A Critical Edition of the Passion and Advent Chapters of the Pre-Caxtonian "Gilte Legende".

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A CRITICAL EDITION OF THE PASSION AND ADVENT CHAPTERS OF THE PRE-CAXTONIAN GILTE LEGENDE

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in

The Interdepartmental Program in Comparative Literature

by

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December 1999

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# List of Abbreviations

Abbreviations of the Gilte Legende Manuscripts:

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<th>Additional 35298</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Bodleian Douce 372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Egerton 876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Gloucester Cathedral XII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H1</td>
<td>Harley 630</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hz</td>
<td>Harley 4775</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>Lambeth Palace 72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other Abbreviations:

| GiL | Gilte Legende |
| GoL | Golden Legend |
| LgA | Legenda aurea |
| LgD | Légende dorée |
| ME | Middle English |
| MS | Manuscript |
| MSS | Manuscripts |
This dissertation is a critical edition of the Passion and Advent chapters of the Middle English Gilte Legende, based on MS Lambeth Palace 72 in collation with other manuscripts. Editions of the Legenda aurea, the original Latin text, and of the Légende dorée, an intermediate French text, were also consulted.

The introduction begins by reviewing the complete research on the Gilte Legende, describing the manuscripts, their handwritings and orthographies, presenting their affiliations in a stemma, and detailing the editorial process. The transmission of the text is traced from the Legenda aurea (c.1266), the Latin legendary of James Varagine, through the Légende dorée (c.1334), the French translation by Jean de Vignay, to the Gilte Legende (1438), the English translation made anonymously by someone who identified himself as the Synfulle Wrecche. There is also a brief account of the Legenda aurea’s immediate and unprecedented popularity, and its equally swift and complete plummet into obscurity. Finally, the edited chapters, the Passion and Advent, are summarized and critiqued.

Because no prior study had been done on these non-hagiographic chapters of the legendary, they have been called treatises. However, the editorial process revealed that these chapters are not prose treatises; instead, they are detailed outlines, complete with sequentially numbered points and sub-points. Therefore, the edited texts are
presented in outline form with the modern outline conventions supplied. Emendations are noted in the text; variant readings, as well as the minimum amount of information necessary for sensible readings, are given at the bottom of the pages. More thorough textual notes and detailed commentary follow each of the edited chapters.

This edition has contributed to scholarship by making accessible two previously unedited chapters of the Gilte Legende in outline format. It also offers evidence to corroborate the theories that the Legenda aurea was intended as a handbook for the educated clergy and presents a remote and wrathful image of God. Finally, it suggests that the indeterminacy of the edited texts and the relationship between the theology of the Legenda and the attitude of the Inquisition are areas for further study.
INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is a critical edition of the Passion and Advent chapters of the Gilte Legende (GIL) based on the manuscript Lambeth Palace 72. The GIL is a Middle English translation of a Latin legendary known as the Legenda aurea (LgA), compiled by James Varagine between 1260 and 1270. The Middle English translation was made anonymously by someone who identified himself as the Synfulle Wrecche in a colophon dated 1438. The Middle English translation was edited with frequent references to the original Latin text and, whenever possible, to a French translation by Jean de Vignay known as the Légende dorée (LgD) which could have served, at least in part, as the Synfulle Wrecche's exemplar.

In 1991 I edited the Pentecost chapter of the GIL as a master's thesis for the English Department at the University of New Orleans. Although much of the information contained in the introduction to the critical edition of the Pentecost chapter was also applicable to the Passion and Advent chapters, this introduction is more than a reprint of the Pentecost introduction. Some of the information presented here has been updated in light of recent scholarly interest and research on the LgA and its translations; much of it has been reorganized in order to follow more closely the order suggested by Charles Moorman in Editing the Middle English Manuscript, and the writing itself has been revised for greater clarity and improved style. The section that required the least change was the description of the
manuscripts and the manuscript hands, but even there some revision was necessary because the Pentecost chapter was based on MS Gloucester Cathedral XII while the Passion and Advent chapters are based on MS Lambeth Palace 72.

**REVIEW OF RESEARCH**

Until recently there had been only a limited amount of scholarship devoted to the LgA and even less to the GiL. Although interest in the LgA and its vernacular translations has grown during the past twenty years and greatly increased in the last ten, more research has been devoted to the LgA, the original Latin text, and to the LgD, the French translation, than has been given to the GiL, the Middle English translation. As far as I know, my critical edition of the Pentecost chapter, along with the Passion and Advent chapters which are edited here, are the only studies that have been made specifically on the non-hagiographic chapters of the GiL; therefore, the review of pertinent research is quite short, in spite of the fact that the edited chapters are part of a five hundred and sixty year old text.

What has become the standard edition for the LgA was published in 1846 by Theodore Graesse. This edition was based on a fifteenth-century printed edition and published without notes. In 1899 Pierce Butler wrote a dissertation, *Legenda aurea--Légende dorée--Golden Legend*, which focused on the *Golden Legend* (GoL), William Caxton's English translation of the LgA which he printed in 1483. In his work,
Butler discussed and transcribed parts of the GIL, the English predecessor to Caxton's GoL. A standard edition of the LgD was published in 1925 by Theodor de Wyzewa which he based on "une édition latin imprimée, en 1517, à Lyon, chez Constantine Fradin," with references to earlier editions and to the manuscripts (xxvii). De Wyzewa's edition severely abridged the chapters that did not deal directly with the saints, including Pentecost, the Passion, and Advent. In 1941 Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger translated the LgA into English. Their book, The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine, omitted "material that at the time was considered expendable" (Ryan xiv, 1993 ed.). Thus, they also abridged the non-hagiographic chapters, but not as severely as de Wyzewa did in his edition.

In the 1940s Sister M. Jeremy published several articles on Varagine's LgA, de Vignay's LgD, and Caxton's GoL, including an article on "Caxton and the Synfulle Wretch" in Traditio (1946c), in which she argues that the Synfulle Wretch's GIL better transmits the sense of the Latin original and is stylistically superior to Caxton's GoL. In 1959 Auvo Kurvinen also made a comparative study of the GIL and the GoL. His article on "Caxton's Golden Legend and the Manuscripts of the Gilte Legende" appeared in Neuphilologische Mitteilungen. After briefly describing the GIL Manuscripts and comparing excerpts from the GoL with corresponding passages in the GIL MSS, he concludes that Caxton used MS Additional 35298 as his English exemplar.
During the 1960s and into the early 1970s, interest in the *Synfulle Wrecche* and the *Gil* appeared to wane. In 1972 Manfred Görlach published *The South English Legendary, Gilte Legende and Golden Legend*; however, his primary interest was in the *South English Legendary* (c.1280-90) and the influence it might have had on the texts of the *Gil* and *GoL*. But then, in 1975, Richard Hamer made the most important contribution to *Gil* studies to date when he published *Three Lives from the Gilte Legende*. His book was part of the Middle English Text Series/9 edited by M. Görlach. These three chapters, the lives of Saints Nicholas, George, and Bartholomew, represent the first critical edition of any part of the *Gil*. In tracing the affiliations of the MSS, Hamer compared the texts of the *Gil* with six MSS of the *LgD* and concluded that the English *Gil* was dependent on a French exemplar from the *LgD*.

In 1985 Sherry L. Reames put both the *LgA* and James Varagine, its compiler, in a new historical and theological perspective in her book *The Legenda aurea: A Reexamination of Its Paradoxical History*. Reames provided her readers with extensive bibliographies of primary sources and commentaries and of modern scholarship and criticism on the *LgA*. In her introduction, Reames stated that her book was "intended to encourage and facilitate future studies of the *Legenda*" and that it represented "no more than a bare start on the kind of modern scholarship the subject deserves" (vii).
Perhaps it is only a coincidence, but with the number of very recent books and articles devoted to the \textit{LgA} and its vernacular translations, especially the \textit{LgD}, Reames' call for increased study of the \textit{LgA} appears to have been well heeded. In 1986 the book \textit{Legenda aurea: Sept Siècles de Diffusion} was published. This book represents a collection of twenty-three papers presented at a symposium on the \textit{LgA} and its vernacular branches which was sponsored by the University of Québec in Montreal in 1983. It included seven articles on the French branch of the \textit{LgA} and six on the German branch, but only one dealt with the English text, Gordon Whatley's "A 'Symple Wrecche' at Work: the Life and Miracles of St. Erkenwald in the Gilte Legende."

In 1989 Richard Hamer and Vida Russell's "A Critical Edition of Four Chapters from the \textit{Légende dorée}" was published in \textit{Mediaeval Studies}. In 1990 a symposium on "Nouvelles recherches sur la \textit{Legenda aurea}" was held in Perpignan, France. The papers presented at that conference were published in 1993 in a book entitled \textit{Legenda aurea - la Légende dorée (XIIIe - XVe s.)}. As implied in the title, the subjects of the articles were limited to the Latin text and to the French translation made by Jean de Vignay and its revision by Jean Batallier.

Also in 1993, William Granger Ryan published \textit{Jacobus de Voragine: The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints}, a new English translation of the \textit{LgA} in two volumes. Unlike the 1941 translation which he made with H. Rippenger, this
translation included "every line of each of the 182 chapters offered by Graesse as authentic" (xiv).

The unprecedented amount of recent research and study on the Lgd has culminated in Brenda Dunn-Lardeau's 1997 critical edition: La Légende dorée, a massive work of over 1550 pages. This is the first complete critical edition to be written on any version of the LgA; a Latin critical edition is still in the preliminary stage of cataloging the over 1,000 extant manuscripts, and a critical edition of the Gil by Hamer and Russell is still a work in progress.

Dunn-Lardeau's edition, based on Jean Batallier's 1476 revision of Jean de Vignay's translation (1333-48) of the LgA contains a wealth of information on the large French branch of the LgA which is extant in over forty manuscripts and ninety-one early printed editions. In addition to the extensive introductory material, critical apparatus, textual notes, and glossary, the edition contains a thirty-nine page bibliography that is organized according to specific areas of interest.

Although this edition of the Lgd is the first to provide the unabridged texts of all the chapters, it cannot definitively determine the extent of the Lgd's influence on the Gil. Dunn-Lardeau's base text was made in 1476, which is thirty-eight years later than the English Gil. In theory, the Gil could have influenced the 1476 text.

Based on the current projects of the members of the Hagiography Society, interest in the LgA and its vernacular
translations continues to grow. According to the 1997 and 1998 editions of the Hagiography Society Directory, a number of people are involved in major projects and others are doing preliminary research in these areas. The most ambitious of the projects listed is Richard Hamer and Vida Russell's critical edition of the GiL. While I am relieved that my dissertation will be finished before their edition is published, I find it gratifying to know that I am involved in research that is rapidly gaining academic momentum. Since most of the research on the legendaries is being done by hagiographers who are mainly interested in the saints and their cults, my own interest in the liturgical, non-hagiographical chapters should provide a fertile, sparsely populated area for publication.

Some other forthcoming projects on the LgA and its branches included in the Hagiography Society Directory are a soon to be published article on "The Meditationes Vitae Christi and the Legenda aurea in translation in Medieval Europe" by E. Gordon Whatley with Michael Sargent and an edition of two saints' lives from the Golden Legend for the TEAMS series of Middle English texts by Thomas Hand. Also, research is being done by Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker on the LgA and other legendaria in the Netherlands; by Teresa Nordoff-Perusse on hagiographic collections, especially the GiL, in medieval English nunnery libraries; and by Laurie Postlewate on representations and uses of the body in the GoL. Finally, the Directory lists two dissertations in
progress: Martha Easton's "The Body and the Construction of Gender in the Later Middle Ages: A Case Study of the *Legenda aurea*" and my critical edition of the Passion and Advent chapters of the *Gil*.

**THE MANUSCRIPTS**

Descriptions of Manuscripts and Hands

This edition of the Passion and Advent chapters of the *Gilte Legende* is based on MS Lambeth Palace 72 (L). The Passion chapter was collated with MSS Gloucester Cathedral XII (G), Harley 630 (H1), Additional 35298 (A), Harley 4775 (H2) and 176 lines from the beginning of Bodleian Douce 372 (D). The Advent chapter, found at the end of the *Gil*, did not survive in all the MSS; therefore, it could be collated only with MSS Additional 35298 (A) and Harley 4775. Because I worked from photocopies of microfilm of the Passion and Advent chapters and have not seen the original manuscripts, I have relied on Richard Hamer's descriptions of the *Gilte Legende* manuscripts in Three Lives from the *Gilte Legende*, Pierce Butler's *Legenda aurea--Légende dorée--Golden Legend*, Montague Rhodes James and Claude Jenkins' *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace*, and N. R. Ker's *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries* Vol. 2 for description, content, and dating. Information on manuscript hands was found in Giles E. Dawson and Laetitia Kennedy-Skpton's *Elizabethan Handwriting 1500-1650*, N. Denholm-Young's *Handwriting in England and Wales*, L. C. Hector's *The Handwriting of English*
Documents, M. B. Parkes's English Cursive Book Hands 1250–
1500, and C. E. Wright's English Vernacular Hands from the
Twelfth to the Fifteenth Centuries.

MS Lambeth Palace 72

The MS Lambeth Palace 72 contains pages almost 13 and
1/2 inches by 8 and 3/4 inches with double writing columns
measuring 8 and 3/4 inches by 6 1/2 inches. The Passion
and Advent chapters contain 42 lines per column. The MS is
tightly bound, which causes a photographic distortion in
the microfilm; thus, the first (recto) or last (verso)
words in some lines are difficult to decipher. However,
with practice in reading the MS hand and the collation of
other MSS, the distorted words can be deciphered with
reasonable accuracy. The chapters are neatly written in
what James and Jenkins describe as a "very clear, somewhat
sloping hand" (116). Each chapter begins with a decorative
block initial—blue letters on a red background—that spans
three lines of text. The chapter headings are in red and
the paragraph marks alternate red and blue (Hamer 32).
There are no other embellishments. The beginning of the
Pilate story within the Passion chapter is indicated only
by a paragraph mark, identical to those used frequently
throughout the rest of the chapter.

