe pee, for riht as
pe helme keuereth and refreyneþ his wittes, and restreyneth,
riht so Attemperance serueth to keepe \be/ eye pat it be not
to open and to miche abaudoned to folye and to vanitees.
2235

For if pe viseer ne were streyt *per* mihte entre in swich
arwe pat euene to pe herre it mihte go, and withoute
remedye wounde it to be deth. To heere also *murmuryng*,
bakkinge, fool speches pilke helme stoppeth so hollliche
pat to be herte ne to be thought no dart may misdo, al be
2240

it pat be wikkede neyhobore can [hardel] sheete his arwes
and his springaldes: to be posterne þei mown wel casten
but þei shulen no fre entree haue in. Of pe smellingge
also I sey pee, for pe helme keuereth it so pat bi his
[ordeyne] smellingge þe herte is nothing hurt. So þus
for to keepe pee þis helm is good to arme pee with, for it
is pilke pat sumtime was cleped Helme of Saluacion, of
whiche Seint Poul amonesteth *pat* men don it on *here* hedes.
2245

Now I wole [sey] pee of pe gorger, which [shulde] keepe
[þe] throte hool. Sobirtee it hatreth in þis cuntre and also
ouer see. It is a party of Attemperance which was maad
for to restreyn Glotonye: for she taketh folk bi þe
throte and ouercometh hem. But pow shuldest wite pat þis
armure is maad of double mailure for it shude not be
strong inowh if it ne were so doubled, and þe cause is for
2255

Gloto[f.45r]f.45r]ne hath double woodshipe: woodshipe of savouringe
and of outrageous spekinge. Bi þe savouringe stren
pe goomes with which she wolde sle hireself. Bi þe
spekyngge maketh þe sleightes with which she sleth hire
neighboures, as pow shalt after wite more pleyntyche
2260

whan pou shalt seen it, so pat ayens such a [maisterman] it
is good to haue a gorger, for it is a thing wel sure,
al be it litel armure. And *perfore* I rede pee pat goodliche
and bisilliche pou arme pee *perwith*; of þi mete and of þi
drink be pou neuermore dangerous: what pou fyndest, take
2265

it gladliche, and of litel hold þe wel apayed. Of spekyngge
riht so I sey pee: keep þi mouth, and missey of no wight, and
in alle times spek to alle folk resonableliche. With þis
gorger was *sumtime* armed þe abbot of Chalyr þi goode
patroun Seint William: for pouh he hadde had but bred
and water, as wel he hadde þe payed as pouh he hadde had
2270

oobere mes ynowe, *wherof* pou miht fynde in his lyf pat he
cowde faste wel among grete mes, and also haue thirst. And
þere pou miht se also pat of spekinge to alle folk he was
not oonliche himself atempree, but he atemprede also þe
euele-spekeres whan he herde hem: 'Sey,' he wolde seyn, 'to
2275

þilke pat is in a feeuere whan he trembleth pat he tremble
nouth, and ye shul see how he wole cesse. Riht so' (he
wolde seyn) 'þilke *pat* ye speken of wolde cesse if he
mihte, wol gladliche.' So pat whan such a man armede him
with swich a gorger, and gorgered him soo, pou shuldest also
faste on gladliche þi gorger and arme pee *perwith*. [f.45v]

Of þe glooves also I sey pee, *wherof* is good pou be
mynged: for if on pine hondes pou were hurt, with þe remenant
pou shuldest litel doo. þe hondes, pat shulden be armed
and glooved with þe glooves, ben touchinges and handlinges
and tastings: for al be it pat men mown fynde bi al þe bodi
withoute tastinge, algates it is most wist and knowen
bi þe hondes, for þei maken most þe touchinges and þe
tastings, and *perfore* it is more leued of folk pan *oobere*
2280

tastings ben. *perfore* [is] alle [tastinge] *generallliche*
vnderstonde bi þe hondes. þe glooves with whiche pilke
tastinge and þilke hondes pow shuldest arme ben þese pat
I haue shewed pee, pat with [arnurers be named] þe thriddle
part of Attemperance which men clepen Continence: þe which
seyngge in singular may wel be seid equipolle to a plurelle,
for of dede and of wille his name shulde be doubled, for þe
dede shulde not suffice if þe wille ne were *perwith*. With
2295

oo glooue shulde no wihþ be wel glooved ne wel armed, so
to be withoute [ennuyel] tweyne needen, for dede and wille
muste boþe be had: goode þei ben boþe þo tweyne togideres,
as me thinketh, and couenable. Swich [continence] þus
doubled is cleped of summe gayparyn, for bi it is wunne
2300

þe bred bi þe whiche is fulfilled þe herte of [man];
and pat was figured heerþefore in þe bred pat David askede:
for Achimelech wolde neuere grante it him ne take it him
þefore pat he wiste he was glooued and armed with gayparynes.
2305

bis pou miht fynde if pou wult studie in pe Book of Kynges. bese [f.46r] glooues hadde sumtyme Seynt Bernard whan pe womman was leyd bi him in his bed al naked: for howeuere she tastede him and sired him and exited him, neuere turned he him towards hire, ne to hire taste assentede. She fond hise hondes so armed pat she wende him a man of yren, wherfore confused she departede, and wente out of his bed withoute hurtinge him; and pat maden pe gaynpaynes with whiche he hadde armed hise hondes, and *perfore* I rede pee pat goodliche pou arme pee lich: for *perfore* I haue brought hem pee hider, and *presented* hem.

2315

Of pe swerd pou shuldest wite pat *bettere* armure pou miht not haue: for if pou kowdest wel helpe pee *perwith*

2320

and haddest noone *ooper* armures, pow shuldest be more dred certyn pan if pou were armed with *ooper* armures and haddest noon, o^{er} cowdest not helpe pee *perwith*. Bis swerd Justice is cleped: amonges alle pe most chosen and pe beste pat euere girde or handelede kyng or erle. Neuere was [Ogiers] swerd ne Rowlondes ne Olyueeres so vertuowse ne so mhti,

2325

ne hadden so michel bountee. Bis is pilke pat whan time is, yildeth to eche pat pat is his. Bis is a swerd to an emperour, a regent, a gouernour, bi whiche alle pilke of his hous ben gouerned withoute mistakinge. For in alle times she manaseth pat *per* be noon pat misdo. She keepeth pe bodi fro rebellinge, and constreyneth pe herre to loue God. She maketh pe herre conuerte from fraude, and forsake baret. Pe will, pe affeccion, pe vnderstondinge and pe entente, pe soule and alle hire meyne so arayeth hem and [f.46v] chastiseth hem* pat *per* is noon of hem pat durste misdoon hire, on peyne of drawinge out of bope here eyen;

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for anoon withoute abidinge it shulde be corrected with pe swerd. Ensample pou hast in Seint [Beneyt] pat with bis swerd was girt (pe king had girt him *perwith* whan he made him lord of lawes), for whan he sygh pat his body pat was tempted wolde not obeye to him as good emperour and as good gouernour, with pe swerd he smot it so cruelliche, and punished it, pat wel nygh he hadde slayn it: wherfore it was neuere *afterward* rebelle ne inobedient to his comaunderment. This swerd pou shalt bere and bi it pou shalt defende pee from alle pilke pat I haue seyde pe bifore, whiche been [pi] priuee enemyes: for enemy more daungerous, more shrewed ne more perilous pow ne miht haue pan [pi]

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priuees and pilke pat ben nigh pee. So whan pou feelest any rebelle and go ayens pi saluacion, smite him so harde pat he be no more so fers ayens pee. And whan pou seest any of hem forueyne and aperceyuest it [and] pou seest pe herre erre and thinke to any baret, whan pou seest pe thought gon out of good wey and ordeyne, whan pou seest pe wille encline to dede disordernee, panne lat pe swerd be shake and put bifore: bi it lat eche be redressed and driven ayen into his place. Now do it pus wysliche, for I passe me shortliche.”

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“Ladi,” quod I, “it were wel sittinge, as me thinketh, pat sum shepe I hadde of yow wherinne I mighte putte pe swerd: for I mihte not alwey bere it pus, withoute pat it greuede me. On pat ooper side, Seynt [Beneyt] bar it not pus naked [f.47r] but he hadde it girt aboute him as pe king hadde girt it; and pat haue ye wel taucht me, bi which thing me thinketh pat sumtime pe swerd hadde a gerdel and a shepe in whiche she was put. And pat wolde I haue, [but] pat it were youre wille.” “Serres ful wel pou seist,” quod she, “and wel me liketh pat ententyf to my woordes pou hast ben; and *perfore* al at pi wille pe scauberk to pe swerd pou shalt haue, and gerdel with which pou shalt gerde it.”

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And panne anoon I sigh hire gon toward pe noble perche pat is toward pe perche on whiche pat *ooper* armures weren and hongen. From penes pe scauberk she vnheeng, and brouhte it, and seyde: “Loo here pilke pat Seynt Beneyt putte in pe swerd and bar it. A good thong *per* is for to wel gerde pee, and a good boocle for to [streyme] it. Now take it and keepe it wel, and leese it for nothing. Pilke scauberk is cleped Humilitee bi his riht name, in whiche pow shuldest pi swerd herberwe and pi justnesse hide: for if any good pou seest in piself, and pat pou hast done pat, and pat, hyde it pou shuldest in pilke scauberk which is maad of dedliche skyn, mynginge piself and thinkinge, in alle times biknowinge pat pou art dedlich and pat of piself pou hast not doon it, but pat it is bi me. Bithinke pee of pe publican and pe [pharisten], pat diuersliche hadden here swerdes and beren hem: for pilke pat in pe shepe hadde it, and bikenewe himself a sinner, was preyed and hyed; and pat ooper for he hadde his swerd vnshaped and vnscauberked was lowed. It is michel more worth oon accuse himself and biholde his feebelesse, [f.47v] entende to pe scauberk and

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to be leper, pan to diskeuere his iustice, [pan] to sey 'Bihold my swerd which I haue vnshaped yow': for so doon pe provide folk ful of wynd, and vauynge folk pat ne seechen but veynglorie and pat per be alwey mynde of hem. Pow shalt

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pee and humblinge: for causes pou shalt fynde ynowe whan wel pou hast biholden piself. And pame whan pou hast [pus] put it in and sheped it, with pe girdel pou shalt girdre pee: and with it pine armures pou shalt [streynel], to pat eende pat pou bere hem pe more sureliche and pe fastere: for pere is noon, be he neuere so wel armed, but it be fastned aboute eiper with girdel or with baudryk pat shulde sey he were wel armed. So pat pe girdel shal be [to pee worth] a baudryk whan it is wel girt aboute pee and with his bocle wel fastned.

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pe girdel hatteth Perseuerance, and pe bocle is cleped Constaunce, whiche shulden in alle times holden hem togideres withoute any departynge: for at pe neede and at pe assaut pat oon withoute pat ooper is wel litel woorth. pe girdel for pe grete lengthe holt pe armures in niht. She holt hem vertuous, with pe swerd pat she susteyneth. She holt hem alwey oon, keepinge hem pat bei ben not doon of for noon enchesoun in no time ne in no sesoun. pe bocle holt and keepeth faste pe girdel, pat it vntasme nouht. Al it holt in estat stedfastliche and keepeth al sureliche, for pat

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is pe riht fastynge and pe surenesse of pe armur, so pat whan pow askedest pese thinges it liked me wel, for per is nothing perof pat it ne is covenable to pee and [f.48r] riht profitable. Now use hem as pou shuldest, and pou shalt doo bi wurshipe greliche." Whan pese woordes I herde, I bicom thoughti and abashed, for of pis expositioun was litel myn entencion. Scauberck and girdel lasse greevinge I wende wel haue had withoute fable: and al were it pat I wolde pat pe purpoynt whiche I hadde on hadde be down, always I suffrede at pat time and nothing answerde.

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Whan of pe scauberk she hadde pus seid me, she took hire woordes ayen-anoon. "Now I wole sey pee", quod she, "yit a woord of pe targe. Withoute targe is no wiht wel ne arith armed, ne wel kept, for pe targe defendeth pat ooper armure from [empeyryngel]: bi it been pe ooper kept pat bei ben not atamed. And as longe as it is put bifore, so longe ben pe ooper saaf. Pis targe hatteth Prudence, whiche pe kyng Salomon bar sumtime customableche for to do riht and

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FIRST PART

ingement. Pis targe was more woorth to him pan two hundredre sheeldes and three hundredre targes of gold pat he putte in his newe hous; for bi pis targe he was wurshipped and preyed in his time, and whan he hadde afterward lost it al his wurshipe fel: alle hise targes of gold and hise sheeldes weren neuere woorth to him a red hering, for lost bei weren. Pis targe targede him as longe as he bar it with him but soone was he lost whan pe targe was lost, so pat perbi pow miht see and appereyue, if pou wolt, pe woorth of his targe whiche was more pan fyve hundredre of gold. perfore I rede pee bere it, [f.48v] pee and pin armure to keepe and for to pleye perwith and scarmushe whan pow seest enemyes come; pouh pou kumne not pleye at pe bokeler or kumne not wel helpe piself, she shal teche pee to pleye: ooper maister shal pee noon neede. Now take it whan pow art armed with [pe toober] armures pat pou hast. It were wel time, if pow woldest, pou tooke hem to doon hem on: for perfore I haue rautt hem and vnfolden hem and taken hem pee. Do hem on faste, for pou hast neede of nouht elles."

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Whan pese woordes I vnderstood, myn herte al africhte, for as I haue seyde, I hadde not customed to be armed. And on pat ooper side michel I bisorwede pe purpoynt pat I hadde on. Algates for to hire plessaunce doon and fullille, to arme me I assayed, and at pe haubergeoun I began. Ypon pe purpoynt I dide it on: but pat it was wel sey I nouht. Whan I hadde doon it on, anoon I took pe double gorgere and dide it aboute my nekke, and sithe shof myn hed in pe helm and hid it. After I took pe gaynpaynes and pe swerd, with

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whiche I girte me. And sithe whan I was pus armed I putte pe targe to my side. Al I dide as she hadde seyde me, al were it it liked me liel. Whan armed pus I sih me, and pat I felte pe armure upon me grevous and hevi, and pressinge me as me thought: "Lady," quod I to Grace Dieu, "mercy I pray yow pat of nothing ye displese yow, powh I shewe yow my disece. pese armures greven me so miche pat I may not go fourth. Eiper I muste heere abyde or alle I muste doon hem of. pe helme alperfirst dooth me so gret encumbrance pat I am perinne [f.49r] al astoned and blynd and def. I see nothing pat liketh me, ne heere nothing pat I wolde. Bi pe smellinge I feele nothing, pe whiche me thinketh gret torment. Afterward pilke shrewede gorgere (pat yuele passoun smyte it) bi pe throte maistrieth me soo,

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[pat me thinketh it shulde strangle me, it streyneth me so] pat I may not speke as I wolde, ne [auale] nothing pat delieth me, ne pat profiteth me anything to be bodi. Afterward with þe gaynpaynes wel I wot I shal neuere winne my bred; youre glooues ben not for hem pat han tendre handes, and tendre I haue hem, and pat forthinketh me. And þei ben harde out of mesure: I mihte not endure hem longe swiche withoute sheendinge myself. Riht so of þe remenant: I sey, shortliche to deliuere me, al greueth me so riht greiliche pat neuere at shorte wordes I mihte telle it, but I hadde grettere wit þan I haue. [Sourprised] I am as Dauid was, pat hadde not lerned armes. Armed he was, but bisilliche and hastiliche he leyde hem down. And perfore as he dide wole I doo, for his ensaample liketh me wel: alle þe armures I wole ley down, and with þe burdoun I wole passe me. I haue leuere go lightliche þan abide heer sureliche. Go fourth miht I nouht if I ne leyde down þe armure, and so shulde I be letted to go [into] þe faire citee. Wherefore I pray yow it anoye you nouht; ne [ne] holdeth it not for a despyte."

"Sertes," quod she, "now sheweth it wel pat

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withholde þou hast nothing of al pat I haue seyde þee, or wel litel þou thinkest þeron; oper þou weenest peraventure pat in me be so gret vnthrift pat my wordes ben fables oper pat þei ben disseyuable. Weenest þou it, so God keepe þee, sey it me rapere bitimes [f.49v] þan to late!" "Lady," quod I, "for þe loue of God, mercy: weeneth it neuere soo. I wot wel pat ye seyn nothing pat ne is ordeyned for wele. But my miht strecheth nouht to pat, pat armour mowe longe be bore of me. Nouht for pat I haue foryete youre woordes of anything, for certeyn I bihinke me wel pat ye haue seyde me, pat pouh at þe firste þei down me encumbrance þei shulden not so whan I were \longe/lermed of hem. But I sey yow pat I may not lerne hem, for I fynde in me to gret feeblesse and in hem to gret hardnesse: pese ben things greiliche [vnlikyngel] and discordinge." "And whi", quod she,

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"hast þou put me to trauaile, and wherto hast þou required me þe armures whan þou miht not bere hem (oper wolt not bere hem)?" "Lady," quod I, "I thoughte not þeron whan ye setten me in þe wey. Burdoun yrened I hadde asked yow al onliche. But whan of armures ye speken to me, and amonested me of hem, þanne I required hem, for wel I wende my strengthe hadde ben for to haue boren hem.

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But ooperweys it is, for in me no strengthe is, I se it wel, for I am wery as soone as I am armed." "Strengthe þou hast not" quod she, "for herte in þee þou hast noon. It is nouht for pat þou ne art sholdred ynowh and boned: strong and mihti ynowh þou art, if any good herte in þee þow haddest. For of þe herte cometh þe strengthe of man, as þe appel of þe appel tre. What mihte seye a litel man, whan þow pat seemest a chaumpion refusest to bere pese armures, and excusest þe bi [feeblesse]? [f.50r] What shuldest þou also doo, I prey þee, if þou mostest be armed to keepe þee from oopere? þou maist not bere hem, as þou seist. Yit also I prey þee what shalt þou do whan þi wey þou shalt go vnarmed, and pat þine enemies shulen assaile þee and enforce hem to sle þee? Serteyn þanne þou \shalt/ seyn 'Allas, whi woldest þou euer vnarme þee? Whi leuedest þou not Grace Dieu? Now þou art all disceyued. Now þou wost what mischeef it is, and wost also wel pat so gret greevance was it not of beringe of þe armure as it is to endure pese harmes. Now weren þe armures gret countfort to me if I hadde hem. Allas wheper euer I shal mown fynde Grace Dieu ayen, pat she wole arme me?' Whan þou hast pus ierred, and pat þou art wounded to þe deth, weenest þou, so God saue þee, pat I wole þanne gladliche drawe me piderward whan þou hast of nothing leued me and for þi goode? And on pat ooper side, pouh I wente so God kepe þee what shulde I do peere? þou shuldest be now michel strengere þan þou shalt be þanne, for þou shalt [þanne be] feeblished with woundes pat þow shalt haue. So pat whan þou miht not now bere þe armures ne endure hem, at þat time \to come/I shulde go for nouht, and for nouht I shulde trauaile me. Now anon is þe time to lerne armes withoute any more abidinge. If þou leue me, aboute þee þou shalt holde hem and keepe hem, to pat eende þat whan it shal be neede þou mowe helpe þee with hem. If þei ben hevy, go faire: for softe men fer goth. [f.50v] Soonere is þe mule ofte-times at Seynt James þat goth roundliche, þan is þilke þat smiteth and sporeth his hors and maketh him go sharpliche: for michel soonere he fyndeth encumbrance þan þe mule þat goth roundliche [her] wey.

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Of þat þou spekest of Dauid, þat þe armure sumtime leyde down: I sey þee pat if of him þou wolt take ensaample, I wole not undertake þee. But I wole þou vnderstonde how þow shalt make þi foundement: for first þou shuldest biholde

and considere his chylthode, for chylth he was pat time, and
 litel, as pe story seith; also on pat ooper side, pe
 armures whiche weren nouht for a [poope] but pei weren for pe
 some of Saul, pe gretteste of pe cuntre. Wherfore pou shuldest
 wel thinke pat pei weren grete and stuffed and right hevy.
 So pat (pese twey thinges biholden and thout diligentliche)
 with gret riht Daid dide of pe armure and leyde hem down. For
 Saul pei weren goode, but for Daid weren pei nothing worth:
 for pat pat is good for a colt is not good for a staloun.
 Pis is pat Aristotle seith in *Etiques* where it is writen.
 But if Daid hadde ben as gret as pou as he was sithe,
 and pame he hadde vnarmed him, seteynliche pou were
 pame caused for to take ensaumpel of him and do as he
 dide; but pus dide he neuere, ne pus to do taucht not pee,
 for whan he was bi comen a man, he was armed in alle werres.
 It needeth not to suppose pat he vnarmed into werres wente:
 for if so he hadde gon, onlyue hadde he neuere turned ayen.
 pe armures in alle times he louede, and pat time pat he
 vnarmed him of pe armure of Saul, he [f.51r] took oopere
 with whiche he sloow Goliath: pilke pat time weren to him
 couenable. If pou were a chylth as he was, pou mihtest do as
 he dide. I wolde wel suffre pat in pi chylthode pou haddest
 not so gret penance. But pou art gret ynowh to bere pese
 armures if *pou* wolt preeue piself wel, and shame pou
 auhtest to haue if pou forsake to bere hem.”

“Ladi,” quod I, “I see ful wel pat I shulde nothing
 winne to resiste, ne to argue, ne to despute ayens you. But
 I telle you pat down I moste ley al togideres withoute more
 abidinge. per is noon pat of I ne wole do, for per is noon
 of whiche I haue ioye: alle pese armures han frused me and
 pressed me and defouled me.” And pame pe boole I vnboode
 and pe armures I vnlauced, sithe leyde down girdel and sword,
 with pe targe litel-biloued. Whan she sygh me so doo,
 anon she areynede me and seyde: “Sithe pou wolt pus vnarme
 pee, and al pin armure do away, pou shuldest at pe leste
 biseche me to fecche pee oon (whoso it euer were) pat were
 milty, pat mihte bere pe armure, and pat trusede hem on
 pe shulder and bere hem after pee, to pat ende pat pou mihtest
 take hem alle times pat pou haddest neede.” “Ladi,” quod I,
 “so michel I haue offended you pat I durst not aske yow
 pat: but now I require it yow in bisechinge.” “Now a litel”
 quod she, “abide me, and I wole [ledel] pee suich on I trowe

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pat shal [wel susteyne] pe armure and pat wel shal bere hem
 with pee.” And pame Grace Dieu wente hire (I wot not wel
 into what place) and I al alone abod pere where I vnarmede
 me of alle poyntes. I dide [f.51v] of gorgeer and haubergeoun
 and helm and doublet. Onlich I withheld pe scrippe and pe
 burdown for pilgryme. Whan I sih me pus vnarmed pame I was
 al discomforred. “Aa, goode swete God,” quod I, “what shal I
 doo, whan so michel peyne I haue do to Grace Dieu my
 maistresse and my goode procureuse? She hadde now arayed me
 queyntliche and nobleche: as an erl arayed me she hadde, and
 as a duke. Nothing failede me: but I ayens hire techinge and
 hire swete amonestinge haue al doon of and haue nothing
 withholde. Faire swete God, why haue I my vertu lost, and
 where haue I doon it? Whi am I not more mihti, more strong,
 more hard, more vertuows, so pat I mihte susteyne and suffre
 wel pe armures? Michel I were pe more worth certeyn, and Grace
 Dieu wolde loue me pe bettere: alle folk wolden [also] preyse
 me pe more and loue me pe more and drede me pe more. But [nouth]
 it is [worth]. I mihte not endure hem bi no wey. To Grace Dieu
 I committe me, and al in hire I wole abide: yit I trowe she
 wole helpe me, and pat she wole not yit faile me; and perof
 she hath maad semblaunt (wherfore my confort is pe grette)
 for (for to make me ashamed)* she is gon bisyliche to fecche
 sum wight and bringe, pat mihte bere pese armures.”

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As I was in pis plyt and diuisede pus myself aloone,
 cam Grace Dieu, pat ledde a wenche pat hadde noone yen as me
 thoutte at pe firste whan I syh hire; but whan she was nyh
 comen to me and pat I hadde wel apperceyued hire, I sigh pat
 hire [light] was set in hire hatere] blynde, and bifore she
 sigh nothing. pis was thing [f.52r] riht hidous as me
 thoutte, and riht dreedful, and I was perof wunderliche
 abashed and thoutti. As heerof I thoutte and strongliche
 wundrede me, Grace Dieu spak to me: “Now I se wel,” quod she,
 “now I see how pou art a wurpi knyght, and whan pou shuldest
 fite pou hast leyd down pin armure and art discomfited
 withoute smitinge of strok. pee needeth a bath to bathe pee
 and a softe bed to ley pee inne; a surgien to sounde and
 conforte ayen pe seneues pat ben brused.” “Ladi,” quod I,
 “perof shule ye be leche and confortouress: for soothliche
 I am so wery pat I mihte no more susteyne pe armure, ne I
 hadde no more strengthe; wherfore I pray yow ye ben not wroth
 ne eucl apayed, for yit I haue trist and hope to yow of all.”

* The above provided by the name is taken explained by the
 writer/author, well, 5 however, the by graph, also, the
 author is for this? Celebrate for you in a book?

"Now," *quod* she, "I have founden pee pis wenche, and led hire pee from a cuntre pat is ferre, for to socure pee at pi neede: for wel I see but I helpe pee soone pou woldest go a shrewede wey. *bis* wenche pou shalt see, and pine armures pou shalt take hire, and she with pee shal beren hem, to pat ende pat alwey whan it is neede (as I have seyde pee) pou fynde hem redy and do hem on. For but if pou haddest hem alwey nygh pee, and didest hem on at pi neede, *pou* shuldest be ded and slayn, and euele betaken." "Lady," *quod* I, "of pis monstre whiche ye have maad me a shewinge of wolde I fayn wite pe name, and whi it is of swich facion. It is a thing disgisy to me and nout acustomed. On *pat* ooper side I wende as I hadde lerned of yow pat a seruant ye wolde have led me light and strong for to helpe [f.52v] me: for pe craft of swich a wenche is but to bere a pot—swich a wenche mihte neuere endure to bere swiche armures." "Therof" *quod* she, "I wole sey pee shortliche ynowh and answer pe. *bis* wenche [hatteth bi her name riht and is] cleped Memorie, whiche apperceyueh nothing ne seeth of pe time comynge, but of pe olde time she can wel speke, and diuise to pe time passed. And blihynde ben sette hire yen and hire light. It is not thing riht dreedful [ne hidous] as pow weenest, but it is thing riht necessarie to alle pilke pat wolen make here [mugoe] and here prouidence of any wit or science. Er *bis* hadden clerkes of vniuersitees fallen to pouerte if here havinge or kunnyng pat bei geten bifore ne kept hem: for litel is woorth thing ygoten if *after* pe getinge it ne be kept. So she hath pe eyen blihynde, and *perbi* wite wel pat she is tresore and keepere of science and of gret wysdom. And *after* pat pou shuldest wite pat al pe wit and pe kunnyng she keepeth: she bereth it so and in alle places she hath it with hire, so pat if pou make hire bere and keepe pese armures with pee, she shal norishe hem,* ne neuere danger shal she make perof. As strong as she is to bere hem, as mihti she is to keepe hem. And *perfore* haue hire not in despyt as pou hast seyde bifore, pat pou holdest hire for a wenche pat shulde but bere a pot; but piself pou shuldest despise and litel preyse if so miche good pow coudest: for pat *pat* pou maist not bere she shal wel bere withoute grevinge hire. And [f.53r] pat shal be a greterre confusoun to pine even pan if a seruant bere hem pat were strong and mihti. And *perfore* avisiliche and wingeliche

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I have brought hire to pee, to pat ende pat whan she hath pe armure and shal bere hem, pat pou assaye to bere also, or elles pat pou haue gret confusoun." "Lady," *quod* I, "sithe it is pus, I wole to yow *neper* sey ne ayensey. Ne also ayensey yow miht I nout wel of nothing. Now lat hem panne alle be hounen upon hire and trussed, and sithe I wole go bifore and she shal sewe me." And *parne* she and I hoven hem up, and to Memorie taken hem. And she took hem gladliche, as it was gret neede. Whan bei weren trussed Grace Dieu, God yilde hire, wel goodliche spak to me in seyngge me swiche wordes: "Now pou art", *quod* she, "arayed to go into pe faire citee. Pou hast Memorie [pi] soomeer pat *after* pee shal come blihynde, whiche shal bere pin armure to arme pee whan it shal be time; pou hast pe scrippe and pe burdown, pe faireste pat euere man bar; of alle thinges *pou* were redy if of Moises bred pou haddest. Go and take it; leue pou hast, al be it pou hast not deserued it. But keep pee wel pat of pat *pou* shuldest do passe pee nothing as pou hast seyn and knowen pat men shulden doon."

And *parne* to Moyses I wente and of his bred I asked him, pat was of pe relef pat he yaf and grantede to pe pilgrimes. He yaf it me and I took it, and sithe in [my] scrippe I putte it. [f.53v] Sithe to Grace Dieu I turnede ayen, and of hire goodshipes I thankede hire, preyinge hire pat she wolde not leue me, ne alonygne hire, and biseeche hire pat at my neede she wolde not be fer fro me; for wel I wiste (as I seyde hire) pat withoute hire I mihte nothing. "Seteyn," *quod* she, "soothliche withoute me pou miht nothing do, and soone *pou* shuldest be discournted if of me pou ne haddest keepinge. *perfore* pou doost as pe wise whan *pou* requirrest pat pat pou worst is needeful to pee. And for [pat] I fynde py requeste in nothing dishoneste, perfor to go with pe is myn entente as at pis time, and nout to departe fro pe I think, if it ne be by pin offence." "Lady," *quod* I, "michel grant mercy: now I haue ynowh as me thinketh." "Now vnderstronde," *quod* she, "how gon with pee I think. *per* ben summe pat hauen in here freendes so gret trist and hope pat bei ben miche pe worse, for bei thinken pat bei [shulen] be forborn and kept bi hem, poun bei hauen doon, or doon, yuele. So for pat pou shalt not triste to michel to me or leue pee, to pat entente pat *pou* do [no] harm in trist of a susteynour,

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of pi sight [and] of pin eye I wole not be seyn. I have a stoon pat to pe folk (whan I wole) yelt invisible. Bi pilke

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I wole hyde me from pine eyen so *pat* whan pou shalt weene pat I be with pee, panne peraventure I shal be ago bi sum ooper wey sumtime, and turned from pee; and pat shal be whan pou puttest pee ooperweys pan [f.54r] duelicke: as whan *pou* wolt not deingne to aske pi wey, oper wolt not go; and whan pou wolt leue pe goode weyes and go bi pe wikkede weyes. *perfore* be advised to go wysliche hensforthward; for *from* hensforth I vse and *wurche* [of pe same pyer]: and anon I *parte* fro pi siht and pi biholdinge." As soon as she hadde pat seid, more sih I hire not, wherof loowh not myn herte, which sorweful was, but more mhte it not do.

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Algates to go my wey as I hadde purposed it I wolde not leue, but I wolde anoon take my wey. To Memorie I bad *pat* she shulde come after me and *pat* she sewede me: *pat* she brouhte myn armure and *pat* she foryete noon. She soothliche dide it so; al she brouhte, nothing she loste. And it was gret neede, for after I fond so gret encumbrance pat I hadde be ded sumtime if I ne hadde be wa\r/nished of armure. Nought pat I dide hem on, ne took hem alwey at my neede, for many times bi my slouthe I suffrede strok of dart of arwe pat I hadde not suffred if I hadde be wel armed.

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Now I have seid yow al withoute lesinge oon partye of my swevene. *pe* remenant I shal telle yow heerafter whan I haue time. And ye pe more gladliche shulen heere it whan ye ben rested awhile. Withoute intervalle alle thing enoyeth, bope pe faire weder and pilke of reyn. Anoooper time ye shule come ayen, if more ye wole heere: and perwhiles I wole advise me to telle ariht as I mette.

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Heere endeth pe frste partye of pis book.

And heere biginneth pe secunde partye. [f.54v]

After pat I have seyð bifore of pat I sigh in slepyngre, oopere wundes pat I sigh [sithel], as I have bihyght yow, I wole shewe yow, for it is not reson to hele it. As I hadde ordeyned me at alle poyntes to go my wey, I bigan michel to thinke whi it was pat I miht not pus bere myn armures, or whi pat I hadde not as gret power as pilke wenche hadde pat bar hem after me. "Now I am a man", quod I, "*pat* seemeth a chaumpioun (for mayme wot I noon in me, but am hool of alle lymes) and pat am maad ynowh to bere bope pis wenche and hire

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berdene, whens cometh it pat I am pus failed of miht pat I may not endure an hour *pat* pat I see hire bere? Shame and confusioun it is to me whan she is strengere pan I."