The MS is vellum, late fifteenth-century, and now has
1+420+1 leaves; the binding is calf. It contains the Gilte
Legende, omitting 35 items and adding four: Barbara, Cain,
The Three Kings of Cologne, and a non-Gil version of Jerome.
It is missing 40 leaves at the beginning—the text starts in chapter 23, S. Agnes—and probably one leaf at the end (Hamer 20, 32-33). There is a table of contents at the end of the MS that is written in what James and Jenkins describe as a fine clear hand of the early sixteenth century (117). The table includes the 22 items omitted because of the missing leaves. Hamer notes that a monogram FC and the name Francis Clarke appear frequently among some marginal scribbles; the name James Francis Clarke appears twice, and on ff. 263 v. and 264 r. is a name that may be William James (33).

It appears to be written in a neat, individual book hand which Parkes calls "fere textura," a term which he uses to describe the idiosyncratic efforts of the individual scribes to produce a calligraphic substitute for "textura." The parent hands are Anglicana, a formal, difficult to master hand used for documents and books in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and Bastard Secretary, a simplified cursive hand (xxiii-xxiv). It is characterized by an uncial d, fused de, short ascenders and descenders, an initial two-compartment a slightly taller than the other letters, m and n made with separate strokes and footed, short r, 8 shaped g, a final s that often resembles a modern capital B, and a w made with three straight strokes of decreasing size, the first two slanting right, the third slanting left (see figures 1 and 2).
Fig. 1. A portion of the Passion chapter of the Gill from MS Lambeth Palace 72, f. 50 r. This MS served as the base text for this edition.

Fig. 2. A portion of the Advent chapter of the Gill from MS Lambeth Palace 72, f. 417 r. This MS served as the base text for this edition.
MS Gloucester Cathedral XII

MS Gloucester Cathedral XII contains pages whose tops have been cut off; as a result, many of the original page headings have been removed. The pages now measure 10 inches by 7 and 3/4 inches with a single column writing block slightly over 8 inches by 5 and 1/2 inches. It has straight writing lines and reasonably even margins. The Passion chapter averages 35 lines per page; it does not contain the Advent chapter. A small block initial and some marginal decorations begin the chapters. Within the Passion chapter, the beginning of the Pilate narrative is also marked with a block initial and marginal decoration.

The MS is paper, mid fifteenth-century, with 214 leaves. It contains the Gilte Legende, but a quire of twelve leaves is missing, resulting in omissions in the text, and the last few leaves are wrongly bound. The MS stops abruptly near the end of chapter 93; originally, it might have been in two volumes, but the second volume has been lost (Hamer 20, 28, 31). Ker notes that it was written in England and belonged to Henry Fowler in 1626 (945).

The manuscript hand is identified by Ker as a mixed Anglicana-Secretary. The hand retains the Anglicana d with its looped, recurved, diagonal ascender and the flat-topped hook on the h ascender. Its Secretary characteristics include: tall, looped, two-compartment capital and single compartment lower case a, single compartment g, initial and medial long s, lack of distinction between a and u, i/j.
and u/v used as two forms of the same letter, reverse e, and multiple forms of r (see fig. 3).

**MS Gloucester Cathedral XIII: Passion**

![Image of the Passion chapter from the MS Gloucester Cathedral XIII, f. 97v]

Fig. 3. A portion of the Passion chapter of the Gil from MS Gloucester Cathedral XII, f. 97v.

**MS Harley 630**

The Harley 630 contains pages 11 inches by 8 inches with double writing columns measuring 8 and 1/4 inches by 6 and 1/4 inches. The Passion chapter has 39 lines per column; it does not contain the Advent chapter. The individual letters are well-formed, but the writing lines are not uniformly straight, and the left-hand margins are somewhat ragged. The Passion chapter begins with a large, decorated block initial and elaborate page decoration; a smaller block initial with marginal decoration begins the Pilate narrative that concludes the chapter. Scribal corrections, some from another exemplar, are found in the margins.
The MS is vellum, mid fifteenth-century, with i+367 leaves. It contains only the Gilte Legende, and has lost a total of about eight leaves from the beginning and elsewhere (Hamer 31).

Although the hand seems slightly more rounded than Parkes’s example of Bastard Anglicana (7), the difference could be attributed to the individual style of the scribe. The letters in the MS hand match Parkes’s description of the individual letters that are characteristic of Bastard Anglicana, a combination of the formal, calligraphic "textura" and the cursive script Anglicana. The tall, two-compartment a, the individual strokes and feet of the minims, and the pronounced bitings in the c, d, e, g and p are characteristic of "textura," and the prominent descenders on the f and long s, the looped ascenders on the d, h and l, the long r, and the B shaped final s are characteristics of Anglicana (see fig. 4).

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**MS Harley 630: Passion**

| Fig. 4. A portion of the Passion chapter of the Gil from MS Harley 630, f. 93 r. (The microfilm is a reversed image.)

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MS Additional 35298

The MS Additional 35298 contains pages 16 and 1/2 inches by 11 and 3/4 inches with double writing columns measuring 12 and 1/2 inches by 9 and 1/2 inches. In both the Passion and Advent chapters the number of lines per column vary randomly between 83 and 75. The large page cluttered with uneven lines of writing is difficult to read. The chapters begin with small block initials that have embellishments extending into the margins. The beginning of the Pilate story within the Passion chapter is marked by a very dark paragraph sign. On the top of each page, some of the ascenders from the first line of text are extended and embellished.

The MS is vellum, late fifteenth-century, with 174 leaves and written in two hands. The Passion and Advent chapters are written in the same hand. As in MS L, it contains the GiL with the "additional lives" and four other non-GiL saints' lives. It is incomplete at the end (Hamer 27).

The hand appears to be an early secretary, a cursive script with a characteristic "splayed" appearance caused by heavy diagonal strokes made in opposite directions from one another. Other characteristic secretary traits that appear in the hand include: a steeply descending leftward curve that concludes the h, saw-tooth minims of m, n, u and w, straight, unadorned ascenders on h, l, and b, single compartment a, single compartment g closed by a line on top,
and descenders of f, long s, and p that have a definite slant to the left (see fig. 5).

MS Additional 35298: Advent

![Image of Advent chapter from MS Additional 35298]

Fig. 5. A portion of the Advent chapter of the Gil from MS Additional 35298, f. 167 r.

MS Harley 4775

The MS Harley 4775 contains pages 18 inches by 12 and 3/4 inches with double writing columns measuring a bit less than 13 inches by 8 and 1/2 inches. The Passion and Advent chapters have 48 lines per column. The copy I worked from was blurred, making over 60 lines in the Passion chapter and 15 lines in the Advent chapters difficult to read; my copy did not do justice to what Hamer describes as a "magnificent volume and beautifully written" (32). The chapters begin with block initials that span four lines of text and have embellishments extending into the margins. The Pilate story within the Passion chapter begins with a smaller, also embellished, block initial. Many of the nouns—mostly, but not exclusively proper nouns—in the Passion chapter have been underlined.
The MS, which now has 264 leaves, is vellum, late fifteenth-century. Over twenty scattered leaves have been lost. It contains only the Gil and the very last chapter is incomplete (Hamer 31-2).

Although the hand uses the single compartment a and g characteristic of later Secretary hands, the square letters with their short ascenders and descenders, and individual and footed minims categorize this as an individual book hand or what Parkes calls Anglicana "formata" (xvi, 4). Other characteristics of this hand are: the ascender of the d is more upright than it is in Anglicana, but not yet straight, Anglicana's forked ascenders on f and long s have been replaced by the hooked form, and the shaft of the t extends further above the headstroke (see fig. 6).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MS Harley 4775: Advent</th>
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Fig. 6. A portion of the Advent chapter of the Gil from MS Harley 4775, f. 254 v.

**MS Bodleian Douce 372**

Because the MS Bodleian Douce 372 microfilm did not include a size scale, I could not take measurements.

According to Hamer it is about 15 and 3/4 inches by 11
Inches with double writing columns measuring 12 inches by 8 and 1/4 inches. The Passion chapter, which is incomplete, has 47 lines per column and begins with a small block initial with embellishments extending into the margin. Some of the paragraph marks are embellished, and there are occasional decorations in the margins. The scribe's straight writing guidelines are sometimes visible.

The MS is vellum, except ff. 164-9 which are paper (added later, apparently not part of the Gil). It contains the 1438 colophon of the Synfull Wrecche and an inscription which shows that the MS was written before 1460. According to the inscription, John Burton who died on November 20, 1460 "bequeth to dame Kateryne his daughter a boke callyd Legenda sanctorum." It contains a fragmentary and badly mutilated Gil, and now it has only 170 leaves (Hamer 27-8). The Passion chapter is misbound; thus, 175 lines into the Passion chapter, the readers suddenly find themselves in the middle of the Epiphany chapter. A careful search of the microfilm did not reveal the remainder of the Passion chapter; it is very likely among the leaves that are lost.

The hand fits Denholm-Young's description of Gothic script (26-30); the hand is very neat and well executed. The characteristic Gothic traits include angular strokes, diamond shaped letters, diamond shaped feet and heads on upright strokes, uncial d, fused de, two compartment a, the 2 form of r after o, and round s in the final position (see fig. 7).
Fig. 7. A portion of the Passion chapter of the Gil from MS Bodleian Douce 372, f. 32 r. (The image on the microfilm is reversed.)

**MS Egerton 876**

When I edited the Pentecost chapter, I also used MS Egerton 876. It is an impressive MS written in a meticulous English book hand and exquisitely decorated throughout the chapter. However, it contains only two pages of the Advent chapter on which only a few words are legible because water, or some other liquid, had caused the ink to run and fade. The pages themselves are badly torn. The Passion chapter is not included on the microfilm.

Hamer describes the MS as incomplete at the beginning and the end and missing a total of 25 leaves from various places throughout the MS (28). The Advent chapter is near the end where it is incomplete, and the Passion must have been among the missing leaves. Although the loss of MS E is unfortunate, it is not especially serious because MS E was the least accurate of the MSS in the Pentecost chapter.
Origins and Orthographies of Manuscripts

Richard Hamer and M. L. Samuels have tentatively suggested localities where the Gil MSS were copied. Based on his work with the lives of Saints Nicholas, George and Bartholomew, Hamer believes that: MSS L and A show a mixture of forms from London and areas to the south—L from London itself with hints of Surrey and Kent and A from areas south of London; MS G is from the Gloucester area; MS D seems to be from North Surrey; MS H2 copies D so closely that it is impossible to determine its place of origin; and while MS H1 is not consistent enough to give an exact location, it is probably from the West Midlands. Hamer also notes that his conclusions are similar to those reached by A. Kurvinen in his study of the Catherine chapter (not found in MS G). Kurvinen concluded that although some of the MSS contain a mixture of forms from more than one area, the MSS generally belonged to the south Midlands and the areas around London (34-5).

In transcribing the MSS of the Passion and Advent chapters, as well as the previously edited Pentecost, I have found orthographical characteristics similar to the ones Hamer describes. He does not list individual characteristics for MSS L and A but says they contain a mixture of forms from London and areas to the south. He believes the spellings of MS L indicate that it was written in London itself, possibly late in the century. Because MS L is the base text for this edition, I am aware of inconsistencies.
in its spelling. For example, in the Passion chapter different spellings are often found in close proximity: lyfee in line 687 and lyfe in 689; ryght and right both in line 740; ymage in lines 745 and 746 and Image in 755 and 756; crist in 762 and cryst in 767; cote in 798 and coote in 800. These inconsistencies are also in the Advent chapter: there in line 36 and ther in line 41; shall in lines 260-270 and shall in 278-290; sylver in 534 and silver in 536.

There are also some inconsistencies between the chapters. Although the Passion and Advent chapters were both written by the same hand, the thorn (ȝ) and yogh (ȝ) are rarely used in the Passion chapter, but they are routinely used in the Advent chapter. Also, the Passion almost always use a y instead of a medial i, for example, "of chydynges, of spyttynges, of betynges," "synned by pryde," "wyped hys vysage," "tungys of fyre," and "yevyth wytnesse to our speryte." However, the Advent chapter just as often uses i, as in "fill in right wickid erroris," "cristh and seith," and "right grete strenght of fire." Since the Advent chapter is not found in all the MSS, the scribe of MS L might have used a different exemplar for the Advent chapter and copied its spellings. Multiple exemplars could also account for some of the mixed forms that Hamer and Kurvinen noted in MS L.

The mixed forms are also characteristic of MS A which Hamer locates in areas south of London. He says the MS is written in two hands; based on his description of the forms
used by each hand, my chapters were written by the "second hand" which characteristically used yeafe, se/sawe, and törper. Like MS L, MS A often uses y instead of medial i.

Hamer says that MS G is the most consistent. Because MS G was the base text for the Pentecost chapter, I can support Hamer's statement. Characteristic forms of MS G that indicate the Gloucester area are: the use of e or u where other MSS use a or i, medial use of ȝtt, and initial ȝ. Some words in the Passion and Advent chapters that show these characteristics are: forst, pepul, eny, myȝtt, ȝaf, ȝit and ȝifte.

Hamer also points out that the only differences between MSS H2 and D are that H2 sometimes substitutes ȝ for th and ȝ for g, gh or y. These same changes are found in the Passion chapter in the words pere/there, pou/thou, ȝaf/yaf, and myȝt/myght. Adding to Hamer's observations, I noticed that H2 and D have words that end in i when the same words in the other MSS end in e or y; H2 and D use the hit form of it. Words characteristic of H, that are also in the Passion chapter are ȝaf, oni, and togidre.