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As on pis I thoughte, and pat allewey thinkinge wente, I mette in my wey a gret cherl euele shapen, grete [browel] and frounced, pat bar a staf of crabbe tree, and seemed to be a wel euel misterman and an euel-pilgrim. "What is pis?" quod he, "Whider goth pis pilgrim, Lord whider goth he? He weeneth he be now ful wel arayed and queyntised, but anoon *with* me he shal lette, and to questouns he shal answer." Whan pus I herde him speke, I bicom wunder sore abashed, for I wende he wolde haue ronne upon me *withoute* more abidinge. Algates curteisliche I spak to him, and humbliche: "Sire," quod I,

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"I require yow pat ye wole not enoye me ne enpeche me of my viage, for I go fer in pilgrimage, and a litel [f.55r] lettinge wolde greve me gretliche." "Seteyn," quod he, "pe disturbance cometh oþf pin ouertrowinge. Whens cometh it pee, {so G}od saue pee, and whi art *pou* swich and swich pat *pou* da\r/st passe *pe* lawe *pat* be king hath [wold ordeyne]? A while ago *pe* kyng made defence pat non took scrippe, ne pat noon bare it with him, ne [ne] handelede burdown: and *pou* ayens his ordinance bi pi foolliche surquidrye hast undertake to bere bope pat oon and pat ooper, as me thinketh. Whens cometh it pee, and how hast *pou* dorre be so hardi? Euele pow come, and euele pow wentest, and euele hider *pou* brouhrest hem. Neure day in pi lyve ne didest pow a grettere folye."

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Whan pese woordes I understood, more pan bifore I was abashed,

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for what to answer I ne wiste, ne [answerel] hadde I noon. Gladliche an aduocat I wolde haue hired me if I mihte haue founden him, for gret neede I hadde of oon if I hadde wist where to haue *purchaced* him. Algates [as] I studyede how I mihte escape, as I lifte up myne eyen I sygh [comen pat after which I hadde gret desire—pat was] Dame Resoun *pe* wise whiche men mown wel knowe by *pe* langage, for she wole nothing sey but sitingeliche and wel ordeyned. Bifore I hadde seyn hire, wherfore she was pe more known to me. I was riht ioyful whan I syh hire, for wel I thoughte *pat* bi hire shulde pilke crookede cherl be maat which harde hadde grucched me: and so he was at pe laste, and I pray yow vnderstondeh how.

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Resoun cam euene to him, and seide him: "Cherl, sey me, now God keepe pee, wherof pow [f.55v] seruest and whi *pou*

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seemest so diuers. Art pou a repere or a mower, or an
espour of weyfarenes? How hattest pou, and where gadreddest
2810 and tooke bi grete staf be staf is not auenant ne sittinge
to a good man." And panne be cherl lened him on his staf, and
seyde hire: "What is pis? Art pou [mayesse] or a newe
enguerouresse? Shewe pi commissioun and at pe leste pi name I
shal wite, and pe grete powere pat pou hast, pat bi semblaunt
2815 pou shewest me: for if I were not suer perof, I wolde to pee
answere nothing." And panne Resoun putte hire hond into hire
bosum bi a spayere, and took out a box of which she drew a
lettere, sihe seyde him: "Serteyn my poowere I wole wel do
pe to wite. Hold, see heere my commissioun: rede it, and pou
2820 shalt wel wite my name and my power, and who I am, and whi I
am come hider." "Serteyn," quod he, "I am no clerk, ne I can
nothing in pi leues; rede hem as pou wolt, for wite wel I
preyse hem litel." "Beawsire," quod she, "alle men ben not
2825 of pin opynioun. Of michel folk bei ben wel preyed and
loued and auctoursed: and nouht for panne pou shalt heere hem
but my clerkes failen me alle. I wole putte pee out of
suspessioun, and shewe pee what powere I haue. Come forth
clerk," quod she to me: "vndoo pese letteres out of plyt,
2830 rede hem bifore bis bacheleere pat weeneth he be a lord. Whan
he heereth hem red, if God wole he shal answeere me." And
panne I took hem and redde hem, wherof pe cherl was nothing
wel apayed, for alwey he grummede and alwey [he] shook his
chyn, And [f.56r] at euery woord I redde, I sygh his teeth
2835 grynte. If ye wole wite pe tenure of pe lettere, heerafter
ye shule heere it.

'Grace Dieu (bi whom gouernen hem bei seyn pe kynnes, and
regnen) to Resoun oure goode louede freend, and in alle goode
dedes wel proued, gretinge: and of pat we sende, dooth pleyn
execucioun. Of newe we haue vnderstonde (wherof us is not
[fair]) pat a cherl shrewede, prouwd and dangerous, pat bi his
name maketh clepe him and nempne him Rude Entendement, hath
maad him an espyour of weyes, and a waytere of pilgrimes, and
wole bineme hem here burdouns and vnscrippe here scrippes,
2845 bigynge hem with lyinge woordes. And for he wolde be pe
more dred, he hath borwed of Orgoill his wilkede and cruelle
staf, pat men clepen Obstinaцион (pe wiclike michel more
displeseth me pan dooth pe frouncede cherl): for pe which
thing, mandement we yiven you nouht* in comandinge, pat ye go
piderward, and amoneste pilke musard pat his staf he ley
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Handwritten notes in the left margin of page 68, including phrases like "I am the..." and "the..."

[doun], and pat he cesse of pe surplus. And if anything he
withstond, oper wole not abeye, yiueth him day competent at pe
assses of jgement. Of bis pleyn power we yiven yow and
maken you commissarye. Yiven in oure year pat eche whit
clepeth MCCCCXXI.

Whan al was rad, Resoun took ayen hire letteres and putte
hem in saafte, and sihe areynede pe cherl, and seyde him
wicke wordes: "Beawsire," quod she, "now pou hast herd my
power, and whi I come heere, wolt pou more answeere to me of
pat I haue asked pee?" "Who art pou?" quod pe cherl. "Who
2860 am I?" quod Resoun, "For Seint Germeyn, hast pow not herd
riht [f.56v] now what men han red heere? Thinkest pou on pi
loues, oper to take toures or castelles?" Quod he: "I haue
wel herd, bi Seint Symeon, pat pou hattest Resoun. But for it
is a name defamed, before I haue asked who pou art (and with
good riht)." "Nouht defamed, bi Seint Beneit!" quod Resoun,
2865 "But where hast pou founde par?" "At pe mille" quod he, "per
I haue be, pere pou mesuret falsliche and steleest folkes
corn." "Beawsire," quod she: "heere now tweyne liel
woordes, and vnderstonde. Misseyngge is no wurpinesse, ne pou
speket not as pe wise. At pe mille perauenture ye haue seyn
a mesure pat is cleped 'resoun' [for to hele with his gret
vnesoun] but before it is not 'Resoun' but it is fraude and
desceit. Bitwixe name and beinge I wole wel make difference.
2870 On thing is to be Resoun, and anooper thing haue his name.
Of pe name men mown maken couerture for to hele with here
filthe. Bis thing is falle many a time in many a strete: pat
who pat is not fair make him queynt, and who pat is not good
make him simple. Alle vices gladliche doon it, and ofte-times
maken hem koueryngge with pe name of pe vertu contrarye, for to
lasse displese pe folk. And yit is not pe vertu pe lasse
2880 worth bi a straw, but it is signe pat it is good, whan pe
vice appareth him and clopeth him berwith. So pat if with my
name pilke mesure [hath wold] queyntise him and hele him,
before am I not defamed, but wurshipped shulde be perby of
alle folk of vnderstondinge." "What is pis?" quod he.
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"pat God haue part! pou wolt be preyed of pat pat oopere
shulden [f.57r] be blamed. If I kneewe not a fye in mylk
whan pou toldest it me I hadde gret wrong. Weene not pat whan
I heere nempne a kat or an hound, pat I ne wot wel it is noon
2890 oxe ne kow, but pat it is an hound and a kat. Bi here names I

Handwritten notes in the left margin of page 69, including phrases like "I wote to..." and "the..."

knowe wel eche of hem, for here names and pei be al oon. So pat if *pou* hartest *Resoun*, I sey also *pou* art *Resoun*; and if 'resoun' stele pe corn, I sey pat of pee it is stolen: al pe water *pat* maketh pe millie turne ne mihte wasshe pee perof, for alle pine slye woordes and fallaces. Weene not *pat euere ooperweys pou* make me [to] vnderstonde."

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And *panne Resoun*, smylinge and al turnyng it into jape, seyde him: "Now I see wel *pat* of art *pou* hast lerned, and subtrliche [pou] kanst argue and bringe fourth faire ensamples; [and] if *pou* haddest a grettere bely,* *pou* woldest weel seeme wurpi." "O!" quod he: "pou scornest me!" "Pat I do, certeyn," quod *Resoun*, "wite it wel: and yit more wole scornne pee, forto I wite pi name as *pou* wost myn. And wite wel *pou* hast no wurshipe of pe helinge: I ne wot what *pou* shalt haue of pe tellinge." "Wurshipe?" quod he: "What seyst *pou*? pe vnwurshipe is pin. *pou* hast my name in pi leues, and askest it! *pou* art lich him *pat* sit on his asse and yit seeceheth it oueral. I ne wot what it tokeneth but \if/ it be scornynge." "Aa!" quod *Resoun*: "Art *pou* pilke *pat* art set in my leues? pe name withinne wel I wiste, but pee knew I not. I heeld an oppinyoun *pat* I and my name is not oon: for with my name may appare him eche theef *pat* goth to stele, and perfore I wende soo [f.57v] of pee, for hadde I not yit lerned *pat* *pou* and Rude Entendement weren oon [ioyngtliche]—but now I see wel withoute suspencion *pat* ye ben oon withoute distincion. pine ensamples han tauthe it me, and pine seyinges *pat* ben so subtile. I wot bi pi woordes *pat* *pou* *propirliche* art Rude Entendement: more miht *pou* not argue, but oonliche so be *pou* nempned, for bi existence *pou* art it withouten difference, wherfore I foryue pee pe vileyne *pat* *pou* hast seid me bi felonye, for I see wel *pou* wendest *pat* of me it were as it is of pee. But Rudeness tautt pee soo to weene, for rude *pou* art, as eche wight seeth wel (and euel willed), and perfore set pee was pi name." With pese woordes pe chertl was areynt to pe herte. Nought he seyde, for he cowde not, but oonliche grinte with [pe] teeth.

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Resoun stinte not, but song him of anooper song. "Now," quod she, "siche I woot pi name, gret neede haue I nouht to aske more of pe remenant: in my letters it is al cleer, for an espyour *pou* art of weyes, and an assaylour of pilgrimes. *pou* wolt bineme hem here burdouns and vnscrippe here scrippes. Why doost *pou* it, by pi soule, ayens pe wil of my lady?" "For

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Lo heere pe cause for whi was defendede *pat* pei beren no scrippe and *pat* pei vseden not of pe burdoun. But whan he shude afterward gon and passen bi pe brigge of deth, whan he sigh *pat* he, *pat* was be eende of here wey, departede from hem, *panne* wolde he chaunge his lawe as a softe and [a] tretable kyng, and seyde hem *pat* pei tooken ayen here scrippes and diden hem on ayen. 'Whoso hath' he saide, 'any sak, take it and a scrippe perwith': as *pou* he seyde apertliche and cleerliche: 'pouh I (for ye weren comen to be ende of youre wey) defendede yow *pat* ye hadden ne bere no scrippe, now I

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Lo heere pe cause for whi was defendede *pat* pei beren no scrippe and *pat* pei vseden not of pe burdoun. But whan he shude afterward gon and passen bi pe brigge of deth, whan he sigh *pat* he, *pat* was be eende of here wey, departede from hem, *panne* wolde he chaunge his lawe as a softe and [a] tretable kyng, and seyde hem *pat* pei tooken ayen here scrippes and diden hem on ayen. 'Whoso hath' he saide, 'any sak, take it and a scrippe perwith': as *pou* he seyde apertliche and cleerliche: 'pouh I (for ye weren comen to be ende of youre wey) defendede yow *pat* ye hadden ne bere no scrippe, now I

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Lo heere pe cause for whi was defendede *pat* pei beren no scrippe and *pat* pei vseden not of pe burdoun. But whan he shude afterward gon and passen bi pe brigge of deth, whan he sigh *pat* he, *pat* was be eende of here wey, departede from hem, *panne* wolde he chaunge his lawe as a softe and [a] tretable kyng, and seyde hem *pat* pei tooken ayen here scrippes and diden hem on ayen. 'Whoso hath' he saide, 'any sak, take it and a scrippe perwith': as *pou* he seyde apertliche and cleerliche: 'pouh I (for ye weren comen to be ende of youre wey) defendede yow *pat* ye hadden ne bere no scrippe, now I

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Lo heere pe cause for whi was defendede *pat* pei beren no scrippe and *pat* pei vseden not of pe burdoun. But whan he shude afterward gon and passen bi pe brigge of deth, whan he sigh *pat* he, *pat* was be eende of here wey, departede from hem, *panne* wolde he chaunge his lawe as a softe and [a] tretable kyng, and seyde hem *pat* pei tooken ayen here scrippes and diden hem on ayen. 'Whoso hath' he saide, 'any sak, take it and a scrippe perwith': as *pou* he seyde apertliche and cleerliche: 'pouh I (for ye weren comen to be ende of youre wey) defendede yow *pat* ye hadden ne bere no scrippe, now I

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pat pei" quod he, "wringliche passen pe gospel *pat* I haue herd seyde in oure toon, and kepen it shrewedeliche per it is defendede to alle as I haue [wel] vnderstonde: *pat* no man bere out of his hoom neiper scrippe ne burdoun—so whan *pat* I see hem bere hem ayens pe defence of pe kyng, gladliche (for to keepe pe lawe) I do peyne to make hem to leve hem." [f.58r] "O," quod *Resoun*: "ooperweys it goth. pilke defence was longe agon al ooperweys turned and remewed to be contrarie. Wel it is sooth *pat* it was defendede, but afterward it was recomaunded. Cause [couenable] per was, for whiche per needed wel chaunge. It is not vnwurshipe to pe king *pou* he chaunge his lawe for cause honeste. pe cause of pe chaunginge ayen, shortliche I wole telle pee if *pou* wolt. Whoso is at pe ende of his wey hath [no] neede to be pilgrime, and he *pat* were no pilgrime shude litel do with scrippe or with burdoun. Jhesu pe kyng is pe eende to whiche alle goode pilgrimes thinken: *pat* is pe eende of good viage and of good pilgrimage. To *pat* terme and to *pat* ende weren comen hise goode pilgrimes bi his clepinge. Whan he defendede hem *pat* no pei beren scrippe ne burdoun, but leffen hem and leyden hem down, sufficient he was and mihty to deliuere hem plentivowliche al *pat* hem needede, withoute beinge in any ooperes danger. On *pat* ooper side, he wolde *pat* whan he sente hem to preche, *pat* here herkeners aminstreden hem, and founden hem here vitailles, for euery werkere is wurpi to haue and resseyue hyre. And eche wight dide perof so michel *pat* pe turnyng ayen no whit pleynd him: wherof *pou* hast herd *pat* he askede hem oones, whan him thoughte good: 'Hath you' quod he, 'anything lakked, whan I haue pus sent yow withoute scrippe to preche to pe folk and to shewe pe woord of God?' And *panne* pei answerden him: 'Serteynliche sire, nay. Suffcientliche we haven hadde, and nothing [is] faylede us.' [f.58v]

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Lo heere pe cause for whi was defendede *pat* pei beren no scrippe and *pat* pei vseden not of pe burdoun. But whan he shude afterward gon and passen bi pe brigge of deth, whan he sigh *pat* he, *pat* was be eende of here wey, departede from hem, *panne* wolde he chaunge his lawe as a softe and [a] tretable kyng, and seyde hem *pat* pei tooken ayen here scrippes and diden hem on ayen. 'Whoso hath' he saide, 'any sak, take it and a scrippe perwith': as *pou* he seyde apertliche and cleerliche: 'pouh I (for ye weren comen to be ende of youre wey) defendede yow *pat* ye hadden ne bere no scrippe, now I

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muste alongne me from yow and leue yow, I wole pat ye taken ayen al, as ye hadden bifore, for I wot wel whan ye han lost pe sighte of me, a scrippe shal be needeful to yow, and a burdoun to lene yow to. Pilgrimes ye musten ben ayen, and sette yow to [pe] wey ayen, elles [shule] ye not mown folwe me ne come to me. On pat ooper side, whan I am gon ye shule [nouht] fynde pat gladliche shal do yow good, ne pat with good herte speke anything to yow. To youre scrippe ye shule holde you [forto] ye come ayen to me. Now taketh it, for I graunte it yow for pe neede I see perof.' So see heere al in apert pe cause, which is sufficient, to bere scrippe and burdoun: wherfore pou shuldest not medle pee to areste pilke pat hauen it, ne pat beren it where pei gon—leue pei hauen, and cause per is, into pe time pat eche cometh to pe ende of his viage and of his pilgrimage."

"What is pis?" quod pe walkere: "What gost pou pus jangelinge me? Wolt pou holde pe gospel at fable and lesinge? bow seist it vncommanded, pat pat [f.59r] God hadde ordeyned; whiche thing, if it so were, riht so alle hise ordinance shuden \be/ put out of pe book and defaced and scraped."

"Nouht so," quod Resoun: "for it is riht to wite pe time passed: how men diden, how men seiden, whi pat was, what cause per lyth, whi per weren mutacions of doinges. And perfore is not pe gospel reprooved ne defaced, but to goode vnderstoderes it is pe more gracious and pe more pleasaunt."

pe mo diuerse floures ben in pe medewe, pe more is pe place gracious, and pe more pat here facion is diuerse, pe more gladliche men biholden hem." And panne blissede him pe cherl with his rude crookede hond. "What is pis?" quod he: "pou wolt amase me and enchaunte me! Al pat I sey, pou turnest and stirrest \al/ to pe contrarye: falsnesse pou clepest fairnesse, and of fairnesse pou seist falsnesse. Pat pat was of pe kyng defended, pou seist was commanded, turnynge pe gospel al upsodoun bi disgisly woordes and lyinge. pou ne art but a bigilouresse of folk. Lat me stonde, for I pryse not bi woordes ne bi dedes at thre verres. In my purpos I wole holde me, and of nothing seeche pee."*

"At pe leste," quod Resoun, "pilke staf pou shalt ley down, for pou wost wel Grace Dieu hath commanded it and ordeyned it." "To Grace Dieu," quod he, "of what it may greene I see not. On pat ooper side, necessarie it is to me to pat pat I haue to doone: I lene me per to and I defende me

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perwith, and sette pe lasse bi alle folk—and me thinketh I am michel pe more dred—and perfore if I leyde it down, a gret fool I were and a gret cokard." "Oo," quod Resoun: [f.59v] "pou seist not wel. pou hast neede to haue oopere frendes. * Grace Dieu shulde neuere loue pilke pat bere swich a staf. It was neuere leef to hire: she hateth it more pan pe goot pe knyf, so pat if pou leidest it not down, pou were not wys." "Oo!" quod pe cherl: "How pou art a fool to seyn swiche woordes! If pe staf greuede hire not, whi shulde it displese hire?" "I wole sey pee", quod Resoun, "rudeliche, for ooper mete I se wel bi rude throte asketh not. If pou haddest a freend to whiche any wight dide disese, it shulde of nothing greene pee but of as michel as it shulde displese pee. Grace Dieu loueth alle folk, and wole pe avancement of alle, and perfore whan any [wight] hath mischeef, or pat men don [it] any disese, albeit she hath no greuance yit hath she displeasance. bis staf is enemy to pilke pat she [wole] haue freendes. Ne were it, pe Jewes wolden come to hire and conuerte hem; alle heretikes wolden also leue here error, and amende hem. Bi it weren put to confusoun Nabal and Pharao, for to it pei leneden so, pat pei purchasden here deth. If it ne were, Obedience shulde regne ouer al and commande. Eche shulde do pat pat he commanded, and of nothing disobeie. If it ne were, alle rude wites wolden ben enclyn, and humble hem—piseif, pat hartest Rude Entendement, if pou ne lenedest so faste to it [woldel] leue me and amende pee—and perfore I rede pee ley it down, and lene pee no more per to." "Haa God!" quod he: "What I pryse litel woordes pat ben of pis manere. I wole to pee of nothing obeie, ne I wole not leue pe staf. I wole lene [mel] per to, [f.60r] wolt pou oper [nel] wolt pou, wite it wel." "Now," quod Resoun, "now I se wel pat per is no more to speke with pee, but oonliche to cite pee to be assises of judgement. I somowne pee, withoute more tarynge. Come pider withoute sendinge any ooper."

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Thanne Resoun turnede hire ayen to meward, and clepede me: "Go", quod she, "hardliche, withoute dredinge Rude Entendement. Sey him nothing ne [nel] answee him not, for pe techinge of Salamon is pat men answee no woord to him pat men seen and fynden a fool." "Lady," quod I, "sunge he seith ooperweys, for he seith men shulden answer him for to shewe him his shame." "Serteyn," quod she, "pou seist sooth, but

pou shuldest vnderstonde and wite pat pilke woord was
 dispenced me for to answeren whan it were tyme, and *perof* haue
 I doon ynowh (albe my trauaile lost, for he is of nothing
 amended ne ashamed). A *febere* shulde as soone entre in an
 aseweite as woordes shulden entrent in him or profitten. He is
 as hard as [ayemaunt] *oper* dynamunt, for pat pat he conceyueth
 first he wole for nothing leue, so pat with swich a cherl to
 speke *pou* miht no pris conquere. Go bi wey withoute chidinge
 with him, and lat him grucche ynow, shake his bridel and his
 chun, and gnawe on his staf." "Lady," quod I: "I thanke yow
 of pat ye teche me pus, but I telle yow certeynliche pat I
 durst not passe forth for pe cherl hardliche, but I hadde
 whateuere it were* of yow: wherfore I pray yow pat with me
 ye come, and *pat* *passinge* him ye lede me, for I haue also to
 speke with yow and wole aske yow of sunf.6ov]thing nedeful,
 longinge to my businesse." And *panne* withoute taryinge bi pe
 hond she took me, and til I was passed pe cherl, ladde me,
 [and] in my wey she sette me, wherof I hadde gret ioye. pe
 cherl bifelte pere grucchinge, lenynge on his staf, grummynge:
 but *perof* roughte me nothing. Resoun loowh faste *perof*.

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Whan pus I sigh me ascaped and was wel gon forth, of
 Resoun I bigan to aske pat of which ye haue herd me speke.
 "Lady," quod I, "michel I haue ben in gret thought, and yit
 am, why I may not endure ne susteyne noon armure. A wenche I
 see bere hem, whiche is shame to me whan I may not bere hem
 also, pat shulde be more mihti bi pe half and more strong, if
 any herte were in me. Wherfore I pray yow and biseche yow
 pat ye wole teche me pe cause whens it may come, for gret
 desire I haue to wite it." Thanne answerde me Resoun: "What
 is pis?" quod she. "In pe hous of Grace Dieu not longe agoon
 I sigh pee, and many times pou speke to hire. How hast pou be
 so michel a fool pat of hire *pou* ne hast asked pis? And not
 for *panne* I trowe not pat surwthat she ne haue seyd pee bi
 which *pou* miht apperceyue and wite pat *pou* askest."
 "Lady," quod I: "I wole telle yow. Many of hire seynges
 forgeten I haue: of pis wel I mynde me withoute more, pat she
 seide me I was to thikke. But if I made me smallere or dide
 myself any harm, a feloun men wolden clepe me: ne on *pat*
ooper side, I myhte neuere bere myn armure so wel as if I were
 gret and strong. But swiche thinges maken me abashed, for pei
 ben nouht in [f.61r] vsage. I enquerede not pe soope of Grace
 Dieu, for I drede I hadde enoyed hire or mistake me to hire:

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wherfore I prey yow pat ye wole lerne [it] me and make me
 vnderstonde it." "Wost pou", quod she, "who pou art, *wher*
pou be aloone, or double *pou* be: if *pou* haue noon to norishe
 but *piself*, ne to gouerne and arraye?" And *panne* al abashed I
 seide hire: "Ladi, in feith me thinketh pat I haue noon but
 myself to gouerne, ne I haue noon *ooper* to thinke on. I am al
 aloone, ye seen wel. I wot neuere whi ye aske it." "Now
 lerne", quod she, "and vnderstonde and herke bisyliche, for
ooper thing I wole sey pee, and of pe *contvarie* I wole teche
 pee. *pou* norishest pilke pat is pi *grete* enemy. Of pee he is
 euery day fed, yiven drinke, hosed and cloped: per ne is metre
 so precious, so costlewe ne so [delitious] *pou* ne wolt yive
 it pilke, how miche pat euere it shulde coste pee. Bitake pee
 it was for to serue pee, but *pou* art his seruauant bicome:
 wantounliche *pou* wolt hose him, and take him noble robes,
 queyntise him with jewelles, with tablettes, with knyves, with
 gridelles, with purses, with disgisyse lases of silk medled red
 and greene; queyntliche *pou* wolt eche day aray him, and eche
 niht [wel softel] ley him and do him his ese. Oon day *pou*
 chaufest him pe bath, and sithe stiwest him. On pe morwe *pou*
 kembest him, *pou* polishest him, and seechest him mirthes and
 disportes as michel as euere *pou* miht, day and niht. Swich as
 he is, *pou* hast norished him, and michel more busy *pou* hast
 ben aboute him pan a woman aboute pe chyld she yiveth souke
 and feedeth. A gret while it is pat *pou* [bigonne] and [f.61v]
 neuere sithe stintedest (pouh I seide xxxviith winter I
 failede, I trowe, but lierl): and albeit he hath pus
 [his likinge, and pat *pou* hast pus serued] him and
 forbore him, *pou* shuldest wite pat he bytrayeth pee and
 deceyueth pee and dooth pee harm. *pat* is pilke pat suffreth
 pee not to bere ne to endure pin armure. *pat* is pilke pat is
 pin aduersarye all pe times pat *pou* wolt doon wel."

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"Lady," quod I: "I am awundred of pat ye tellen me
 heere. If ye ne weren so wys, and hadden in yow so gret wit,
 I wolde weene al were lesinge, or elles pat it were meetinge.
 But in yow I wot so michel good pat gabbe wolde ye not for
 nothing, wherfore I pray you pat ye sey me who is pilke
 wikkede traytour, what is his miht and his shap, where he was
 bore, how he hatteth, to pat ende pat I know him and do him
 diese ynowh: for pouh al quik I dismembrede him, wel were I
 not venged." "Sertes," quod she: "*pou* seist sooth, for
*ber*with *pou* shuldest wite pat ne were pou, of him were

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self knowledge: it's a self knowledge

Does this sound like a school book?

Why/signed with names son/family?

noothing, or litel thing it were. *per* wolde no wint biholde
 it ne deyngne to preyse it, for it is an hep of rotemesse, a
 buryelles maad of filthe, a restinge for a coluer.* By itself
 it may not remeeve ne noothing doo ne labour, for he is
 impotent and contract, deef and blynd and contertred. It is
 a worm diuere and cruelle, *pat* was bore in *pe* eerpe of
 wormes: an herte withinne him breedinge wormes, and
 norshinge wurmes withinne it—a worm *pat* in *pe* laste eende
 shal be mete to wormes and shal rote. And albeit of swich
 makinge and of swich condicion, *yit* *pou* makest him ligge bi *pee*,
 and in [pi] bed slepe with *pee*, [f.62r] and gost aboute to gete
 him al *pat* is good for *hym*, as I haue seid *pee* bifore. And
yit more, whiche is a vyle thing: whan he hath eten and is to
 ful, *pou* berest him to priuee chambres or to feeldes, to voide
 hys wombe. Now looke *wheper* *pou* be verriliche a [serf] and a
 wreche, for of al *pat* he can *bee* neuere thank, but is *pe* more
 haunteyn and *pe* gladdere to do *pee* harm, so michel he is of
 shrewede doinge." "Ladi," quod I: "his name whi telle ye me
 not noon *withoute* tarynge, for rediliche I wolde venge me
 and anoon go sle him I wolde!" "O," quod Resoun: "leue
 hast *pou* nouht to sle him, but wel *pou* hast leue to chastise
 him and to bete him and to abate his customes, to yive him
 peynes and trauales, and ofte to make him faste, to
 vnderputte him to Penitence, *withoute* *pe* whiche good
 vengeance of him shalt *pou* neuere haue, ne neuere in no time
 be wel avenged, for as while erst *pou* seye (if wel *pou*
 vnderstoode) Penitence is his maistresse and oonliche his
 chastiseresse—plike *pat* hath *pe* rihte iugement of him whan
 time and [sesoun] is present. *berfore* take him to hire, and she
 shal bete him and chastise him so wel with hire yerdes *pat* a
 good seruizant he shal be to *pee* from hens forthward: and *pat*
 shuldest *pou* rapere desire, and more wilne and procure, *pan*
pou shuldest do his deth, for he is to *pee* taken to lede
 to *pe* haueene of lyf and of saluacion. It is *pe* bodi and *pe*
 flesch of *pee*: ooperweys can I not nempne it."

"Lady," quod I: "what sey ye? Haue I met, o^{per} mete

ye? Mi bodi and my flesh ye clepen ooper *pan* myself, and *yit*
 ye seen *pat* with *yow* I am alloone, ne noon *per* is heere but we
 tweyne. I wot not [f.62v] what pis tokeneth, but if it be a
 fairyel!" "It is not so," quod Resoun, "for of my mouth cam
 neuere out lesinge ne fairye, ne noothing *pat* men shulden clepe
 meetinge. But sey me bi [pe] feith *pou* owest to God, if *pou*

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were in a place *pere* *pou* haddest pine mirthes—good mete,
 softe bed, white clopes, ioye, reste and gret disport, and *pi*
 willes bope day and niht—*pat* I mowe wite sooth if *pou* woldest
 make *per* any tarynge and abidinge." "[Serteynliche]," quod I:
 "ye!" "Aha," quod she: "what hast *pou* seid? *panne* *pou*
 woldest leue *pi* pilgimage and *pi* viage!" "Ladi," quod I:
 "pat shulde I nouht, for al *bitymes* afterward I shulde go."
 "Al bitimes, wreche?" quod she: "per nis man in [pe] world
 lyvinge *pat* euere may come bitimes, renne he neuere so faste.
 And suppose *pat* after *pe* mirthes and eses, *pou* thinkest go
 pider al *bitymes* bi traualle and bi labouringe: I aske *pee* if
pou woldest ouht sette *pee* to [pe] wey as longe as *pou* founde
 swich ioye and swich solace?" "Allas lady," quod I, "allas!
 Berto can I not answeere, but *pat* oonliche I wot wel fayn I
 wolde abide, and also fayn I wolde go." "panne", quod she,
 "pou hast double wil and double thought: *pat* oon wole abide,
 [pat] ooper wole go; *pat* oon wole reste, *pat* ooper werche; *pat*
pat oon wole, *pat* ooper ne wole. Contrarie *pat* oon is to *pat*
 ooper." "Ladi," quod I: "certeynliche as ye seyn I feele in
 me." "panne art *pou* not sool?" quod she, "pou and *pi* bodi
 ben tweyne, for tweyne willes ben not of oon but *pei* ben of
 tweyne: *pat* wot eche whiht."

"Ladi," quod I: "I pray you *pat* ye sey me who am I,

sithe my bodi I am not. I shulde neuere be in ese if sumwhat
 heerof I ne wiste." "Haa," quod she: "what hast *pou* lerned?
pou canst not michel, as me [f.63r] thinketh. It is niche
 more woorthoon to know himself *pan* who is emperour, kyng o^{per}
 [erle—pan] can alle sciences, and haue al *pat* is of *pe*
 world. But sithe *pou* hast not lerned it, *pou* art wel avisid
 to aske it, and I wole shortliche ynowh telle *pee* sumwhat *pat*
 I vnderstonde. The bodi shet *withoute*, of whiche I haue
 spoken to *pee*, is in alle degrees out shet. *pou* art of God *pe*
 portreyture and *pe* ymage and *pe* figure. Of nouht he made *pee*,
 and toornede *pee* to his liknesse. A more noble facion mihte
 he not yive *pee*: he made *pee* fair and cleer-seeing, lightere
pan brid fleinge, immortal *withoute* euere deyng, and
 lasting *withoute* endinge. If *pou* wolt wel biholde *piself*,
 but *pat* *pou* haue forfeted noothing, to *pi* noblesse may compare
 heuene ne erpe, ne se, brid ne ooper creature, except *pe* nature
 of angesles. God is *pi* fader, and *pou* his sone. Weene not
pat *pou* be some of Thomas of Guileulle, for he hadde neuere
 sone ne doughter *pat* was of swich condicion ne of so noble a

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nacion. bi bodi ([pat] is pin enemy) pat pou hast of him, of him it cam pee: he bigat it as kynde ordeyned him. Riht it is pat be tre bere swich fruyt as kynde techeth it. Riht as thornes mown not bere ne caste figes, riht so be bodi of be manhode may not bere fruyt but foul and veyn, yyle filhe and corrupcion, rotenesse and stinkinge dunge. But swich thing art not pou, for pou hast not pi comynge foorth of dedliche man, but it is come pee of God pi fader: God made neuere with hise handes in be world but twey bodies of manhode, to whiche tweyne he committede to make be oopere after be ensample.

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But be facion of be gost he withheld bi certeyn avys. Al he wolde [f.63v] were maad of him withoute medlinge of any wyht elles. He made pee, for a gost pou art, and putte pee in be bodi pat pou art: perinne he putte pee for to enhabite a while, and for to preeve, to wite soothliche if pou woldest be vertuous and kryghtliche, to wite wheper pou woldest vengnisse be body or yelde pee to him. Bataile pou hast to him in alle times, and he to pee: if pou ne yelde pee, bi flateringe he ouerthroweth pee down and deceyueth pee and maketh pee yelde pee ouercome. Ynder him he holt pee if pou leue him, peeras pou shuldest vengnisse him bi miht. He shulde neuere have power ouer pee if it ne were bi pi wille. Pou art Sampson he is Dalida: pou hast strengthe in pee, he hath noon. He can nothing do but flaterre pee, to delyuere pee to enemies. He wole bynde pee if pou wolt, and shal shere al pin her—and pi priuytees, whan he wot hem, to [pe] phylisyens shal shewe hem. pat is be frendshipe pat he hath to pee, and be trouthe and be feith. Now looke if pou wolt assente to him withoute smyrtinge of strok, if pou wolt be deceyued as Sampson was, and holde a fool.” “Ladi,” quod I: “wundes I heere: I meete verryliche, I trowe. A spiryt ye clepen me (pat am shoven heere in my bodi) pat ye seyn am cleer-seinge, and yit I see neyper more ne lasse. And of my bodi ye haue seyde it is bynd, pat seeth wel—and manye oopere grete wundes whiche ben fleen in myne eres. Wherefore I pray yow ye wole teche me and lerne me more cleerliche, for aske can I not wel, of be baishnesse pat I haue.” [f.64r]

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And parne Resoun bigan ayen. “Now vnderstonde”, quod she, “hider. Whan be sunne is shadewed, and at time of midday is shoven vnder a cloude and may not be seyn ne apperceyued, I aske pee, for my loue, pat pou sey me whens cometh be day?” “It cometh,” quod I, “to my seemynge, of be sunne pat is hid,

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pat maketh his lightnesse passe thoruh be cloude [and auale] —as” (quod I) “men seen it thoruh sum glas, oper as men mown seen fyre in a lanterne.” “Serteyn,” quod Resoun: “if pat pat pou hast seid pou haue vnderstonde, [bi be sunne pou shalt vnderstonde] be soule [pat] pou hast in pilke dedliche bodi. be bodi is a cloude and a lanterne bismoked, thoruh be whiche, how it euere be, be brightnesse withinne men seen: be soule pat enhabith in be bodi spredeth his brightnesse outward, and maketh weene to foolliche folk pat al be light be of pilke poure cloude with whiche be soule is shadewed. But if be cloude ne were, be soule shulde haue so gret light pat she shulde see al pleyntliche from pe est to pe west. She shulde also see and knowe and loue hire creatour. The even of be bodi ben not swiche,* but pei ben as glasses bi be whiche be soule yriueht light to be bodi withoute. But heerfore pou shuldest not weene pat be soule haue neede of pese eyen and pese glasses, for bifore and bihynde, withoute bodilyche fenestralle, he seeth his gostlich good, and sumtime he shulde be bettere see it if be bodi hadde noon eye. Toby a time was bynd as to be body, but perfore was he not bynd as to be soule, for bi him was his some taucht how he shulde meynntene him, and what wey he shulde holde. Neuere shulde he haue taucht it him if with [f.64v] be soule he ne hadde yseye. be soule sigh al cleerliche, and knewe pat pat he seide him. So if I sey pou seest cleerliche, yit I wole conferme it, for pou seest, nouht pi body [which] is bynd bope withinne and withoute. Neuere shulde he see sighte if bi pi licht it ne were: and riht as I sey pee of be sight, riht so I sey pee of be heeringe and of hise wittes, for pei ben but instrumentes bi be which he resceyueht of pee pat pat he hath. For he ne heereth ne seeth if it ne be oonliche bi pee: and I sey pee vterliche, if pou ne bere him wel or susteyned him strongliche, as a donge hep he shulde be, ne neuere shulde he stire him.”

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“Ladi,” quod I, “now I aske and I pray yow how is it pat be soule, whiche is withinne, bereth /so/ be bodi, and he withoute? Me thinketh bettere pat pat is bore pat is contented withinne; and bettere me thinketh berere and susteynouht pat pat is withoute, for pilke bereth pat contenteth, and pilke is bore pat halt him withinne.” “Now vnderstonde”, quod she, “a liel. bi clopinge and pin habite, it conteneth pee, and pou art withinne: pou woldest make gret wundringe if I seyde it

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Handwritten notes in the left margin of page 79, including a circled cross and various scribbles.

bere pee or gouerned pee in any wyse." "Is it pus Lady?" quod I. "Ye," quod she, "but pis in difference I sette pee, pat pe soule bereth and is born. She principally bereth pe body, but he bi accident bereth him, and in resortinge him to his vertu is entendant.* If euere pou seye gouerne a ship in a ryuere and leede, pere [pou] mthrest take ensaumple withoute harmynge pee on any wyse. pe gouernayle whiche is withinne ledeth it, and so led it is and leedeth: for if he withinne [f.65r] ledde it nouth, his ship wolde not leede him. bi soule is pe ledere and pe gouernour of pi bodi. She ledeth it, she bereth it, and in ledynge so bereth it. pe bodi bereth it at his wille, and after pat she concentrith. pe bodi shulde not bere here but if she bere pe bodi, and perfore pou shuldest peyne pee to gouerne so ariht pi bodi, pat in ledynge him he mowe lede pee to sure hauene after pe death."

"Ladi," quod I: "certeynliche I trowe pat youre speche shulde be to me riht necessaie. If ye wolden doo so michel for me pat ye dide me [of] of my [ship], and spoiled me of pe body, and shewed me pilke vnthrift, pilke blynde (pat so miche hath misdoe me as ye seyn, so ofte-times, and yit mai not be stille) so pat I mowe preeve and fynde pat pat ye seyn: nouth pat I drede of anything pat ye ne seyn riht wel, but I vnderstonde nouth certeynliche ne cleerliche youre woordes, wherfore I pray yow pat ye wole entende perto for to teche me a litel." And pame Resoun seide: "I trowe riht wel pat litel pou vnderstondest me—and wost pou whi? It is for pe bodi maketh an obstacle bifore, gret and thikke. Ooper thing can he not doon but al dai be to pee contrarious. But for pou hast bisouht it, I wole do it of pee if I may—and pou shalt also labour perto, and do peyne with me, for litel I shulde do bi myself if of pee helpe I ne hadde. Algates trusse him ayen pou shalt moste [and] haue him ayen on pi bak, for it is not in my powere to sequestre him longe from pee—and yit it is hard to make pe forberinge oon sool moment. To pe deeth pis longeth, whiche cometh ofte withoute sendinge after. Now take on pat side, and I on pis, and [f.65v] entende nouth neiber hider ne bider." And pame Resoun sette hond to me, and I putte me in hire bazndoun. She drowh and I shof. So miche we didde, she and I, pat pe contracte was ouerthrowe fro me and I vncharged. Whan vntrussed pus I was, I was rauished into pe eyr an hygh. Me thought I fleih, and pat nothing I weyede. At my wille oueral I wente, and up and down, and fer I seyn.

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Nothing in pe world (as me thoughte) was heled ne hid fro me. Gladed I was gretliche. pis mislikede me conliche: pat yit I moste perinne enhabite and herberwe and dwelle, for nothing or litel I seigh perinne but pe empechement of my wey. Wel I seigh pat it was sooth al pat Resoun hadde preched me: wel I seigh my bodi pat it was dunge, and to preise it was nothing. Wel I seigh pat alwey it shulde abide in oo place, but it were doon away. At pe eerpe streit it lay pere: neiper it herde ne seigh. His contenance was tokne pat no vertu in him he hadde. I wente and cam al aboute him to wite sooth if he were aslepe, and I tasterde his [pounce]—but wite wel I fond nouth in sinewe ne in condyt ne in veyne more pan in a [stike], in pouce ne breth. It was nouth, I seigh it wel. Fy on him, and on alle hise [doinges].

Whan I hadde considered al pat, Resoun after arened me. "Loo heere", quod she, "pou seest wel pin enemy. Now pou knowest him wel: pis is he pat suffreth pee not to bere ne endure pin armure; pilke pat bi flateringe bereth pee down and ouercometh pee, and yildeth [pee] vengued; pilke pat empecheeth pee to clymbe and flee an hye to pi creatour. I haue spoke pee inowh heerof bifore: it ouhte suffice pee so michel. With [f.66r]inne him pou moste entre, charge him and trusse him ayen. Bere him into pi viage and into pi pilgrimage." "Ladi," quod I, "myn entencioin and my deuocioin was pat with pe armure I armede me, and pat pus I wente armed a while for to preue wheper I mihte bere hem pus: for me thinketh verliche now pat bei weye nothing." "Sertes," quod she, "pou seist sooth. Litel bei weyen, wherfore pou shuldest wite pat pouh pus pou vstedest hem, pou shuldest no merite haue. pou shuldest do hem on whan pou hast on [pi] contracte, blynd and naked: wel he ouhte susteyne pi dedes,* for [wele] he wole at pe goode parte. pou shalt neuere haue [wele] at pe laste, of whiche he ne wole be perof [parcener]. Now trusse him ayen and take him [ayen], and sithe entende to arme pee."

Whan she hadde seyde me pis, withoute tarynge I fond me trussed. Al pe niht I hadde and pe welpe of whiche I rejoycede me, oo for to seye, in oo moment al was shadewed vnder pe cloudy cloude vnder whiche per is [noon] wel cleer-seeing. pilke cloude pat I hatede so miche bifore and pryssed so litel, I bigan to loue ayen and to bimeene and thinke pat to him I wolde assente, and pat his wille I wolde doo. But whan I apperceyued afterward ayen pat so I [shulde] be

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Handwritten notes on the left margin of page 80, including "The body is not...".

Handwritten notes on the left margin of page 81, including "The body is not...".

- disceyued, I bigan to tere and to weepe and to sigh: "Allas!" *quod* I, "pou what shalt pou do? To whiche of pese tweyne shalt pou acorde?" And *panne* seide me Resoun: "What eyleth pee? *Whi art pou discourtforted?* Weeping longeth to wommen, but to men it becometh not wel." And *panne* I seyde hire: "Heefore I weepe, for riht now withinne pis houre, bifore pat I hadde trussed ayen pis poore [f.66v] bodi, I was so miht pat I wende wel haue ben worth tweyne. I fly aboue pe skyes hyere pan eyber heroun or egret. I sigh and vnderstood, and found no contrarie. Now is pe game so turned [ayenward] pat my contrarye I haue founden ayen. pe bodi oppreseth me and bereth me down, and halt me vnder him venquised. I haue no *vertu* bi whiche I may resiste him ne *contrarye* him. *Mi wille* I haue vtterliche lost. I ne wot where it is bicom. *Mi strengthe* ne is but of pilke *pat* quik into pe eerpe is flowen.* As an ape is tyed to a blok and is attached pat he may not styne an hy (pat in strynghe he ne cometh soone down ayen) so is to me an hevy blok pe bodi, and a gret withholdinge. He felleth me ayen whan I wolde flee, and withholdt me whan I wolde clymbe: for me as me thinketh was seid \pat/ pat I sigh wrien a while ago—pat pe bodi (which is corrupt and shrewed and hevy) greueth pe soule, and so oppreseth it pat in wrechednesse he holt it. So am I put binepe, so holden, so serued, pat no wonder it is pouh in weepinghe I sey 'allas', so discourtforted I am gretliche, and riht sorweful." 3410
- Thanne seide Resoun: "Seest pou," *quod* she, "wel pat I haue of nothing gabbed pee: pat pe bodi is pin aduersarie of al be good pou woldest do." "Sertes," *quod* I: "it is so, I see it wel, God yelde yow. But seith me oo woord: whi is he strengere pan I, and whi I am not, ne may not be, as strong as he?" "Strengere", *quod* she, "is he not, but pou miht not ouercome him in his cuntre. In pin owen pou shuldest, if pou were perinne. Eche wight is strong on his owen dung-hep, and tristeth to his cuntree. He is heere in his cuntree, on his dung[.67r]-hep and upon his dunghe set, and perfore he is be strengere ayens pee, and be more fers and of be gretere beringe; but if in ooper places pou haddest him in pi cuntree, pou shuldest be strongere: pere he shulde not mown withsitte pee ne ayensstonde pee. Not pat I sey pee pus for to putte pee into faitourye, ne pat I wole sey pat pou ne miht mate him and supplant him: for if pou wult, upon his 3425

- dung-hep (if pou canst anything of pe cheker) pou shalt make him chek and maat, make he neuere so michel debat. Litel drinkinge, litel etinge, litel restinge, trauaile goode, disciplines and betinges, orisons, and weytinges—pe instrumentes of penance—[shulen] do pee riht and vengeance. *pei* shulen make pee *victour*, to gret wurshipe of pee, wule he ooper noon; and *panne* whan he is pus adanted vnder pee, *panne* pou shalt wel mown arme pee with armures: for sooth to seyn, pou hast noon so gret lettinghe ne so gret encombrance as of pat he is so slugged, to wilful and to miche fed—and pat it was *pat* Grace Dieu seide pee whan she spak to pee." "Ladi," *quod* I: "certeynliche now first I vnderstonde [it] but pat time I vnderstood it nothing, al were it she spak me of pe bodi. I wende it and I hadde ben al oon, but it is not so. Bi yow pe soope I haue lerned, after pat I haue enquered." "Certeyn," *quod* she, "al pe soope bi hire pou mihtest wel haue wist if pou haddest bisouht hire, for of hire haue I [al] lerned. Nothing cowde I, if she ne were, ne nothing of me were. Al pat I sey pee, it is bi hire. If I clepe pi bodi pin enemy, heerafter pou shalt wel wite it is so, for whan pou woldest go [f.67v] any good wey, he shal turne pee amys and make pee go anooper wey. And suppose pat sumtime he suffre pee go bi pere pou shuldest, yit I sey pee pat slough pou shalt fynde him, and [slugged]. Longe he wole reste, and turne upon pat ooper side. Whan al be mete pou hast set him, late he wole rise and with euele wil. Al he wole do slowliche, for to make pee lettinges. His good he shal wel kurne espye, and whan it is tyme to flaterre pee; and [pou] *panne* shalt take no [gret] keep, [but] disceyued pou shalt fynde pee, wherfore I rede pee wel pat upon pi wardre pou keepe pee, and nouth trist pee on him ne in hise flateryes: for whan pou dost his wille, pou shuldest in soth wite pat ayens piself pou strenghest him, and ministrest him his tool with whiche he werreth pee and turneth pee out of pi wey. So if pou haue wel vnderstonde me, he may wel be knowen to pee, and wel pou miht see pat he is pilke pat is pi mortal enemy, *pat* suffreth pee not to bere ne endure pin armure." 3445
- "Ladi," *quod* I, "God yilde yow: I see riht wel pat it is pus. Ye haue my bodi wel distincted from me, and al cleerliche shewed me how alwey he is contrarious to me, to alle pe [goodes] pat I [wole] doo; so pat for I wot yow wys, and pat I shal alwey haue neede of yow, gladliche I 3475

wolde ye heelden pe wey to pe citee with me [where I am
 stired to go, for I trowe riht wel pat I shal fynde
 many an enemy in my wey, for pe shrewede paas which I know
 nouht, wherfore if ye weren with me] gret counfort ye shulden
 do me, so pat I prey yow pat ye wole come with me, bi yowre
 wille." "Grace Dieu," quod she, "if pou haue hire with
 pee it sufficeth wel: pou shalt neuere in pi live haue more
 profitable companye. Nouht pat I wole [f.68r] excuse me pat I
 ne wole go with pee. [I wole go with pee] sihe pou wolt it,
 but I telle pee wel pat bitwixe us tweye shal be sumtime cloudes
 oper vapoures arisen, oper mistes oper smokes, thoruh whiche I
 shal be hid fro pee. Sumtime pou shalt see me thikkeliche and
 derliche, and sumtime neiþer more ne lasse pou shalt se me, ne
 litel ne michel; and sumtime cleerliche pou shalt se me wel
 apertliche. After pe wey pou gost, þerafter pou shalt see me;
 but algates if pou hast neede of me, seeche me aboute pee, for
 if pou seeche me bisiliche, pou shalt fynde me rediliche. Now
 alwey go, for pou hast no neede to tarye ne to abide. Tak
 good wey, and leewe not pi bodi, whiche is to pee of euele
 feith." And panne thankinge hire of hire goodshipes, I sette
 me upon my wey, foorth to go withoute abidinge. Ofte I fond
 al pat she tolde me, and aperceyued al pat she tauthe me.
 Seelden it was pat I sih hire, but if I dide gret peyne þerto.
 be cloude hidde hire from me, pat be bodi made bitwixe us
 tweyne. "Now God keepe me from lettinge, for I can neiþer wey
 ne path bi which I may sureliche go to pe cite I thinke to:
 wel I thinke pat I shal haue to doone, for whan I fynde myn
 aduersarie (þilke pat I haue softe norished) me thinketh þilke
 pat I neuere sygh wole not do me more despyte."*

Thus alwey as I wente and þus in goinge studiede, I sygh
 pat my wey [fourched] and departede in twey weyes: nouht pat
 þei twinneden fer it seemede, pat oon from pat ooper, but
 [f.68v] bitwixe tweyne 'an hegge riht wonderful I sigh pat was
 set, whiche seemede streighte fer. þer grewen þerinne bushes
 and brambers: bushes thorny, ful of prikkes, thikke plantred
 thoruhout, and thikke entremmed. pat oon of þe weyes costed
 [it] on þe lift half, and pat ooper on þe riht half: wel it
 seemede pat oo wey it were if þe hegge amide ne were. On þe
 lifte side þer sat and lenede hire on a ston, a gentelwomman
 pat hadde hire oon hond vnder hire spayere, and in pat ooper
 hond she heeld a glove whiche she vserde pleyinge: aboute hire
 fynger she kaste it and turnede it in and out. Bi hire

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countenance I sigh wel she was nouht of gret care, for litel
 rouht hire of spynnyng or to laboure ooper labour.

On þe wey on þe riht half, a makeer-ayen of [mattes] and
 arayour I sigh site, pat arayed and made ayen hise olde
 mattes; and more yit, wherof abashed I was, for pat pat he
 hadde maad I sigh him al tobreke ayen, and sihe araye it
 ayen. Wel me thought a fool he was, and pat no witte in him he
 hadde. Litel I preisede him, but a fool I was, as I
 aperceyuede wel sihe. Algates first to him I spak, al were
 it was me not leueest, and seide him: "Sey me now I pray þee
 friend, which of pese weyes is þe bettere? I wente neuere
 heerbi. Teche me bi which I shal go." "Whider", quod he,
 "woldest pou rihtliche go?" "Go?" quod I: "I wule ouer see
 into pe citee of Jerusalem, of whiche þe bisshop is born of a
 maide." "Come", quod he to me, "[heer, for] I am rihtliche in
 þe wey. Riht bi me þe wey of innocence, and þe euene wey,
 biginmeth. þis is þe wey bi whiche pou miht go to pe citee of
 [f.69r] biyounde see." "Fain", quod I, "wolde I write if pat
 pat pou seist me is sooth, for pi werk seith me pat litel writ
 in þee þer is: I see þou art set to make mattes, whiche is a
 foul craft and a poore—and I see pat ofte pou vndoost pat
 pat þou hast wel doon, and makest it ayen, and pat thinketh me
 is no gret wit, but if pou teche me þe cause."

And panne answerde me thilke: "þouh of poore craft I be,
 it is no cause to blame me fore, ne to argue me of folye. Eche
 whit may not forge corownes of gold, ne change gold. Oon
 hath oo craft, anooper anooper; pat pat oon dooth, anooper
 dooth not. If alle weren of oo craft, poorliche þei shulden
 chevice hem, and I telle pee wel pat þe craft pat is most
 poore, is most neede of, and ofte is more necessarye þan þilke
 pat is riche and gret. pat oon bi pat ooper is meyntened and
 gouerned and sustened. þer is neuere oon pat is wikked but pat
 it be troweliche vused. It [thurt] not recche, but pat þe man
 be not idel whereuere he be. More is woorth poore craft trewe
 þan idel of court ryal. þouh I breke and make ayen to pat
 ende pat I be not idel, þou shuldest not þerfore blame me:
 for if I hadde ooper thing to laboure, I wolde occupye me
 þeron, and nouht tobreke pat pat I haue maad for to make it
 ayen. But þou seest wel pat I haue nouht to doone but if I
 rente my werk and made \it/ayen. þis ouhrest suffice þee if þou
 loudest me [fo pi rihtes]." "Loue!" quod I, "And who art þou?
 And whennes is swich thought come þee? þou didest me neuere

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- p. xxi (in italicised paragraph, 3rd line): *wordly/wordlly*
 p. 3 line 110: *hadde./hadde*
 p. 60 line 2512: *hem?"/hem)?"*
 p. 68 line 2834: *And/and*
 p. 74 line 3074: *sumf. 6ov]thing/sumf. 6ov]thing*
 p. 125 line 5228: *ffbe]/[be]*
 p. 152 line 6346: *Damisele/'Damisele*
 p. 153 line 6389: *and where/'and where*
 p. 163 line 6784: *elles/'elles*

In the absence of any adequate commentary on the text in either language, it has been necessary to include material not only on the translation *Per se* but also on the original poem. However, these notes do not pretend to be exhaustive: the text awaits and deserves the attention of scholars in philosophy, history, language, liturgy, art, theology, and literature who will be able to indicate the full extent of Deguileville's originality and traditionalism. References to the Fathers make no attempt to be definitive or to identify the earliest reference to a given idea: they merely serve to show that it was traditional.

Line references to Stürzinger's edition of the French text are prefixed by 'F'. In quotations from Stürzinger, his use of () and [] has been retained. Round brackets indicate words which 'should be omitted, as inconsistent with the meaning, grammar or metre'; square brackets indicate words 'which for a like reason should be added from other MSS., or as conjectural emendations'. However, his use of italics for 'other words which have been substituted from other MSS., or by conjecture' [for those in his base text *tj*, and his use of partial italicisation to indicate expansion, is not retained, as it would create much visual confusion. Umlaut over the 'vowel which in Modern French has disappeared from the pronunciation or spelling or has changed its sound' is also omitted. Where all the MSS are unanimous in a reading rejected by Stürzinger but seen by τ , their reading is given.

In the absence of the source French MS it is often impossible to say whether τ 's deviant readings are due to misreading on his part or corruption in his source. Throughout the notes, the phrase ' τ read [the French]' is shorthand for ' τ either read as, or was faced with a French variant'; 'om.' preceding a portion of the French text means ' τ omitted the equivalent of, or found absent in his source . . .'. Minor deviations from the French, such as the insertion or omission of tags, are omitted. Major corruptions are marked in the text itself (Vol. I) by *.

French variants are preceded by 'var(s)', and followed by Stürzinger's sigils: for example, '*tournelle* vars. *tourelle* MSS *A?GM*, *tonnelle* MS. *L*' indicates that MSS *A?G*, *M* have *tourelle*, while MS. *L* has *tonnelle*. Only relevant F variants are given, but it is not intended to imply that τ saw the MS(S) cited. Sigils of French MSS are italicised to avoid confusion with the non-Greek ME ones, though ME τ , χ , ψ , β , ω are inevitably italic.

Stürzinger collated only MSS *toL* *TAGHBM*, ten of the fifty-three copies of the *Vie* known to him; two MSS, *D* and *V*, possibly containing the *Vie*, were inaccessible. He occasionally gives the variants of others not consulted throughout. Important among these, because close to or among the MSS used by τ , are *M*, *o* and *A?* (see Avril Henry, 'The French Source Manuscript of the Middle English Prose *Pilgrimage of be Lyfe of be Manhode*' for evidence showing that none of these can be the single source of the translation).

Sigils denoting the English MSS are explained in the stemma, p. 1. In many cases, which I have not distinguished unless important, 'τ' really means 'r, or x which may be a level of correction to τ if not an independent manuscript' (see p. lii). Sigil 'S' is sometimes in brackets because it probably derives from G as corrected (see p. lxxii).

Adoptions of alternative readings, and emendations, which in the text are both in square brackets, are not explained here when adequately accounted for in the Textual Variants.

References are cited in full only in the Bibliography, and very long titles are abbreviated even there. This space-saving device has some unwelcome results: for example, the familiar *Analecta Bollandiana* appears in the Notes simply as 'Hoff'.

It has unfortunately not always been possible to refer to one edition of the works of Durandus of Mende. He is usually cited in the Latin (Naples 1859) sometimes in the more accessible French of Berthelmy, and where possible in Neale and Webb's English translation of Book I, and Pasmore's of Book II.

Unless otherwise stated, English translations from the Vulgate Bible are from the modernised Douay. Where clarity is so served, the Knox translation has been used.

No attempt has been made systematically to relate images in our *Pilgrimage* to their development in *The Pilgrimage of the Soul* and *The Pilgrimage of Jesus Christ*, although the three original poems were really designed as a whole. Occasional mentions of them are made where they throw light on the *Lyse*.

- 1 **hows** F2 mansion var. *maison* MS. 7. *Hows* was usually used of a house as property or edifice, though it could mean a permanent home. *Mansion* means rather 'house'. John xiv 2 *In domo Patris mei mansiones multae sunt* is discussed by Aquinas, ST, 3a Supp., q. 93. a. 2.

but introduces an emphatic statement (*MED* but 7b).

- 2 **as . . .** Paul Heb. xi 13, xiii 14. St Augustine developed the Pauline metaphor: *Qui ergo peregrinatur, et per fidem ambulat, nondum est in patria, sed jam est in via* (PL, XXXVIII, 1640). *Circumius quoque peregrinationem istius mundi, si intelligentes nos non habere hic civitatem permanentem, futuram inquirimus* (Radulphus Ardens: PL, CLV, 1548). Human life as pilgrimage is rare in art earlier than Guillaume (Kirschbaum *pilger, pilgerschaft*; Marie, II, 151-66, Didron, *Annales* give a few earlier examples).

- 4 **pilgrimes** F6 *Pelertis et pelerines*: τ did not echo the distinction between male and female pilgrims.

- 4-5 **day** om. F8 *en dormant* 'when I was asleep'.

- 6 **romance** is not *Romance* because though MSS referred to as *le roman de la Rose* are common, *romant* is probably not part of the poem's name, simply indicating a work in the vernacular.

- Hultman, pp. 119-36 lists supposed echoes of *Le Roman de la Rose* in the *Pilgrimage*. The convincing examples are cited below.
- 9-11 **let . . . herkne** Heb. x 38-9.

- 11 **bis** F21 *la vision*.

- 12 **withouten any owtaken** in view of F22 *sans point de exception*, and the fact that at 1451 all the MSS have *exceptinge* or *exception* for F2659 *excepter*, perhaps the reading should be *withouten any exception*, accepting J on the assumption that α and β independently substituted the native word.

- 18 **Chaalit** F33 *Chaalit* vars. *Chaalitz*, *Chaalith*, *Chalit*, *Chalit*, *Calig*. I have not standardised spellings of this name. Chaalis, 11 k. from Senlis, was a 12th-century daughter-house of Pontigny, itself one of the four daughter-houses of Cîteaux (Trilhe, I, xxx; Meer, Map II). Its ruins survive (Seltzer, p. 584; Meer, figs. 70, 73). Jacques de Therines, a leading University of Paris theologian, and abbot of Chaalis 1308-1317 (Faral, p. 6) possibly influenced Guillaume; De Valois gives a bibliography and summary of his major works. By the 1380s Chaalis the abbey was known for its library.

- 19-21 **I . . . aperseyued** F3741 *d'aler estoie excite* / *En Jherusalem la cite*. / *En un mirour, ce me sembloit*, / *Qui sanz mesure grans estoit* / *Celle cite aparceue* 'I was moved to go to the city of Jerusalem. This city appeared, it seemed to me, in an immeasurably large mirror' (var. for *ce*: *et MS. A?*). The var. distorted τ's syntax. The image is not random: it is used at 1740-52, and at 2009-10 Christ is a mirror. It may also suggest divine grace in a temporal context (I Cor. xiii 12, II Cor. iii 18). The mirror also implies that the poem is a *speculum*: Quicherat p. 212 observes that Arras MS. Bib. de la Ville MS. 845 calls it *unz biaux Mirours de savement*. For lists of *specula* see Morrill, pp. xxiii-xxiv; Perdrizet, pp. 1-2. Bradley, and Graves, give accounts of the genre.

- 22-4 **me thoubte . . . gold** F43-6 *Mont me sembloit de grant atour* / *Celle cite ens et entour*. / *Les chemins et les alees* / *D'or en estoient pavees: ens et entour modiffes cite* not, as τ thought, *Les chemins et les alees* with the awkward result that *be thways and be alees* are outside as well as inside the city wall. The imagery derives from Apoc. xxi 21. PL, CCXIX, 114 lists extensive commentary on every part of the city (correct Augustine, *Quaestiones in Apocalypsim* to XXXV, 2417 and Bede, *Expositio in eandem* to XCHII, 129). A typical commentary is more accessible in Dulong.

- 25 **newe** F49 *vives* 'living' var. *noewe* MS. A?. See I Peter ii 5.

- 26 **hy wal** Apoc. xxi 26. Hultman (p. 6) suggests an echo of *Le Roman de la Rose* 131 (Lecoy, I, 5) contrasting the New Jerusalem as a life-goal with the Lover's garden.