A small sampling of the spelling variations found among the MSS collated for the Passion chapter is given in the chart below (see fig. 8). The examples charted are from the Passion chapter because it was collated in its entirety from five MSS, and in part from a sixth (L G H, A H2 and, in part, D); all three Advent MSS (L H2 A) are represented in the collation of the Passion MSS.
### A Sampling of Spellings from the Manuscripts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>L</th>
<th>G</th>
<th>H₁</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>H₂</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wylle</td>
<td>devyne</td>
<td>fylle</td>
<td>hydde</td>
<td>sey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>will</td>
<td>dyuyne</td>
<td>fille</td>
<td>hide</td>
<td>seie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>devine</td>
<td>felle</td>
<td>hide</td>
<td>sai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>fylle</td>
<td>hyd</td>
<td>say</td>
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<tr>
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<td>deuynre</td>
<td>fel</td>
<td>hyd</td>
<td>sey</td>
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<tr>
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<td>fylle</td>
<td>fel</td>
<td>hyd</td>
<td>sey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prophyte</td>
<td>oryblly</td>
<td>dysputuous</td>
<td>yt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>profite</td>
<td>orribully</td>
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<tr>
<td>profit</td>
<td>horribli</td>
<td>dispitouse</td>
<td>it</td>
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<td>dispiteous</td>
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<td>--out--</td>
<td>dispetouse</td>
<td>hyt</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>hyt</td>
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<td>pryncpally</td>
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<td>scholde</td>
<td>principally</td>
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<tr>
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<td>shulde</td>
<td>pryncipally</td>
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<td>yeueth</td>
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<td>theves</td>
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<td>thevis</td>
<td>you</td>
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<tr>
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<td>things</td>
<td>frutful</td>
<td>pefes</td>
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<td>pepl</td>
<td>things</td>
<td>frutful</td>
<td>pefes</td>
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<tr>
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<td>oonlye</td>
<td>lyfte</td>
<td>wykkid</td>
<td>thowe</td>
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<tr>
<td>rially</td>
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<td>lifte</td>
<td>wikked</td>
<td>you</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>oonly</td>
<td>left</td>
<td>wicked</td>
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<tr>
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<td>onli</td>
<td>lyft</td>
<td>wycked</td>
<td>you</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 8. A random sampling of words from the Passion chapter of the Gil showing the various MSS spellings.
Affiliations of Manuscripts

It is not possible to establish conclusive relationships based on only three chapters of a work containing 179 chapters. It is possible, however, to add corroborating evidence to stemmas proposed by others, and most of my work with the Passion, Advent, and Pentecost chapters supports the conclusions drawn by Kurvinen's work with the Catherine legend and Hamer's work on the Three Lives (Hamer 40-8).

Butler, Kurvinen and Hamer believe that MS H₂ was copied from MS D. My work on the Pentecost chapter supported that conclusion. I wanted to see if this close affiliation would continue in the Passion and Advent chapters; therefore, I was disappointed when I discovered that Advent was not in MS D and that due to misbinding only the first 175 lines of the Passion chapter were extant. In collating the existing portion of MS D with the other MSS, I found that MSS D and H₂ shared several independent readings including the omission of two lines, the repetition of a line, and they shared significant errors not found in any of the other MSS. These errors included: stone instead of soune, purite instead of pyte, he is instead of by hys, Iesu instead of Iohn, and Cristemasse instead of Crysostome. There are two places in the text where MS H₂ had omitted a line that MS D had intact, and in one instance MS H₂ was in error, but MS D was correct; this supports the conclusion that MS H₂ was copied from MS D. Based on this information, MSS D and H₂ were placed together on the stemma.
I also agree with Hamer's remarks that MS A has a number of independent readings and that it has "thrown in its lot with D and H₂" (44). MS A had over 200 independent readings in the Pentecost chapter, a trend which continued in the Passion and Advent chapters with 196 and 419 independent readings respectively. MS A had an editing scribe who sometimes explained things that he felt were unclear and substituted "easier" words for more difficult ones. For example, MS A has chasyng awaye, overcomer, compassid about, mad, byrddis, and toppis where the other MSS have ravyschychng, vaynquor, envyrownyd, woode, foulis, and coppis.

I, too, concur on the affiliation of MS A with MSS H₂ and D. The evidence in the Passion and Advent chapters does support the alliance of MS A with MSS D H₂, but not as strongly as in the Pentecost chapter where MSS G L H, E shared one common reading while MSS H₂ D A shared a different one in more than 80 instances. Of course, the evidence is less conclusive for the present chapters because MS D contained only 175 lines of the Passion and none of Advent. Nevertheless, I found that in the Passion chapter MS A shared an independent reading with MSS D H₂ in two significant and six insignificant/neutral instances, and after MS D ended, MSS A H₂ shared two more significant and fifteen more insignificant/neutral readings. In the Advent chapter, MSS H₂ A shared a reading different from the reading in MS L on 152 occasions. Thus, the Passion and Advent
chapters support the placements I gave to MS D H₂ and A on the Pentecost stemma.

Hamer mentions that MS H, had been extensively corrected. The Passion, Advent, and Pentecost chapters support this statement. Most often a caret was inserted into the text to indicate that a correction was needed and the correction itself was written either in the margins or at the bottom of the page. Kurvinen and Hamer saw a relationship between MS H, and the Egerton MS. Since MS E had only a few damaged and illegible pages of Advent and the Passion chapter was omitted or lost, I cannot add to my Pentecost findings in which MSS H, and E shared 28 independent readings, eight of which were significant. However, I did find supporting evidence for the placement H, on a separate branch from D H₂. In the Passion chapter, MS H, alligned itself with MSS L G and against MSS D H₂ in five out of six significant readings. Therefore, the position of MS H, remained unchanged from the Pentecost stemma.

Although Hamer agrees with Kurvinen's stemma on most points, he believes MS L is a conflated text and situates it between the H, and the D branches of his stemma. Kurvinen, however, locates L on the same branch as H, with a line of influence coming from the D H₂ A branch. I believe Hamer is correct when he says MS L cannot be linked with any other MS— I found over 100 independent L readings in Pentecost, 123 in the Passion, and 25 in Advent— however, I must agree with Kurvinen's placement of L on the H,
branch. In Pentecost and the Passion chapters MS L shares only insignificant readings with D \( H_2 \), yet MS L shares significant readings with MS H, six times in Pentecost and five times in the Passion; therefore, I kept MS L on the H branch of the stemma. I also retained a line of influence from MS A on the D \( H_2 \) branch to MS L on the H branch because these two MSS occasionally shared an independent reading in the Pentecost, the Passion, and especially in the Advent chapters. Moreover, of the collated MSS, only MSS L and A contain the additional materials, i.e., Barbara, Cain, The Three Kings of Cologne, and some non-GIL saints’ lives; thus, MS L had to be influenced by an exemplar related to MS A.

Locating MS G within the stemma presented a problem. It is not on Kurvinen’s stemma because it does not contain the Life of Catherine. In Three Lives Hamer puts MS G in the D \( H_2 \) A branch, but that reversed a stemma he had made nine years earlier which, at the time, he felt was conclusive. I discovered his earlier stemma on the microfilm of MS G; it was a typewritten paper giving a brief background on the LgA, LgD and GIL. The bottom of the paper, signed R. Hamer and dated 28-3-69, contained a stemma based on the Life of St. Vincent which placed E H, G L in the same branch.

Likewise, the Pentecost chapter favored the placement of MS G with H, and E, but it was not a clear-cut decision. Although there were 80 or so instances when MS G shared a
common reading with L H\textsubscript{1}, E that differed from H\textsubscript{2} D A, most of those readings were neutral, if not trivial. When fourteen examples of significant errors and substantially better readings were examined, seven times G agreed with H\textsubscript{2} D A, and seven times G agreed with L H\textsubscript{1}, E. In order to account for MS G's agreement with H\textsubscript{2} D on a few major points while consistently following H\textsubscript{1}, E in numerous minor details, I concluded that the scribe of MS G used an exemplar from the H\textsubscript{1}, E branch, but that he also had access to an exemplar from H\textsubscript{2} D which he consulted when he questioned a reading's correctness.

The affiliation of MS G did not follow the same pattern in the Passion chapter where, in insignificant/neutral readings, MS G agreed more often with H\textsubscript{2} D (28 times) than with H\textsubscript{1} (17 times)—a reversal of the Pentecost findings. However, in significant readings, the Passion chapter broke the tie found in Pentecost. In the Passion chapter's significant errors or substantially better readings, MS G aligned itself five times with H\textsubscript{1} and L but never with H\textsubscript{2}.

Based on the Passion chapter I slightly altered the placement of MS G on the stemma. I moved MS G closer to H\textsubscript{1} and L because of its agreement with those MSS in significant readings. I retained the line of influence from the D H\textsubscript{2} branch, but I moved it up a generation to show its possible influence on H\textsubscript{1} and L, as well as G because there were at least 30 times in the Passion chapter when MS H\textsubscript{1} agreed with the D H\textsubscript{2} branch; these readings were not
significant, but the pattern should be noted. (See figs. 9 and 10 to compare the original stemma with the new one.)

**The Original Stemma from the Pentecost Chapter**

![Stemma Diagram]

- **Gil**
- **alpha**
- **beta**
- **gamma**
- **delta**
- **epsilon**
- **eta**
- **L**
- **A**

Descent:
- **H₂** (Harley 4775)
- **D** (Bodleian Douce 372)

Contamination:
- **H₁** (Harley 630)
- **E** (Egerton 876)

Fig. 9. This diagram shows the stemma that was based only on the Pentecost chapter of the **Gil**.

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The Revised Stemma from the Passion and Advent Chapters

Fig. 10. Based on the additional information provided by the Passion and Advent chapters, the position of MS G and the line of influence from the D H₂ branch to the H, have been slightly adjusted from their previous placement in the stemma for the Pentecost chapter.
THE EDITORIAL PROCESS

Editing a medieval manuscript is a complex and tedious process that requires not only intelligence, but also organizational skills and, above all, tenacity. It is a demanding series of steps and decisions that must be performed in a specified order. The editor must have the patience to pay meticulous attention to detail and the dedication to check and recheck every step to insure an accurate text. An editor must respect the text, both the scribal versions and his or her own edited copy, so that the finished product is faithful to the medieval author and, at the same time, accessible to the modern reader.

For those readers who may be unfamiliar with the editorial process, I will give a more detailed explanation than is customary in the introduction of an edition, as well as a brief account of my training in this area.

I was first exposed to textual editing when I was a graduate assistant to the late Reverend Imre Mihalik, biblical scholar and professor at Notre Dame Seminary Graduate School of Theology in New Orleans. He believed that the modern editor should never assume that he knew more than the scribe who copied the MS. He often reminded his students that the scribe was there, and they were not. Father Mihalik would make an emendation only if he was certain that the scribe had been in error, but he always gave the benefit of the doubt to the scribe. Because of Father Mihalik’s influence, I am a moderately conservative editor.
who alters the scribal text as little as possible. I prefer to clarify a text by adding punctuation rather than by making emendations.

During my graduate studies at the University of New Orleans, I took a course on medieval MS editing taught by Professor George Reinecke. The course requirements included editing practice texts and learning about the different approaches to text editing. For example, the German school treats editing as a science, always emending with the greatest number of readings that are in agreement, even if they agree in a nonsensical reading. However, the more recent French and American schools approach editing as an art, selecting the most accurate text as a base and emending it with the variant that gives the most sensible reading—regardless of the number of MSS that are in agreement.

This base text/best variant method was pioneered in America by F. N. Robinson. Professor Reinecke was Robinson’s graduate assistant at Harvard, and he, in turn, taught us to approach text editing as an art that requires a great deal of background research and insightful reading in order to make intelligent emendation selections. I had the chance to practice the methodology I had learned when, directed by Professor Reinecke, I edited the Pentecost chapter of the GIL as my master’s thesis.

In order to begin editing one needs a copy of the text from as many different MSS as are available. I was fortunate because Professor Reinecke owned microfilm copies of
the GIL MSS; thus, I was spared the process of consulting
the catalogs of Middle English writings to determine which
MSS contained the GIL and then consulting the catalogs of
MSS to find which libraries had copies of those MSS. I was
also spared the expense of purchasing the microfilm copies
of the MSS, but for the rest of the editing process I was
on my own.

It can take several hours to locate and photocopy a
particular text on the microfilm. Often the chapter head­
ings were written in red ink (rubrics) which faded over
time and are now very faint images on the microfilm. This
makes it impossible to quickly scan the headings to locate
a particular chapter. Another difficulty arises when
chapters are not where they are "supposed" to be. I mis­
calculated where I would find the Passion (# 50) in MS L
because I forgot that the MS has leaves missing and starts
with chapter # 23. MS D is misbound; so the Passion text
abruptly changes to the Epiphany after one page; a frame by
frame search of the entire MS resulted only in frustration.
All together, it took about fifteen hours to locate and
photocopy the nine chapters I used in this edition.

With the chapters in hand, my next step was to decide
on a base text. I had used MS G for Pentecost, but it was
no longer an option because an edition should have the same
base text. MS G does not have the Advent chapter. Since
all three MSS that contained Advent also contained the Pas­
sion, I could determine the base from the Advent chapter.
This is done by transcribing (copying the MSS into one's own hand) and collating (copying the words from each MS so that they line up with one another). The transcribed text is, of course, easier to read, but the act of transcribing has another benefit; it makes the editor aware of the scribal orthography which facilitates further work with the MS. The collation makes any variations among the texts immediately noticable (see fig. 11).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A Sample of Transcription and Collation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>And then namelie shall be made such</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and than namely shall be made suche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and than namely shall be made suche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that the quality of the fire shall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>But the quality of the fire shall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin: impressio</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 11. A portion of the Advent chapter that has been transcribed and collated in preparation for determining the base text. A collation of MSS is quite colorful because each MS is assigned a different color, and the transcription of that MS is always written with that color of ink. The Harley 4775 (H2), on the top line, was written with black ink; Lambeth Palace 72 (L), in the middle, with red; and Additional 35258 (A), on the bottom, with purple. What appears as a smudge on the bottom line of the second set of lines is really a stroke of a green highlighting which I used to draw attention to insignificant variant readings—in this case the was omitted in MS A. Although they are not visible on this copy, there are also lines of bright yellow highlighting—used to indicate significant differences—on oppressioun / impressioun / oppression in the second set of lines. As indicated by the notation, the Latin text proved that MS L was correct.
The most accurate MS is selected as the base text; accuracy is determined by counting the errors in the collated lines. In the Advent chapter I collated the first 250 lines of the three MSS and found that MS L had a reading that was different from the reading shared by MSS H₂ A twenty-three times. MS L was correct/significantly better sixteen times, and MSS H₂ A were correct/significantly better seven times. There were thirty-six times that the individual MSS had unique readings: MS L was correct/better twenty-eight times and incorrect/inferior eight times; MS H₂ was correct/better fifteen times and incorrect/inferior twenty-one times; MS A was correct/better twelve times and incorrect/inferior twenty-four times. Based on the greater number of correct/better readings, MS L was the obvious choice for the base text.