- 27-8 **bere . . . hadde** in view of F54-5 *La . . . Illec, C's ber . . . ber* (the unstressed form) is emended to the stressed form *bere*

- there, in that place'. The same emendation occurs at 36: thereafter C settles to consistent distinction between the two forms: see 222 for examples of *per*, and 96 for examples of *bere*; the exceptions are noted below. *OED there* discusses both types. Only for 'there where' does C use either form (e.g. *per* in 2867, 5005 and *bere* 3186).
- 28 **joye withoute sorwe** Apoc. xxi 4.
- 29 **shortliche . . . me** F55 *pour passer m'en briefment*: the translation is literal, as at 2359—*OED pass* v. intr. gives no reflexive meaning 'to proceed in narration'.
- 32 **Cherubyn** was from the 11th century used as a sg. or proper noun (as here) as well as a collective noun: cf. *OED cherub* 1c. (where in *Ancien Rituel* and *Cursor Mundi* it is the same angel's name), and the gloss *Cherubyn sunt iudices* in M ff. 10^r, 12^v, pl. *cherubims* appears in the 16th, and *cherubin* only in 17th century, when the Hebrew pl. was recognised. Uriel is sometimes called Cherubyn: he is *ignis dei* in Jerome's *Liber de nominibus Hebraicis* (PL, XXIII, 1205).
- 34-5 **with . . . turnynge** F65-6 *a deus tailans*, / *Tout versatille et bien tournans*. *Versatille* has two meanings, the first equivalent to the preceding phrase *a deus tailans* 'with two cutting edges', the second to *bien tournans* 'easily turned' (Godefroy cites the adaptor's gloss to the 1465 prose version of the *Pelerinage: Versatille, c'est a dire maniable*). Gen. iii 24: *Cherubin et flammeum gladium versatilem*. Cherubyn appears again early in the *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, when as Porter of Paradise he attends the Pilgrim's judgement trial (*Guillaume de Deguileville*, f. vi).
- 35-7 **bere . . . be** F68-70 *N'est nul . . . / Qui par illec passer peust / Que mort ou navre ne feust* 'no-one could pass that place without being killed or wounded'; G's *ne* is accepted.
- 36 **kan . . . bokelere** in view of F68 *tant saché du bouclier* perhaps JMO's of should be accepted in place of *on*, but I have assumed that the former is an up-dating of idiom, accidentally agreeing with F. A *bokelere* is a small round, oval or half-moon shaped shield.
- Pere** in view of F69 *par illec*, C's *per* is emended to the stressed form (see n. 27-8).
- 37-9 **nouht . . . passage** F71-3 *Le prince meis de la cite, / Pour ce qui croit humaine, / Au passage mort y recout*. Many F and ME manuscripts are corrupt here: the correct reading is in doubt. Confusion has been caused by *neis* meaning 'even' or 'not even'. *Le . . . cite* might conclude the first idea ('no-one could pass that place . . . not even the prince of the city') or imitate the second idea ('even the prince of the city, since he too was human, met his death at the entrance'). G's construction is accepted (*Nought that the prince . . . ne resseynd deb*—cf. *Nouht pat . . . at 1930, 2747, 3487, 6741, 7138, 7281*). C and J clearly rewrote to avoid
- confusion. τ perhaps began his sentence at *Nouht*, thinking at first that *neis* was negative, then found it to be positive, and produced an awkward construction, 'Not that the prince (himself) did not receive death'—i.e. he too died. τ 's *ne* was then apparently misread as *he* by C and β .
- 40 **payage** is earlier than any example in *OED peage*.
- alpouh** should possibly be *þof al* following M on the assumption that this reading in β , which gave JMO's variants, represents τ .
- ransome** F76 *treuage*: Christ not only pays the human toll for crossing to the other world but also, being God, redeems man by paying the fine due for sin (*OED ransom* 1, 2b, 3a, 3b). Both meanings fuse in *le treuage de la mort* 'debt of nature, or of death'.
- 42 **bei . . . chalys** Mart. xx 23.
- 43 **passage** F80 *passer* 'the passing' gives a double sense 'entrance/death'.
- 43-4 **of . . . noon** F81-2 *la porte / Dont le portier nul (ne) deporte* is awkward too: in addition, τ cannot echo the word-play on *port*.
- 44-5 **I . . . blood** F83-4 *Pendans en vi les benoncians / De sanc rougis, tains et vermans*: τ om. *rougis* or *vermans*. A *penselle* was a small flag borne by an esquire. An early commentators (on the Second French Recension) says of the bloody flags: *On y voyit les marques des supplice que l'on fait souffrir aux Martyrs* (Goujet, p. 76).
- 45 **I sih** om. F86 *sans estre deceu* 'without a doubt'.
- 46 **entre . . . needes** F87 *entrer a force y convenoit* 'of necessity one had to go in there' or 'one had to suffer violence in entering there'.
- 47 **I . . . passe** F90 *Nul mais passer ne veioe*: as at 998, τ misconstrued intensive negative *mais* as 'but'.
- 49 **he . . . safetez** F93-4 *Bien puet son glaive flamboiant / Metre en saif*: the sword is put not where it will be safe but where it will do no harm. Contrast 435-6, where Holy Oils are put in a place of safety, and *en sauf* is correctly rendered *in saif*. *En sauf* could mean 'in reserve' (Godefroy, Supp. X *en saif* s.v. *saif* adj.) but τ understood the alternative meaning. As O's annotator observes, the point is that Christ's merits made the entrance to heaven easier. The angel who drove Adam and Eve from paradise is sometimes shown sheathing his flaming sword at the Crucifixion (the 13th-century *Figuræ Bibliorum*, Eton College MS. 177, f. 5^r; the 13th-century 'Good Samaritan' window in Sens Cathedral's North Choir Aisle; the 'Passion Window' at Rouen Cathedral [Gahier and Martin, *Études* XXX, XI respectively]).
- 52 **Saint Austyn** Augustine is mentioned first as the greatest of the Fathers, whom religious Orders claimed as their patron (*CE*, II, 92).

- 53-7 **semede** . . . **faire** the feeding of birds is an **image of religious instruction**: *semen is divina predicatio* (PL, L, 742) and *locutio oris* (PL, CXII, 1048). A gloss to *thaym no mouth-sede sece in The Myrouer of Mans Saluacione* (Henry, p. 199) says: *he prechid noght personely to thaym. The swete seynges* (F110 *ditz doucereux*) refer to fowlers enticing birds with music, as in *Piers Plouman* (Skeat, B Text p. 468, lines 466-72), and *Kingis Quar* (Norton-Smith, p. 34, lines 939-42). The image relates to Book 4 (6254-69) where souls winged with virtues fly over the sea of the world.
- 54 to om. F105-6 *amorser* / . . . *et apasteler* 'bait and'.
- 56 **crowmede** τ read F109 *emnieles* 'honeyed' as *emnieles* (see n. 6826).
- 57-63 **many** . . . **citee** birds commonly represent contemplatives. Commentaries on Genesis make this clear: *Quinta die . . . Multum etiam sancti quasi aves per contemplationem ad coelestia subleuantur* (Remigius, PL, CXXXI, 56); see also Damian, PL, CXLV, 813-14, and Hugh St Victor, *De Sacramentis*, I, i, xxvii (see Deferrari); the *Bible Moralisee* (f. 4^r) explains: *aves sunt contemplatiui id est religiosi qui amant spiritualia; Aucrene Wisse* (Tolkien, p. 69) says: *Treowe aucrens beop briddes itleopde. for ha leaueþ eorpe . . . fleop upþat toward heouene.*
- Souls, however, rarely appear winged in medieval iconography (exceptions are in Didron, II, 176 and Delisle, *Origine*, pl. 2). Here they derive from the tradition associating virtues and feathers, e.g. the late 12th-century Raoul de Houdenc's *Li Romans des eles* (Scheler, pp. 248-71), where wings of Largece and Cortoisie are feathered with virtues. See 4306-9, where Pride's Mantle of Hypocrisy is feathered.
- 58-9 refer to three Augustinian orders: French Dominicans (*Jacobins* because their chief monastery was Saint-Jacques in Paris), *Chanones* (Canons Regular of St Augustine, or Austin Canons), *Augustines* (the Order of Hermits of St Augustine, or Austin Friars); see NCE, IV, 974; III, 62; I, 1059, 1071.
- 62 **and** . . . **clymbe** in view of F122 *pour . . . monter* perhaps *and* should be omitted.
- 70 **twelve** . . . **humblisse** derives from Gen. xxviii 12, Jacob's Ladder, which in the *Biblia Pauperum* is one of the Types of Abraham's Bosom (souls taken to heaven in Christ's mantle). Its immediate source may be the Rule of St Benedict (PL, LXVI, 371-410 and N.N., ch. vii). Variations on the 'heaven-ladder' are common: St Bernard's *De Gradibus Humilitatis* for example, claiming to be Benedict's steps but in fact a different series (PL, CLXXXII, 942-72—see Burch for a translation), and Raoul de Houdenc's *Le Songe de Paradis*, where a pilgrim to paradise ascends by a ladder of eight rungs (Scheler, pp. 222-7). See Martin, pp. 7-8 for other references to the ladder.

- 72 **monkes** . . . **greve** 'monk' could apply to Benedictines, Cistercians or Carthusians. The distribution of Orders in 50-78 is maintained here, *bilke bat weren of his folk* meaning those that follow the Benedictine Rule: Benedictines themselves, called Black Monks, and Cistercians (like Guillaume), called Grey or White Monks.
- 75 **knet** Franciscans enter by the relatively laborious knots of Poverty, Chastity and Obedience (which appear on their waist-cords).
- 79-80 **of . . . names** the awkwardness originates in F156-7 *dont je ne sui pas seurs* / *De tous les nons vous raconter* which conflates two constructions, *vous raconter* filling the line but not fitting the sense.
- 81-2 **only** . . . **see only** modifies *was*; the dreamer is aware of some methods of gaining heaven: there are others.
- 84 **a . . . streyt** F166 *un petit huis et estroit* is cited (Hullman, n. 6) as an echo of *Le Roman de la Rose* 514-55 *un huisset . . . petit et estroit* (Lecoy, I, 17). Perhaps there is an implied contrast with the entrance to the garden of secular love. The image originates in Matt. vii 13 (Luke xiii 24).
- 85 **equiee** might imply that the entrance was kept impartially, according to the letter of the law (*MED equity* 1), or according to the principles of justice which modify law (*ibid.*, 3). See McCutchan for Equity's modification of Justice.
- 85-6 **pe** . . . **Peeter** Matt. xvii 19.
- 86, 87 **triste** perhaps G's form *trust(e)* should be accepted here and at 1512, 1517, 1531, 1833, 2033, 2038, 2052, 2723, 2726, 2727, 4827 (also for *triste* sb. at 4710).
- 87-8 **he** . . . **noon** in view of F172-3 *ne laissez . . .* / *Nullui* perhaps G's *ne suffrede* should be retained—but the double negative, though normal, does not appear in the other MSS.
- 88-90 **bilke** . . . **nedele** Matt. xix 23-4.
- 93 **berbi** . . . **cloped** Eccles. v 15.
- 93-4 **of . . . robes** F184 *des robes le roi*: GJMO's literal of 'some of' is partly erased in C, though under u.v. *f* is visible, perhaps changed to *n* to achieve an English idiom. The *kynges robes* (the 'robes' of Christ-like poverty?) are, unlike other material possessions, retained in heaven.
- 99 **per is not** F196 *pas n'y a*; G's *perre*, over erasure, is emended to his normal form for unstressed 'there is' (see n. 27-8).
- 101 **swich a dwellinge** F200 *si bel estre*: τ omits *bel*, and cannot match the subtlety of *estre*, which suggests condition more strongly than location: 'such a pleasant state'; he has the same difficulty at 186.

- 102 for . . . **saulee** F202 *Pour estre saoul* 'to be satiated': τ used sb. *saulee* for adj. *saoul*; *ful* may be an attempt to keep the force of F.
- 105-6 for . . . **seygh** F207-10 *De la voul estre pelerins*, / *Se je pouoie a toutes fms.* / *Ailleurs, voir, si com songoie* / *Nal repos je ne veote* 'I wanted to be a pilgrim to that place (at all events, if I could). Indeed, I saw no rest elsewhere, in my dream': τ om. *a toutes fms* and misconstrued *voir* 'indeed' as 'see'.
- 106 **Noon reste** *visio pacis* is the traditional interpretation of the name Jerusalem (Jerome, *PL*, XXIII, 830). Alanus de Insulis so calls the New Jerusalem (*PL*, CCX, 76); see also Hugh St Victor, *PL*, CLXXVI, 1159 (cited Gewande, p. 23).
- 110-11 As . . . **bourdoun** The dreamer is aware of the need for pilgrim's equipment *before* his dreamed birth as well as immediately after it: his wish to reach the city results in the dreamed life.
- 113 **I ysede** the birth image is in powerful contrast to the visionary heights of New Jerusalem, the goal of the pilgrim's life and the end of all temporal life.
- 116-17 **I wente . . . fynde** according to F227-9 *querant aloie* / *Et (en) blourant me dementoie* / *Ou pense trover, seechinge should modify wente* so that *where I mihte fynde . . .* should modify *bimemyng* *me*.
- 118 of . . . **fainresse** F232 *de sa bianie* shows that this is instrumental of (Mustanoja, p. 39).
- 120 **rochet** a long robe fitted above the waist, with long, close sleeves, and commonly closed at the neck by a brooch.
- 121 **grene tissue** interpretation of medieval colour symbolism is hazardous: perhaps this signifies *la regeneration par les actes, de l'initiation spirituelle et de la Charite* (Gilles, p. 120).
- 122 **charbuncles** *It shyneþ in derke places and it semeth as hit were a flame* (Trevisa, II, p. 839); *C'est le gemme de gemmes. Elle enlumine les euvres par nuit et pars jour* (*The Lapidary of King Philip*, cited Baisier, p. 115). For other lapidaries' treatment of it see Studer and Evans, pp. 49, 89, 110, 139, 175. At 2019-32 it forms the second knob on the Pilgrim's staff, symbolising the Virgin, but 159-61 show that worn by Grace Dieu it means Christ illuminating mankind's darkness. As the fourth stone in the Pectoral of Exod. xxviii 18, the ruby received much exegetical attention. See Rabanus Maurus, *PL*, CXI, 471, or Alcuin *PL*, C, 1106 (cited Baisier pp. 83-4), and Isidore, *PL*, LXXXII, 578 (cited Gewande, p. 17). Hulman, p. 123, contrasts it with Lady Richesse's carbuncle in *Le Roman de la Rose* 1097 (Lecoy, I, 34).
- 123 **amelle** the first letter, erased in C, was *a*, but in view of F240 *emal* and the fact that the rest of the word is over erasure, perhaps GS's *emal* should be accepted, in spite of the fact that *MED amal* 'enamel' records no form in *e*- (though there is
- emalien* 'to enamel'). This jewel indicates Grace Dieu's high rank: similar large, brooch-like clasps are familiar on 12th-century sculptured queens (as in Joan Evans, pl. 50).
- 128 **she . . . first** Divine Grace is freely given. The doctrine, founded on Rom. iii 24, v 15 and Eph. ii 8, is developed by Augustine (*CSEL*, LX, 235.24-5): it is not, he explains, truly Grace if it is merely earned (*CSEL*, LVII, 55.6). *PL*, CCXIX, 803-4 has a complete index *De gratia gratis data*. The balance to this view of Grace is given at 2731-6: Grace Dieu will leave the pilgrim if he chooses the wrong way. For the doctrine of Grace see Aquinas, *ST*, 1a2ae, qq. 109-14.
- 134-5 **pe mo . . . folk** F261-2 *Plus a le pommier de pommes*, / *Plus s'encline vers les hommes* is a proverb: see the *Agenbite* (Gradon, p. 246, 34-5).
- 136 **pat . . . banere** is not cited by *MED baner(e)* 4d 'symbolic embodiment, object or sign', which is what *banere* must mean here, referring to *Humblese . . . the signe*.
- 142 **My friend** τ read F275 *Biaus amis* 'dear friend' as *Miaus amis*: at 1488 *Biaus* in this context is rendered by *Goode*.
- she** F275 *celle* 'his lady' var. *elle* MSS *AMH*.
- 150 **who . . . wite** F289-90 *qui vous estes tout de voir* / *Voudroie voutentiers savoir* 'I should be glad to know who you really are': *tout de voir* qualifies *estes*, but τ makes in *south* qualify *wite*.
- 152 **she . . . seyde** for F293 *me respondi* is a common tautology.
- 152-3 **In time** τ read F294 *entens* i 'listen [to it]' as *en tens*.
- 154 **suspecionous** GS echo F296 *souspeconneuse* in an earlier occurrence of the word than is cited by *OED suspitionous*: CJMO anglicise to forms of *suspecious*.
- 156 **nouht . . . nede** F301 *Non pas pour ce qu'en ait mestier* 'not that he needs them' var. *Non pas pour ce que ait mestier* MS. *T*.
- 161 **þo** F309 *ceuz*: perhaps GS's *þilke* should be accepted here and at 168, 292, but in all these cases one must then assume that two scribes (C and β , from which J's *þaye* is a variant) substituted *þo*.
- 175 **forweied** GS's *forweied* is accepted because it echoes F334 *fourvoiez* which derives from the prefix *for-* and *voie* 'way'; CJMO's readings show a commoner English participate.
- 175-6 **I . . . folk** F335 *Esloingner ne wueil nulle gent* 'I will turn no-one away': τ perhaps expected the familiar *s'esloingner* 'to turn oneself away from'.
- 180-1 **riht . . . citee** echoes the main sense of F343-4 *mont sourent*, / *Ains que tu viengnes par convent* but does not retain a possible pun on *par convent* 'before you shall come to the city by means of the monastery' (at 6760 the pilgrim enters Citeaux or Cluny).
- 186 **dwellinge** F354 *l'estre* see n. 101.

- 191-2 **pilke** . . . **naked** F365-6 *les uns* . . . *Les autres* 'the one . . . the other': τ read *uns* as *nus*.
- 193-4 **oopere** . . . **vertues** see n. 57-63; *Li Romanz des eles* describes how 'prowess must not be merely brave, but must have two wings of Largete and Cortoise, each wing is of seven feathers . . .' (Scheler, p. 253). Houdenc may have influenced Guillaume not only in this but also in his vision-poems *Songe de Paradis* and *Le Songe d'Enfer* (see Kunderl-Forrer, Part III, for the suggestion that Houdenc is after all the author of the former).
- 196 **assaye** om. F372 *En divers lieux* 'in various places'.
- 207 **into** in view of F393 *Vers* perhaps G's *to* should be accepted.
- 210-11 **xiii** . . . **xxx** dates the First Recension of the French poem to 1330.
- 211 **she wiste** τ read F400 *souvenoit* 'she remembered' as *savoit* (no doubt abbreviated).
- 213-14 **it** . . . **eerpe** Apoc. xxi 10.
- 214 **as pouh** perhaps JMO's *as* should be accepted, assuming that C and G independently added *pouh*, not that S and β independently omitted it.
- 215-16 **It** . . . **aray** F407-8 *Clochiers i ot et belles tours* / *Et mont estoit biaux ces atours*: if *ces* is not a form of *ses* 'its', τ read it as such. Alternatively, he wrote *bis*, misread by α as *his*. The reading is in doubt.
- 217 **a water** the pilgrim approaches Baptism (discussed in Aquinas, *ST*, 3a, qq. 66-71). The water surrounding the city may derive from Apoc. iv 6: 'And in the sight of the throne was, as it were, a sea of glass like to crystal', commonly interpreted as Baptism (Alcuin, *PL*, C, 1117, Rupert, *PL*, CLXIX, 1107; CLXX, 314). See *PL*, CCXIX, 159 for a list of other patristic sources for the image; see Maertens for an extended treatment of the rite of Baptism; see *NCE*, XII, 802 for the iconography of the sacraments in general. See Fortescue (1962) for the ceremonies allegorised in Book 1.
- 220 **be water** τ read F414 *le lieu* as a form of *l'eau*.
- 226 **bow** . . . **seiste** see n. 3397.
- quod she**, without precedent in F423 and superfluous after *answerde*, could be omitted on the assumption that X added it.
- 228 **passé** . . . see F426 *passer i* . . . *la grant mer*: τ om. *i* as on at least six other occasions (listed on p. lxxxvii).
- 229-30 **of gret** . . . **wyndes** F429-30 *de grant soussi*, / *De tempestes et de tourmens*, / *De grants orages et de vents* 'of great care, of tempests and of torments, of great storms and of winds': τ saw var. . . . *Et dorraiges et de grants vents* MSS *AH¹Hy*, and om. *orages*.
- 234 **pilgrimage** in view of F436 *pelerinage* JMO's reading is accepted.

- 236-7 **berforth** . . . **hem** martyrdom is the Baptism of Blood. Aquinas, *ST*, 3a, q. 66, aa. 11, 12 declares it more perfect than the Baptism of Water.
- 239-42 **but** . . . **pee!** physical washing of the newborn child and its spiritual cleansing in Baptism are intrinsically linked by the fact that Original Sin is transmitted through the Flesh: Hugh St Victor observes that divine justice is 'irreprehensible in this but not comprehensible' (Deferrari, pp. 138-9).
- 243 **for** has no precedent in F452, but var. beginning *Quar* MS. *M* may have been in front of τ , in which case G and δ perhaps omitted *for* after *forth*.
- 243-4 **Heerbi** . . . **not** Christ was baptised not of necessity, since he was uncontaminated by Original Sin (*was nouht foul*) and remained sinless (*ne misdeide not*), but as an example (Matt. iii 15). Baptism is *prima Ecclesiae janua quae per Christam aperitur* (Anselm, *PL*, CLIX, 76).
- 249 **to baþe** . . . **pee** if not mere repetition, this may refer not only to the immersion but to the touching of the baptismal candidate by the priest to 'signify washing' (*NCE*, II, 56).
- 251-2 **and for** . . . **enemies** F469-75 *Pour mains douter les ennemis* / *La crois il te metra u pis*; / *Derrriere aussi et sus le chief*, / *Pour pou douter trestout meschief*, / *Il t'enoinda com champion*, / *A ce que tous un grant bouton* / *Tu ne prises tes enemis*, the syntax is ambiguous in F and ME: a sentence could end at *chief/heed*. A triple anointing is echoed in a thrice-made assurance that fear will be banished. The baptismal candidate is anointed on breast and back with Oil of Catechumens and then on the head with Christ. See Aquinas, *ST*, 3a, q. 66, a. 10 whose sources for the graces conferred by the anointings may be Innocent II (*PL*, CCXV, 285) and Rabanus Maurus (*PL*, CXII, 1176), St Ambrose (*PL*, XVI, 431). Innocent's treatment is fullest.
- 252 **pine** F469 *les var. tes* MS. *A¹*.
- a** F470 *La*: τ weakened the meaning.
- 255 **as a champion** Aquinas (see n. 251-2) cites Ambrose's observation that the first anointing is as if for God's champion: *unctus es quasi athleta Christi* (*PL*, XVI, 419). For the use of *athleta* to mean 'champion' see Dobson, *Moralities*, pp. 96, 176.
- 255-6 **hou** . . . **bodde** in view of F474-5 *un grant bouton* / *Tu ne prises*, *GOS*'s reading, which omits only *grant*, is accepted. C used a common ME idiom *hou shalt sette* at *nouht* 'you won't give a rap (for)', but elsewhere retains the F idiom (the only two examples cited by *MED* *budde* 2c). This is one of the rare occasions when only O in the β -branch agrees with the α -branch's correct reading as preserved in GS. It looks as if β carried the literal reading glossed with the English idiom, and passed both on to δ : M accepted the gloss, J modified it and O retained the original

- reading. C's reading is the result of contamination from the β -branch.
- 259 **he** in view of F481 *Cil* (or *Ce lui*) perhaps GS's *thylke* (which C would spell *thilke*) should be accepted, presupposing substitution of *he* by C and β .
- 260-1 **pere**... **perinne** Baptism by Triple Affusion (pouring of water), Immersion and Submersion was practised in the 13th and early 14th century. The first, probably intended here, is discussed by Aquinas, *ST*, 3a, q.66, a.8.
- 270 **whan**... **cometh** F499 *quant mon point verrai* 'when I see my [fright] moment': τ may have read *verrai* as *venra* 'will come'. The time in question does not come until line 1828.
- 271 **my** is C's normal form before all consonants apart from *h* and in one instance *w* (*myw wercing* 855). There is no precedent in F501 for the repetition of the possessive pron. already expressed in 270 *my scrippe*. Perhaps it should be omitted, as if added by X.
- 273-5 **First**... **lamb** the newly baptised pilgrim sees the great Rood over the crossways of the Church he has just entered. Its centrality is literal as well as metaphorical, since the sacraments, which inform the greater part of Book 1, 'flowed from the side of Christ while he lay on the cross' (Augustine, cited by Aquinas, *ST*, 3a, q.17, a.1) and appear so in iconography (Rushforth, *Antiquaries Journal*). The redness of the cross is appropriate to the association (derived from I John 1.7 and Apoc. vii 14) of the Blood and Baptism, and is not uncommon: the late 12th-century main east window at Poitiers (Aubert, pl. VI) shows Christ on a red cross symbolising his blood (Reau, II, part ii, 485).
- 274 **peynted reed** F506 *Painr*: if added by X, the adjective should be omitted.
- 275-6 **pe**... **forhed** the Tau leads us from the Baptismal connotations of the Rood, to the second of the seven sacraments, Confirmation, which by the 13th century consisted indispensably of the cross made in oil on the candidate's forehead by a bishop (who enters next). Tau is one of the *Pilgrimage*'s most complex images. Equivalent to the Greek T, it was one form of the Cross by the second century. Associated with God's mercy in Exodus, Ezechiel and the Apocalypse, it suggests the whole of church history from the Passover to the end of the world. In Exodus xii 7, God's mark or seal was made in blood on the lintels of the Israelites, to be passed over by God's vengeance. Exodus does not mention *thau*, but in iconography this mark has become one: the *Bible Moralisee* gives the Passover scene a Latin explanation meaning 'The sons of Israel making tau on their lintels signifies Christians making the sign of the cross on their foreheads.' At 281-2 reference is to Ezechiel ix 2-6, a vision of God's sparing those marked with God's *signum thau* (see n. 281). The blessed in Apoc. vii 14 (and ix 4, xiv 1) are not only washed with the

- blood of the Lamb, they are also marked on the forehead with God's sign, which in iconography (though not in the Bible) is again a Tau. It is a marvellously inclusive image with which to begin this section of Book 1, set in the church/Church. As a seal indicating ownership Tau is linked to the other example of multiple symbolism in Book 1: the Gift of Peace (see n. 1372).
- 277-80 **a maister**... **Moysses** the *maister* is a bishop, *vicarie of Aaron* or of *Moysses*—themselves Types of Christ (Reau, II, part ii, 176): only he can ordain priests, administer Confirmation and consecrate Holy Oils (289). See Innocent III's decretal on these oils: *In Exodo quippe legitur praecepisse Dominus Moyssu, ut Aaron et filios [sic] ejus ungeret, quatenus et sacerdotio jungerentur* (PL, CCXV, 282, referring to Exod. xxviii, xxix). He is *faste* by because Confirmation would be administered under the Rood just mentioned: the Holy Oils were kept locked in the nearby sacristy in a cathedral, or chancel cupboard in a church (see n. 289-303).
- 279 **a verde**... **eende** Num. xvii 8. Aaron's rod is the Type of a bishop's crook (Reau, II, part ii, 215). It is curved at the top so that 'by consolation the bishop may attract the kindly' says Hugh St Victor (Deferari, p. 278).
- 280 **horned** the tradition of Moses horned supposedly springs from a mistranslation in Vulgate Exod. xxxiv 29 of the Hebrew word for 'a ray of light' or 'horn'. When Aquinas explained the apparent confusion, the tradition was well established (Reau, II, part ii, 177). Mellinkoff suggests however that Jerome's use of *cornuta* 'horned' is a deliberate image of strength, honour and kingship. Moses is also horned as a mitred bishop. From about A.D. 1125 to 1200, mitres' two points, technically known as 'horns', were aligned like horns. The image here is archaic, perhaps because of the long tradition allegorising vestments (see n. 340).
- 281 **Ezechiel** Ezech. ix 2-6: the bishop now becomes Ezechiel's 'man clothed with linen', to whom God said: 'Go through the midst of Jerusalem, and set a mark upon the foreheads of the men that sign and that cry for all the abominations that be done in the midst thereof, so that these should be spared in the slaughter of vengeance. Tau is thus a superb introduction to the episcopal duties (289-433) in which the bishop will be taught how to be discerning in the execution of God's justice.
- 285-7 **With**... **forhed** F527-8 *Et de ce signe u front seignier / Me fist Grace Dieu et mercier* 'And with this sign Grace Dieu had me marked on the forehead and forgiven: τ om. *Et*, and either renders *seignier* by *blisse*, mistaking *mercier* for *marquer* 'mark', or transposes the infinitives, rendering *mercier* by *blisse*, and *seignier* by *marke*.

1290 **cene** Mart. xxvi 26. *MED cene* does not cite this example.

ceened is a very rare example of S's reading being accepted, because nearer F and *cene*—but perhaps G's s- form, recorded in *MED*, should be retained.

1292 **quikned** F2372 *raucwe* 'brought to life again' var. *auine* MS. H.

1295 **but if** F2376 *Se . . . n*: GJS's accepted reading is that of all the ME MSS at 1294 (again for *Se . . . n*).

1296 **eche . . . himself** F2379 *si gart chascun endroit soi* 'may each man look after himself properly in this matter': *soi* is reflexive, s' merely emphatic. τ took s' as reflexive, giving the redundant *him*. Cf. 1410, where F2385 *endroit soit* is also translated as *for himself*.

1300 **oober ladi** refers to Charity, whose name is 'explained' by Isidore: *Charitas Graece, Latine dilectio interpretatur, quod duos in se iliget. Nam dilectio a duobus incipit, quod est amor Dei et proximi, de qua Apostolus: Plentitudo . inquit . legis . dilectio (PL, LXXXII, 296). The derivation of dilectio from duos + iligere hence 'join two' explains why it is Charity who presents the *pax*: representing the soul's love of its neighbour and of God (n. 1372).*

1311 **Seint Martyn** of Tours: see Réau, III, part ii, 900-7.

1313 **osteleer to pilgrimes** of the personifications in Book 1, only Grace and Charity reappear in Book 4. Charity, hostess to travellers as well as the greatest of the virtues, is seen first in the monastery, and her appearance in Book 1 is recalled (6808-12).

1316 **pat pat** apparently τ had in front of him *ce que* ('him whom'), a conflation of F2414 *Ceuz que* 'those that', and var. *Ce qui* MS. H.

1319-21 **pilke**¹ . . . **oobere** I Cor. xiii 4-7?

1320-1 **pat**² . . . **oobere**² may be one of the rare occasions where only M in the β -branch preserves τ 's reading. It is more likely that J and O misread *oobere*¹ as a form of 'oath', than that M should have noticed and corrected this error.

1321-2 **nouht for panne** except in this phrase (also at 1477, 1548, 2055), the scribe uses *ban* for the dem. pron. Perhaps he uses adverbial *banne* here because it is in an adverbial phrase.

1322 I . . . **misdoinge** τ struggled to echo the word-play of F2425-6 *ai je fait / Aucuns maus fait*. The ME accurately echoes the paradox: 'I have, without doing anything wrong, caused some harm to be done'. As God's love, Charity has caused Christ suffering: she is sometimes shown assisting in the execution of the Crucifixion (Schiller, II, 137-40, plates 448-54; Katzenellenbogen, pp. 38-9, figs. 40-1).

1328-30 I . . . **nailes** F2437-40 *Les bras li (fz) en crois estendre, / (L) despoulier, le coste fendre, / Les piez et les mains atacher / Li fz et*

de gros clous percier 'I caused his arms to be extended, I caused the cross, [I caused] him to be stripped and his side opened, I caused his feet and hands to be fastened down, and pierced with great nails'. τ did not treat the acc. + inf. construction consistently.

1333 **descenden** om. F2445 *pour ces maus* 'as a result of these evils': the Passion resulted in the redemption of those in Limbo. Perhaps τ saw the meaningless var. *par ces maus* 'by means of these evils', and omitted it. Alternatively he understood *ces maus*, and found 'his evils' inappropriate to Christ.

1336 **leue** (F2449 *laisier*) may be in C too, rather than *lene*.

1339 **testament** this is an example of the literary type known as Christ's Last Will and Testament (Spalding, p. viii, see also Perrow, and Jones). It differs from Testaments in which Christ leaves his mother to St John (John xix 26-7, see Langhammer), or which, like the OE example printed in *An English Miscellany*, pp. 357-62, are admonitions to Sunday Observance, and from those consisting of the reproaches from the Cross. Spalding distinguishes Guillaume's Testament even from the Charters which are Christ's dying bequests in legal form. Guillaume's Testament does not draw on their metaphor of Christ's body as the parchment his wounds the letters, and so on ('Long Charter', in Spalding's Appendix, and in Furnivall, *The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.*, pp. 637-57.) However (*pace* Spalding) Guillaume's Testament shows other elements of the type. Latin ones often include formulaic 'headings' (perhaps echoed here) beginning *Ego Jhesus . . .*; they promise an eternal inheritance, provide the Eucharist as indenture, seek co-operation from man as in a covenant, use images of the seal and Cross. Charters cited by Spalding are 14th- or 15th-century, but the one which could have influenced Guillaume is Rutebuef's version of the deed granted Theophilus (see Faral and Bastin), a 'real' deed, not a metaphor. Guillaume may have been as original in use of the *carta* convention as he was in handling *tau* and *pax*.

1342 I **Ihesus** F2459 *ye Jhesus*: if C does preserve the original reading (see p. lxxvi), G β must independently have omitted I. This is more likely than C's having supplied the pronoun, though conceivably he recognised the formal opening of a Will, or the *carta* form, and so emended intelligently. In this case, the reading should be [I] *Ihesus*.

1342 **weye . . . lyf** John xiv 6.

1343 **nyh** F2461 *prochame*: possibly C's *nih*, though not recorded in *OED* *nigh*, should be retained as a legitimate form (cf. 14th-century *neythe*, 15th-century *neyzi*, 16th-century *neyght*, *nyght*).

1343-4 **laste testament** Mart. xxvi 28, said at the Consecration of the Wine (which was at 783).

1344 **leue** ('leave') should perhaps be emended to *lene*, C's *leue* being reserved elsewhere, with one exception, for 'believe' (see

- 1344-5 **be** . . . **weepinge valle lacrymarum**, Ps. LXXXIII 7; an echo of the hymn *Salve Regina*, dating from at least the 11th century, and familiar to Guillaume, for Cistercians chanted it daily (NCE, XII, 1002).
- 1346 **jewell** F2467 *jowel*: the dominant meaning seems to be 'precious object' rather than 'gem'; Godefroy *joiel* suggests 'gift' but cites only two examples, one in this text and both unconvincing. The sense 'gem' may be present, because the *pax* symbol is a notary's sign (see n. 1406), the jewel thus resembling a seal-stone.
- and be faireste** F2468 *et plus bel* 'and fairest' var. *et le plus bel* MSS *AHPBM*.
- 1352 **hadde had** in view of F2480 *eusse*, GJMOS's reading is accepted.
- 1358-9 **to have** . . . **had it** F2492-9 *de li avoir*. / *En bail l'ont eu* 'to have it. They have had it in trust.' GJMOS begin the new clause at *bei haue had it*, as if in *havinge* modified to *have*. G, unpunctuated here, is assumed accurately to echo F, in *havinge* modifying *haue had*.
- 1359 **oonliche** . . . it F2493-4 *seulement* / *Par rabeler*: inf. with passive meaning, giving 'only [for it] to be recalled'.
- 1367 **carpentered** see n. 1053.
- 1367-9 **withoute** . . . **vnmaken** the implication is not simply that peace cannot be made noisily, but that the silence of prayer produces *pax triplex*.
- 1369 **tobreken** . . . it³ F2512 *le despiecent et deffont*: perhaps the first it should be omitted, following GS on the assumption that their reading is nearer F's use of a single pronoun.
- 1372 **carpenteres sqwire pax triplex** is the book's most complex symbol. It is related by its position to the Mass's Rite of Peace with oneself, God and one's neighbour (n. 1090), of which its form is a diagram, echoing the triple structure of Penance, just examined (n. 1151). In one 12th-century Mass this Rite is followed by prayers for exactly the triple peace (Simmons, pp. 48-52). *Pax triplex* is found in Augustine, *PL*, XXXIV, 72; Alanus de Insulis, *PL*, CXX, 156; Aquinas, *ST*, 22ae, q.29.2-3; Albertus Magnus, p. 24; Bernard, *PL*, CXXXIII, 754. But association of *p.a.x.* with *proximus (prochain)*, *anima (âme)*, and *x* for the first sound (*x*) in *Christus*, as well as with a carpenter's square, seems to be original. This 'jewel' is precious to God (1346), created by him (1366), and the instrument of his building of his kingdom, for it is the attribute of the medieval master-mason (Lehaby, fig. 90). It also suggests the Crucifixion (1354-65), *Christus* being set above mankind in *scaffold* (1382). This bequest, read before the altar, forms a meditation on the Eucharist (see 1365-6): the congregation confess and receive
- communion when Charity finishes (1440-64).
- 1374 **wel a poynt** F2521 *bien a point* 'right' or 'exactly'. G's literal reading is accepted against C's *in be poynt*. The variants show that τ wrote *a point*, not *apoint* (MED *apoint* adv.).
- 1379 **wriren** om. F2529-30 *Par les trois lettres que j'ai dit* 'in the three letters I have described', avoiding repetition of *These three letters*.
- 1380 **to thre thinges** F2532 *a trois choses* 'in three respects'. The translation, retained in CGS, is literal and clumsy.
- 1382 **x** . . . **I am x** is the first letter of CHRISTOS in Greek.
- 1385-8 **Afterward** . . . **pes** F2543-7 *A pres a l'angle bas assis* / *Et ou est antiche et mis* / *A, par qui entendue est* / *L'ame qui en humain cors est*, / *Doit aussi avoir bonne pais* (var. for bas: *bien* MSS *tBM*). τ saw the var., giving the general meaning 'next, placed right in the corner where it is set and nestled', 'a' (by which is understood the soul in the human body) should also enjoy true peace'. τ confusingly rendered *est antiche* (referring to fem. *âme*) by *she is sett*.
- 1393-5 **to . . . inne** F2557-61 *a son prochain*, / *Qui par le P du bout derrain* / *Est entendu, doit pais avoir*, / *A quoi le doit mort* [recre mou] *esnoivoir* / *Le mesme degre ou il est* 'with his neighbour (who is meant by the 'p' in the very end) he should have peace, to which he should be greatly prompted by being at the same level'. *t* awkwardly echoed F's syntax.
- 1395-6 **it is** the subject of F2562 *est* is either *degre* 'level' or 'the'. The sense is that man and his neighbour should be at peace, as equals.
- 1397 **whan** . . . **made** F2564 *Quant les crie, fourme et fis* 'when I created, formed and made them' var. *Quant lescript ie fourme et fis* MS. *M*. The sequence of creative verbs resembles that at 1046.
- dedicliche** F2565 *mortex* supports CGS's reading.
- 1397-401 **Alle** . . . **hole** the primary meaning is that all men, whatever their status, are mortal. But *worm* carries many connotations. Men become worms in the grave, the *oon hole* which all, like worms, enter; like worms, men are essentially naked and worthless—Griselda begs 'Lat me nat lyk a worm go by the weye' (*Clerk's Tale*, 880). There may be an echo of 'Ego autem sum vermis, et non homo' from Ps. cxi 7, quoted by Christ on the cross, sharing humanity's humiliation.
- 1401 **hole** F2569 *bertuis* 'crevice' is a more vivid metaphor for the grave than *hole*.
- 1405 **and** . . . **figured** F2576 *Et qui la pais a figure* 'and which represented the peace' var. *A qui la pais ai figure* 'by which I have represented the peace': τ seems to have seen a text

something like *Et la pais que ai figure*.

- 1406 **notarye** GJMOS's reading, accepted here, is an attributive use of nom. *notarye*. A notary authenticating a document would mark it with his sign, which might resemble a carpenter's square or other geometric figure, much as masons' marks do.

- 1411 **in** F2586 a: CJ's *to* may preserve *r*'s reading, rather than showing normalisation.

- 1413 **rested** F2590 *recite* 'recited': if τ wrote *rested*, misread by χ (in which case this may be evidence for a physically distinct χ), the reading should perhaps be [*rested*]. But it is possible that on re-reading, τ was aware of *panne she bigun ayen* coming next, and made a false correction to *rested* (in this case χ would simply be a level of correction to τ).

- 1419 **with** om. F2600 *tout* 'all'.

- 1430 **wole** the subject of F2623 *Veut is Jhesus* (F2615): Christ, not the jewel, wishes the soul to receive communion: to stay away from it can therefore be culpable (1431-2).

- 1441 **were encline** F2642 *furent encline*: C originally had *encline* rather than G's more literal and uncommon *weren encline* (*MED enclin* adj.), accepted here.

- 1454-6 **riht** ... **eleded** I Cor. xii 29.

- 1455 **dong-hep** om. F2668 *ou d'un boubier* 'or from a pile of mud'.

- 1456 **eleded** F2670 *awillis* 'dishonoured' var. *awicillis* MS. H.

- 1457 **alle** ... **kamen** F2671-2 *tous famelleus* / *Sen reindrent* supports GJMOS. As in F2669, where *Tous nois descendent* was rendered by *al blac bet bitomen*, *tous* might be a pronoun, giving 'all returned hungry', or an adverb, giving 'they returned, totally unsatisfied'. If τ understood a pronoun, *alle* is simply over-literal, but the sense suggests adverbial emphasis on hunger rather than the number of sinners, so the form should perhaps be C's usual adverbial *al* (all at 1092, 2533, rarely *alle* as at 851, 1979). Cf. 1461.

- 1459 **obley** a thin cake or wafer, probably made without fat or yeast. Altar-bread was usually but not invariably made the same way.

- 1460 **pere** see n. 27-8.

- 1461-2 **of** ... **fulfilled** F2679-80 *dont il ourent tous*, / *Si remplis furent*; the grammatical function of *tous* (*alle*) is not clear: perhaps the comma should follow it. If it is an adv. (*il ourent, tous* / *Si remplis furent*), then the meaning (suggested by CG's punctuation and by the context, which contrasts fulfillment with the emptiness of evil communicants) is that good communicants were so satisfied that they desired nothing else. But *tous* (*alle*) might be adj.: 'all of them were so filled', emphasising the sacrament's infinite capacity for distribution rather than on its virtue. Literal rendering of *dont* by *of* *whiche* left *hadden* unidiomatic. CS

normalised.

- 1466 **I wole telle** CJ's *wole* I might be correct.

- 1467 **abashed** (F2689 *estahir*) should perhaps be *abashe*, following G as more literal.

- 1472-3 **not** ... **fulfilled** F2700-2 *plainement*, / *Non pas un seul, mais ens treitous* / *En furent remplis* 'not merely one alone, but all were fully satisfied': *plainement* modifies *remplis*. τ needed *fullithe, not oon* ... for a literal if awkward rendering.

- 1478 **she** ... **hire** in view of F 2711 *elle* (*s*)*estoit acoutee*, CG's reflexive *hire* is accepted (*OED* *lean* v1, 2.b).

- 1479 **be releef** ... **almused** F2714-15 *donner* / *Le dit relief et amosner* is either 'the giving of the said relief and its distribution as alms' (where *amosner* governs *relief*), or the more likely 'the giving of the said relief and the giving of alms' (where *amosner* is absolute, without an object); τ omits *dit*, and for verbal nouns *donner* and *amosner* substitutes the normal ME idiom in past participles. Replacing *donner* by *vieren* was easy, but for *amosner* he had to assume a verb **almuse(n)* based on ME *almus*, sb., a variant of *almes(e)*, with a pp. *almused* (cf. G's *almused*). C's *almused* suggests that he took *al(l)* as a noun, *musede* as a preterite: 'pondered everything'.

- 1486 **swich ten** om. F2726 *tans* 'so large'.

- 1488 **Goode** F2729 *Biaus*: see n. 142.

- 1494 **pou seye** F2740 *tu veis* I reject C's *sigh*, in spite of the fact that it is equivalent to G's *seye* 'you saw'. It is over erasure, and C uses *seye* as often.

- 1497 **I** ... **pee** F2746 *Je t'acwise et si te somme* supports the accepted readings.

- 1502 **Doted** F2755 *esbloie* 'blinded' var. *ebahys* MS. A.

- 1503-7 **But** ... **cleerliche** F2757-62 *Mais le sens d'ouin seulement* / *En enjouarme l'entendement*; / *Celui a tast ici endroit* / *Odouement, goust et veoir*, / *Celui connoist plus soutilment* / *Et apercoit plus clerelement*, clarified by *Celui, Cetti*, for which τ finds no equivalent, means that only the sense of hearing instructs the understanding in these matters: 'In comparison with the senses of touch, smell, taste and sight, it comprehends more subtly and perceives more clearly'.

- 1506 **Bis** F2760 *Cetui* supports GS's reading. Harking back to *heeringe* in 1504, γ and β clarified.

- 1508 **Esau** om. F2765-7 *Quar Ysac mon bien cuida* / *De Jacob qui l'apastela* / *Que ce just son fil Esau* 'for Isaac really thought about Jacob who fed him that he was his son Esau'. Gen. xxvii 1-29. Independent eyeskip in α and β could explain the omission, but it looks as if τ 's eye leapt from *Esau* to *Esau* at the end of F2764 and F2767. The missing passage is in the margin of C in a late

medieval hand.

- 1512 **leeve** F2776 *apuis* 'lean': that CGJMS have *leeve* in, not *leeve* on suggests misreading of τ 's *leeve* on by χ (cf. 1832 *lende* to for F *apua*), but as with all these instances seeming to demonstrate independent existence of χ , the reading might be the result of τ 's making false correction. Alternatively, *leeve* in 'believe in, rely on' is a rational substitution for 'lean on' (*MED* *leeven* v. 4b gives examples of *leeve* . . . to 'pay attention to').

- 1515-16 **pe** . . . **wites** F2781-2 *le voir n'en aras* / *Par ces .III. sens ne saras* 'you will never have the truth, nor learn it from these four senses' vars. *Par ces sens ne ne saras* MSS o *TABMH*.

1517 **leeue** F2783 *apuit*: see n. 1512.

1522 **spreyent** F2792 *cruentee* 'made bloody', not merely 'sprinkled'.

- 1523 **clepe** . . . **wurpilyche** F2794 *Bien dignement et apeler* shows that *wel* should modify *wurpilyche*: τ wrongly added *and* after *wel*.

1523-6 **Bred** . . . **man** John vi 35, 51.

- 1527 **with** . . . **aungeles** Ps. lxxvii 25; on *panis angelorum* see Petrus Lombardus, *PL*, CXCI, 1617.

1531 **pe** . . . **oonliche** 'only the hearing teaches you'.

- 1534-51 **Charitee** . . . **hoper** Paulinus of Nola calls this world a mill grinding (unspecified) wheat for our eternal consumption (*PL*, LXI, 194). That Christ is grain and bread is implicit in John xii 24, explicit in vi 51; in I Cor. xv 37 Paul's *nudum granum* may be the origin of Christ's 'naked body' in our text. General equation of Christ's life with the preparation of bread is common: *La Bible Moralisee* f. 59^v, illustrating Lev. ii 1-9, interprets Jews baking bread as his conception, and the placing of bread in the pan as his scourging. The image of his body milled is, however, rare at this date. Kirschaum, *Mühle, mystische*, and Réau, II, part ii, pp. 420-1, cite no pre-15th-century examples (Réau's from the *Horrtus Deliciarum* in fact illustrates Matr. xxiv 41. Further discussions of the Mill (offering no clearer precedent) are in Lindet, and Alois Thomas. Vloberg, pp. 172-83, discusses and illustrates *Le moulin et le pressoir mystiques*: no pre-15th-century example shows Christ ground up, but the destroyed 12th-century window of Saint-Denis not only showed the familiar 'OT ground into the NT', but also referred to *perpetuae que cibus noster et angelicus*, a eucharistic reference. The nearest example I know is a 12th-century literary Mill of the Passion: *Granum, autem per trituum de theca sua excitatur contumelios et approbris arefactus, a judaeis, et gentibus, quasi duobus lapidibus, flagellis atteritur, cribatus conspersus compatiatur, dum a separatius, sanguine proprio perfusus cruci combingebatur, in qua quasi panis in igne passionis excocatus in immortalitatem mutabatur* (Honorius of Autun, *PL*, CLXXII, 544). Perhaps Guillaume's

image was itself influential.

- 1536 **greyn** F2817 *grain*: wheat, the noblest grain, was used for altar-bread (Jungman, II, 31-5): *Pæri cleme huætere corn, þe Crist þa embæpæc, tacnæþ hine sylfne* (Balfour, p. 75): *Þe vible ys made of wheþe, / Þe louelyst corne þat men ete* (Furnivall, *Robert of Brunne*, p. 315, col. 1, line 10092).

- 1538 **heete of sunne** F2821 *chalar de soleil* somewhat supports G's reading, accepted on the assumption that CJMOS's is the result of independent smoothing in β , and SC (possibly influenced by β).

- 1539 **made berne** it F2823 *engrangier le fist*: one of the rare occasions when O alone in the β -branch agrees with the α -branch and F. *MED* *bernen* cites only this example.

- 1543-4 **was naked** . . . **born** F2830-1 *nu fu et desnue* / *Au moulin apres porte fu* may be punctuated in two ways: *nu* and *desnue* 'naked and stripped' understood F in the second way, using *naked* twice. of *porte fu*. τ under stood F in the second way, using *naked* twice.

- 1544 **disgyliche** (F2832 *desguisement*) 'in strange attire' (suggesting the disguise of Christ's body in grain), also 'strangely, monstrously' or perhaps 'exceedingly' (*MED* *disgyelid*). There being no modern punning equivalent, I gloss it 'horribly'.

- 1545 **hoper** F2833 *baletes* var. *aines* MS. A. I gloss this 'machinery', with deliberate vagueness. 'Hopper' is not sense in context, since grain is not ground in a mill-hopper (essentially a container, as at 1551, where it stores flour) but is merely fed by gravity through it to the mill-stones. *Baletes* [Lat. *ball*/*distal*] usually means some kind of missile-throwing weapon. If it does mean 'hopper' here, perhaps it is because stones, before being discharged, were held in the 'bucket' of a *ballista* as grain is held in the feed-hopper.

in . . . **cloth** F2834 *Ou il n'avoit pas dras de lin* is obscure too. If F's construction is personal, *il* refers back to *le grain*, and the reference is to Christ's being stripped. But τ clearly thought the construction impersonal, the *baletes* having no linen cloth. If he was right, the image might be one of four:

1. a cloth screening the grain-hopper against extraneous matter;
2. a cloth 'sleeve' at the end of the chute bringing grain from the upper floor down to the grain-hopper—lifting the end of the sleeve cuts off the supply of grain very precisely;
3. the filtering of flour through increasingly fine grades of linen in the flour-hopper;
4. the surrounding of the mill with curtains during almost liturgical preparation of altar-bread: under Cluniac reform 'wheat had to be selected kernel for kernel; the mill on which it was to be ground had to be cleaned, then hung about with curtains; the monk who supervised the milling had to don alb

- and humeral' (Jungman, II, 35).
All these imply that the grinding of Christ was not a refined or refining process, but crude and cruel.
- 1546 **grounden** om. F2836 *tribe* 'tortured'.
1547 **was** . . . **wynd** F2837 *fai a vent estoit* 'was made to be turned by wind'.
1548 **nouht for panne** see n. 1321-2.
1548-9 **bis** . . . **softe** F2839-40 *ce moulin moles / Avoit qui n'estoient (pas) moles*: τ could not echo word-play on *moulin/moles/moles* 'windmill/millstones/soft' (noted by Mrs Walls).
1552-3 **bakere** . . . **bred** F2847-8 *fournier / Pour pain faire et boulangiere* 'oven-cook and baker to make bread': *fournier* and *boulangiere* are parallel. τ mistook the latter for *bouleter* 'sift'.
1554 **so it is** F2851 *tant y a* 'it is so big': GMOS's reflection of an inaccurate translation is accepted against C's rationalisation.
1555 **cowde not turne** the verb (F2851 *turner*) suggests both the movement of shaping bread, and the change of substance which Charity produces without the aid of Sapience (who may represent not only the wisdom of philosophy but Christ himself: see n. 1572, 2009-10).
1557-8 **She** . . . **maistresse** F2856 *D'une mestresse li souvint*: perhaps JMO's of should replace *on*, but *of*'s apparent closeness to F may be the accidental result of substitution.
1559 **Sapience** Wisdom here is God the Son (I Cor. i 24): the frequency of this identification (based on free application of the book of Wisdom to Christ) is apparent in ME literature (see Frances Smith).
1563-4 **in** . . . **oxe** F2867-8 *dedens l'escaille d'un oeuf / Meist bien tout entier un buef*: this is not the result of ignorance about reproduction in oxen. French idiom associates *oeuf/boeuf* to represent small and large objects, e.g. *faire d'un oeuf un boeuf* 'make a mountain out of a molehill', also *donner un oeuf pour avoir un boeuf* and *qui vole un oeuf vole un boeuf*.
1572 **chayere** F2883 *cheire* usually means the throne of the pontiff, or the bishop's throne in a cathedral. The dignity of Wisdom's seat shows that like Grace Dieu she represents an aspect of the deity (*OED* wisdom b,c), and may be identified with Christ by her part in transubstantiation.
1574 **book it om.** F2888 *et le moola* 'and moulded it'.
1582 **eche** . . . **partyes** F2900 *chascune partie* var. *chascunes des parties* MSS tBGMLA¹MH: in view of the ME vars., perhaps this should be *eche* [one] of *bilke partyes*. However, uncorrected G also omitted one.
pat bred F2904 *du pain* var. *de ce pain* MSS tBGMLA¹MH: perhaps, as at 759, GS's *thilke (bred)* should be accepted.

- 1585 **hire pat chidde** refers, as CG's commentators remark, to Nature. Grace has been speaking since 1488, and recalls the long argument between herself and Nature which began at 821, when Nature was indeed annoyed by the supernatural qualities of consecrated bread. Then, Nature's own objections merely underlined her subjection to Grace, so that the implication was *quid quers naturae ordinem in Christi corpore, cum praeter naturam sit ipse natus Christus ex Virgine?* (Durandus, *Rationale*, IV, xli, para. xxvii). Nature now tries logic, not law.
1585-6 **it** . . . **hire** in view of F2910 *l'en pesa* GJMOS's reading is accepted.
1590 **Aristotle** is called to Nature's assistance as an authority on the relation of parts and wholes. *Metaph.*, VII, x-xi (Rose, II, 1024^b-1037^a) does not, of course, show the simple-minded approach attributed to him in our text, where he represents the inadequacy of philosophy to explain divine power. See Aquinas, *ST*, 3a. q. 76. aa. 1-4.
1601 **on** . . . **side** this phrase occurs repeatedly (1617, 1926, 2058, 2355, 2363, 2541 *Passim*), translating *d'ature part(ie)*. It means 'besides' or 'moreover' not, as in *OED* side sb¹, 'on the other hand'.
1606 **disgise** in view of F2944 *desguises*, GJS's reading (*MED* *disguise* adj., *OED* *disguisy* adj.) is accepted against C's *disgised*, erroneous rationalisation to the pp. of *disguise*. The sense is multiple: the bread is not changed in appearance, but it is 'laborately prepared' and 'extraordinary' (see n. 1544). The spelling is C's at 1609, 4842, though he uses *disgisee*, *disgisy(e)*. Contrast 4858, 6171.
1607-8 **pat** . . . **it** F2946-7 *Qui ou monde pas ne pourroit / Ne pas le ciel ne souffroit*: the meaning, clumsily expressed, is that neither heaven nor earth can accommodate the nourishment offered by the Eucharist. The object of *suffice* should be 1616 *be feedinge* (F2945 *la pasture*).
1610 **hep** F *masure* 'mass'; C corrupted this to *hopp* 'something circular' (which *MED* *hop* unfortunately cites).
1613 **merveille hire** F2958 *s'en esveille* 'should grow angry at it' var. *si sen merveille* MS. A¹L.
1619 **without** . . . **divininge** modifies *wisten* in 1618.
1622 **an al** F2977 *un tout* supports GJMOS's reading, accepted against C's *al*, which is perhaps the result of not having realised that the indefinite article is essential: 'a whole . . . greater than a part'.
1638-9 **lilyes** . . . **violettes** F3008 *Lis et glais et violetes* 'lilies, irises and violets'; τ saw something like var. *Lis glais roses et violetes* MSS HM (this text had *glais* for *glais* or he thought it did).
1640-1 **pee** . . . **argue** F3011-12 (*j*) *enseigne* | *L'entendement et (l'en)* -

fourmoie 'I instructed the understanding and taught it to argue' (vars. *j* om. in MS. L; . . . *et le fourmoie* MS. o). All the ME manuscripts are corrupt. G's uncorrected *the y taughte the vnderstandinge and enfourmed the to argue* is accepted; though F gives no precedent for 1640 *bee* (G's *the*)—unless *j enseigne* [*'enseigne*] was misread as *t enseigne*—it is supported by GMO: MO's model rationalised to *be I taught vnderstandinge*, and J rationalised to the ambiguous *I taught the vnderstandinge*. CGS's *bere I taughte bee vnderstandinge* was a rationalisation by *y*. Second, F gives precedent for 1641 *bee*. *τ* did not recognise the masc. pron., agreeing with *entendement*, at the beginning of *l'enfourmoie*. Perhaps, having read *t enseigne* at the end of F3011 he expected *t'enfourmoie* at the end of F3012.

1643 **canoun and lawe** F3016 *canon et lais* 'Canon Law and Civil [Law]'; in the var. *canons et loys* MS. H, *lais* was apparently mistaken for *lais* fem. pl. 'laws', and *canon* made *canons* to agree. *τ* probably mistook *lais* for *lais* too, but made it sg. to agree with *canon*. Wisdom, representing (*inter alia*, see n. 1572) revealed Christian knowledge, so develops Aristotelian thought that it becomes the basis for civil law and ecclesiastical law laid down by Papal Decrees and Councils.

scoole om. F3017 *deputee* . . . *et* 'intended and'.

1651 **told** C uses *told* for pa. t., and *told* for pp. Here, *told* pa. t. may be due to elision of final -*e* before a vowel, or be an error, or be a variant form, for C is not always consistent: *taucht*, for example, is often pa. t. (6464, 6909) as well as pp.

1675 **bi . . . discrecioun** modifies *arguest* in 1674.

1692 **apparence** F3108 *apparence* 'appearance': CGS have forms of *aparissance*, which could be correct—but *MED* cites only this example, deriving it from OF *aparissance* 'outward show or display'. JMOF make better sense in a discussion of the relation between the Accidents or appearance of the Host and its invisible actuality or Substance.

1694 **Yit** C has *Zit* (the same Z is last in the *ABC*, f. 115^v). The other ME manuscripts have 3 or 3. C does not use either, so one would expect Y (quite clear at ff. 13^v, 25^r, for example). The scribe's guide-letter to the rubricator is not visible here or in the *ABC*, but the error (repeated at 1727) is probably the rubricator's.

1696 **it is** F3116 *est*: in view of the likelihood of it being accidentally omitted before *is*, GS's *it is* is accepted. But CJMO's *is* may echo *τ*'s literal rendering, and could be retained, assuming that G(S) smoothed.

1697 **deuynale** G's spelling is retained as it explains the corruption. C has no precedent for this form, the nearest being 1619 *diuynage*. The sense is that one should believe the Mystery of Transubstantiation without undue struggle to lay intellectual hold on it: while not irrational it is inapprehensible.

1706 **a kyte** (F3135 *un escouffe*) perhaps used here with the general sense 'bird of prey'. JMO's *glede* also carries both meanings. The English version of Albertus Magnus refers to: '*Milvus*, a Kite or Gledede' (Best and Brightman, p. 58). The rare kite was once a common scavenger. It was probably *Milvus milvus* (*Milvus icinus*, *regalis*, *vulgaris*) the Red Kite (D. W. Yalden, 'Bones of Scavengers', *The Daily Telegraph*, 12 Sept. 1981, p. 16). The image is of a portion so small that it will not even satisfy an already glutton bird.

1708-9 **with . . . fulfilled** F3139 *sa capacite*: it is not like *τ* to translate 2 words by 8, and it is hard to see why he did not use *capacitee* here as at 1772; however, *MED capacite* has no example earlier than A.D. 1425, and the word is glossed *desyr* by G's corrector, so perhaps *τ* felt paraphrase necessary at first.

1713-14 **filling to suffisance** in view of F3148 *remplage a souffisance* 'a meal sufficient to satisfy hunger', GJMO's *fullyng* 'a fill of food' is accepted (with C's spelling, on the assumption that both are from *OED fill* v.²) against C's *fulfillinge* 'repletion' (*MED fulfilling* b). GS's *suffisance* is accepted because unlike C's *sufficience* it derives from OF *souffisance*. Another possibility would be to give the word C's usual *-aunce* ending—but C does use *-aunce* at 198, in *aqueytaunce*.

1714 **be** F3150 *Soit* supports GJS's reading.

1714-15 **commune . . . spread** F3150 *autorite vulguree*: *τ* rendered *vulgure* by both *commune* and *pat is vnde spread*: a rare case of his hedging his bets.

1716-17 **in . . . empty** Aristotle, *Physics*, IV, vi-x (Rose, II, 213^a-217^b).

1719 **god . . . sovereyn** the *summum bonum*, that which men desire above all else: Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, I, 1,2 (Ross, IX, 1094^a). By development from *Nicomachean Ethics*, Xd, 8 (Ross, IX, 1178^b) where contemplation is presented as the most perfect way of life, the *summum bonum* came to be identified with God.

1726-7 **shal . . . false** F3172 *sera faus tes dis* var. *seront faus tes dis* MSS *BL*; perhaps *seynges* should be sg. not pl., following JMO, since though *tes dis* might be sg. or pl., the verb is sg. However, I have retained CGS's reading on the assumption that *τ* saw the var.

1727 **Yit** C has *Zit*: see n. 1694.

1728 **Grece** F3175 *Romme* var. *Grece* MSS toBMGMH. Stürzinger's reading, from his MSS *TA*, is because of F3180 *les citez* (1731 *be citees*) and F3193 *deux citez grans* (1739 *tweyne grete citees*).

1728-31 **Grece . . . ben** Augustine said of the capacity of the mind to retain large images: *Meminsisse tandem urbis Mediolanensis? . . . recordaris quanta et qualis sit? (De Quantitate Animae, I, v; PL, XXXII, 1040, cited Hulman, p. 99 with a wrong reference).*

1730 **how . . . ooper** F3178 *Combien l'une et l'autre continent* 'how

- much they both contain': the reason for mistranslation is unclear.
- 1736 I... **hem** F3188 *mis les ai* supports GJMOS's reading. In addition, G's omission of a line between *put* in 1735 and *put hem* in 1736 suggests that his model had *put* in both places, causing eyeskip.
- 1737 **oo**... **Sapience** F3189 *A Sapience respondu* 'Sapience replied': τ mistook auxiliary *A* for 'Aah!'—an understandable error in view of *Haa* at 2064 and 2075, correctly rendering *A* (F3789 and F3809).
- 1740-3 **In**... **apertliche** Durandus, *Rationale*, II, XLI, para. xxiv, explains the Eucharist: *Le huitième prodige, c'est que son corps, qui est immense, se trouve contenu dans si petite hostie; on en peut donner cette raison, que la pupille de l'oeil, qui pourtant est bien petite, ne laisse pas que d'embrasser une vaste montagne* (Berthelémy, II, 267). Voragine, VII, 244 uses the same image. Augustine used the pupil analogy of the memory: the quotation cited in n. 1728-31 goes on *aut nunquam in pupilla oculi alieni faciem tuam vidisti?*
- 1743-4 **lookke**... **shap** the mirror analogy is questioned by Aquinas, *ST*, 3a, q.76. a3 (Gilby, LVIII, 103).
- 1746 **maxime** appears to be one of the occasions when JMO preserve τ 's reading (see p. lxiii). The form given is C's at 1621, where all the English MSS have *maxime*.
- 1748 **tobroken** om. F3210 *et roui* 'and broken'.
- 1750 **bi**... **apertliche** F3214 *Ta face* gives no precedent for *apertliche*; perhaps τ wrote *bi visage* 'all your face', and then χ took *al* to modify not *visage*, but some missing adv., and so supplied *apertliche*.
- 1753-68 The sequence *localliche* / *virtualliche* / *ymaginaryliche* / *representatyliche* and then *bodlich* / *ralliche* / *presentliche* / *verreyliche* may originate in an untraced patristic treatise on Modes of Being in the Eucharist (e.g. *PL*, CCIX, 787, 857-8). Cf. similar contrasting adverb-groups in the Council of Trent, A.D. 1551, *signo* / *figure* / *virtute* and *vere* / *realiter* / *substantialiter*: an observation I owe to Fr J. Crehan S.J. Aquinas, *ST*, 3a, q.75. aa.1-2 and q.76. aa.1-7, dismisses the idea that Christ is present locally in the Sacrament, but he does not use these adverbs. The main point is that Aristotle is trying to blind Wisdom with philosophy.
- 1754 **pat**... **put** F3223 *Soient mises toutes ces* gives no precedent for *pat*, subpuncted G^s and omitted in C, whose reading should perhaps be accepted on the assumption that G β independently smoothed.
- 1754-5 **put**... **enclosed** F3223-4 *mises*... / *Es liens qui avez dit et (en)-closes* 'put and enclosed in the places you have mentioned' is followed too literally by τ .

- 1758 **ymaginaryliche** F3230 *imagination: MED imaginaryliche* cites only this example.
- 1760 **it**... **anoon** 'it is not necessary to bother to understand all this at once'.
- 1775-6 **liel**... **hath** F3263 *petit pain a* 'there is a little bread': τ was over-literal, or understood F3261 *le cuer (herie)* as the subject of *a* (*hath*).
- 1776 **if**... **ynowh** F3264 *Se assez veut; assez (ynowh)* is either adverbial or an adj. used predicatively: 'if it [the heart] wants sufficiently' or 'if it wants there to be enough'.
- 1782 **I**... **answere** the ambiguity of *shulde* leaves the force of F3275-6 *je ne doi*... *respondre* 'I am not obliged to answer you' unexpressed.
- 1783 **if**... **summething** F3277-9 *se faire (je) ne savois / Ou en nul temps ne faisoie / Aucun(e) chose*: F's conditional construction, two imperfects, *savoie* (*faire*) and *faisoie* followed by conditional *seroit* in F3281, means 'if I did not know how to do something or sometimes did not do it, then...'
- 1788-9 **for**... **can** F3289-90 *Pour Charite tous jours ferai / Quantue je plaie li saray* 'I will always do for Charity whatever I know will please her' var. for F3290: *Tant que lui plaie je saray* MS. *A* 'I will always do for Charity as much as I can to please her': τ saw something like the var.
- 1795 **ayens** F3298 *contre*: I accept GJO's reading (of which S's *ageynst* is a var.) because everywhere else in Book 1 C uses *ayens* for 'against', and *ayen* for 'again'.
- 1814-15 **I seide pee** at 139-46 the pilgrim was not given Faith and Hope, the staff and satchel later to support him, because he had not received the instruction to enable him to support them.
- 1819-20 **Withoute failinge** like the ME, F3344 *sans failir* might modify either what precedes or what follows it, so perhaps the previous sentence should end with *failinge*.
- 1820 **pe**... **burdown** these were the object of Pontifical blessing when a pilgrim set out on a journey: see the unpublished version of the 13th-century Durandus' *Pontifical of Mende*, BL MS. Add. 39677, ff. CXLII-CXLIII (modern ff. 142-143^r).
- 1825-6 **Me**... **forthward** (F3355 *Mont* [recte: *Mout*] *m'est tart que men soie* 'It seems very late for me to be on my way') is idiomatic.
- 1826 **fer bilke citee** in view of F3357 *loins la belle cite*, GS's reading (corrupted in JMO to *for*...) is accepted against C's *fer to bilke citee*; *bilke* may originate in corruption of *belie* to *celle*.
- 1831-2 **so**... **to** is one of the occasions when MO preserve τ 's reading (with a variation in J, which nevertheless retains *bare*). CGS omit *bar* (see p. lxii).
- 1840-66 The bells are inscribed with a Creed, the elements of which are

here printed bold to distinguish them from phrases not in the Nicene, Apostles' or Athanasian Creed (see n. 1916). However, these articles do not correspond exactly with any of the major Creeds, where belief in the Spirit is 8th not 3rd. *PL*, CCXIX, 919-28 is an index to exegesis of the Creed. Durandus' *Du symbole* explains each article (Berthélémy, II, 156). Literary Creeds are discussed (in the context of a well-known one by the 13th-century Joinville, whose text is in Friedman, a commentary on it in Langlois, 'Le Credo de Joinville') by Lozinski, who on his pp. 179-82 lists 12th- to 15th-century French prose and verse Creeds which show similar amplification.