The base text for the Pentecost chapter had been a toss-up between MS L and MS G. I made novice mistakes and selected MS G as the base. Because MS L was bound so tightly, I was afraid that I would not be able to read the words along the spine. I did not know that I would be able to decipher the blurred words by using the collated MSS as a guide and looking for the characteristic ascenders and decenders to determine the blurred letters. The biggest mistake was not taking into account that MS G ended after chapter 93—probably a two volume work, the second of which was lost. Since I was planning to edit other chapters—usually three or four are published together—I should have
selected MS L as the base because it would have offered me more choices for future projects. In the future, if I face a similar decision between equally accurate texts, I will put more thought and research into the alternative criteria for the selection of a base text.

With the base text selected, the process of transcription and collation continues, but with a few alterations. The base text is now written on the top line and only the differences have to be noted in collating the other MSS. In editing the Advent chapter, I broke protocol at this point and decided to start typing the base text instead of transcribing it by hand (see Fig. 12).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A Sample Collation with the Base Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>650 'creatur' shall be wroth all the world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>651 shall be wrothe whereof Cristos(tome)</td>
</tr>
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Fig. 12. The base text, MS L, is now on the top line (typed). Once the base text has been determined, only the differences in the readings have to be noted in the collated MSS, which are H₂ and A respectively. A dot means the word is the same as in the base text, an x means a single word is omitted, a line indicates a longer omission. In this case the omission is due to eyeskip because the last word before the omission and the last word of the omission are the same, wroth.
With the transcription of the base text and the collation completed, the next step is for the editor to produce a diplomatic text, that is, a typed copy that is an exact reproduction of the MS's text—including spelling, words per line, words split between lines, and paragraph marks. The collation of the MSS is not needed for the diplomatic text; it is set aside until it is needed for emendations.

Following the standard protocol, the diplomatic text is produced by typing a copy of the handwritten transcription of the base text. Because I had started typing after I selected the base text, I had to type only the first 250 lines that had been written by hand. I did have to change the wide spacing on the previously typed portion since it had been set to allow room for the collation, but I did not have to retype the text. Typing instead of transcribing by hand was done to reduce errors. Every time a text is reproduced manually, either by hand or typed, it increases the potential for new mistakes being introduced into the text. Since a computer can store and reprint a text, it reduces the need for newly made copies and the ensuing newly made errors.

After the diplomatic text is typed and printed, it must be checked—letter by letter. This process takes two people, the editor to read from the MS and an assistant to follow on the typed copy. Because this tedious process is vital to the accuracy of the text, the assistant must be as dedicated and tenacious as the editor. My husband and two
of my friends alternated as my assistants. As I spelled out each word from the MS, the assistant followed on the typed text marking any errors and writing the corrections. Correct words were marked with a dot. I then made the necessary corrections on the text in the computer and printed a corrected copy of the diplomatic text (see figs. 13 and 14).

### Diplomatic Text: First Draft

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<td>880</td>
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<tr>
<td>881</td>
<td>men what schuld be doone wíth hym</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>882</td>
<td>And then was sentence caste and yeve[n]</td>
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<tr>
<td>883</td>
<td>a yenast pylate that he schuld be damp</td>
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<tr>
<td>884</td>
<td>nyd to a fowle dethe And when that</td>
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<tr>
<td>885</td>
<td>pylate herde thys he slawe hym selfe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>886</td>
<td>wyth hym owen knyfe And by suche</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 13. These lines are from the first draft of the diplomatic text of the Passion chapter. The dots under the words indicate that they are exactly as they appear in the MS. The circles indicate errors; the check marks show that the corrections were entered into the computer.

### Diplomatic Text: Final Copy

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<td>men what schuld be doone wyth hym</td>
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<td>pylate herde thys he slawe hym selfe</td>
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<tr>
<td>886</td>
<td>wyth hym owen knyfe And by suche</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 14. These lines are from the final copy of the diplomatic text of the Passion chapter. A diplomatic text is an exact reproduction, but in a modern hand or font, of the base text.
So far everything that has been done to produce the diplomatic text has been standard procedure, but once this text has been produced and corrected, it is time for the editor to exercise his/her individual judgment regarding the presentation of the text. These editorial decisions will alter the appearance of the text, making it more accessible to the modern reader, but the scribal intent of the text must be respected and preserved. The editor must decide what alterations will be made to the scribal spelling—including the presentation of the Middle English letters $\theta$ (thorn) and $\zeta$ (yogh) and whether or not the scribal paragraphing (indicated by a sign rather than indentation) is to be followed. The editor also decides on the punctuation and capitalization of the text and, most importantly, on whether or not emendations should be made and on the best way to indicate these emendations to the reader.

As an rather conservative editor, I like to preserve the scribal character of the MS as much as possible. Thus, I retained the MS spelling, including the distribution of u/v and i/j ($j$ is used only as a final unit of a Roman numeral). In the interest of a more comprehensible text, abbreviations, contractions and the ampersand were expanded, and the expansions were bracketed. The exception is the proper name ihu which was expanded to iesu without brackets. End flourishes that could possibly be a final e were ignored, as were ambiguous marks and words/letters crossed out by the scribe. Paragraph marks were indicated by ‘—’.
Although I would have liked to have been able to preserve the scribal use of the Middle English letters, I decided against it and used underscoring to represent thorns and yoghs: a th in the text indicates a þ in the MS, and either g, gh, or y indicates a þ. I had used the Middle English letters in the Pentecost chapter and this proved to be a constant source of errors, as well as aggravation. Because my printer does not have the capacity to make these letters, I used an Arabic three (3) for yogh (þ) and a b for thorn (þ)—to which I had to manually add a descender. Thus, every time I reprinted a page for any reason, such as emendations, corrections of typing errors, or margin adjustments, all the b's on the page had to be manually adjusted. In Pentecost, as in Advent of this edition, the scribe frequently used a thorn. I tried to be careful, but I kept missing some of the "descenders" on the reprinted pages. Then the text would read "boo bat" or "be" instead of "poo hat" (those that) or "pe" (the). I decided that I would not use the Middle English letters until I have an upgraded printer.

For the most part, I preserved the scribal distribution of upper and lower case letters. The exception is that I capitalized the first word of the sentences that I formed through the addition of modern punctuation. Punctuation makes a great contribution toward the readability of a text, and the convention of beginning each sentence with a capital letter aids in the recognition of the
individual thought units. I try to clarify the meaning of a text through punctuation, before resorting to emendation. In a few instances, I punctuated grammatical fragments as though they were sentences because, in context, they expressed complete thoughts. As long as the meaning of the fragment was clear, I found this solution preferable to the alternative of introducing non-scribal words into the text.

In editing the Pentecost chapter, I discovered that it was an outline, not a treatise; therefore, I presented it as an outline, adding the outline conventions for the sake of clarity. In making this edition, I was pleased to learn that about two-thirds of the Passion and all of Advent are also outlines, and again, I have presented them as such. I have indicated the scribal paragraph signs by $\{\}$, but I have not necessarily followed them. The computer made it possible for me to put the diplomatic text into the outline format without having to retype it. The outline conventions of alternating numerals and letters and indentions are clearly external to the text itself, but they function as the transitions which the text lacks. The prose presentations of the liturgical chapters are unclear; even Ryan's 1993 translation of the Latin text into modern English is sometimes difficult to follow. Moreover, it seems that the numbering of the items within the text indicates that Varagine intended these chapters to be outlines. The outline conventions are similar to punctuation, serving to clarify the text without emendations.
There are times when even a conservative editor must make changes in the text. Deviations from the base text are justified when it is obviously in error or when one of the variant readings is substantially better than the reading in the base text. The emendation process requires the use of the MSS's collation which had been made earlier and, if the text is a translation—as is the GIL, a copy of the text in the original language. Like the other steps in MS editing, this process is not so difficult as it is slow and tedious. It also requires a work space large enough to spread out multiple versions of the text for comparisons.

I lined up a copy of the edited text which was now fully punctuated and arranged into outline form, Graesse's LgA, Wyzewa's LgD (this edition has only the abridged liturgical chapters, but Dunn-Lardeau's critical edition was not available when I did this step), and the transcription of the base text that also has the collation of the MSS. I read a sentence of the edited ME text; then I looked for the same sentence in the Latin and the French texts and made note of any differences. After that, I looked at the collation of the MSS to see if any of the variant readings were closer to the original Latin than was the base text. If a variant was correct/substantially better, I wrote the desired emendation in red on the edited copy. I kept a list of all the variant readings, using the exact form in which they would appear in the edited text. I also made a list of information for the endnotes.
At this point, it is easy to make mistakes, so great care must be taken to keep everything in order, especially since the lines in the edited text have been shifted into the outline format and no longer correspond to the lines in the transcribed text. This means there are two sets of line numbers to keep straight. Because all the variant readings and endnotes are recorded by line number, it is essential that these numbers accurately correspond to the lines in the edited text, not to the diplomatic text. I found most of the GIL emendations fairly routine decisions because Graesse's LgA was available for comparison; however, there were several places that called for a degree of editorial skill.

After the sentence-by-sentence comparison of the different versions of the text, I entered the emendations into the computer. As I had done in the Pentecost chapter, I made the emended readings in the text stand out by writing them in bold type set off by asterisks. The base text readings, which are listed among the variant readings at the bottom of the page, are also in bold type. I explained the rationale for all emendations in the endnotes.

If this edition were for publication, I would have indicated the emendations in a less obvious way, and I would not have felt it necessary to explain the more routine corrections. But, since this work is a dissertation, I felt I should indicate and explain every decision as thoroughly as possible.
Not all emendations are the substitution of one word for another. Sometimes the correct/better reading is the one that eliminates a word or phrase that was mistakenly included in the base text. In that case, a plus sign (+) in the edited text indicates that the base text had something more, but I have chosen not to include it; the omission is supplied at the bottom of the page, as are any other variant readings.

Since I am editing a Middle English text, I believe that I should restrict changes in the base text to only those variant readings found in the other Middle English MSS. There were, however, times when the Latin text clearly indicated that the reading(s) in all of the Middle English MSS had omitted an important word or phrase; these omission errors must be noted and the corrections supplied. But if none of the Middle English MSS contained that particular reading, I did not put the correction into the body of the text. For that reason, empty brackets [ ] occasionally appear in the text to indicate that there was an omission in the text, but there was no justification in any of the Middle English MSS for an emendation. The correction was placed in bold type at the bottom of the page, along with enough explanation for a sensible reading. The endnotes further explain the emendations.

A few times the two symbols appear in combination: [ + ]. This indicates that an incorrect/inferior reading was omitted from the base text, but none of the ME MSS
could justify an emendation. Both the omission and the recommended correction are supplied at the bottom of the page and are further discussed in the endnotes.

The penultimate step in the editing of a text is to type the appropriate variant readings and alternative reading suggestions at the bottom of each page. Because the variant readings have similar line numbers and many variations of letter groupings in close proximity, careful proofreading is essential. I checked the list of variant readings against the original collation, correcting the errors I found. I then read the list aloud while an assistant followed on the first draft, marking errors and writing corrections. After that, I entered the corrections into the computer. I have seen editions where the variant readings were placed as endnotes. This would be easier to type than the footnote format, but I do not feel the variant readings are useful unless they are placed on the same page as the text, so that they can be mentally substituted for the given reading.

The final step in the actual editing process, although not the last step in presenting the completed work, is to write the endnotes. These contain a more detailed explanation of textual problems and provide the reader with any background information that will serve to clarify the text. The endnotes in this edition contain more detail than the constraint of space is likely to allow in a published text, but for a dissertation, I thought it best to be thorough.
The only point of disagreement concerning the authorship of the *LgA* is the spelling of the author's name. Jacobus a Voragine (often used in catalogues), Iacopo da Varagine, Jacobus de Varagine and James of Varazze are the more common versions. I used the Varagine spelling because it is found in the earliest documents (Hamer 11), and it most accurately reflects the place of his birth, Varazze. In the introduction to his edition of the *LgD*, Theodor de Wyzewa states that *Jacobus de Varagine* was the correct spelling of the name, but that a scribe making an early copy of the *LgD* substituted an o for the first a in his name, an error that became more widely known and used than the correct name (1). Following Brenda Dunn-Lardeau and the other French speaking scholars who refer to Varagine as Jacques, I have Anglicized his first name as James.

James Varagine was born c. 1230 in Varazze (Varaggio) on the Gulf of Genoa. He entered the Dominicans c. 1244 where he was noticed because of his exemplary conduct and scholarship. He became a professor of theology and had an exceptional talent for preaching. The Dominicans made him the Prior Provinical of their Lombardy Province in 1267. Once he was appointed Archbishop of Genoa, but he declined the appointment out of humility. He was appointed again in 1292; this time he accepted the office and remained the Archbishop of Genoa until his death on July 14, 1298.
It seems that the centuries of criticism of Varagine's legendary, however justifiable, have lessened the stature of the man himself. Had Varagine lived a century earlier, he might have been able to establish a more academic reputation; he was, after all, a university theologian, a renowned preacher, a prolific writer, and perhaps the first to translate the Bible into Italian. Unfortunately, he is best known for his worst literary work, the LgA. But even if the LgA had been more accurate, Varagine would still be in the immense academic shadow of his contemporary, a fellow Italian and Dominican, Thomas Aquinas (1225-74).

Although Varagine's scholarly reputation was tarnished by his legendary, his personal life was so exemplary that he was included in one. The July 13 entry in Short Lives of the Dominican Saints is the life of "Blessed James of Voragine, Bishop and Confessor." It seems appropriate that the man who made a legendary famous in his own time—and infamous thereafter—should be remembered in a "legend" of his own which concludes:

. . . The saintly Archbishop of Genoa gently fell asleep in the Lord in July of the year 1298. His body was laid under the high altar of the Church of Saint Dominic in Genoa, where it received the veneration of the faithful until A.D. 1798, when it was translated to the Church of the Friars Preachers at Santa Maria di Castello. . . . Blessed James was beatified by Pius VII., A.D. 1816. (Proctor 196)

Butler noted that the fullest accounts of Varagine's life are found in Echard's Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum, Paris 1719 seq., Echard and Quetif and Touron's Histoire

The *Legenda aurea* is a compilation of saints' lives interspersed with treatises concerning Marian and other liturgical feasts and seasons celebrated by the Catholic Church. The lives and treatises are arranged following the liturgical calendar which begins with Advent and ends with the time after Pentecost. The *Lga* has no fixed date of composition. Butler and Reames date the substantive completion between 1260 and 1270 with some lives being added later. Dunn-Lardeau narrows this time frame dating the work c. 1261-1266. Hamer puts the substantive completion at 1267 before Varagine became the Provincial of Lombardy.