1844 **things** F3389 *cloches* 'bells' var. *chozes* MSS to *BM¹LM*.

1844-5 **michel**... **dredinge** F3389-90 *merrelleuses* / *Mont me furent et (fort) douteuses*: difficulty has been caused by *fort douteuses* 'terrifying' or 'very uncertain in meaning', sometimes suggesting uncertainty in size (Greimas *datos* s.v. *dater*, *MED* *doutous* 1.a.3). The sense 'very puzzling' suits the deliberately impossible-to-visualise image of three bells sharing a clapper. G's *muchull wonderfull and greileche dredynge*, supported by MO (and J, with minor variations) is accepted. τ correctly took *fort* as adv., understanding *douteuses* as 'terrifying' (*MED* *dreden* v., 6.a). But terror is not appropriate to the Mystery of the Trinity, which may be why γ , puzzled, referred back to the French, as shown in CG's readings (see p. lxxvii).

G's corrector marked *greileche* and *dredynge* for gloss and tried a new translation. Unfortunately he compounded confusion, unnecessarily subpuncting *muchull* (F *mont*), taking *fort* as adv., and failing to elucidate *doutuses*. At the bottom of the page he wrote the whole clause to which C's reading is related: *but thysse thre thynges weren to mee wonderfull and [errasure] and hard and doutous*.

1845 **of so nyh** F3391 (*de*) *si pres* 'so closely': cf. Caxton, 'The deith that of nyghe foloweth them' (*OED* of 64b).

1846 **alle be oon** in view of F3392 *tout(e) une estre*, GMO's reading (corrupted in JS to *alle but one*) is accepted.

1846-7 **bat**... **claper** F3394-5 *Quar seulement es trois ne vi / Que un martel qui y estoit*, words in square brackets are supplied from G, variations of which appear in all the MSS except C (see p. lxiv).

1849-55 **descendede**... **sett** grammatical functions are elusive, perhaps confused by F3399-411's awkward mixture of transitive and intransitive verbs throughout its participle constructions: *descendus, concens, fait, ne, tourments, mis, naure, mort, enseelis, Descendu, Susste, monte, assis*. If τ echoes F in the use of participles or adjectives, 1849 *descendede* (G's form too) may be a scribal error for pp. *descended*, to which it should be emended. But perhaps τ tried unsuccessfully to echo the Latin Creed's

mixture of preterites and participles. In this case 1849 *descendede*, 1852 *descended* (both Lat. *descendi*), 1854 *sussted* (Lat. *resurrexit*) are pa. t. sg. (for which C uses both *-ed* and *-ede*). However, 1854 *steyn* is certainly pp., whereas the Latin has *ascendi*.

1851 **nature** τ misread F3404 *nare* 'wounded' as *nature*, preserved in G (and clearly repeated in the catchword). C(S) emended to *naturelly*.

1852 **helle** F3406 *l'infernal palu* 'the infernal mire'.

1859 **pe**... **cristenyng** the Creed notes an effect of Baptism: remission of original and actual sin, and of punishment due because of them.

1869 **tre of Sethim** wood of the acacia or shittah-tree: shittim wood. The Ark of the Covenant was made of this fire-proof and rot-proof wood (Ex. xxv 10-15, xxvi 15). See Bartholomaeus Anglicus, p. 1048, and Durandus, *Rationale*, I, Chap. 1, para. 13.

1883-4 **Nothing**... **ih!** F3463 *Rien en li ne me desplaisoit*, with no F precedent for *bere* 'that place', I retain C's *ber* on the (perhaps mistaken) assumption that it is unemphatic (see n. 27-8).

1884 **pyened** F3464 *ferre*: *MED* *pyened* translates this example 'made of iron', but the word is used of horses' shod hooves, and a pilgrim's staff would be tipped or 'shod' with iron, not made of it.

1885 **me**¹ om. F 3466 *tel* 'like this'.

1895 **pe**... **scrippe** Rom. i 17; Heb. ii 4, x 38: visible only under u.v. is *Iustus ex fide sunt* at the bottom of M's f. 25^v.

1898 **greenesse**... **sight** *Carystei viriditas refecit oculos*. *Nam et qui nummulariam discunt, denarium formis myrtoos pannos subiciunt, subinde respiciunt, et pictores idem faciunt, ut laborem visus eorum viriditate recreent*: Isidore (*PL*, LXXXII, 240), cited by Bartholomaeus Anglicus (Trevisa, II, 1290); *Ancien Ritule* says *grene ouer alle heoves froured meast ehnen* (Tolkien, p. 97).

1901-2 **she shal neede pee** F3493 *elle t'ara mestier* 'it will help you' refers to *la verdure*: τ , understanding the alternative meaning of the construction *avoir mestier*, translated *elle* literally.

1902 **to**... **wey** om. F3495-6 *A ce que loing tu voies / Le pais ou tu t'avoies* 'so that from a long way off you should be able to see the country in which you may live'. Either τ misunderstood the previous construction and so did not recognise a reference to Hope given by Faith, or his source lacked F3495-6 by eyeskip (*voite adiecter*... *voies*... *avoies*).

1903 **for**... **God** F3497 or 'now' or 'but' var. *pour Dieu* MSS to *BGM¹LMH*.

1904 **attached** in view of 1330 *tache*, the reading could be [*attached*].

- 1904-5 **be thre** . . . **claper** patristic similes and metaphors of the Trinity abound (e.g. Augustine, *Sermo de Symbolo*, PL, XL, 1195). I have not found a source for this image.
- 1908 **be** F3508 *Ceste* 'this'.
- 1908-9 **withoutte** . . . **belles** F3507-8 *sans sonnetes* / . . . *et sans clochetes*: τ could not echo the puns on *sonnetes* 'chants' (the phrases of the Creed written on the bells) and 'little bells'. *OED ringer* omits this sense 'little bells'.
- 1913 **elded** F3518 *avillie* 'dishonoured' var. *avillie* MS. M¹.
- 1914 **be bewete** F3519 *sa biaute* 'its beauty' var. *la beaute* MS. T.
- 1916 **be twelve Apostles** for the apocryphal attribution of each article to an Apostle see *The Book of the Vices and Virtues*, a translation of *Somme le roi* by the 13th-century Lorens d'Orleans (Francis, pp. 6-9). Durandus, *Rationale*, IV, XXV, paras. 6, 7, gives the three major Creeds, the tradition by which Apostles contributed their articles, and each attribution. See Jaus, II, 21-2 for Creeds in prose and verse. For the tradition in iconography see, e.g., contemporary Calendars described by Joan Evans, p. 200, and reproduced in Morand.
- 1919-26 **Pese** . . . **pee** the Creed is to echo in the mind. In a sermon on the Creed, Augustine explains Jer. xxxi 33 'I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts' by *Hugus rei significanda causa, audiendo symbolum dicitur: nec in tabulis, vel in aliqua materia, sed in corde scribitur* (PL, XXXVIII, 1060). I have found no source for articles as bells (but PL, CCXIX, 919 may well conceal one). Aquinas, *ST*, zaae, q. 1. a. 9 discusses Creeds as well as being a bulwark against heresy, they are for those 'busy with other matters [who] cannot find the time for study' (cf. 1924).
- 1920 **heere** F3529 *si* 'therefore' or, as τ thought, a form of *ci*.
- 1923 **for . . . belles** F3535-6 *Pour nient (en) guise de clochetes* / *Ne sont pas mie* 'they are not put there like bells for nothing' is the reading of all Stürzinger's collated MSS except L (which he accepts).
- 1924 **if . . . writinge** (F3537-8 *se de veoir es escrits* / *Estoies trop lens ou remis*): *leftest* is in doubt. The accepted explanation of the variants is that τ took F3538 *remis* 'idle, neglected' for 'you delayed', and wrote *leftest* (*MED leven* v. 1 c), corrupted in χ to *lestest*, and altered by G to *lested* (cf. *listed* S), perhaps with the mistaken sense 'you wished' (*MED listen* v. 1), while β , taking it as a form of *list* 'to please', substituted *lyste noug*, trying to make sense; finally it was correctly emended in γ back to *leftest*, whence CG³. Another possibility is that τ , correctly understanding *remis*, wrote *lechesse* 'remiss', which though unrecorded is a plausible form in view of *MED lachesse* adj., and *leche* cited under *lache* adj. He uses this word at 6881, 7003. In

- this case, χ miscopied *lechesse* as *lestest*.
- 1926 **Poul** Rom. x 17.
- 1928-9 **so . . . scrippe** F3545 - *Si ques la cloqueterie* / *En l'escherpe ne mist mie* 'so the ringing in the satchel does no harm [i.e. it does good]' var. . . . *ne mist il* MSS BMM¹.
- 1930 **blieue** F3548 *Dieu croire* 'believe in God' var. *croire* MS. M¹.
- 1933 **bred** F3553 *pain blanc* 'white bread'.
- 1937 **in soothnesse** F3562 *en unite* 'in unity' var. *en verrie* MSS BLM.
- 1937-8 **God . . . it is** F3563 *Dieu seul es trois personnes est* 'one God is in three persons' var. *Dieu seul et . . .* See Isidore, PL, LXXXII, 271 (cited Gewande, 17).
- 1941-2 **for . . . vnderstant** F3569-70 *Quar des douze tout se depend* / *Qui a son droit tout bien entent* 'for everything hangs on the twelve, if one understands everything properly'.
- 1946 **meevede al my corage** F3578 *mon courage tout esmut* is ambiguous: *tout* may be adj. or adv.; if it is the latter the sense is 'completely upset me [my mind]'.
- 1946-7 **Ihadde . . . bifore** F3579-80 *autre fois veu* / *Ne l'avoie n'aperceu*: τ omits *n'aperceu*, destroying the parallel between *veu . . . n'aperceu* here and *veoie . . . apercevoie* in the next line (1947 I *hadde seyn and apperceyued*).
- 1947-8 **I . . . scrippe** F3581-2 *li veoie* / *Encore et apercevoie* 'I often used to look at it there, and give it my attention'; the dreamer wonders how he could have missed blood-spots on such a familiar satchel. In F, contrast between pluperfects in F3579-80 (see n. 1946-7) and these imperfects expressing habitual past action distinguishes 'it' (that the satchel was blood-spotted) from 'it' (the satchel). ME tenses could not equal these subtleties, so τ replaced the second F pron. by *be scrippe*, producing an apparent contradiction.
- 1954 **pat highte . . . scrippe** F3594-5 *Qui en jaunee Estevenin* / *Ot non qui l'escherpe portoit*: Acts vi 8-vii 60. It is more likely that *en jaunee* modifies *Ot non than portoit*: 'who in his youth was called Stephen, and carried the satchel'.
- 1956-7 **peyeden hem** F3599 *se penerent* supports GJMOS's reading. C's *him* may be by attraction from *him* four words later.
- 1960-1 **men . . . stoned him** F3604-6 *on le tuast* / *Toutvoies (il) le tuarent* / (*Et*) *murtrirent et lapiderent*: perhaps the second *slooven* means 'beat' rather than 'killed'—a sense possible in F 100.
- 1962 **bidropped and approved** F3607-8 *goutee* / . . . *et esbouciee* 'covered with drops and spattered' vars. *econciee* MS. B, *ensanglan-tee* MS. A, *coulourée* MS. L. F has the same participles at 1973 (F3627-8) and 1983-4 (F3645-6), giving (*bi*)*dropped* and *preuued*.

- It is hard to see how *esboucie* could give *aproued/preued* 'confirmed/approved'. Did τ see *esprouee* in all three places, or did he associate blood-sprinkling with sanctification or authorisation (as if the Satchel were sealed with a red mark, like a document)?
- 1965 **his bleeding** F3614 *l'ensanglantement* 'his [the satchel's] bloodying' var. *le sanglantement*. It is uncertain which MSS have the var.: Stürzinger is inconsistent here.
- 1967-8 **defende** . . . it² F3619 *la defendre et garder*. It looks as if JS's reading, accepted against C's *defende* and *kepe* it, was the reading in G's model, *defend* it being misread as *defendit*, giving G's *defended* (the final *d* of which G³ subpuncted, inserting it after it). But perhaps C's reading, nearer F, is correct.
- 1968 **pei** . . . **hem** F3621-2 *Eus despecier et desmemberer* / *Se faisoient* 'they caused themselves to be cut up and dismembered' var. *Se lessoient* MS. L. The ME inf. is the object of *suffreden* (Mustanoja, pp. 533-54). τ omits the otiose *despecier* et 'to be broken up and'.
- 1968-9 **and** . . . **peynes** F3621 *paines souffrir* var. *et paines souffrir* MSS *ofM*: τ saw the var., but replaced *souffrir* by a pa. t., altering the construction and sense.
- 1969 **tormentes** F3621 *tourmenter* is passive inf., parallel with F3620 *desmemberer*: τ makes it a noun parallel with *peynes* (see n. 1968-9).
- 1972-3 **hidropped** . . . **preued** F3627-8 *goutee* / . . . *et esbouciee*; see n. 1962.
- 1973 **it** . . . **thing** F3630 *Ce n'est pas chose* supports GMS's reading.
- 1974-5 **to** . . . **michel** which C omits by eyeskip from *michel* in 1974 to *michel* in 1975, is supplied in accord with F3630-1 *a prister*; / *Quar n'i a goutte (si) petite* / *Qui (assez)* from GJMOS.
- 1975 **pat nis**: absent in C (see n. 1974-5), the reading is G's (echoed in S); but if X had an uncontracted form (reflected in J's *pat it ne es*, MO's *ben it is*), the reading should be *pat ne is*.
- 1975-6 **pat** . . . **precious** F3632-4 *Qui (assez) miex de [une] marguerite* / *Ne vaille et (que) plus pretieuses* / *Ne soit et (tres) plus vertueuse*: τ omits the last four words 'and much more powerful'. He may omit all F3634 (F3635 begins similarly). *Ne soit* is unnecessary if you take *pretieuses* as parallel with *miex*.
- 1982-3 **dropped** . . . **preewed** F3645-6 *goutee* / *De sanc et si esbouciee*: see n. 1962.
- 1986 **bee**¹ om. the otiose F3651 *et mort souffrir*.
- 1991-2 **she** . . . **it** F3661-3 *elle me plaist* / *Et rien en li ne me desplaist*, / *Si la pennai* 'it [the satchel] pleases me, and nothing about it offends me, so I will take it'.
- 2002 **burdoun** Ps. xxii 4.

- 2009-10 **The** . . . **spot** Ambrose (*PL*, xx, 22) speaks of Christ as *speculum Dei maiestatis*, echoing Wis. vii 26, and perhaps I Cor. xiii 12. The conceit of Christ or Mary as a mirror is common in art: *Speculum sine macula* is one of Mary's titles (Crisp, figs. 68, 70). In *La Roman de la Rose* 17,425-53 (Lecoy, III, pp. 23-4) God sees all things in the mirror of Himself.
- 2014-15 **Lene** . . . **poynies** F3701-2 *Toi apuier i de touz poins* / *Et fort aherre ti aus poins* 'you must lean on it with both hands, taking hold of the knobs firmly' or 'you must lean on it at all times . . .'. τ omits *de touz poins* (but at 2605 [F4774] he correctly translates *de tous poins* by *alle poynies* 'of everything' or 'completely'); he could hardly have echoed the play on *poins* ('handfuls' or 'points in time' and 'pommelles'). Perhaps he also read *poins*² as *poins*, since he uses *poynies* instead of his usual *pommelles*: but he may have meant to clarify the allegorical sense 'hang on to the main things in life (i.e. Christ and Mary)'.
- 2020 **pilke** om. F3710 *Dont vint, dont fu et* 'from whom he came, from whom he had his origin and'.
- 2022-6 **charbuncle** . . . **ouerthrowen** see n. 122.
- 2023 **distracte** F3716 *eschampes* means 'escaped, broken loose' rather than 'distracted' (the ME carries modern connotations of distress as well as failure in concentration).
- 2026 **grafted** may mean that the lower hand-hold is grafted, not merely joined, suggesting the Virgin's place on the Tree of Jesse: for a moment the staff, Hope, is identified with God's design for salvation as represented in that tree which, rooted in Isaiah's prophecy of the rod of Jesse, blossoms into Mary and then Christ (see Watson).
- 2029 **eche** F3727 *Pour ce que chascun* 'because each . . .': τ omits *Pour ce que*, but *for* (as supplied by J) would have been clearer.
- 2035 **hyere** F3738 *pas si bas* 'not so low': a rare deviation in τ .
- 2043 **redy I was** F3751 *apreste estoie* supports GJMOS's reading.
- 2068 **were** om. F3796 *bien* 'well'.
- 2069 **I speke bis** F3798 *En partie je* 'I speak of it' supports GJMS's reading (*OED* speak v. 27).
- 2070 **burdoun is not** F3800 *bourdoun n'as pas* 'you do not have a staff var. *bourdoun nest* pas MS. M.
- 2071-4 **if** . . . **bee** F3803-7 *se tu dis que (toi) defendre* / [*Te*] *veuz sans plus* (sans) *point offence*, / *Armes dont bien te defendras* / *Et dont tes enemis vaincras* / *Assez tost je te ballerai* 'if you are saying you only want to defend yourself without using violence, I will give you armour with which you will be well able to defend yourself, and overcome your enemies at once'. τ misplaces *without offence* (which in F modifies *defendre*, not *defendras*), so losing F's double meaning: by wearing Grace's armour instead of using his staff in battle, the dreamer would defend himself

without using violence or offending Grace.

- 2072 **armures** Rom. xiii 12 and Eph. vi 13-17. Armour acquired different meanings in chivalry: Cohen, *Histoire*, ch. 16, gives an account of this symbolism, and in ch. 20 gives the associated ceremony.

- 2079-80 **bihold** . . . with F3815-17 *regarde, dist elle, en haut / A celle perche, s'il me faut, / Pour querir armes, loing aler* 'Look up at this rack, she said, [and see] if I have to go a long way to look for armour!' τ , if not using a corrupt MS, did not notice s' 'if', and took *querir* with *faul*, and *aler* as inf. of purpose, as if F were . . . *il me faut / Querir armes, pour loing aler*.

- 2081 **helmes** etc.: armour of the relevant period (to A.D. 1330) is described in Martin, pp. 41-9 and Pis. 29, 30, 39-42, 44, 45, 52, 148; in Blair, pp. 37-52, 197, 207; in Leloir, pp. 164, 208, 214, 228, 332. None of the technical words can be dated with sufficient precision to give the translation's date: mostly they appear in the late 14th century—many are much earlier. Each piece of armour will be discussed at the line where it is donned by the pilgrim (since he puts it on in the correct order), not that in which Grace discusses it. For *helm* see n. 2460, *haubergoun* n. 2184, *gorger* n. 2459, *jakke* or *doublet* or *pourpoint* n. 2091, *targe* n. 2463.

- 2090 **but if** perhaps GS's *but* should be accepted: C β might have added *if* to clarify *but*.

- 2091 **a doublet** F3837 *un gambeson*: a close-fitting tunic or *gambeson*—the same as *jakke* (2082) and *pourpoint* (2111). At 2132 the pilgrim complains of its weight, so the poet may have meant the type reinforced by metal rings or plates. It is also heavy because of the allegorical anvil at its back (the armour is otherwise realistic).

- 2093 **an anevele** F3843 *une enclume*: a rare occasion (see 2193, 2711) on which O is alone in the β -branch in agreeing with the α -branch, at a point where F offers no guide to the correct reading, the ME variants simply being synonyms for 'an anvil'. JM have *a stithe*, O has *an anueld* id est *a stethi*, so that the β -branch readings are explained by *anueld* glossed *stithe* in β , both reading and gloss being incorporated into O. For association of Fortitude (here the doublet of Patience) with an anvil, see Tuve, p. 166, fig. 15, who cites no example earlier than Guillaume.

- 2097-8 **a pile** (F3850 *un pel* [Lat. *pila*], 'a stake') 'a stake used in practising swordsmanship' (*OED pile* sb., 3c). The image is of a man handicapped in self-defence by being not only without hands and feet but also tied to a stake designed to receive sword-blows. *Pel* was also used of the Cross (at 2118-20 the tied figure becomes Christ crucified).

There are three possible explanations for JMO's *pilet*. *Pile* being rare, C β may independently have misread it *pile* as *pilet*,

or independently have substituted an expected image: the pillar to which Christ was bound for his beating (as at 1327, where *pilet* correctly renders *estache*). The pillar was associated with the flagellation even by Jerome, who vouched for a relic of it in the Holy Land (Pickering, p. 230). Finally, C may have consulted a MS of the β -branch, as at other points of obscurity (see pp. lxv-lxvii).

- 2098 **but pat** F3851 *Mais que* 'provided that': τ rendered *Mais* as *but* (so GMO) 'as long as' (*MED but* conj., 5b). CI, finding this usage ambiguous, emended to *If*.

- 2108 **fat** . . . **strength** following F3867-8 *enraissier . . . enforcier, fat* and *strength* are infinitives.

puerte F3869 *Poiture* 'anguish' (lit. 'piercing') var. *pourrete* MS. o.

- 2110-11 **pe** . . . **purpoynt** F3873-4 *fait est / De pointures le gambeson, / Pour quoi pourpoint bien l'appele on*: play on *pointures* / *pourpoint* is not so clear in the ME *poynnynges* / *purpoynt*: made by many needle-piercings during its quilting, the doublet is aptly named 'on account of the points' (Leloir, *pourpoint*); the name signifies its manufacture and its protective function.

- 2116 **an anevele** F3883 (*une*) *enclume*: Committed *an* by haplography. This is one of the occasions when O's witness is important, it alone in the β -branch agreeing with the α -branch.

- 2117-18 **for to** . . . **endure** in view of F3885-6 *Pour recevoir, G's* reading, echoed in JMO and misread in S, is accepted. CG's reading derives from γ 's, rationalising the literal translation.

- 2119 **wered on Ihesus** F3887 *vesti Ihesus*: the function of *on* is unclear: it is either, as F suggests, adv. 'on [his] person' (*OED wear* v¹ c), or indef. pron. 'a certain' (used with *Iesu* by Wycliffe, Tyndale—*OED one* 20).

- 2120-1 **rihted** . . . **rihtes**: τ transposed F's word-play; see p. lxxxviii.

- 2125 **forgeden** . . . **him**? F3897-8 *la forgiertent . . . et monnoierent* 'they forged and minted it [la raensou] on his back' var. *le forgiertent . . . et monnoierent* MS. A, which makes it seem that Christ is being forged, although *him* may refer in fact to the ransom. Christ as an anvil originates in Ps. cxxviii 3: *supra dorsum meum fabricaverunt peccatores* (Pickering, pp. 271-2, Pl. 27a): in the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, the *Nailing to the Cross* is prefigured by Tubalcain at his forge (Gen. iv 2).

- 2134-9 **youre** . . . **riht** as at 2120-1, τ transposed F's word-play.

- 2146-8 **techeith** . . . **riht** the effect of the pilgrim's sarcastic enquiry is ironic: the only carpenters in the *Pilgrimage* are God the Father (1367), and Grace Dieu (963, 969, 1009-10), to whom the irritated pilgrim is speaking. By them he will indeed be cut down to size.

- 2147 **to wite soothliche** F3935 *A savoir mon* 'for my information'

var. *A savoir moult* MS. M.

- 2149 **enyvous** F3940 *emuius* var. *emuius* MS. A: the correct reading is in doubt in F and ME. If τ saw the var., CS's *enyvous* 'irritable' is right (*MED enuieu* v. 2 and *enuious* adj.). But in the other ME readings (*emuyous* G, *enyvous* JMO) the third letter could be vowel *u* or consonant *v*: if τ 's source had *emuius*, our reading should be *enyvous* 'annoying' (*MED emuien* under *emuien*, *emioius* under *amioius*).

- 2153-4 **Pouh** . . . **bee** F3947-8 *Se grief te semble a ce premier, / Ce n'est fors pour toi appointier*. C's omission due to eyeskip from *rihte bee* in 2153 to *rihte bee* in 2154. Otiose *berof* may be due to τ 's conflation of constructions used with *OED think* v. 1, *think* v. 2.

- 2156 **missey** . . . **dooth** F3951-2 *mesdie / Ou (qui) . . . face: τ probably followed F subjunctive *mesdie*, and then, parallel subjunctive and indicative not being rare in ME (Visser, p. 885), reverted to idiomatic *dooth* for the second verb. Agreement of G(S) and MO suggests that C] smoothed.*

- 2161-2 **gryndinge of corowement** F 3961-2 *emolument* . . . *de couronement* 'reward of coronation' (I Cor. ix 25; Apoc. ii 10). τ gave the 'etymological' rendering of *emolument* (ultimately from Lat. *emolere* 'to grind out') instead of the developed medieval meaning 'reward, payment'. β read or substituted *grandyng* (made to *grant* by J).

- 2165 **pat** F3968 *Les* supports GMOS's reading.

pat . . . **loueden** F3968 *du pourpoint ames* 'armed with the doublet': τ read *du* . . . *ames* (pl. of pp.) 'characterised by love [of]' (giving 'who loved').

- 2171-2 **Tribulation** . . . **be** see 6442-594.

- 2184 **a haubergeoun** this jacket of mail (see 2204-5) goes over the pourpoint. The pilgrim does not put it on until 2457: he stands, wearing the pourpoint, to see all the other armour first. The result is the dismay caused by trying to understand and embrace all the virtues at once, instead of being prepared to acquire them slowly.

- 2189 **purpos** F4009 *propus* 'the power of speech' var. *pourpos* MSS *M^{PL}*.

- 2192 **who** in view of F4013 *qui*, GJMOS's *ho* 'who' is accepted, with C's normal spelling (he uses *ho* only at 136); however, C's *he* shows that X had *ho*.

- 2192-3 **preyseith** . . . **bodde** F4014 *ne la prise un bouton*. O's witness is valuable, it alone in the β -branch agreeing with the α -branch. β used *seten* instead of *preysen*, but F's 'bud' idiom is echoed only in CGS, and O's *he setys not per by a bud* (J and M substituting suitably disparaging comparisons with rushes and beans).

- 2194 **conquere** F4016 *acquere* 'acquire' var. *conquere* MSS *oM*.

- 2196 **smith** God is pictured as a smith in Ezek. xxii 20-1, Is. i 25, Jer. vi 29. Alanus de Insulis' de velopment of the image probably influenced Guillaume (*PL*, CCX, 453, translated Mofatt, p. 43): *Deus . . . tanquam mundi elegans architectus, tanquam aureae fabricae faber aurarius, velut stupendi artificii artifex artificiosus, velut admirandi operis opifex non exterioris instrumenti laborante suffragio, non materiae praeficientis auxilio, non indigentiae stimulantis flagitio, sed solius arbitrariae voluntatis imperto, mundialis regiae admirabilem speciem fabricavit Deus* . . . Tribulation, bearing God's commission, is also a smith (see n. 2171).

be light F4021 *Paube*.

- 2200 **Force** Tuve, Appendix, lists virtues associated with Fortitude, such as those implied here: patience, prowess, resolution, constancy.

- 2207 **ryven** om. F4040 *fort* 'strongly'.

- 2211-13 **pat** . . . **cruelle** F4049-50 *Que il n'estoit guerre mortel / Ne tourment nul, tant fust cruel* no precedent for *so strong ne*, a rare addition.

- 2216 **Lady** . . . **goodliche** F4057 *Dame, je vous pri bonnement*: both C and JMO have *Lady quod I I pray you*—but though C did consult β , it was usually at points of difficulty. Perhaps τ unwittingly included *quod I*, and it should be accepted, on the assumption that G removed it as otiose after *I* . . . *seide here*. On the other hand, the phrase is common enough to have been added independently by C and β .

According to F, *goodliche* should modify *pray* (cf. 2263-4, where τ similarly misunderstands the function of *bonnement*).

- 2116-17 **ye** . . . **garnement** F4058-9 *ce garnement / Veste* 'you put this garment on [me]'.

- 2234 **Attemperance** is usually bridled rather than helmeted (see Tuve, Appendix and figs. 16, 17) but the effects are similar.

- 2236 **streyt** F4093 *euilliere estroite*: see p. lvi for J's *strayte olerde*.

- 2240 **no dart** F4101 *Nal tel dart* 'no dart like that' (i.e. of *murmuryng* or *babbinge*).

- 2241 **harde** F4102 (*fort*) supports GJMOS (C uses *harde* adv. at 1145, 2351).

- 2244-5 **bi** . . . **smelinge** F4109 *par [de]sordene oudur*. Stürzinger accepted the reading of MSS *TAM^{PL}MH*: his base MS *t* and some three others have, instead of *desordene*, *sordene* [s'ordené]. Context allows either: the helmet may prevent an uncontrolled sense of smell from doing any damage, or it may result in a controlled sense of smell, with the same effect. GS's *his ordene* suggests that τ saw *s'ordene oudur* 'his controlled [as originally ordained] sense of smell' (at 2355 G similarly represents *ordene* by *ardene*, annotated by G's with *ordene*). The editorial emendation assumes that G or his model found *ordene* difficult, and

wrote *ardene* under the influence of 'ardent'. Alternatively, X may have misread an English word (*ardeyne* for *ordene*) or τ may have made a false correction on rereading his own copy without reference to F. (β , no doubt baffled, omitted the word.) I therefore emend to *ordeyne* C's *disordeyned*, which is related to G³'s *disordene*, derived through γ from the alternative reading in F². The corrector from F² did not notice that reading *desordenee* instead of *sordenee* necessitates the cancelling of his (s'). Indeed, the presence of *his* in all the ME manuscripts is neat evidence that CG³ derive from a MS which made occasional reference to another French MS where the text was difficult, so combining the characteristics of F and F². G³'s nearness to F here is the only evidence in Book 1 that G³ cannot derive from C (see p. lxxv1).

2247-8 **helme** . . . **hedes** Eph. vi 17.

2249 **shulde** F4118 *doi* supports GJMOS's reading.

pe F4118 (*la*) supports GJMOS's reading.

2250-2 **It** . . . **Glotonye** see Tuve, Appendix: Sobriety is part of Temperance in the lists of Macrobius, Guillaume de Conches, Alanus de Insulis.

2256 **double woodshipe** glutrony and bad language: *And for þe moub hab tweie offices, wher-of þat on serueþ to be stuelewing of mete and drynke, þat ober serueþ to speche, and þerfore is þis pryncypally departed in two; þat is to seve, in þe syme of glotonye, þat is in mete and drynke, and in þe syme of wikkede tonge, þat is to speke folye* (Francis, p. 46; the French source is 13th-century).

2257-8 **Bi** . . . **goomes** F4133 *Par le gouster les tallans meut* 'by means of the sense of taste she [Glutrony] sets the cutting edges [jaws] in motion': τ took *tallans* as the subject—perhaps his source had a pl. v., or he took *meut* for an abbreviation of *meuent*. *MED* *gome* sb. 3c cites this as the earliest example meaning 'jaws'.

2258-9 **Bi** . . . **sleyghtes** F4135 *Par le parler fait les engins* omits the pronoun subject (*elle*) as at *meut* two lines before (see n. 2257-8); τ , having failed to recognise omission of the subject at 2257, finds no subject for *maketh*.

2261 **maisterman**: F4139 *patoumiere* 'whore' is appropriate to Glutrony's gender and to the traditionally sexual connotations of the glutron's delight in swallowing, described in 5558-652, where indeed Glutrony and Lust combine to overthrow the pilgrim Aquinas, *ST*, *zazae*, q. 143 divides the sense of Touch into Nourishment and Sex. τ seems to have read *patoumier* 'scoundrel' or 'poor wretch', not noticing that this forced change of gender on Glutrony (see 2774 and note). It is not clear why τ renders this by *maisterman* (GJMOS's reading, but if *misterman*, CG³'s reading, is a variant form rather than a different word, no emendation should be made—see Flint and Dobson). Perhaps

he loosely meant 'clever operator' (*MED* *maister man* under *maister* sb. 5a 'master craftsman') or 'monstrous man' (ibid., 5.c) or even 'kind of man' (*MED* *mister-man* 2, which cites C's reading). He might also, given *mister*'s sense 'need' (*OED* *mister* sb. 1 8), mean 'poor wretch', *patoumier*'s second sense.

2263-4 **perwith** F4143-4 *te lo bonnement* / *Que t'en armes soigneusement* 'I honestly advise you to arm yourself in them carefully': τ seems thought *bonnement* and *soigneusement* parallel, modifying *armes*, and so had to supply *and*. At 2216 *bonnement* is again misunderstood.

2269 **Chalyr** F4154 *Challis* var. *Challis*: see n. 18.

2270 **Seint William** William de Donjeon, monk of Pontigny, became abbot of Fontaine-Jean and in 1187 of Chaalit. Elected Bishop of Bourges in 1200, he overcame difficulties with the king, with his Chapter and with Albigensian heretics by patience and firmness. He died in 1209 and was canonised in 1218 (Attrwater, *William of Bourges*).

2270-3 **pouh** . . . **thirst** *Inter delicatas epulas celebri et sumptuoso apparatu fuentes noverat esurire. inter exquisita vina sitire* (Surio's 'Life of William of Bourges', Hooft, III, 283; cited Hultman, pp. 110-11).

2272 **ooperer mes ynowe** F4158 *autres mes assez* 'plenty of other courses [or helpings]'. *MED* *mes* sb. 2 b cites this *mes* as pl.

2275 **himself atempree** F4165 *Attempres* offers no precedent for himself.

2276-80 **Sey** . . . **gladliche** F4167-72 'Dites' *dist (il)*, 'a cil qui tremble / Qui est en fevre qu'il ne tremble. / Et vous verres, s'il cessera.' / *Aussi dist il: 'Certes cil la / Dont vous parles se cesseroit / Mont volentiers, se il pouoit'* 'He used to say "Tell a man who is trembling from fever that he is not trembling, and see if he will stop." He also used to say: "Indeed, he to whom you speak would stop himself very willingly, if he could"? τ omits *Certes*, and the force of F's *ce cesseroit* 'would stop himself' is lost. F closely echoes the story in *Acta Sanctorum*, Jan. 1, p. 637 (cited Hultman, p. 111).

2280-1 **armede** . . . **shuldest** τ added *soo* (without precedent in F4174-5 *s'arma* / *De tel gorgiere et engorge, / Aussi en devras*) to balance *swich*.

2284 **mynged** F4178 *munni* 'equipped': G's *mynged*, CS's *mynged*, JMO's *remembrede* (a substituted synonym), are hard to explain. It is as if τ mistook *munni* for the pp. of some verb synonymous with *ME* *myng* 'remind', used here, or with *more* 'remember', tell of (*OED* *man* under *more* v¹); or perhaps he thought it derived from Lat. *monere*. He did not translate *munni* at all at 2439 (F4446), but there he may have omitted what he regarded as otiose after *armed*.

- 2286-7 **touchinges** F4183-4 *touchiers et atouchemens*, / *Palpations*: at 2289-90 τ gives *touchinges* for *atouchemens*, so here omits *touchiers* or *Palpations*.
- 2287-8 **men . . . tasinge** F4185-6 *on puist trouver / Par tout le cors sens de taster* 'the sense of touch may be found all over the body' var. . . . *sans de taster* MSS oTAMH.
- 2290-1 **it . . . ben** F4191-2 *le plus si croit / Des gens qu'autre taster ne soit* 'most people think this is the only sense [that matters, because it is experienced all over the body]'. Bartholomaeus says: *be vit of gropinge hab bis propirte, pat he is in alle be parties of be body . . . But euertiche of be obir wittis hab certain place, instrument, and tyme i-ordeyned and deputat to his doynge. Among alle be wittis bis vit is most erpeltiche and boistous . . . it semip more profitabe pan obir wittis* (Trevisa, p. 119). τ perhaps took *le plus* (compar. adj. used as sb.) for a compar. adv., and finding no subject for *croit* took it as a pp.
- 2291-2 **is . . . vnderstonde** the hands stand for the whole sense of touch. F4193-4 *tout generament / . . . le taster j'entent* supports GOS's *alle tasinge* (CJM substituted *tasinges* after *alle*). τ may not have written *is . . . vnderstonde* for *j'entent*. In view of CG's *is* after *generalliche* (derived from γ), he perhaps wrote *alle tasinge generalliche I vnderstonde* or *I alle tasinge . . .*, *I* being corrupted to *is* by χ .
- 2294 **with . . . named** F4998 *des armeuriers sont nommes* 'are called among armourers' var. *armeures* MSS GB. All the ME MSS are corrupt, with *armeures ben armed*. Error in the noun may derive from the F var., from translation or from χ misreading *armeures*. Error in the verb seems to be due to misreading of an English word, implying independent existence of χ , but perhaps τ , particularly if he had written *with armeures be named*, rereading his copy without reference to F, falsely corrected *be named* to *ben armed*. The editorial emendation unavoidably results in the use of a pp. found elsewhere in C only at 5334: instead of *namen* C normally uses *clepen*, less often *nemphen*.
- 2294-5 **pe . . . Continnence** even by the time of Macrobius' account of Temperance and her train, there existed a 'well-established group of Temperance's manifestations that had become fixed by centuries of repetition': Alanus de Insulis was not the first to make Continnence a part of Temperance (Tuve, pp. 65, 66). I have not traced the source of Temperance as the 'third part'. Cicero shows Temperance in three parts, of which the first is *continentia* (Tuve, Appendix).
- 2299-300 **so . . . needen** F4209 *Si ques sans envier .ii. vunt* 'two [gloues] are necessary if you are to be kept from harm' var. *enuier* MS. G; *envier* is in fact *en(n)uier*, from late Lat. *inodiare* (Grimas, *emoter*) 'to harm'. I accept G's *enuye* because although at 1488 C uses the *en*-form, M's *emy* is a misreading of an *en*-form,
- 2302 **couenable** in his errata, Stürzinger emends *couenables* to *avenans*: τ saw the former.
- 2303 **gaynpayn** F4214 *Gaingepains*: the relevance to a gauntlet of the name 'bread-winner' is obscure. *MED gain-pain* cites only two examples — this, and one dated 1486. *OED gainpan* 'a sort of gauntlet' cites our text, and then, oddly, Halliwell's *Dictionary*, I, 395. This quotes our MS. S, but glosses by 'the ancient name of the sword used at tournaments' (*OED*'s doubtful sense 2).
- 2306 **Achimelech** F4219 *Achimelech* vars. *Achimelech*, *Achimeleth*. I Kings xxi 1-6. In the *Bible Moralisee* (Bodleian MS. 270^b, ff. 139^v B7, B8, and 140^r, A1, A2) the priest Achimelech's giving David and his friend bread on the understanding that they have not consorted with women is explained in terms of the purity required of priests celebrating Mass. Purity of the hands is most relevant in the Eucharistic context of Book 1 (cf. the opening of the Gawain-poet's *Purity*, where sacerdotal cleanliness, literal and metaphorical, heads the types of purity demanded by God). Because of the easy muddling of *h* and *b*, confusion of *Ahimelech* with *Abimelech* of Gen. xx and Judges ix (an evil man, quite unlike the priest) is common (indeed, χ 's form of the name is doubtful). The *Bible Moralisee* itself refers to *ahimelech(h)* throughout the passage just cited, and in our text only CG³ show the correct reading, through their access via γ to F².
- 2309-15 **Seynt . . . him PL**, CLXXXV, 230-1 and 472-3; *Gewande* (p. 20) notes Voragine's use of this story.
- 2310 **naked** om. F4228 *et despoulliee* 'and stripped'.
- 2312 **ne . . . assentede** F4232 *Ne de son tast ne se senti* 'nor was he conscious of her touch': τ mistook, or had, *se senti* for *assenti*.
- 2314 **confused** in view of F4235 *confuse*, GS's *confus* could be accepted.
- 2325 **Ogiers** F4255 *Ogier*: GS's *ogyers* is accepted against C's *Ogyers* (doubtless due to *ilr* confusion), but with C's habitual use of *i* rather than γ . *Cb* seem not to have recognised the name. Ogier the Dane, nephew of Charlemagne, had two swords: Curtana and Sauvagine. His deeds are told by Adenet le Roi (see Albert Henry). The origins and Benedictine-assisted development of the stories (which might explain Guillaume's rare mention of romance material) are described in Bédier, pp. 281-316. Ogier's sword is relevant in this context of the Sword of Discipline and Justice: as well as performing deeds of valour, he rebuilt the churches of his country (Barrois, p. x).
- 2326 **Rowlondes** Roland's battle-deeds with his sword Durendal are told in *La Chanson de Roland* (Whitehead, pp. 28 ff.).

- 2333-4 **She** . . . **baret** F5269-70 *La pensee fait convertir / A fraude et a barat guerpir* ['the sword] makes the thought change, and give up deception and strife' (var. for *et a barat et barat* MSS AM¹).
 τ renders *pensee* freely by *herle*, and takes *A fraude* with *convertir*.
- 2334-6 **Be** . . . **chastiseth hem** F4271-4 *La voullente, l'affection, / L'entendement, l'entention, / L'ame et toute sa mesnie / Si adreee et si chastie*. The subject of *adreee* and *chastie* is still *elle* (the sword): 'she [the sword] so puts in order and chastises the will, the emotions, the understanding and the intention, the soul and all her household . . . ' τ lost sight of the subject after 2328, and so took the faculties of the soul and the soul itself as subject. The first four nouns name faculties. I have not traced the source of this sequence: 'almost every one of [the Cistercian school's] members composed a treatise . . . "On the Soul"' (NCE, XIII, 455). Michaud-Quantin examines some major examples in detail, pp. 20-8 dealing with Cistercians. Vacant, I, 971-1016 gives an account of the philosophy of the soul (see especially pp. 973-4).
- 2337 **drawinge out** F4276 *traire*: perhaps the reading should be *drawinge* (cf. GO) on the assumption that GJMS independently added *out*; but CG might independently omit *out* by eyeskip to the following *of*.
- 2339 **Seint BENEYNT** C's *BENEYNT* (which also occurs at 2363) is probably due to the influence of *seynt* in the model. C has *BENEYNT* at 68 and 2375.
- 2339-44 **Seint** . . . **if**? I cannot relate either event to Benedict of Nursia, founder of the Benedictine Order, unless the references are general, the king (God, as at 85, 168) dignifying the saint with the Sword of Discipline or Justice (see 2392) when Benedict became a monk. Benedict threw himself into a bramble to cool his lust (*PL*, LXVI, 132), which might be the 'sword of discipline' applied to his body. Perhaps Benedict of Aniane, Abbot, the 'second St Benedict' (d. A.D. 821) is meant. Louis the Pious, successor and son of Charlemagne, made him inspector (*lord of lauzes?*) of monasteries in Provence, Languedoc and Gascony, to bring them to conformity in standards. The Abbot was renowned for physical self-discipline (*Acta Sanctorum*, Feb. 12, II, 606-21; *NCE*, II, 280-1).
- 2345-6 **to his commandment** F4291 *A li n'a son commandement* 'to him nor to his commandment': τ omits *li n'a*.
- 2350 **bilke** . . . **bee** F4300 *qui de toi sont diritez* shows the sense to be 'those who are related to you'.
- 2354 **baret** F4308 *barat*: the primary meaning in *OED* *barat* is 'deception, fraud', in *MED* *barat* 'conflict, disturbance of the peace', so I gloss by 'disturbance'.
- 2363 **BENEYNT** see n. 2339.

- 2365 **wel** has no precedent in F 4329.
- 2372 **perche** F 4342 *perche a armer* 'rack for arming [oneself from]'.
 2376 **thong** F 4349 *renge*: at 2366, 2371 *renge* gave *gerdel*, which seems therefore to be synonymous with *thong*, meaning a sword-belt round the hips (*gyrdel/cinture* at 2403, F 4399), as opposed to a *bandryk/baudre* at 2403 and 2404, F 4399 and F 4402), which goes diagonally from the girdle over one shoulder.
- 2377 **streyne** GJMOS's reading is given C's spelling at 7153, 6236; τ no doubt carried something like G's *streynge*, mistread by C as *strengthe*.
- 2379-407 **scauberk** . . . **Constaunce** the Scabbard of Humility, Girdle of Perseverance and Buckle of Constancy represent the first three aspects of Fortitude (the Habergeon, 2200): see Tuve, Appendix. Here they modify the severity of the Sword of Discipline (or Justice, 2392).
- 2382 **hyde** **it** G's *huded* (S *hyded*) is a form of *hyde* **it** (*OED* *it* Aδ).
 2383 **dedliche** F 4360 *morte* vars. *mortel* MS. H, *mortelle* MS. A.
 2386 **be** . . . **pharisien** Luke xviii 10-14. F 4366 *L'autre pharisien* 'the other, the pharisee' shows that τ om. *L'autre*, and supports GJMOS.
- 2391 **feebelnesse** F 4376 *enfermete* offering no guide, perhaps GS's *feeblesse* should be accepted; 2509 (F 4599 *debilite*) shows the same two words, with the same doubt about which should be accepted. Contrast 2526.
- 2394 **ful** . . . **folk** does not echo the pun in F 4382 *plains de vent et gens vanteus*, as Dr Walls noted.
- 2396-7 **seecheen** so C, but perhaps *-een* is a slip for *-en*.
 2398 **humblinge** om. F 4388 *Sans faintise* 'sincerely'.
 2400 **thus** F 4391 *ainsi* supports GJMOS's reading.
 2400 **pou shalt streyne** F 4394 *estraindras* supports GJMOS; see n. 2377.
- 2402 **but** . . . **aboue** F 4398 *Se au dessus n'est affermez* 'unless he [the pilgrim] is made secure on top [of the other garments]': *affermez* cannot qualify fem. F 4386 *l'espee* 'sword'.
 2405 **girt** om. F 4403 *et serree* 'and tightened'.
 2406 **Be** . . . **Perseuerance** Is. xi 5.
 2410 **She** F 4413, F 4415 *La renge* (the *girdel*) is the antecedent.
 2412 **oon** F 4415 *vestues* 'covered': the girdle holds armour on, or together, so τ could have written *oon* 'together' or *on* 'on'. Perhaps G's *ome* (*om*, in C's spelling) should be accepted, particularly in view of *doon* of following.
- 2421-2 **of** . . . **entencionun** F 4433-4 *de ceste exposition / Pou avoit a m' entencion* 'this explanation was not what I had in mind': τ was too literal.

- 2429 **armed** om. F4446 *Ne bien muni* 'nor well equipped' (see n. 2284).
- 2432 **Prudence** III Kings iii 12-28, iv 29-31; II Paralip. i 10-12.
- 2434-43 **two** . . . **gold** II Paralip. ix 15-16; III Kings x 16-17.
- 2435 **targes** om. F4459 *que* . . . *fist* 'which he made'.
- 2437-9 **whan** . . . **bei weren** III Kings xi 4-13.
- 2439 **lost** F4468 *perdus et perdus*: τ could not imitate the separate loss of masc. *ecus* and fem. *targes*.
- 2448 **be toober** C's *bat oober*, not in agreement with pl. *armures*, is rejected in favour of G's reading (C's spelling) which though in origin a mis-division of *the toober* has become capable of going with a pl.
- 2451 **faiste** om. F4491 *et t'en arme bien* 'and arm yourself in it well'.
- 2459 **be double gorgere** covers the front of the neck: the mail is double.
- 2460 **be helme** would be of the 'bucket' type, roughly cylindrical, very inflexible and constricting. The *viscer* of 2235 is simply an eye-slit.
- 2461 **gaynapaynes** are *harde out of mesure* (2482) because metal plates are sewn over them, though they are not yet of the elaborate articulated kind (cf. the Canterbury effigy of the Black Prince).
- be swerd** F4510 *lespee*: the long-sword.
- 2463 **be targe** F4512 *la targe*: the light shield of the foot-soldier.
- 2469 **alle** (F4526 *toutes*) a pl. adj. agreeing with 2470 *hem*.
- 2476 **pat** . . . **so** (F4538-9 *Que semble que estrangler (me) doie / Si m'estraint*): misled by *maistrieth me soo* in 2475, C omits this.
- 2477 **auale** in view of F4540 *avaler*, G's reading is accepted against C's logical but incorrect *have* over erasure; τ 's *auale* was misunderstood as 'to be of use' by JMOS.
- 2486 **Souprised** G is accepted as nearer F4557 *Souspris*, but C's *Superysed* could be retained as a var. of the same pp. meaning 'overcome' (OED, *supprise* v.)—*ouercome* is written over it from the now erased gloss in the margin. JMOS show confusion with *suppress*.
- 2486-8 I Kings xvii 38-9. 'When the pilgrim rests back on the thought that other respectable fighters have declined armor, and fastens upon David, the popular iconographical counter for Fortitude, Guillaume need not say anything overtly about the logic of human self-defences' (Tuve, p. 168).
- 2490-1 **with** . . . **me** F4564 *du boundon me passerai* 'I will be content with the staff': τ translated literally. OED *pass* v. ignores this sense.
- 2497 **pou** . . . **beron** F4576 *t'en souvient* 'you remember it'; but at 2505 *I bithinke me* is correct for F4562 *il me souvient bien*.

- 2502 **pat ne is ordeyned** JMOS's all showing *it* would normally suggest retention of C's *bat it ne* . . . , but C wrote over erasure, following a now erased gloss in the margin, and the abbreviation *bat* suggests that *bat* once filled the space now taken up by *bat it*.
- 2503 **pat, bat armour** F4588 *ce que arme(s)*: GS's literal reading is accepted against C's *bat pat bis armour* written over erasure in obedience to a now erased marginal gloss visible under u.v. as *bis*. Insertion of *bis* caused abbreviation of what was originally unabbreviated *bat*.
- 2507 **bei** . . . **hem** F4595-6 *Que longement pas ne feront. / Quant de moi aprises seront* 'they would not do so for long, when I became used to them': τ misplaced *longe*, which should modify *shulden not*.
- lenned of** F4596 *apprises*: τ loses the double sense: *armour* is 'taken up', and the virtues it represents are 'understood' by the pilgrim.
- 2509 **febilnesse** the reading is in doubt: see n. 2391.
- 2510 **vnlkyng** F4601 *dessemblables*. GJMOS's *on lykkyng* is accepted against C's *vnlkyng*: OED *like* v.² 'to resemble' is rare compared with *liken*, which C probably substituted.
- 2514 **ryened** F4609 *ferre*: see n. 1884.
- 2516 **amonested me of hem** F4612 *les amonestates* 'advised them' var. *les me amonestates* MSS MPGLMH.
- 2518 **But** om. F4615 *Tout* 'completely'.
- 2519 **as soone** . . . **armed** f4618 *se tost je ne sui desarmes* 'unless I am at once unarmed'; perhaps τ 's text had . . . *ke je sui armes*.
- 2522 **pou art**: F4623 (*tu*) *jusses* 'you would be' is correctly subj.
- 2526 **feblesse** in view of F4630 *febece* vars. *feblece* MS. G, *feiblece* MS. L, *foiblece* MS. A: GS's reading is accepted against C's *febilnesse* (but see nn. 2509, 2391).
- 2528 **pou** . . . **hem** F4633-4 *quant pour toi garder / Ne les pues* . . . *porter* 'when you cannot [even] carry them to defend yourself'. τ omits *quant* . . . *garder* and begins a new sentence.
- 2537 **hem**. **Allas** all the ME MSS have this punctuation, but in F4648 *halas* ends a line and may well belong to the previous sentence, in which case the reading should be *hem allas*.
- 2540-1 **drawe** . . . **goode** the awkward postponement of *and for bi goode* echoes the free syntax of F4654-5 *vers celle part / Me traie, quant creu de rien / Tu ne m'aras et pour ton bien*, doubtless intended to stress *pour ton bien*. Grace asks if the pilgrim expects her to be glad to approach him, especially for his benefit, when he has not believed a word she said.
- 2544 **banne** be F4661 *lors* . . . *stra*: GS's word-order is accepted, but C's *be banne* might be correct; JMO, omitting the phrase, are no

- help.
- 2545 **woundes** om. F4662 *grams*.
- 2548 **to lerne armes** in view of F4667-8 *d'aprendre* / *Les armes* GMOS's reading is accepted. In C's *to lerne* to *berre armes*, *to bere* is inserted in obedience to {fo} *bere* (with erasure legible under u.v.) in the margin. J similarly has to *lere forte bere armes*. C] independently modified (or C was contaminated from β) because of the general sense, and *bere* in 2546; cf. n. 2236 on the problem of rendering *aprendre*.
- 2550 **neede** F4672 *besoing* . . . *et mestier*: τ avoids repetition.
- 2551 **softe** . . . **goth** F4674 *Belement bien loing on va* (Hassell P137?)
- 2552 **be mule** F4675 *la vielle (uuelle* corrected to *mule* in MS. o): F contrasts an old lady riding slowly on her pilgrimage, and a reckless man making less speed with more haste. It is interesting that here, as at 2555, τ saw *mule*—supplied in F by MS. o's corrector, and by his illuminator at 2555 (o cannot, however, have been τ's only model: see Avril Henry [1984]). Hassell records neither saying.
- Seynt James** F4677 *Saint Jacques ou a Saint Jace* (vars. *Jose* MS. o, *Josse* MS. A): no doubt St James of Compostella was as familiar to τ as to Chaucer, but τ omitted *ou a Saint Jace*. Either the repeated *g*-mistled him or he did not recognise St Judoc, a priest, younger brother of King Judicael of Brittany. After the latter's abdication he was king for some months. After a pilgrimage to Rome he retired to Villers-Saint-Josse near Saint-Josse-sur-Mer, and died in 668.
- 2553 **goth** om. F4676 *son chemin* 'on her way' (but translated it at 2555 [F4682]), so improving 2553-4 (*goth roundliche* . . . *goth sharpliche*).
- 2554 **maketh him go** F4679 *va* 'he, the man] goes': the subject is *cil* in F4678 (2553 *pilke*).
- 2555 **mule** see n. 2552.
- her wey** the reading accepted is GMOS's, in which *her* refers back to *be mule*. C's *his* is a sophistication: perhaps he regarded mules as male or else (since *his* can mean 'its', and mules are sterile) as neuter.
- 2559-62 **pou** . . . **for**² F4689-95 *premierement regarder* / *Doiz s'enfance et considerer* / *Quar enfant adonc et petit* / *Estoit si com l'istore dit*; / *Les armes ausi d'autre part* / *Qui pas n'estoit pour poupart*, / *Ains estoit pour* . . . (var. for *Ains*: *Mais MS. A*). (G(S) show that τ echoed the clumsy F, in which s'enfance and *Les armes* are objects of *regarder* / *Doiz* . . . *et considerer*. Cβ tried to begin a new 'sentence' at also: CG's show that γ, seeing that this left also . . . *cuntre* with no main verb, inserted *considere* before *be armures*.)
- 2560 **chylthode** I Kings xvii 33.

- 2562 **poopet** G's form is preferred to C's *popot*, which may not have been intended: the 2nd o has been altered to a, and either spelling is irregular (*OED poppet*). J substitutes the more modern form *puppet*, M substitutes a gloss. F4694 *poupart*, a pejorative form based on *poupee*, means in context something like 'weaking'.
- 2562-3 **pe** . . . **Saul** F4695-6 *le fil Cis* / *Saul* (var. for *Cis*: *cliz* MS. A): 'Saul, son of Cis' (I Kings ix 1-3).
- 2568 **staloun** F4706 *estalon*: the only occasion on which -*oiz*- has not been expanded to -*oun* in accordance with its modern equivalent in -*ion*, which does not occur until the 16th century.
- 2568-9 **pat pat** . . . **wrien** Aristotle, *Nicomachian Ethics*, x. 5, paras. 8, 9: 'Horse, dog and man have different pleasures; as Heraclitus says "Asses would prefer hay to gold" for hay is more pleasant than gold to asses. So the pleasures of creatures different in kind are themselves different in kind' (cited Wright's 3rd Proof of his edition p. 71, Hultman, p. 75, Bömer n. 4620). Whiting C379 cites only this example of the 'proverb'. The *Ethics* were familiar: Talbot (p. 164) cites a 14th-century *Quaestiones super decem libros Ethicorum Aristotelis* . . . in Senlis's mother house (Pontigny MS 274, now Bibl. Auxerre MS. 232). The poet modifies his source, referring to a young ass (or horse, F *mulon* and ME *colt* could mean either): see n. 2570.
- 2570 **But** . . . **sithe** if David had been as old as the Pilgrim, the latter might reasonably follow David's example, dispensing with armour. But David was young at the time: as a man, he fought armed.
- 2579 **he sleew Goliath** I Kings xvii 40-51.
- 2579 **him** om. F 4728 *duisoient* / *Et* 'suitable and'.
- 2595 **biseeche** F 4755-6 *requerre* / *Et prier*: τ avoids repetition.
- 2601 **I . . . pee** F 4768 *je t'amerrai*, with contracted fut. of *amener* 'bring', supports GOS's *lede* against C's *laur* (? *lene*—*u/n* is over erasure).
- such on**: in view of F4768 *tel*, perhaps GS's omission of *on* should be accepted, on the assumption that Cβ normalised a *literium*.
- 2602 **shal wel susteyne** F4769 *bien* . . . *soustenra* supports the word-order of GS (echoed in JMO's *schalle vuelle bere*).
- 2606-7 **Oonlich** . . . **burdoun** 'I retained only the satchel and staff'.
- 2608 **Aa** has no precedent in F4781.
- 2613 **doon of** F4791 *oste et desvestu*: τ avoids repetition.
- 2618 **alle folk wolden also** F4801 *Touz ausi* supports GMOS's word-order.
- 2619 **nouth** F4803 *rien* supports GJMOS's reading.
- 2620 **it is worth** F4803 *vaut* supports GJMO (with C's preferred spelling).

- 2624 **for to . . . ashamed** F4811 *pour moi faire corree* 'to carry out a task for me' (*corree* 'exaction of unpaid labour from a vassal'); τ guessed?
- 2630 **light** in view of F4824 *lumiere* 'vision', GMOS's reading is accepted, with C's preferred spelling.
- 2635 **wurpi** F *viguerus*. *OED* *worthy* a.4 has one example meaning 'powerful' (c. 1300), which may be the meaning here; but since the former meaning is rare, I gloss by 'excellent'.
- 2639 **be senewes** F4842 *Les ners*: in view of var. *Tes ners* MS L, perhaps JOS's *thy* (*bin* M) should be adopted, assuming that CG read *thi* as *the*.
- 2641 **armure** om. F4846 *bonnement*.
- 2643 **all** (F4852 *tout*) neither form nor function is clear. As in F, it might be a sb. so that *of all* means 'in everything', or an adj., giving 'of all [people]'. In the MS the 2nd *l*, ending a line, has a small uncharacteristic horizontal line projecting to the right half-way up the letter as an abbreviation, cancellation or accident. If it is a sb. the reading should perhaps be *al* (more often unambiguously a sb. than *alle*), since C does not use *all* as a sb. elsewhere.
- 2644-5 **bis . . . pee¹** F4854 *Ceste meschine et amene* has no pers. pron., the object of *amene* (as of *trouve* in the previous line) being *Ceste meschine*. τ may or may not have written *pee*, without precedent in F. JMO or CGS may preserve τ 's reading.
- 2647 **pou shalt see** τ read F4859 *tu merras* 'you shall lead' as *mireras*. τ agrees by chance.
- 2650-1 **nygh pee** GS's *nygh* to *pee* may preserve τ 's reading, C β agreeing by chance.
- 2652-3 **bis . . . shewing** F4870-1 *ce monstre* / *Dont vous m'avez fait un monstre*: τ loses F's play on *monstre* 'monster/demonstration'.
- 2656 **a sernaunt** in F4877 *un vallet* it is clear that the pilgrim expected the help of a youth, not a girl.
- 2659 **swiche** has no precedent in F4881.
- 2661 **bis . . . Memorie** F4885-6 *Ceste meschine est nommee* / *Par son (droit) nom et apellee* / *Memoire* shows that β omitted *et apellee*. I accept G's much marked *this viginche hatte* + *her na* \ / *a/me ryghte* and *his cleped Memorie* as the more difficult reading (*name ryghte* instead of *ryghte name*) in spite of *his* for *is* (probably a slip, rather than inorganic *h*, which G does not show elsewhere in Book 1), against CG³(S)'s *Bis wanche is nempned* \mathcal{E} *bi hire rihte name cleped Memorie*. G³ creates confusing marks for gloss, inversion and cancellation in G (there may be two correctors at work, since it is unlikely that one should trouble to insert a second *a* in *name* when marking it for alteration). This is one of

the occasions when CG³(S) agree against G as a result of inhering or consulting γ 's reading, itself affected by F² (cf. var. *Et par (son) droi nom apellee* MS. L).

The reading could be [*hatted*] rather than *hattedh*, since JMO support G in suggesting that τ used this relic of the Middle Voice. C uses *hate* 13, *hattedh* 16 times (2002, 2114, ?2200, 2250, 2406, 2432, 3140, 4240, 4302, 4449, 4760, 5268, 6290, 6718, 6958, 7185) and in all 16 cases τ apparently had *hate*. Curiously, C uses *hattedh* invariably (6 times) in Book 4. I do not emend it anywhere. I emend C's *riht* (invariably used elsewhere in Book 1 for the *v*) to *riht*, the form used in Book 1 for the adj. on all but one occasion, though in Books 2-4 he uses *rihte*.

Memorie is one of the faculties of the pilgrim's own soul (Augustine, *Liber de Spiritu et Anima*, PL, XL, 803: *Dum ergo vivificat corpus, anima est: dum vult, animus est: dum sci, mens est: dum recollit, memoria est*).

2665 **ne hidous** (F4849 *ne hidense*) is supplied from GJMOS; cf. 2631.

2666 **mugoe** F4898 *murgoe* 'store, source of supply' vars. *mugoe* MS. *H. murgoe* MS. o, *murgoe* MS. L, *murgote* MS. M. The word (Godefroy *murjoe*, Tobler-Lommatzsch *mugode*) is unrecorded in ME; it occurs in many spellings though not with the final -s of G's *mugos* (where -s, cramped and superior, ends a line), which G³ marked for a gloss unfortunately missing. β S omitted it. The editorial emendation follows F MS. H, most likely to explain G's *mugos*. C's substitution of *ordinnance* suggests that γ had *mugoe*, misread by G.

2667-70 **Er . . . kept** F4899-904 *Pec'a fussent a boevete* / *Les clers de l'Universite*, / *Se ne gardast leur avoitr* / *Qu'il ont aquis et leur savoir*, / *Quar peu vaut chose queste*, / *Se apres l'aquest n'est garde* 'Clerics in Universities would long since have been in poverty if what [knowledge] they had, and the knowledge they gained, had not been retained, for matter gained is worth little if not retained after the acquisition'. All Stürzinger's MSS read *Se* [or *Sel(le)*] *apres laquest garde*, but τ either saw the emended construction, or realised that *n'est* would have been easily omitted by confusion with -*uest* at the end of *laquest*. F's odd intransitive use of *gardast* leads τ to supply *hem* as object of *kept*. The poet may have recalled Hugh St Victor's 'Concerning Memory': 'I charge you then, my student, not to rejoice a great deal because you may have read many things, but because you have been able to retain them. Otherwise there is no profit in having read or understood much' (J. Taylor, p. 94).

I assume that C's *havinge* or *kunnyng*—a close approximation to F *avoit . . . et savoir*—alone preserves τ 's reading, subsequently rationalised or miscopied by β G as *having* of *kunnyng*.