Varagine called his legendary *Legenda sanctorum*. Sometimes *Historia Lombardica* is erroneously added as a subtitle. It was given the title *Legenda aurea*, i.e., Golden Legend, because of its immediate and immense
popularity. The number of extant MSS, which is set near one thousand, reflects this unprecedented popularity of Varagine's work. The name Legenda aurea soon replaced his original title. Varagine did not call himself the author, but the compiler of stories taken from different sources. Although Butler gives Vincent of Beauvais's Speculum historiale as a likely source for Varagine, Reames accepts Antoine Dondaine's theory that both Vincent and Varagine used the earlier Abbreviatio in gestis et miraculis sanctorum by Jean de Mailly (244 n.79). Reames cites de Mailly's Abbreviatio and Bartholomew of Trent's Epilogus in gesta sanctorum as the most probable sources for the LgA (69-70).

In working with the liturgical chapters, I have found that Varagine was knowledgable in theological, spiritual, scriptural, and historical matters. He often cited patristic writings, especially those of Augustine, Bernard of Clairvaux, Gregory the Great, Jerome, and John Chrysostom, as well as the Bible, the Glossa ordinaria, the Gospel of Nicodemus, Comestor's Scholastic History, and the chronicles of Eusebius of Caesarea and the Venerable Bede.

Jean de Vignay and the Légende dorée

Jean de Vignay who translated the LgA into French was born near Bayeux between 1282-5 and died sometime after 1340. He became a "hospitalier de l'ordre de saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas" and lived in their monastery in Paris (Hamer 14). His translation of the LgA was done under royal patronage, as were many of his works. The Légende
The *Légende dorée* by de Vignay was the most popular of the eleven known independent translations of the *LgA* into French. In the previously mentioned article, Knowles described de Vignay as "un traducteur d'une fidélité extrême;" however, she also criticized his clumsy style, his inconsistent sentence construction, and his mistranslations of the Latin text, especially in areas of history, geography and mythology. One of the most often cited criticisms of de Vignay's *LgD* was made by Paul Meyer who called his translation "un mot à mot inintelligent et dépourvu de style" (6). In the introduction to her edition of the *LgD*, Dunn-Lardeau summarized and frequently refuted the criticism that has been given to de Vignay as a translator (184-88). In defending de Vignay, Dunn-Lardeau said that there were no traditions or theories on the best way to translate from one language to another in the fourteenth century. She says that de Vignay's "rigoristes" method of closely translating the Latin words and following the Latin syntax began a trend of "relatinisation" in subsequent Middle French translations of other Latin texts (186-87).
Dunn-Lardeau admitted that de Vignay's practice of translating the Latin words "tunc, deinde, cum," and "ergo" with the French "et" detracts from the logic and style of his translation (187), but she also said that many of the incorrect translations of which de Vignay has been accused were not mistakes, but rather deliberate adaptations to his audience. Examples of this adaptation include the translation of "miles" by "chevalier" and "catechumenus" by "nouvel en la foy." Dunn-Lardeau also mentioned that on occasion de Vignay inserted explanatory phrases to help his readers to understand the text, for example, "Le Tibre, qui est un fleve de Romme." Dunn-Lardeau thinks highly of de Vignay's translation which was both faithful to the Latin original and sensitive to his French audience (188).

There are twenty extant MSS of de Vignay's original translation, the earliest of which is dated 1348. His text was modified twice during the fifteenth century; these changes resulted in what became known as the (a), (b), and (c) versions. Version (a) is de Vignay's 1348 translation; version (b), a 1402 adaptation by Carmelite Jean Golein, added a supplement of over 40 French saints known as the "Festes nouvelles"; version (c), made in Flanders sometime between 1440–70, changed the traditional order of the chapters and included several additional saints. Although once a matter of academic dispute, today de Vignay's (a) version of the Lgd is generally accepted as the exemplar for the English translation, the Gil (Dunn-Lardeau 186).
Pierce Butler concluded that the Middle English translator, the Synfulle Wrecche, was not reliable when he said in a colophon (discussed in the next section) that the Gil was "drawen out of Frensshe into Englisshe." Butler held that the English translator worked directly from the Latin text (73); however, his theory has not been supported by more recent scholars. Sr. M. Jeremy said the Gil was made from a French exemplar but that the Latin text was also available to serve as a final authority (424). Hamer, who consulted six LgD MSS in editing Three Lives from the Gil, refuted the examples on which Butler based his conclusion (18-9), and he, too, stated that the Gil was translated into English from a French exemplar; moreover, he felt there was little, if any, consultation of the Latin. George Reinecke, editor of Lydgate's Saint Albon and Saint Amphibalus, also said that, at least for the St. Albon chapter, French was an intermediate step between the Latin LgA and the English Gil. Most recently, a chart in Dunn-Lardeau's edition of the LgD shows a direct line of influence from de Vignay's (a) text to the 1438 Gil (41).

I had substantively completed editing both the Passion and Advent chapters of the Gil before I had access to a copy of Dunn-Lardeau's LgD; thus, my edited text was compared only to the severely abridged chapters of Wyzewa's text which did not provide enough information to confirm or to refute the claim that the LgD was the sole exemplar for
the Gil. However, based on the texts I had to work with and limiting my conclusion to those chapters I have edited, I tend to agree with Sr. M. Jeremy's statement that the Latin text was, at least, consulted from time to time. I found the Gil's Passion and Advent chapters very close to the Latin text, closer, in fact, than the Gil's Pentecost chapter which occasionally deviated from the LgA.

The Synfulle Wrecche and the Gilte Legende

The English translation of the LgA was made in 1436 by an anonymous translator known only through the following colophon to MS Douce 372 of the Gil:

And also here endith the lives of Seintis that is callid in latyne Legenda Aurea, And in English the gilte legende, the which is drawn out of Frensshe into Englisshe The yere ofoure lorde, a MICCCC and xxxvjij by a synfulle wrecche whos name I beseche Ihesu crist bi his meritis of his passionne and of alle these holie sentis afore written, that hit mai be written in the boke of everlastinge life. Amen. (Hamer 16)

Several theories concerning the identity of the Wrecche have been put forth over the years. In 1877, Carl Horstmann tentatively suggested that the Wrecche was Osbern Bokenham, the Augustinian friar of Suffolk who wrote Legendys of Hooly Wummen and Mappula Angliae and who said he had written a legendary "compiled of legenda aurea and . . . many other seyntis of Englonde," but he later withdrew his suggestion because the English saints mentioned by Bokenham were not in any of the Gil MSS known to Horstmann (Hamer 17). In 1946, Sr. M. Jeremy also suggested Bokenham because some of the Gil MSS discovered after Horstmann's
time contained additional lives of some English saints (Jeremy 427). However, Görlach decisively refuted the idea of Osbern Bokenham being the Wrecche by showing that most of the additional lives of the English saints were not added to the Gil by the Wrecche himself, but by one of the later copyists (Hamer 17).

The exception to Görlach's theory that the additional lives were added at a later time and by someone other than the Wrecche is the legend of Sts. Alban and Amphibalus. This particular chapter seems to be the work of the original English translator, the Synfulle Wrecche, and it may hold a clue to his identity. The most recent suggestion, based on some similarities between the Alban and Amphibalus chapter and the colophon of MS D, is that the Wrecche was a monk at the Benedictine Abbey of St. Albans in Hertford, just north of London.

Hamer pointed out that the Gil's Life of St. Alban appeared to be translated from French, but it was not in the LgD—neither was it in the LgA. It was, however, similar in style and diction to the rest of the Gil. Moreover, the Alban and Amphibalus chapter is found in all of the Gil MSS while the additional lives, the ones added by a later copyist, are in only three MSS. Thus, Hamer concluded that the Alban chapter was most likely added to the Gil by the original English translator (17). Also, the Alban and Amphibalus chapter was inserted into the Gil's order of liturgical feasts (the 79th of 179 chapters) while the
additional lives were added on to the end of the book. This placement within the text in all the MSS seems to indicate that it was added by the translator rather by a later copyist. Hamer noted that the Alban chapter contains the words "the noble and worthi king Offa, foundour of this monasterie" which a translator was likely to omit if he were not himself at the monastery of St. Albans. Finally, Alban concludes much like the colophon to MS D in which the English translator identifies himself as a Synfylle Wrecche, [emphasis added]:

But yef any desire to know my name, wete they wele that yef they will call me a true man and a true name thei moste call me most wrecched and most sinfull. To Rome I went to putte from me the error of paynimes, and ther I resseiued bapteme, and for to haue remission of my synnes this boke I brought in my bondes to be examined of the Romaynes that yef it were not as it shulde be thei to correct it into beter beoure Lorde Ihesu Crist that liueth and regnithe worlde witheoute ende amen.

(Hamer 17)

George F. Reinecke, too, made a connection between the Synfulle Wrecche and the monastery of St. Albans. In the introduction to his edition of John Lydgate's Saint Albon and Saint Amphibalus, Reinecke stated that in 1439, Lydgate was commissioned for this work by John Whethamstede, Abbot of St. Albans, who supplied Lydgate with all the available versions of the lives of these saints, including, Reinecke believes, the one contained in the Gil which had been translated the previous year. The only way the St. Albans monastery could have had a copy of so lengthy a book, translated just one year earlier, was for the translator to
have been a resident at St. Albans, a translator who wanted to honor the saint for whom his own monastery was named by including his life in the famous legendary. Reinecke concluded that Lydgate's primary source was a conflated Latin text that is no longer extant, but he also found evidence that Lydgate occasionally referred to the prose vernacular legend of St. Alban contained in the Gil (xxxiii-iv). He notes a similarity between a description in Lydgate's St. Albon—"Of all wretchis the symplest man"—and the Wrecche of the Gil (185, 264). Although Reinecke's published conclusion was the tentative statement: "It is not impossible that the Gilte Legende was translated at St. Albans" (xxxiii), he spoke with assurance in class lectures and in discussions concerning my master's thesis that the Synfulle Wrecche had been a monk at St. Albans. In fact, he usually referred to him as "Brother Wrecche."

Although the identity of the Synfulle Wrecche remains uncertain, his translation, the Gilte Legende, is quite clear. In comparing the Gil to William Caxton's 1483 printed edition, The Golden Legend (GoL), Sr. M. Jeremy found that the Gil was "comparatively free from errors" and that it transmitted the sense of the Latin original far more accurately than Caxton's edition did (424). She praised the Wrecche's "clear, rhythmical, and dramatic rendering" of the Gil, saying that it made Caxton's translation appear "garrulous and bungling." She criticized the Wrecche's tendency to overuse doublets, but she added that his
alliterative expressions were quite effective, concluding that if the anonymous translator of the Gil had used his name, he might have had an honored place among fifteenth century writers (426-27). Hamer, too, complimented the Wrecche's ability to give a "faithful and readable rendering of his source," as well as his "plain style and straightforward parataxis" which produced an attractive and fluent prose (23).

After editing the Pentecost chapter, I did not wholly support the opinions of Sr. Jeremy and Hamer. I had found the English translation quite good in the first half of the chapter, but it became careless and/or inaccurate in the second half. However, the Passion and Advent chapters are consistently well done. On occasion, I find the simple translations in the Gil preferable to Ryan's 1993 rendering of the LgA into modern English which takes more liberties with the text than does the Gil; thus, I now agree with Sr. Jeremy and Hamer's positive evaluations of the Wrecche as a translator.

While The Gilte Legende is similar in its order and contents to both its Latin and French predecessors, there are differences among the versions--Hamer has a very useful listing comparing the order and contents of the MSS of the LgA and LgD with Graesse's printed edition of the LgA and the MSS of the Gil (8-11). Perhaps the most obvious difference is that the Advent chapter, placed first in the Latin and French texts, is at the end of the Gil; thus, in
this edition, following the order of the GiL, the Advent chapter has been placed after the Passion chapter. This repositioning of the chapters resulted in the chapters of the GiL having different numbers than those in the LgA and LgD. However, the order in which the rest of the chapters appear in the GiL is generally the same as in the LgA and LgD.

There are five chapters in the LgA and LgD that are not included in any of the GiL MSS: Resurrection, Virgin of Antioch, Stephen Pope, Beheading of John the Baptist, and Catherine (the GiL Catherine is not the same Catherine that is in the LgA and LgD). Also, Cecilia is repeated twice in the GiL, and some saints' lives have been added to the GiL that are not found in the LgA.

In 1899 Butler noted that MS Additional 11565 contained saints' lives not found in the LgA nor in the other GiL MSS. He listed them as: Thomas Becket (incomplete), Dunstan (incomplete), Aldelme, Theophile (incomplete), Swythen, Kenelme, Chadde, Cuthbert, Feith, Dorathe, Brandan (incomplete), and Michael (second part) (70). In an Appendix, Butler related that he had just learned of two new MSS containing more of these "additional" lives. One MS was Lambeth 72, and the other he called the Ashburnham MS (now known as Additional 35298). Among the additional lives found in these new MSS were Edward King and Confessor, Winifred, and Erkenwelde (149-52).
In 1978 Hamer reported that MS Lambeth 72 also contained Barbara, Cain, The Three Kings of Cologne, and another version of Jerome. After analyzing the contents of MSS Add. 11565, Add. 35298, and Lambeth 72 Hamer concluded:

[These MSS] with some minor omissions and substitutions, share a set of twenty-one additional lives which are mostly lives of English saints and, apart from Dorothy, are basically deversified Lives from the South English Legendary.

Hamer speculated that these "additional lives" were compiled to supplement the Gil and were spread into the different MSS by collateral transmission (20). Just as over forty French saints were added to the LgD by Jean Golein, so, too, an English scribe honored his own national saints by giving them a place in the well-known legendary.