- 2675-6 if . . . **hem** F4913-15 *se tu li fais garder / Ces armes ci, aussi porter / Avec toi elle(s) les courra* 'if you make her guard these arms she will be willing to carry them with you too'; τ mistook *nourra* 'she will be willing' for *nourra* 'she will nourish', and so failed to see that *porter* was dependent on it, and was obliged to take *porter* as dependent on *fais* and parallel to *garder*.
- 2684 **eyen** om. F4927-8 *et irrision* 'and derision'.
- a seruaunt** F4929 *un vallet*: see n. 2656.
- 2689 I . . . **ayensey** F4938 *A voz dis rien ne contredi* 'I do not contradict your statement at all': τ mistook *dis* for *i* per. sg. of *dire*.
- 2700 of . . . **redy** F4961 *De tous points apointiez jusses*: τ could not echo the play on *points* 'points, aspects', and *apointiez* 'ready'.
- 2710 **alongne** F4978 *estloingnier*: spelling is not regularised here or at 2976 to conform to the scribe's *aloyngn-* form at 3947, 3663, 3946, since the *y* over erasure here, and the scribe's *aloynd* at 5749, suggest that his spelling of the word was genuinely variable. Unfortunately *MED aloinen* v. 3 cites Wright's emendation as sole evidence of an *alongne* form.
- 2718 **perfor**, so spelled by C only here, should perhaps be emended to *perfore* (used 118 times).
- 2724 **bei shulen be** in view of F5003 *seront*, GJOS's reading is accepted.
- 2727 **pou do no harm** *no* having apparently dropped out in α , (perhaps because of the similarity between *do* and *no*), it is supplied in accordance with F5007 *tu ne faces mal* and JMO's *na*.
- 2728 **and** in view of F5009 *et*, G's reading is accepted. CG²MOS have *ne* 'nor'. But perhaps τ used *ne*, in a ME double neg., and G altered it, giving chance agreement with F.
- 2728-9 a . . . **invisible** F5011-12 *une pierre qui la gent. / Quant je veul, invisibles* var. 'a stone which, when I wish it, makes people invisible' vars. for *la, a la MS, L, for invisibles rent, invisible rent* MS. *H* (the latter rationalised the grammar). τ seems to have seen a combination of the vars: *qui a la gent . . . invisible rent*; his awkwardness is not surprising. This is the earliest example under *OED yield* v. 9 with the sense 'make'.
- No other mention is made of Grace's *stoon*. Perhaps it puns on the name of Peter (as in John i 42, Matt. xvi 18-19), suggesting that the grace of God works indirectly through the Church founded on Peter's authority (see n. 2737). Various stones are credited with the power to confer invisibility: see Albertus Magnus (Best and Brightman, pp. 26-7); Stith Thompson, D1361.2; Wagnall, *invisibility*; Mackensen, *gyges* especially ii.679).
- 2730 **me** om. F5013-14 *et me repondrai* 'and conceal myself'.

- 2733 **pou puttest pee** F5020 *Tu te merrras* 'you behave' (fut.); τ or his source confused *merrras* with *metras*.
- 2735-6 **pou . . . weyes** F5023-4 *le bon chemin laisseras / Et par manues chemin tras* (var. for *chemin², chemin¹ MS. H*); *chemin¹* is sg., with no var.; *chemin²* may have been pl. (as in the var.) to distinguish the multiplicity of evil ways from the simplicity of the good one. τ 's *goode weys* obscures any distinction.
- 2737 of . . . **pyer** F5028 *De la dicte pierre* 'by means of the stone already mentioned': the ME MSS either omit the phrase or are corrupt. G's readings suggest that τ used the Gallicism *pyer* (though it is not clear why, when at 2729 he translates *pierre* by *stone*—unless τ wrote *pyer* there too, and χ anglicised). It looks as if *pyer*, not understood by α (who may be τ himself, correcting his fair copy), was read as if it were an abbreviation, becoming respectively *p'eyere, preyer* in G and S (see p. lxxx).
- 2749 **strook . . . arwe** F5052: *Coup de dart et de saete* 'stroke of dart and arrow': τ perhaps saw *coup de dart, de saete*. J's *strakes of dartes and arwes* may be due to his habitual substitution, or independent consultation of a French MS, with the main reading.
- 2757 **Heere . . . book**, which follows 2757, is not numbered as a line in this edition, unlike all the other beginnings and endings to books. It is in red in the MS.
- 2761 **yow** om. otiose F5071 *et reciter*.
- 2764-5 **bar . . . me** F5080 *apres moi les apertoit* 'brought them near me': ? τ saw var. *portoit* MS. T.
- 2768 **nihit** om. otiose F5088 *et si remis* 'and so enfeebled'.
- 2772 **chertl** Hulman, p. 127 compares *Rude Entendement* to *Dangier in Le Roman de la Rose*, 2837, 3168.
- 2773 **crabbe tree**: F5097 *cornoulier* means 'dogwood' or 'cornelian cherry' (*cornus mas*); Yvain's rough adversaries at Pesme Avan-ture also carry crooked clubs of this wood (*Yvain*, lines 5508-9; Chrétien de Troyes, p. 168). It bears appropriately sour berries rarely produced in Britain but resembling the fruit of *crabbe tree*, which can mean 'crab-apple' (*malus sylvestris*). But the staff Obshtnacy (2847) may be of *crabbe tree* only by association with *crabbed* 'ill-tempered' (derived in fact from *crabbe* the crustacean).
- 2774 **misterman**: F5098 *pautomier* 'tramp, hanger-on, ragamuffin' has no variants, in contrast to 2261.
- 2776-7 **with . . . lette** (F5105 *a moi l'ara* 'he'll get it [a blow] from me' var. *laira* MS. T 'he will pass') probably means 'he will delay with me' (*MED letten* v. 1), but the F var. could mean that the sense is 'he will pass by in my company' (*MED leten* v. 4).
- 2786 **hath world ordeyne** F5124 *a voulu . . . ordener*. I assume that G's *wull ordeingne* is literal, representing an unrecorded pp. followed by inf. C's habitual pp. *wold* is used. A similar construction appears in 6669 *Pou hast alwey wold . . . medle*. See

- 2787-8 **be kynng** . . . **burdoun** Matr. x 9-10. Literal prohibition of possessions, including satchel and staff, is presented as a prohibition of Faith and Hope: Reason's function in the subsequent argument is to show that these theological virtues, incomprehensible to an untrained understanding (*Rude Entendement*), are not irrational.
- 2788 **ne ne** only GS have this but it more likely that *ne* dropped out in error than that it was added: F5128 *Et que bourdon ne mantast* has var. *Ne que* . . . MS. L.
- 2791 **handelede** should perhaps be [*handel*] (after JMO), retaining F's subj.
- 2791 **hast** . . . **hardi** follows F5134 *As este use et hardi* var. *As tu osei estre hardi*.
- 2809 **repere** . . . **mowere** i.e. solitary worker.
- 2819 **sithe** . . . **him** G's omission of preceding *and* is accepted, since there is no *et* in F5187 *Puis il dist* (but see var. *Et il dist* MSS TA).
- 2833 **grummede** *MED grummen* records only this and 3078 *grummyng*.
- 2841 **shrewede** . . . **daungerous** F5227-8 have four adjectives: τ om. either *mal savoureux* 'smelly', or *lourt* 'ugly'.
- 2844 **vnscripte** *OED* (under *vnscrow*) records only this example.
- 2849 **yiven you nouht** perhaps G's cancellation of *nouht* (a cancellation echoed in S) should be accepted, since there is *nouht* having no precedent in F 5244 *Te donnon et commandement* — but it looks as if τ wrote *nouht*, somehow misreading *-non et*. Cf. 6563.
- 2861 **Seint Germeyn** St Germanus, Bishop of Paris c. 496 (cf. St-Germain-des-Pres, Paris)?
- 2863 **take** (F5270 *faire*) should perhaps be [*make*], assuming that X misread τ ; but *l'm* confusion is uncommon.
- 2864 **Symeon** F5271 *Symon* may refer to the Apostle, but in the absence of any obvious reasons for the exchange of ejaculations using the names of SS German, Simon and Benedict (2861-6) it is hard to be certain: the reference might be to St Simon Stock (c. A.D. 1165-1265), General of the Carmelites.
- 2867 **quod he** F5278 *dist*: var. *dist il* MSS TH.
- 2872 **resoun** a miller's measure: that the object was associated with *misuse* is apparently suggested only by this text (see §109), but see Whiting M560-1 on thieving millers. This long distinction between Reason's name and nature, in an argument where she effortlessly displays her intellectual superiority over *Rude Entendement*, may remind us of 793-814, where she was herself baffled by the Transubstantiation effected by Wisdom. Reason's

- limitations and powers are thus defined in these passages. It is also appropriate that the name of Reason, who preached on Moderation at 455, should be used of an actual measure.
- 2873 **perfore** F5290 *Ainz* 'rather', 'on the other hand': var. *Ainsi* MS. A.
- 2878 **make** subj. 'might make', the opening clause having been felt to suggest only possibility.
- 2879 **make** see n. 2878.
- 2884 **hath wold** F5311 *Sest voulu*; again I assume that G's *wull* is an unrecorded pp., and use C's form (see 2786, 3749).
- 2887 **pat** . . . **part** F5315 *Dieux i ait part*. The ME is an ejaculation, such as 'God help us'; cf. Chaucer, *Shipman's Tale*, l. 215: *The devel haue part on* . . . 'the devil take . . .'. *MED haven* 4a(h) suggests that *haue part* is 'have [anything] to do with.'
- part** om. F5316 *Me retournez vous le billard?* an idiom from the game of billiards which appears to mean something like 'are you cheating?' or perhaps ' . . . putting the ball in my court?'
- 2888 **kneewe** . . . **mylk** F5319 *mouche en laid ne connoissioe* (Hassell, M218) 'misses the obvious'.
- 2896 **pine** perhaps G3JMO's *pi* should be accepted.
- 2899 **fallaces** F5334 *vos fanfelues rimees* 'your rhymed claptrap'.
- 2899 **lerned** om. F5340 *et qu' en savez* 'and you have learned from it'.
- 2901 **and** (no *et* in F5343) should perhaps be omitted: I accept G3S.
- if . . . bely** F5343 *Se pance plus grant eussies* 'If you had thought more carefully: τ read *pance* as *paunce*.'
- 2903 **wie it wel** F5346 *sachies*: perhaps it should be omitted.
- 2919-20 **pou** . . . **nempned** 'by being illogical.] your argument shows more clearly than any logical argument could, that you are rightly called Untutored Understanding.'
- 2925 **and** (F5389 *et*), retained though absent in G, should perhaps be omitted, as having been included by other scribes only for clarity.
- 2949 **to . . . thinken** F5436 *Ou tendent tout bon pelerin*: τ read as *Qui entendent* . . . ?
- 2960 **wherof** . . . **herd** τ perhaps read F5457 *Dont tu as* 'about which you have been silent' as *Dont tu as* 'about which you know'.
- 2961 **Hath** . . . **lakked** 'has anything been lacking to you?': Luke xxii 35-7.
- 2966 **was defended** F5468 *Aus sans apostres defendu* 'the holy apostles were forbidden'.
- 2969 **pat was** . . . **wey** Christ is the destination of the Pilgrim, who needs Faith and Hope, which are superfluous in the presence of Christ (of the Theological Virtues, only Charity exists in heaven).
- 2973 **a scrippe perwith** F5480 *s'escherpe avee* 'make himself a satchel

- of it: τ mistook the v. for a sb.
- 2979 **Pilgrimes** . . . **ayen** F5495 *Pelérins vous refaurra estre* (*Pelérins* is probably sg.).
- 2981-2 **ye** . . . **fynde** F5499-500 *vous ne troueres* / *Nul*. Confusion was caused by x 's use of *nouht* rather than *noon*. G replaced by *fynde not*, but G^3 corrected, reinserting *nought* before the v., and subpuncting *not*. JMO also took the pron. for a negative, but moved it to modify *shal*.
- 2984 **it** F5505 *tout* 'all this'.
- 2988 **it**¹; F5511-12 *les* (both staff and satchel).
- 2991 **walkere** τ read F5517 *paisant* 'peasant' as *passant*; the error was glossed *churl* in JMO's model; but M rejected the gloss.
- 2994 **ordinaunce** in view of F5525 *ordenance*, JMO's sg. is accepted against CGS's pl.
- 3005 **amase** F5543 *enfantomer*.
- 3010 **biglourresse** om. F5554 *et envelopperesse* 'and a tier-into-knots'. *MED* records only this example.
- 3011 **thre verres** (F5555 .iii. *neres* (?) 'nuts') var. *verres* MS. B); the ME image is perhaps of cheap glasses as opposed to silver goblets.
- 3012 **seeche** τ mistook F5558 *cerrai* 'believe' for *querre*.
- 3019 **dred** F5570 *redoute et cremus*: τ avoids tautology.
- 3022 **frendes** τ read F5574 *avis* 'opinion' as *amis*.
- 3023-4 **more** . . . **knif** Whiting, G188.
- 3027 **rudeliche** F5586 *Grossement a tout le hauton* 'unwinnowed, with all the bran left in'.
- 3033 **it** perhaps CG³'s *him* should be adopted, but I assume that τ wrote *it* referring to *wight* in 3032, then α corrected, and β omitted, the unEnglish impersonal pron.
- 3037-8 **Nabal and Pharao** I Kings xxv 2-39 and Exod. vii 1 - xiv 31; *Rude Entendement* is like Nabal impervious to courtesy, and like Pharaoh unmoved by demonstrations of power.
- 3048 **ne wolt pou** G's reading is essentially accepted, as slightly nearer to F5625-6 *weilliez* / *Et ne weillies*, with C's habitual *wolt pou* rather than *wult(e)*. Perhaps C's *wolt pou* *not* should be retained.
- 3050 **cite** . . . **jugement**: if this refers to an early form of jury, the literal sense is that Reason will take Rude Entendement to Court for ignoring the law; the Royal Justice would attend the Royal Action (for the wrongful retention of goods?). The allegorical sense is that he who will not abandon the 'blunt instrument' of untaught reason in matters of faith will be accused at the Last Judgement.
- 3056 **Salamon** Prov. xxvi 4.

- 3057 **suinge** 'afterwards': Prov. xxvi 5.
- 3065 **ayernaunt** is rare: *MED* *aimant* cites only two examples, from 1400. τ om. F5658 *Plus dur qu'acier* 'harder than steel'.
- 3072 **whateuere it were** F5672 MSS have *Sauzun corvoi* 'some escort'. The ME is mysterious. Could a scribal note ('something or other') have been part of the text (cf. *vacat* in CS's text at 6491)?
- 3083 **not** om. F5693 *porter* / *Ne* 'carry, nor'.
- 3096 **to thikke** see 2139.
- 3105 **arraye** F5736 *mainbourmir* 'superintend': ? τ saw var. *maintenir* MSS HyP.
- 3111 **Pow norishest** preceded in F5748 by *Tu dois savoir* 'you ought to know that'.
- 3113 **delituous** I accept GS's more difficult reading, since F5752 *delicieuse* has var. *deliteuse* MS. M: but perhaps the reading should be *delicious*.
- 3116 **wantounliche** . . . **him** F5757 *Au lignolet le venus chancier* 'you want to shoe him with laces' (provide him with extravagant shoes?).
- 3118 **girdelles** F5761 *grelle courroie ferree* 'grey girdles studded with iron'.
- purses** F5762 *bourse pinpelatee* 'a decorated purse' (of a top).
- 3119 **array** F5765 *espigaciter* 'perfume' or 'make shiny'.
- 3122 **kembest** om. F5771-2 *et le blondis* / *Et aplantes* 'and bleach and smooth him'.
- 3126 **pat** (F5779 *que*) appears to mean 'since', but *OED* *that* rel. pron. 7c records only one such (13th-century) example. Perhaps the reading should be [*sithen*] *pat*, following JMO, though this looks like rationalisation from β .
- bigonne** (as in *MED* *biginnen* 5b, a 1425 entry) has no precedent in C, which has no other pa. t. 2 sg. of *biginnen*. C's normal form of pa. t. 3 sg. is *bigan*. Perhaps the reading should simply be [*biginne*], assuming that C's *biginne* is due to accidental omission of a minim.
- 3128-9 **albeit** . . . **him** F5783-4 *comment qu'ainsi a son gre* / *L'aies servi* 'albeit you have thus served him at his pleasure'.
- 3132 **ne** to perhaps G's omission of *to* should be accepted.
- 3145 **deynge** to **preyse** F5812 *prisast ne contredaignast* 'praise or show respect for'.
- 3146 **buryelles** τ read F5814 *Un similacre* 'an image' or 'a counterfeit' as *un sepulcre*. G (like JOS) has the incorrect form *buryell*, as if *buryelles* were pl. (as does C at 4293).
- a restinge for a coluer** F5815-16 *Une estatue de limon*, / *Un espouental a couloun* 'an image made of dirt, a scarecrow'. τ seems

- to have visualised a lifeless statue, a mere perch for pigeons.
- 3150 **an herte** F5823 *Un ver 'a worm': var. Un cuer MS. o.*
- 3171 **chastiseresse** MED records only this example.
- 3172 **sesoun** F5862 *saison: var. raison MS. M. Only C has resoun, by simple s/r confusion or by the influence of a second French MS with the var.*
- 3172-3 **Perfore** . . . **bete him** F5863 *Se li bailles, si le barra: var. Si . . . MS. H; Se le li bailles, elle barra MS. L.* τ seems to have seen a combination of the variants.
- 3174 **forthward** should perhaps be emended to the other MSS's *forward*.
- 3176 **lede** I accept GS's reading since it is less obvious than CJMO's use of an object (*bee/hym*), and F5870 *pour li* does have var. *pour MS. P*.
- 3177 **to be hauene:** F5870 *aport* 'dowry' or 'estate' gives the overall sense: '[it (the body) has been given to you] to bring you a share of life and salvation'. τ understood *a port*.
- saluacioun** om. F5872 *Et pour li faire outre passer* 'and to make it [the body?] the life[?] go to the other world'.
- 3193 **pe** C's *bis* is rejected in favour of the other MSS's *be* and in spite of F5902 *cest: there is var. ce* (easily read as *le*) in MSS. o7TABM¹PH.
- 3203 **is** F5922 *estre seut* 'usually is'.
- 3206 **tweyne willes** Rom. vii 21-4
- 3209 **not om.** F5932 *Si me dites donc qui je say* which repeats the sense of F5930 (3208 *bat ye sey me who am I*).
- 3212 **who is** F5938 *Qui'estre* shows that JMO's *to be* is 'right'. It is, however, probably the result of correction from F³, for CGS's reading is not a rationalisation. τ 's error is therefore retained.
- 3217 **to** should perhaps be omitted, following G.
- is** F5946 *Et: var. Est MSS. ALLM*.
- 3217-18 **Pow** . . . **figure** Gen. i 27, also Wis. ii 23. See n. 3327.
- 3219 **pee** om. F5949 *et te crea* 'and created you'.
- 3223 **but** . . . **nothing** 'as long as you have not forfeited [grace by sin] at all'.
- 3235-7 **God** . . . **ensaunple** after directly creating Adam and Eve, God allowed man to initiate the creation of bodies, but retained responsibility for creation of souls: Aquinas, *Summa Contra Gentiles*, II, caps. 83-7 (see Aquinas, *Liber de Veritate*).
- 3250 **Dalida** F6009 *Dalida* var. *Dalida* MSS o7TABM¹GILMPgyvH. Judges xvi 4-21.
- 3262 **fleen** . . . **eres** F6032 *puces* 'es ovelles' 'fleas in my ears' (Whiting, F259): confusion or the reception of unwelcome information indicated by a shaking of the head (*pace MED fle b*).

- 3268 **for my loue** F6043 *par fine amour*. τ read *fine* as *ME mine*, or perhaps he rationalised Reason's apparently inappropriate oath.
- 3284 **swiche** τ misread F6075 *tex* 'eyes' as *tex*.
- 3286 **bese**^{1,2} F6081 *ses* 'its' var. *ces* MSS ABM¹LH.
- 3289 **Toby** Tob. ii 10-18, iv 1-23.
- 3290 **body** G's marginalium *yo* refers to Tob. ii 12-15.
- 3310-13 **Be** . . . **difference** the relationship between the user and what he uses is employed to explain the relationship between body and soul in Plato (Lamb, *Alcibiades*, 129E, 130C); Aquinas objects to Plato's alleged contention (*Summa Contra Gentiles*, II, ch. 57, in Aquinas, *Liber de Veritate*). See n. 3316.
- 3312 **Lady** All the MSS add *quod she*, giving *or governed pee in any wyse. Is it bus? quod she. Lady, quod I, ye.* 'Quod she': 'But this in difference . . .'. I omit *quod she*, assuming it to have been added by X, since there is no precedent in F6130-3: 'Ou que de rien te governast.' / 'Est il amsi, dame? dis je.' / 'Oul voir, dist elle, 'mais ce / En difference . . .' (punctuation mine).
- 3315 **bi accident** is a technical phrase in philosophy (see Glossary). **him** F6137 *La* var. *Le MS. M¹*. The pron. should be fem., referring to the soul (as Dr Walls noted).
- 3316 **is entendaunt** τ misread F6138 *et rendant* 'and giving it back' as *entendant*. The whole sentence should mean 'The soul supports the body by nature, but the body contains the soul in a less fundamental way, in taking its power from the soul, and in giving it back'. This may be a highly condensed reference to Aquinas's alternative to Plato's account of the distinct being possessed by both body and soul (see n. 3310-13). Aquinas regards the two as making a single being, and his analogy is with the relationship between mover and moved.
- 3318-19 **Be** . . . **leedeth** F6143-5 *Le gouverneur qui dedens est / La maine et mene y est / Si maine* 'the controller who is inside it leads it, and is led—yet he leads . . .'. Comparison of a soul in a body to a sailor (not specifically a steersman) in a ship is in Aristotle, *De Anima*, 413a (Ross, Vol. III), questioned by Aquinas (who attributes it to Plato, op. cit. in n. 3310-13).
- 3320 **withinne** has no precedent in F6145.
- 3323 **it:** F6151 *la* correctly makes the soul fem.
- 3327 **his wille** F6151 *son talent: \tau* was misled by *son* 'her' (the soul's). The Pilgrim follows the advice of Augustine (*PL*, XXXV, 1588-9): 'Recognise in yourself something within, within yourself. Leave aside your clothing and flesh; descend into yourself, go into your secret room, your mind . . . for not in the body, but in the mind was man made in the image of God. In his own likeness let us seek God'. Reason assists the Pilgrim since man is the image of God by virtue of his intellect (Augustine, *PL*, XXXIV,

- 159). The ways in which man is in God's image are summarised by Aquinas, *ST*, 1a, q.93. On Aquinas' concept see Mondin, ch. 5.
- 3328-36 **If**... **litel** this long passage lacks a main clause in F6162-78 too.
- 3333 **ye ne seyn** F6172 *vous ne me dies*: τ perhaps omitted 'me' by eyeskip.
- 3338 **Obstacle** Augustine, *PL*, XXXV, 1395 (the soul blinded by the body).
- 3342-3 **trusse**... **bak** F6189-90 *li retrusser / Te refaurra et rendosser* 'it will be necessary (to you) to truss him on again and once more put (him) on your back'. I assume that G's *thou schall moste* 'you will have to' reflects τ 's rendering of the 3 per. sg. fut. ind. (cf. Gower, *Confessio Amantis* 2/1670 *it shal*... *moov*, and 4/38 *Thou schalt moove*), and that CG's rationalise.
- 3350 **contracte** F6203 *le contract*; in both languages the word, though primarily a sb. ('burden one has to carry', a sense recorded by *MED contract* 3 only here), has overtones of the substantival adj. 'paralysed, helpless one': see *contract*, adj., in 3148, 5335.
- 3365 **a stike** (F6234 *un tronc* 'a log' or 'a tree-stump') is based on G's subpuncted *stykke*, the spelling being based on C's *stikeh*, *stikeh* (70, 1904, 2058, 2060) rather than *stikke* at 5923, which is in the *A.B.C.*, where the scribe's spelling departs from his norm. MO's *a straw* suggests that δ (if not β , but J's *strare* is odd) substituted; it is not possible so easily to explain CGS's *a blast of wynde*.
- 3366 **in** should perhaps be omitted as in JMO: F6234 offers no precedent.
- 3384 **naked** F6266 *mu* 'silent': var. *mu* MSS *TALH*. Both *blind* and *naked* may qualify *hou* in 3383 rather than *contracte*.
- 3384-5 **bi dedes** τ misunderstood F6267 *son farz* 'his burden'.
- 3384-5 **wele**... **parte** follows the ambiguous F6268 *bien vourra au bien partit*, probably: 'he will want to divide the profit (when it comes to the reward)'. Confusion was caused by *bien*¹, which may be adv. or sb. If it is adv., the reading should be [*wel*] *he*...; but the sb. is suggested by G's repetition of *welle* 'wealth' for *bien*² and *bien*², and by C's two corrections over erasure to *welpe*. C's *wel* 'wealth' (never used by C for *wel* 'well'), is therefore reinstated.
- 3390 **oo**... **seye**: F6277 *o adire* which neither makes sense nor rhymes with *absconse* in the next line. Perhaps τ thought it meant 'to put it in one [i.e. briefly]', or translated literally without comprehension.
- 3395 **shadewed** F6278 *muicé, tout absconse*: τ avoids repetition.
- 3395 **shulde** the other MSS's reading is accepted against C's *wolde*: the spelling is C's normal form (though he uses *sholdest* at 5708).

- 3397 **Pou what** perhaps should read *hou, what* (as if *Allas*... *hou* meant 'poor you, alas': but cf. 226 *Pou what seise*, and *OED* *thou* 1b, used 'in reproach or contempt').
- 3404 **egret** F6304 *grues* 'crane'.
- 3409 **lost** perhaps G's *lost* should be accepted.
- 3411 **howen** τ read F6316 *enfoui* 'buried' as *enfui*.
- 3416 **writen** Wis. ix 15.
- 3418 **am** I should perhaps be left out, but I accept G's marginal insertion, following F6331 *sui je*, and assuming a similar easily missed insertion in τ , omitted by X.
- 3423 **Eche**... **dung-hep** F6351 *Chascun est fort sur son fumier*; Hassell, F188; Whiting, C350.
- 3433 **in ooper places** F6357 *autre part* 'on the other hand'.
- 3436 **fatourye**: F6362 *fetardie* 'idleness, inactivity' but *MED fatterye* 'deception, imposture, fraud (especially as practised by beggars or vagabonds)' does not record this sense, so perhaps 'idleness (such as is common in work-shy beggars)'. Reason wants to avoid making the Dreamer feel helpless to the point of inactivity.
- 3440 **goode** perhaps GMOS (*wel* in C's form) should be accepted.
- 3444 **adaunted** om. F6378 *et soupeditez* 'and trodden down'.
- 3450-2 **I**²... **oon**: F6391-2 *je cuidole que moy et li / Fussons un shows* that the sense is 'I had thought myself and it were the same'.
- 3459 **suffre** F6408 *laisse*: if CJS's correct subj. is a rationalisation, GMOS's *suffreth* should be accepted.
- 3461 **slugged** GS's reading is accepted: the spelling is that at 3447.
- 3464 **good** F6416 *point* 'time'.
- 3464-6 **whan**... **bee!** F6418-20 is differently constructed, giving the sense 'when it is time to flatter you, and then when you are not aware of what is going on, you will find yourself deceived'.
- 3465-6 **and**... **disceyued** since it has JMO's support, G's cancelled reading is accepted, τ having probably misread F6419-20 *Et lors quant garde d'en dourras / Deceü by taking quant as grant* (giving *gret keepe*) then added *but* to clarify the resulting sense. G's notation is complex: he subpuncted words to be omitted, put crosses over those to be replaced, forgot to put a cross over *thanne* and misplaced the caret in the text for his marginal correction (f. 47^r). G³ (and so CS) reflect F more accurately, but as a result of correction from F².
- 3470 **tool** F6428 *les oustis* 'tools'.
- 3478 **goodes** GMOS's reading, the *difficilior lectio*, is accepted—perhaps erroneously, in view of F6442 *le bien*.
- 3480-3 **where**... **weren** a rare example of a large omission in α , resulting from eyeskip from 3480 *with me* to 3483 *with me*. Following F6447-51, MO's reading is accepted against J.

- 3482 **enemy** I assume that τ misread F6448 *emny* 'hindrance', but perhaps the reading should be *emny*, as if α misread the ME.
- 3488 I... **bee** the clause, supported by F6461 *je iray*, appears only in G, where it is subpuncted as if mistaken for dittography.
- 3499 **thankinge** F6483-4 *regraciant*... *et merciant*: τ avoids repetition.
- 3507-8 **bilke**... **despyte** F6501-2 *Qui onques nul jour ne me vit / Me fera asses plus despit* 'it seems to me that someone not seeing me at all will do me greater harm'. Since the pilgrim expects trouble from his own body, he may expect worse from strangers. The sense of the ME is that the pilgrim has little more to fear from unseen enemies when he has a 'friend' like his body: either τ misunderstood F, or his *not* is due to his having read *Ne* for *Me*.
- 3510 **wey fourchede** Prov. ii 13-16 compares life's choices to paths, but their comparison with a letter Y, the left path representing vice and the right virtue is, according to Servius, Pythagorean (Hill, p. xxx n. 1, where other classical treatments of the image are listed).
- 3511 **pat**... **ooper** F6508 *ne dessemblasent / l'un de l'autre* 'not separated one from the other'.
- 3513 **bushes** F6512 *bous* 'bush' is the majority reading. Hulman, p. 129, compares the thorny hedge with the spiny obstacles which hinder the Lover in *Le Roman de la Rose*, 1805-14.
- 3514 **bushes** F6514 *Bos* 'woods, trees'.
- 3519 **under hire spayere** F6524 *dessouz s'aiselle* 'under her armpit'. Prov. xxvi 15: 'The slothful hideth his hand under his armpit'.
- 3521 **turnede** om. F6528 *et retournoit* 'and turned (it) again'.
- 3532 **bettere** om. F6550 *Je voy cy deus devant mes iex* 'I see two here before my eyes'.
- 3536 **Come**... **for**: F6557-8 *Vien t'en... a moy par ci, Quar*... and C's punctuation show that C took *here* for *as adv.* meaning 'for this reason', and so wrote *Herefore*, beginning a sentence, and using the final *-e*. See n. 3546.
- 3539 **hiyounde see**: F6562 *d'outre mer* (applied to crusading areas of French interest) suggests the Holy Land, thus associating the pilgrim's life-journey with the recovery of a lost heritage (heaven).
- 3546 **fore** only here, in 1140 occurrences, does C deviate from *for*, to which, perhaps, emendation should be made.
- 3550-1 **be**... **of** (F6583-4 *le mestier / Qui poeres est a mieux mestier*) loses the play on *mestier* 'craft/necessary' (noted by Dr Walls).
- 3556 **idel** F6594 *Huisense* 'an idle person'.
- 3561 **made it ayen** in view of F6604 *refaisoye* perhaps G's *made ayen* should be adopted; I accept CJMOS, which may be a

- 3562 **to bi rites** could read to *bi riti*, following F6606 *a ton droit*. rationalisation.
- 3564 **as me thinketh** om. F6611 *Et comment le pourroye amer?* 'and how could I love you?'
- 3566 **folye and cokardye** om. one of the three nouns in F6615-16 *soite*, / *Et nicete et musardie*, then om. F6617-18 *Qui prises mieux ceus qui paine ont / Que ne fais ceus qui aise sont* 'you who value more those who take trouble, than you do those who are idle'.
- 3574 **countenance** F6632 *acointance* 'acquaintance'.
- 3576 **foorbushed** om. F6636 *Et acier luisant et burry* 'and shining, burnished steel'.
- 3579 **ouercome** F6642 *confus* 'confused'; var. *vaincus* MS. L.
- 3586 **flour** should perhaps read *a flour*, following F6656 *un limeur*, but I accept GO, assuming rationalisation in CM(S).
- 3599 **Ocupacion** Eccclus. xl 1: *Ocupatio magna creata est omnibus hominibus*.
- 3606 **wey** F6692 *chemin et par sa voie*: τ avoids repetition.
- 3620 **wode** F6718 *bos* 'bush': var. *bois* MSS. AH.
- 3622 **ne is** G's elliptical reading is accepted: CJMOS's forms of *bat ne is* are probably due to rationalisation in C β .
- 3632 **God looke** F6740 *Diex gart* 'God protect you': var. *Dieu te gart* MSS. AM. Either τ read the var. as *Dieu regart* or his ejaculation is analogous to the idiom *God you se* 'God protect you' (*MED* God 10a).
- 3633 **do** CJMO's pres. subj. is accepted against CG's normalisation.
- 3640 **organes** the MS has *orgams*: I have expanded to C's spelling at 6837, 6981 (see also 4138, 6987).
- 3642 **plyeres**... **bal**: F6759 *baieurs* 'dancers'.
- of iogelours** F6760 *de bastians et de jugleurs* 'of tumblers and of jugglers'.
- 3643 **merelles** (om. F6763 *d'entregeterie* '[of] juggling'): Nine Men's Morris (Fifepenny Morris) was played by two, with counters, usually on a lined board; on the continent, *merelles* could mean 'hopscorech'.
- 3644 **museryes** F6764 *muserie*: *MED* records only this example.
- 3659 **pee** om. F6792 *et n'en ment* 'and don't lie about it'.
- 3675-6 **pilgrime**... **now** F6824-5 *pelerin / Qui autre foyz i est venu* 'pilgrim who has come here before'.
- 3681 **many**... **passed** if *ber* means 'there, at that place', C's *p' passe* offering no precedent, I give the unemphasised form *ber*: 'there are many who have passed'.