HISTORICAL AND LITERARY BACKGROUND OF THE LEGENDA

Butler and Reames agree that Varagine did not intend his Legenda sanctorum to be read by the general public, but they disagree about his specific purpose. Butler claimed the prologue and overall plan of the book indicated that it was meant to be a "service book"—part lectionary and part catechism. He based his conclusion on the liturgical arrangement of the LgA which is divided into five sections: Advent, Christmas to Septuagesima, Septuagesima to Easter, Easter to the octave of Pentecost, and Pentecost to Advent, each section containing what Butler called "treatises" on the liturgical seasons and major feast days that fell within each period of time (9). On the other hand, Reames believes, and I agree, that Varagine intended his work to be
used as a reference book that the educated clergy could consult in preparing sermons (86). She does not think it could have been a "service book" in the liturgical sense because neither the laity nor many parish priests could have understood the Latin. Furthermore, the liturgical and doctrinal chapters which divide the book into sections presupposed a sophisticated theological background which the laity and lower ranking clergy did not possess.

Although Varagine did not intend for the LgA to circulate among the uneducated general public, it did. It was an immediate success. The LgA was more than popular; it was a "cultural institution," a "best-seller" for one hundred and seventy-five years before printing was established in Europe (Reames 3). Almost one thousand extant MSS containing all or part of the LgA, as well as its innumerable translations and adaptations into French, Spanish, Italian, Provençal, English, Dutch, High and Low German and Bohemian attest to its popularity. Printing expanded the LgA's already wide circulation. Between 1470 and 1500 at least one hundred and fifty-six editions (eighty-seven Latin, sixty-nine vernacular) were printed; in comparison, before 1501 there were only one hundred and twenty-eight printed editions of the Bible (Reames 4).

Butler and Reames hold divergent views concerning the literary merits of the LgA. Butler wrote at a time when the LgA was experiencing a sudden increase in popularity and sympathy. He shared the view expressed by Hippolyte
Delehaye and Bollandist defenders of the LgA: the LgA may appear ridiculous to modern readers, but it was a great and noble work if judged by the standards of the thirteenth century (8). Butler also said that compared to the unorganized and verbose legendaries which preceded it, Varagine's LgA was concise, organized, accurate and indicated a scholarly use of source material (5).

Reames agrees that Varagine precisely and carefully edited the material for the LgA, but in doing so he destroyed rather than enhanced the objective value of the legends. From her study of more than forty chapters of the LgA, Reames comments that "the surprising thing about the Legenda is the consistency with which it sacrifices what most serious readers, in most eras, would consider 'the essential part'." She illustrates instances where Varagine carefully preserved the concrete details and even anecdotes from his sources, in many cases quoting large sections verbatim to convey the saints' words and actions accurately, but then he completely "discard[ed] the lessons, both explicit and implicit," that were the primary reasons for relating the event. "In effect, the rind . . . is retained while most of the fruit is cast away" (85).

If the LgA had served the purpose for which it had been compiled—a resource book for educated clergy—its historical and theological impact might have been different. Varagine himself had the reputation of a great preacher in an order dedicated to preaching; therefore, he knew that
adding details, anecdotes, and little-known facts to the sermons increased the interest of the audience. The information that Varagine put into the LgA was meant to supply preachers with interesting background material; he could reasonably assume that the educated clergy would already know the morals of the stories.

Unfortunately, when these severely and selectively edited legends circulated among the general public, the results were some highly unorthodox views about the saints and a general misunderstanding about faith and miracles. Because the saints' lives had been detached from their "lessons," the information that remained ran the gamut from silly and fictitious to superstitious and heretical. Some examples of fictitious information include the ludicrous etymologies of saints' names, like the fanciful etymology of Cecilia popularized by Chaucer's Second Nun, and the etymologies of the names of Pontius Pilate and Vienne in the Passion chapter. Another example, also in the Passion chapter, is the account of the diabolical disturbances that refused to allow Pilate's corpse to rest. More serious theological errors are found in the miracle stories, like Benedict's victory over Zalla, where power is attributed to the saint rather than to God (Reames 96). Although accepted in the Middle Ages, the blatant anti-Semitism of the work, which is occasionally seen in the Passion chapter and is especially evident in the chapter on James the Less, is not only incorrect, but also offensive by modern standards.
A little over one hundred years after the *LgA* was first translated into English, its immense popularity faded quickly. The traditional explanation for this decline was that the era of Reformation-Renaissance could not abide the idea of Catholic saints; therefore, the entire hagiographic genre was dismissed as ridiculous. Attacks made on the *LgA* or any of its vernacular translations during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries were considered part of the general anti-Catholic mood of the times as witnessed by the degradation of the word *legend*. This word was originally used in connection with the life of a saint, especially a martyr, but it later developed into a pejorative term for a fictitious story.

Reames, who disagrees with the traditional explanation, argues convincingly that when the *LgA* began circulating among the general population, the book was attacked and denounced by the Catholic Church itself. She asserts that it was not the Protestant reformers, but the Catholic educators in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries who condemned the *LgA* for conspicuous excesses which "impaired its religious and social usefulness" (50). In support of her position Reames cites one of the most outspoken critics of the *LgA*, Christian humanist Juan Luis Vives (1492-1540), a Catholic spokesman for educational and social reform, who wrote:

> Quam indigna est Divis et hominibus Christianis illa Sanctorum historia, quae *Legenda aurea* nominatur, quam nescio cur *auream* appellant, quum
scripta sit ab homine ferrei oris, plumbei cordis!
Quid foedius dicit potest illo libro? O quam pu-
dendum est nobis Christianis, non esse praestan-
tissimos nostrorum Divorum actus, verius, et ac-
curatitum, memoriae mandatos, sive ad cognitionem,
sive ad imitationem tantae virtutis, quum de suis
ducibus, de philosophis, et sapientibus hominibus
tanta cura Graeci et Romani auctores perscripse-
runt! (De disciplinis, vol. 1, De causis corrup-
tarum artium, bk. 2, ch. 6 [Opera omnia, 6:108])
(Reames 234 n. 19)

How unworthy of the saints, and of all Christians,
is that history of the saints called the Golden
Legend! I cannot imagine why they call it golden,
when it was written by a man with a mouth of iron
and a heart of lead. What could be more abomina-
ble than this book? What a disgrace to us Chris-
tians that the preeminent deeds of our saints have
not been more truly and accurately preserved, so
that we might know or imitate such virtue, when
the Greek and Roman authors have written with such
care about their generals, philosophers, and
sages! (trans. Reames 52)

Thus, Vives, and other Catholic scholars, denounced the LgA
for changing the lives of the saints from "edifying" into
"exaggerated and unbelievable," which, in turn, harmed
religion by "lessening the credibility of what is true"
(Reames 52).

Even the Dominicans were reluctant to associate them-
selves with the LgA. In a Catalogue of Dominican works
completed in 1311 by Bernard Gui, Varagine was listed only
among the "lesser lights" of the Order and the adjectives
"good," "useful," and "very apt" which were applied to the
works of the others are conspicuously absent from his entry.

By the early fifteenth century, Lawrence Pignon's Catalogi
et Chronica sums up the highlights of Varagine's career,
but the only works of Varagine mentioned as "still in use
by the order are some sermons" (Reames 39-40). After Varagine's beatification in 1816 and the renewed interest in the lives of the saints in the late 1800's and early 1900's, the Dominicans acknowledged the popularity of the LgA but made no comment on its quality. The Short Lives of the Dominican Saints written in 1901 described Varagine's "marvellous progress" in learning and sanctity, his "formost rank" among Italian orators, his "valuable" book of sermons, and the "tender devotion" in his treasise praising the Blessed Mother, but there were no complimentary adjectives for the LgA which was described as:

... a collection of Lives of the Saints, known as the "Golden Legend," which became the most popular book of spiritual reading in the Middle Ages. It was translated into various languages, and was perhaps more widely diffused than any other work before the invention of printing. (Proctor 195)

The very recent interest in the LgA and its vernacular branches is likely to soften some of the harsh criticism that has been aimed at Varagine's work in the past. The papers presented by Dunn-Lardeau and the other scholars who participated in the international conferences on the LgA in 1983 and 1993 stress the legendary's unparalleled popularity rather than its shortcomings. It is reasonable to assume that scholars devoting themselves to long-term projects like the 1997 edition of the Lgd or the in-progress work on the Gil are going to find some positive value in the subject dominating their academic careers.
THE EDITED CHAPTERS: THE PASSION AND ADVENT

Like the Pentecost chapter, Advent and the first two-thirds of the Passion chapter were written as outlines that present their material according to a scholastic practice of making a point by quoting authorities. All three of these outline chapters followed the same basic format: a listing of the points to be discussed, a statement of fact about each point, and examples from Scripture and the Church Fathers to illustrate the point. In citing Scripture, Varagine used the accepted medieval methodology of reading the people and events in the Old Testament as fore­shadowings of the New Testament. Because this practice is no longer accepted, the contemporary reader may find that Varagine's selection of biblical passages does not truly illustrate his point; however, the medieval audience would have accepted the passages without question as God's verification of the writer's point.

Like the saints' lives, the Passion and Advent chapters were subject to Varagine's severe and selective editing practices, but unlike the legends in which he kept the rind and tossed out the fruit, in these chapters he served the fruit in a unique and somewhat unorthodox compote that many catechized modern readers would find unpalatable. Varagine emphasized a deity who is remote and uninvolved with mankind except to dispense swift and terrible punishment to sinners. Reames describes Varagine's rigorously held views on God, man, and sin as very similar to those
taught by the later Puritan reformers (136). Although possibly not heretical in a strict theological sense, Varagine's disinclination to portray the love and mercy of God is not in keeping with Christian orthodoxy.

The Passion Chapter

The Passion chapter is divided into two sections: a theological outline on the Passion of Christ and an anti-hagiographic narrative on the life of a great sinner, Pontius Pilate. The outline contains three main points. The first point explains that the passion was bitter because of its shame, injustice, infidelity, brutal pain, and pervasive torment. The second point shows that the passion was contemptible because Christ was mocked by the Jewish high priest and elders, by Herod, by Pilate and the Roman soldiers, and by the crowd around the cross. The final point, the Passion's value for mankind, is divided into two parts: first, the Passion benefited mankind by taking away sins, giving grace, and allowing entrance into glory; second, these benefits were possible because the Passion appeased God's anger, cured mankind's sin, drew mankind to God, and overcame mankind's enemy, the Devil.

Although all the points are given more or less equal development and are adequately discussed, the Passion lacks passion. The suffering and death of Christ are treated with clinical detachment. Varagine's terse listing of points gives the impression that he has included the chapter out of duty rather than devotion. Only a few of the
longer quotations from the authorities, like Augustine or Bernard of Clairvaux, evoke feelings of sorrow and gratitude for the sufferings which Christ endured. Furthermore, the outline conveys very little about the personality of Jesus. The reader would have only a vague sense of a real person behind the suffering were it not for occasional glimpses of him in the citations. Varagine seems to be uncomfortable with the idea of an incarnate deity, especially one who suffers and dies. With the final point, the appropriateness of the passion, Varagine seems to feel it necessary to assure the reader that Christ's passion was of true benefit to mankind.

In analyzing several of the saints' lives, Reames points out that Varagine repeatedly distances God from humanity; he favors a God who is remote, apart from creation, and unsullied by its sinfulness (139). For example, in the life of Augustine, Varagine has Monica, Augustine's mother, "pray to a deity who apparently remains enthroned in a distant heaven" and "omits the discovery of Christ's humility from his account of Augustine's spiritual education" (Reames 140). Because Varagine is reluctant to describe God descending, in any way, from a remote, spiritual realm in order to interact with mankind, it comes as no surprise that he seldom mentions Christ in the legendary. Reames' claim that Varagine favored the idea of a remote, unapproachable God is strongly supported by his dispassionate treatment of Christ's passion.
Although reluctant to portray the humble humanity of Christ, Varagine is quite eager to present his reader with a vivid picture of the wicked Pontius Pilate and his heinous crimes. Varagine devotes the final third of the Passion chapter to an apocryphal narrative about the life and death of Pilate. The strong sense of satisfaction over Pilate receiving his just punishment stands in a peculiar juxtaposition to the detached, emotionless treatment of Christ in the beginning of the chapter. Even in the theological outline (lines 180–225), Varagine puts more emphasis on Pilate's unworthiness to hear the truth than he does on Jesus, the embodiment of Truth. Ironically, in the Passion chapter, the evil exploits of Pilate overshadow the redemptive suffering of Christ.

The Pilate story is fictitious to the point of being ridiculous, and its inclusion weakens the Passion chapter in ways that I do not believe Varagine intended. The Pilate story undermines the Passion with a double irony. Not only is Pilate a more memorable character in the chapter than is Christ, but Pilate's death as an unrepentant sinner also undercuts the passion which Christ endured in order to save sinners. It is probable that Varagine used the Pilate story to illustrate one of his favorite themes, "the vindication of the saint against his adversaries" (Reames 97). However, that theme is not applicable to Christ who forgave his enemies (Matt. 5:44, Luke 23:34) and whose mission was to save sinners, not to punish them (John
Instead of proclaiming the victory of Christ over the forces of evil, the Passion chapter ends with a grotesque account of evil spirits terrorizing the townsfolk by tossing about the corpse of Pilate. Thus, at the end of the chapter, it appears that the power of evil still holds sway, negating the efficaciousness of Christ's passion.

The Advent Chapter

The Advent chapter is presented entirely as an outline. In a brief introduction, Varagine correlates the four weeks of the Advent season to the four comings of Christ: in the flesh, in death, in thought, and in judgment. He says that the Church is especially concerned with the coming in flesh and the coming in judgment, so these two comings are the two main sections of his outline. The first section, which describes the causes and effects of Christ's birth, is less than half of the length of the second section, which details the return of Christ at the end of time.

Varagine's discomfort with the idea of an incarnate deity is evident because there is no mention of stables, swaddling clothes, stars, or shepherds. Instead, the three sub-points of Christ's coming in flesh concern the appropriateness, the necessity, and the usefulness of Christ's first coming. The appropriateness of this coming resides in the fact that Christ came at exactly the right time to save mankind. This coming was necessary because the whole world was sick and only Christ could provide the cure. For
the final point, the usefulness of Christ's coming, the outline lists the various explanations given by Luke, Augustine, Gregory, and Bernard. Their reasons include: his forgiving of sins, his giving of eternal life, his teaching of new things, his working of miracles, and his dwelling with mankind through Faith. As in the Passion chapter, the quotations sometimes reveal the emotion of the speakers; however Varagine himself has taken a detached, didactic approach to Christ's birth. He again reassures his reader that such drastic measures on the part of God were the only means through which mankind could have been saved.

Each of the three sub-points mentioned above is given fairly equal treatment; however, compared to the next part of the chapter, these points are brief and the outline moves quickly. There is little original material; Varagine relies on the quotations from scripture and the Church authorities to explain the points. Christ, the embodiment of God's love for his people, is as noticeably absent here as he is in the Passion chapter. Varagine's Advent does not anticipate the joy of Christmas. Its tone is as heavy as the sins of mankind; its emphasis is on mankind's guilt and need to be saved. Avoiding all mention of Christ's humanity and the lowly circumstances of his birth, Varagine focuses on the power of the Redeemer who has delivered wretched, fallen mankind from the clutches of death and sin.
After the selective treatment of Christ's first coming, Varagine moves on to his best written section on a favorite theme, the coming of Christ as Judge at the end of time. From Varagine's well developed points and carefully chosen references, it is clear that he has a self-appointed mission to fill his readers with the fear of God. There is no reticence in his description of Christ as the wrathful judge who is eager to condemn and swift to punish. Varagine supplies considerable detail and development in describing the events that will precede and those that will accompany the Final Judgment. First, he explains the things that will come before the final judgment, such as dreadful apocalyptic signs, the deceit by the anti-Christ, and the purging and purifying fire. He then recounts a series of events that will accompany the judgment: the coming of the Judge, the division into groups of those who are judged, the signs of Christ's passion, the sternness of the judgment, the accusations against the sinner, the witnesses against the sinner, the self-accusations by the sinner, and the irrevocable sentence by the Judge.

The picture of God that emerges from Varagine's selective editing in the Advent chapter concurs with Reames' findings in the hagiographical chapters:

There is no way of making the evidence yield a very optimistic message about God's relationship with his creatures. It may be that Jacobus was more susceptible than his Dominican predecessors had been to the apocalyptic currents of the time, with their despairing view of the present world and their focus on the Judgment ahead. Or he may
simply have been less able to reconcile the evils he saw about him with the notion of a Deity who actually loved fallen man and descended to lift him up. In any case, the whole thrust of his theological imagination appears to have been adversarial and puritan rather than inclusive and humanistic. (195)

The validity of Reames' assessment about Varagine's image of God is clearly evident in the Advent chapter of the LgA. There it is easy to see Varagine's apocalyptic vision of the world as a place of darkness and sin, as well as his eager anticipation of Christ's return in his power and glory to punish sinners. There is only a brief mention of the reward for the just (lines 453-475); the overwhelming theme is that sinners will not escape their well-deserved punishment. There is a mention of the signs of Christ's passion, for they will accompany him to judgment. However, they are no longer signs of his suffering and death, for they will have become signs of his triumphant victory, shining more brightly than the sun (lines 484-94).

Varagine's apocalyptic vision is myopic. It is similar to the Old Testament's Day of the Lord described by Joel as a "day of darkness and gloom . . . and exceedingly terrible" (2:1-11). Yet Joel also told the people that if they would return to the Lord they would find him "gracious and merciful . . . slow to anger, rich in kindness, and relenting in punishment" (2:13). Moreover, in the New Testament's apocalypse (Revelation 21:5), the Lamb says, "See, I make all things new," but Varagine fails to see the forgiving and restorative nature of God.
Although not so obvious as in the Passion chapter, there is a certain irony in the ending of Advent's final judgment when the wretched sinners are trapped with the wrathful Judge above, the confusion of hell below, their sins on their right, demons on their left, and no place to flee (lines 650-62). Since the purpose of Christ's coming as man is to redeem mankind from precisely the situation described above (Romans 6:1-14), the final emphasis on the punishment of sinners undercuts the first part of the chapter which details the usefulness and benefits of Christ's coming in flesh.

Because the season of Advent marks the beginning of the liturgical year, the Advent chapter is placed first in the LgA and in the LgD, also. However, the Synfulle Wrecche placed it at the end of the GIL; thus, I have placed it behind the Passion. The Wrecche's placement could have been done accidentally. He might have had an exemplar in which the first pages had become unbound and were re-inserted at the end. However, it is more likely that the Wrecche deliberately placed the chapter at the end of the book to coincide with its setting at the end of time. He might have felt that the apocalyptic scenes of Christ's Second Coming and Final Judgement were a fitting way to end a book about the saints who had been judged worthy of eternal life.
The passion: Text and Notes

Middle English Text: The passyon of our lord

[f. 49 r.] The passyon of our lord was byttter by sorowe, + dysputefull by yllusyou[n], and frutfull by prophyte.

I. And the sorowe was causyd of v thynges:

A. The fyrst was that the passyon was schameful:

1. For the schamefull place. For that place of Caluerye was there where wycked doers were punyssched.

2. And after, for the dysputuous torment. For he was dampned to ryght a foule dethe, and the crosse that tyme was torment to theves. And then, the crosse was in that tyme in grete dyspyte—sche ys nowe in grete worschyp[pe]. Whereof Austyn seythe: "The crosse that was *torment* of theves ys nowe

[f. 49 v.] borne in the forhede of Emperours. Yf god graunted so moche worschyp[pe] to hys torment, howe moche yevyth he to his seruaunt?"

---

1 lord] lord Iesu H, 2 +] all MSS have by dyspute-full] dispityage H1; disputung A H2 D by yllusyou[n] illusiou[n] G 6 For thel of the H2 D 7 therel omit H2 D wycked] the w. A 11-12 was . . . tyme] omit H2 D 12 then] there G H, A the . . . tyme] omit A was in] omit H1; was G 12-13 in gretel was in g. G H, A; was hid in g. H2; was had in g. D 13 schel and s. A 14 Austyn] Seynte A. A 15 torment] tormentyd L; the t. A ys nowel] is nowe is nowe H2 16 borne] bore H, H2 D inl] on H, Yf] omit G graunted] graunt A H2 D
3. For hys schamefull felawschip[pel]. For he was deputyd with cursyd men—that ys to sey, with theves that were wykked. But after, oone was convertyd that hyght Dysmas, which hynge *on* hys ryght syde, as yt ys in the gospelle of Nycodemys. And th[e] other, that hynge *on* the lyfte syde, was dampned—that ys to seye, Gesmas. To the toone he yave hys kyngdome, and to that other, payne. Ambrose: "The lorde and auctor of pyte, hangyn[g] apon the crosse, departyd his offyces of pyte to seculer nedys. That ys to wytte: persecucyon to the Aposteles, pese to hys dysciples, the body too the Iues, the speryte to the fader, th[e] [ + 1] to the vyrgyne, paradise to the thefe, helle to the synfull, the crosse to cristen men that wylle do penauns. "Loo, here ys the testame[nlt] that Iesu crist made att hys dyenge, hangyng *on* the crosse."

---

22 oone] that oon G H, which] the w. A 23 onl in L hys . . . ys] the right syde of our lorde as hit is saide A 24 th[e] that G A H z D 25 onl in L was] as (?) was H i; is A H z D 26 thel that G H, A H z D 27 that] the H, A 29-30 hangyn[g] . . . pytel omit H z D 34 [ + 1] best friend—all MSS have messenger, which is an incorrect translation of the Greek word "paranymphum," i. e., groomsman/best friend of the groom, that is used in the Latin text 35 thefel lefe A 36 cristen] the c. G 37 that] of G H, A H z D crist] omit H, 38 onl in L
B. The secounde was for that sche was not rightwisse, for trecherye ne gyle was neu[er] four[n]de in bys mouthe. And therefor, the payne that comyth wrongfully, comyth with grete sorowe.

1. And they pry[n]cypally acusyd hym with wronge of thre thynges, that ys to seye: that he forbade the trybute to be yeven; and that he seyde hymselfe kyng; and that he made hym selfe the sonne of god.

2. And a yenst these iiij accusacyones, wee seye on goode fryday iiij excusacyons, that ys to seye: "My peple, what haue I doo to the." And in that, Iesu crist reprevyth hem of iiij benefytes thatt he dydde *hem*, that ys to seye: that he delyu[er]ed hem owt of Egipt, the governaunce of hem in deserte, the plantyna[ng] of the vyne in right goode place. *As* though crist seyde:

a. Thowe haste acusyd me of the truage, but thowe schuldyst rath[er] thonke me for I delyueryd the from truage.

---

41 thel for the H, 42 comyth withl came with H₂ D 44 threl the A; tho H₂ D that hel for he A 45 yevenl geue H₂ D 46 he seydel seid H; 49 excusyonsl accusacyones H, A H₂ D 50 doo to1 do H₂ D 51 in1 omit G H, A H₂ D 52 heml then l H, A H₂ D 54 thel and the A; by H₂ D 56 As1 omit l 57 thel omit A 57-59 but . . . truage] omit H,
b. Thowe acusyst me of that I seye to be a kynge, and thowe schuldyst rather thanke me of that I fedde the in deserte ryally.

c. Thowe acusyst me *also* of that I make me the son[nel] of god, and thowe schuldyst rather thanke me of that I haue chosyn the too be in my vyne and haue plantyd the in right goode place.

C. "The thyrd, for that yt was done of hys frendys--by dyspyte. For a sorowe schuld be more suffrable yf sche were suffryd of them that, by any cause, schuld be hys enemyes, and of them that ben strange, *or* to suche as men had done any harme too.

1. But for to suffre of hem that schulde be hys frendes, and next to hym; that was of hem, of whos kynrede he was bore:

-- Of that seyth Dauid: "My frendes and tho that schulde be next un to me, helde hem ferre fro me."

---

60 seyel s. me G 62 ofl omit G desertel the sert H₂
63 alsol als L makel made H₂ D 66 hauel I haue A
68 thatl omit A H₂ D 69 bel be the A 70 ofl omit H₂ D 70-71 more . . . bel phrase repeated (ditto-graphy); the word "of" is omitted in the first phrase, but it is included in the repetition H₂ D 72 orler L
73 harmel shame or h. G 78 un to1 to G H₁ H₂ D; omit A 79 ferrel omit H₁

78

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And Iob seyth in the chapitler: 80
"Thoo that knewen me partyd fro me."

2. And after, yt was of thoo he hadde do moche goode to--and many grete benefytes:

And there of seyth seynt Iohn in the chapitler: "Many goode dedys haue I done to them [etc.]."

Bernardus: "O thowe goode Iesu crist, howe thy conversacyon was swete a monge the peple! Howe thowe yavyste hem grete thyngys aboundantly! How harde and scharpe hast thow suffred by hem--scharpe and hevy wordes, more scharpe and harder strokys, and the moste hydous torment of the crosse!"

D. The fourthe was for the grete tendyrnesse of the body.

Wherof Dauid seyth in fygure of hym: "He ys as a very tender little worm of the wood--all MSS have tendre trewe worme etyn, a mistranslation of the Latin text: "ipse est quasi tenerrimus ligni vermiculus."
-- Seynt Bernard seyth: "O ye Iues, ye be stoones, but ye smyte right a softe stone of whom sounyth a persynge soune of pyte and boyleth oute + the oyle of charyte."

-- Seynt Gerom seith: "Iesu criste ys takyn to be betyn of knyght[es], and there betynges haue cruelly wou[n]dyd that holy sacryd body in whos brest was hydde the godhede."

E. The fyveth was for that sche was vnyu[er]sell, for sche was in all partyes and in all hys wyttes.

1. Thys fy rst sorow was in the eyen, for he wepte.

-- As the apostle seythe: [ ].

-- [ ]: "He styed vppe that he myght be herde ferre. He cryed stro[n]glye that noone schuld *excuse* hem. He
addyd hys clamura with tyeres for men schuld haue pyte."

And other tymes, he wepte two tymes: O tyme in the resurreccyou[n] of lazar and that other apon Ierusalem. The fyrst teerys weryn of loue—where of somme seyde, that sawe hym wepe, "Loo, how he lovyd hym." The secou[n]de were of pyte, but the [ + ] weryn of sorowe.

2. "The secounde sorowe was in hys eerys, when men seyde hym rep[ro]ves and blamys.

a. Iesu crist had specyally in hym fowre thynges in whych he herde reproves and blamys:

(1) He hadde in hym most excellent noble-nesse. For as to hys devyne nature, he was the sonne of the everlastying kynge, and as to hys manhede he was of the reall kynred. So that in as moch as he was man, he was kynge of kynges and lorde of lorde.
(2) He hadde in hym parfyte verye, 
for he ys weye of verite and lyfe. 
Where he seyth of hym selfe: "Thy 140 
worde ys trewthe." For the son[ne] 
ye the worde of the fadyr.
(3) He hadde in hym an vnspekable myght, 
for all thynges ben made by hym and 
wythowte hym no thyng ys made. 145
(4) He ys bonte synguler, for no thyng 
ye p[ar]lyte goode--but oonly god.

b. In thes *thynges* crist herde reproves 
and blasfemyes:
(1) "Fyrst, of hys noblesse. Mathe 150 
xiij: "Whether ys thys not the 
smethys son[ne]. Ys not hys moder 
callyd marye" [etc.].
(2) "The secunde, as to hys myght*. 
Mathe xij: "Thys [ ] throwyth 155 
owe no fendys, but in the name of 
the prynce of fendes." It[elm]:

139 weye] the w. A 140 Thy] this thy H, 143 Hel 
A H2 D 148 thynges] rynge G L 151 y3 thys] this is 
A H2 D 153 [etc.]} omit A H2 D 154 myght*] note: 
the previous order of "verye" (line 138) and then "myght" 
(line 143) has been transposed. 155 Thys] these H2 D 
[ ] one/man--implied in the Latin "hic non ejicit" 
throwyth] poteth H,; provith A; cast H2 D 157 prynce 
of fendes] feendis p[r]ince A

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M[athel xxvij: "He makyth oother safe, but hym selfe, he may not saue." And thys they seye, that he ys vnmyghty--not withstandyng that he ys soo myghty that by hys oonlye voyse threw downe hys pursuers. For he asked hem whom they sought; they seyde, "Iesu of nazareth." And anoon, they fylle to the erthe. -- And therefor seyth seynt Austyn: "O voyse, with owte any darte, smote a cruell companye, full of hate, dredefull by armes. Sche putte hem a bakke and made hem fall to the erthe by the vertu of the hydde devynyte. What schall he doo whan he Iugyth--sythen he feryth hem so that Iugyn hym? What schall he mowe doo when he rengnyth--that may doo suche thynges when he gothe to dye?"
The thyrde, as to trowthe. Whereof Iohn seyde in the viij chapit[er]: "Thowe beryst wytnesse of thy selfe; thy wytnesse ys not trewe." For they seyde that he was a lyer— not withstandyng that he ys weye* of lyfe and of trowthe. Thys trowthe pylate dysservyd not to knowe:

(a) For he lugyed not after the trowthe. He began hys luge— neC n[et by trowth, but he abode not in trowthe. And therefore, he dysservyd to bygyune hys questyou[n] of trowthe, but he dysservyd not that the answere were assoyled hym of trowthe.

(b) Another resou[n], after Austyne, ys wherefor he herde not the assoyli[n]g of the questyou[n] of trowthe: for assone as he hadde askyd yt—

---

181 Iohn] Seynt I. A; Iesu H₂ D
184 that] omit G H₂ D
185 that] omit A
186 weye* . . . trowthe] see endnote
187 dysservyd not] not d. A
196 werel omit H₂ D
201 hadde askyd yt] asked hadde H₁ H₂ D; askyd hit then A
sodenly yt fyll in to hys mynde, 
the custome of lues that were 
wonte to lete one goo in the 
tyme of paske. And therfor, 205 
he vente owte anoone and abode 
noone assoylyng.

(c) And after Crysostome, the thyrd 
resou[n] ys: for he knewe well 
that for to assoyle so strange 210 
demaunde, yt behovyd a grete 
space and a grete dylacyon of 
tyme. And he haste of delyver-
aunce of Iesu crist. And ther-
for, he vente owte a noone. 215 

And yett, yt ys redde in the gospelle 
of Nicodemus that when pylate askyd 
of Iesu crist, "What was trowthe," 
he answeryd and seyde, "Trowthe ys 
in hevyn." Then Pylate seyde, "Ys 220 
there noon in erthe?" Iesu crist
answeryd, "Howe may trowthe be in erthe whe[n] sche *is* luygd [  ] *tho* + that haue power of the erthe?"

(4) The fourthe, as to hys goodenesse. For they sеyed that he was a synner in herte:

-- Iohns ix: "We knowe welle that thys man ys a synner and a dysseyvour of the peple in hys wordys."

-- Luce [ + ]: " This same mevyth and steryth the peple thorowe all Iudee begynnyng fro galylee in to thys place and passyth the lawe in hys werkys."

-- And Iohn seythe in the ix chapit[er]: "Thys man ys not of god that kepyth not the sabot.

---

223 isl omit L G H, A [ ] by--needed for grammatical clarity in the sentence; the predicate is clearly in passive voice in the Latin text: "quaе judicatur ab his, qui potestatem habent in terris," i.e., which is judged by these who have power on earth. 224 tho[ the] L; and tho H[ +] all MSS have thynges, but "his" in the Latin text (cited above) is rendered best by simply tho--with "people/persons" understood, i.e., those (people) who have power on earth. 233 [ ] IIIIII--all MSS have IX; the Latin text cites XII, but the passage is in Luke 23:5. 236 and] and he H[ +] 238 seythe] with G the] omit A

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3. "The thyrde sorowe was in hys smellyng, for he myght fele grete stynke in the mounte of Caluarye wheere many dede bodyes were rotyd. (And yt ys seyde in storyes that Caluarye ys proprely the nakydnesse of mannys hede. And for that wyckeddoers were behedyd there and many bones of hedys were departyd ther--for that cause yt was callyd caluarye.)"

4. "The fourth was in tastyng. For when he cryed I am a threst, they yave hym vynager medled with galle and eysell [and] myrre. So that by the vynagre he myght dye the sonner, and that then hys kepers were delyveryd of hym. (For they seyn that tho that be cruycy- figed schullen dye the sonner yf they drynke eysell.) And therefor, they yave hym myrre that hys felyng scholde suffre, and the galle to hys taste.

"And austyne seith: "Hys purete was fulfylled with eysell, in stede of wyne;"
hys swetnes wyth galle, in stede of honye. The Innocent was take for the gylty; he that ys lyfe, dyd for the dede."  

5. "The fyfte sorowe was in towchyng. *For every parte of hys body, fro the crowne of hys hede to the soole of hys fete, was noone hele, ne ese--but torment and sorowe in all hys wyttes.

-- As seynt Bernard seythe: "That hede that made angeles to tremble, the ryght feyre vysage, by fore all the sonnes of man, was defowlyd with the spettyng of Iewes. The yen that were clerer then the sunne were made derke by the dethe. The eerys that herde the songe of angel-les herdyn the clamowre of synnefull men. The mowthe that teechyth angelys was fedde with eysell and galle. The fete of whom the steppys ben holy were nay led to the crosse, the body betyn, the syde opened wyth a spere. And what ouer wylle ye?
There was noo thynge that a bade with hym, save oonly the tunge to prey for the synfulle and for to recomaunde hys moder to hys dyscyple."

II. "Secondly hys passyon was dyspytuse by yllusuons. For he was dyspyshed and scornyd in iiiij maners:

A. Fyrst, in the howse of Anna where he was res- seyved *with* spetyng{es}, *with* boffettys, and was blyndefallyd.

--- Whereof Bernard seyth: "O thowe goode Iesu cryst, thy desyred visage, which angelies desyren to beholde, was defowled wyth the orrible spyttynges, *and they smytten hym* with there cruell hondys. They coveryd hys eyen wyth a clothe in dyspyte and sparyd hym not of cruell betynges."

B. And after, he was scorned in the howse of heroyds that lugeyd hym as a foie and as a madde man of thought for he myght haue no worde of hym, and then was he clothyd by dyspyte in whyte clothyng.
-- Whereof Bernard seyth: "Thow art man and weryst chaplette of flowres; and I am god crownyd wifthl scharpe thornys. Thow haste 305 gloves *on* thy handys, and my handys be persyed wyth scharpe mayles. Thow dau[nlcyst and lepyste in whyte clothyng, and I am dys-pysed of herode. Thow tryppest with thy fete, and I travayle wyth my fete. Thow 310 strechchyst owte thy armes in carollys in crosse wyse, and I haue straight owte myne armes on the crosse by reprofe. I haue sorowed in the crosse, and thow reioysyst in the crosse. Thow haste thy syde and thy 315 breste opyn in tokyn of veyneglorye, and I haue my syde persyd wyth a spere for the. But not wythstondyng all thys, torne ayen to me, and I schall resseyve the."

(---But the cause why he hylde hym styl1 in all 320 the tyme of hys passyou[n] by fore herode and pylate: The fyrrst reson ys for they were not worthy to here hys answere. "---"The secounde
cause ys for Eue had offendyd by langlyng, and
he wolde make satysfaccyolun by holdyng hys 325
pese. Th[el] thrydde, for what ever he answeryd,
yt was turned to lueell and to dyspyte.)

C. "The thyrde, in the howse of pylate, where the
knyghtys clothyd hym in rede clothe, and putte on
hys hede a crowne of thornys and in hys honde a 330
reede, and knelyd a fore hym in scorne and seyde,
"Heyle, kyng of Iues!" And that crowne of
thornys, men seyne, was of ryssches of the see--
whereof the poyntes bene as scharpe as of thornys,
and as prykkyng. And that scharp crowne drowe 335
blode owt of hys blessyd hede *in* grete plente.

-- Whereof Bernard seythe: "That holy hede was
persyd wt ith multytude of thornys, in to the
brayne."

Thre opynyons bene putte of the soule, that 340
ys to sey, where sche hath her p[re]ncypall sege:

325 hel I A H₂  make] make this A  hys] my A; me H₂
327 turned . . . dyspytel take for yuel despyte H₂  to
lueell] to wille evil G  328 thrydel fourthe G H, A H₂
where] wh[an]le G; omit A H₂  329-30 rede . . . hondel
omit G  329 putte] thaye putte A  331 and knelyd and
and knelyd H₂; thaye knelyd A a fore] to fore G H, H₂;
before A  333 was] that it was G; hit was H, A H₂
of ryssches] of the ryssches A  334 of] of the H₁;
omit A  335 that] thoo G scharpl omit H₂  crownel
thornys G A; thorne H₁ H₂  336 owtl omit G H, A H₂
inl omit L  340 of the sou] of the soul of the soul
ben iiij opinions H₁  341 schel sche sayeth she A
ether in the herte, for that wykked thoughtys
comyn owt of the herte; ether in blode, for that
leuetyques seyth, "The sowle of all flessche ys
in the blode;" ether in the hede, be cause that
John seyth, "And he put owte the speryte; the hede
enclyned." And a noone as that was doone, the lues
enforcyd hem to wyte thyss treble resou[n]. And for
they wolde take hys sowle a weye, they sought yt
fyrst in hys hede in persyng yt wyth thornys vn
to the brayne. And they sought yt in hys blode
when they opened hys veynes of hondys and of fete.
And they sought yt in hys herte when they opened
hys syde. And a yenst thes thre dyspytes on goode
friday, er we vncou[er] the crosse, we putte

[f. 51 v.] thre worschippynges in seyng, "Agyos"--as
in worschyppyng hym thre tymes, that was dyspyseyd
for vs thre tymes.

D. ""Forthely, he was dyspyseyd in the crosse.

-- Mathi, xxvij chapit[er]: "The prynces of
p[rel]stes and the anysyens w[ith] the scrybes

342 in) in the A 343 that] omit G 345 be cause]
for G that] omit G H, A H2 346 the hede) and the
h. H2 348 hem] hem selve A 352 of hondys/fete of
his h./f A; of fete fete G 354 thers) this H, 355
er] or G H2 thel se the G 357 that] that he H, H2
358 for . . . tymes] omit H2 359 Forthely . . .
dyspyseyd] omit H, H2 inl on H2 360 The prynces]
Ferthely, the prynces H, of] of the G 360-61 prynces
of p[rel]stes] prestes of prynces H2 361 w[ith] the]
with H, H2

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seyde[n], in hym dyspysyn, "If he be kyng of Iues, let hym come downe of the crosse that we mowe leve in hym."

-- Bernard seyth: "Apon thys place, he schewed amonge these thynges grete pacyens; he preysed humylyte; he fulfylled obedyens; he made charyte parfyte. [And] in tokyn of these iiiij + vertues, the iiiij corners of the crosse be arayed wyth precyous stones: and the moste aperyng ys charyte all a boue; in the ryght syde ys obedyence; and in the lyfte syde ys pa-cyence; and all bynethe, in the lowest place, ys humylite, whyche ys rote of all vertues."

All these thynges that Iesu cryst suffred, Ber- nard gadred hem to geder schortlye and seyde: "I schall remembre as longe as I schall lyve the labour that he hadde in prechyng, in werynes in goyng here and there, in + wakyng *and* p[r]elyeng, of hys te[m]p-tacyou[n] in fastyng, in wepyng, in a waytes that he hadde in spekyng, and, at the laste, of chydynges, of spyttynges, of betynges, of tresons, of reproves, *and* of the nayles that he suffryd."
III. "Thyrldly, hys *passyon* ys full frutefulle
bye multiplyeng of prophyte.

A. Which profyte may be in treble wyse. That ys to
wyte: in remyssyou[n] of synnes, in getyng of
grace, and in yefte of glorye. And these thre
thynges bene sygnyfyed in the tytle of the crosse.
That ys to wyte: Iesu, as to the fyrst; of
Nazarethe, as to the seceoul[n]de; kyng of Iues, as
to the thyrde—for there we schull all be kynges.

"Of thys profyte, seyth Austyne: "Criste
hathe take a weye owre gyltes that ys pre­
sent, that ys passid, and that ys to come. 395
Tho that be passydde, in foryeyng; the
present, in withdrawy[n]g; tho that be to
come, in yevyng grace to eschewe hem." And
of thys profyte, seythe he* yet: "Merveyle
we [+]; reyoysse we *hym*; preyse we hym; 400
love we hym, and worschip[pe] we hym. For
by the deth of owr ayen byer, we be come
fro derkeaes to lyght, and fro deth to lyfe.
"...fro corrupcyyou[n] in to vncorupcyyou[n],
fro exyle in to a goode col[n]traye, and 405
fro wepynge to Ioye."

B. 

'It ys schewed by [ + ] resou[n]ls howe
p[rolfytable [ ] owre redempcyyou[n]
was. That ys to wyte: for sche was ryght co-
uenable to apese god, ryght agreable to cure 410
owre sykenes, most effectuell to drawe man-
kynde, moste wyse to chase the enemye fro man
kynde, and for to reconsyle vs to god.

1. 

'Fyrst, yt was most acceptable + and most
plesyng + for to reconsyle *vs to* god. 415

-- For as *Anselme* seythe in the boke of
Cur deus homo: "A man may suffre noon
harder, ne noone scharper thynge of hys
awne wyll--and not of dutee--to the
worship of god then dethe. And in 420
no wyse man may yeve more to god then
to delyver hym selpe to dethe for the
love of god."

— And that, seythe Poule to the Ephesens:
"He toke hem selpe in oblacyon and in sacryfice to god, in savour of swetnes."

— cF>3^jj^d Austeyn seythe in the boke of the trenyte in what maner he was sacred, apayng and reconsylyng vs to god: "What thyng so gretely agreeable myght be resseyved as the body of owr prest made flessche for our sacrefyce."

For iiiij thynges beth consydered in owre sacrefice, that ys: to whom wee offryth; and what thyng we offryth; and who of­fryth; and wherefor yt ys offred. That same medyator, by tuene that oone and that other, in reco[n]sly[n]g vs to god by sac­refyce + of pese, a bode oone with hym selfe--to whom he offryd was hym selfe;

---

alle one, the whychc offryd and was of-
offrydde. And of that, we be reconsyled bye
Iesu cryst. Seyth Austyne that Iesu crist
ys prest and sacrefyce, god and tempyle: 445
"Prest, by whom we be reconsyled; sacryfice,
whereby we be reconsyled; [ ]
tem\mlple, in whom we be reconsyled."
And
somme, that preysen lytyll thys reco[n]-
slyacyou[n], reprevyth Austyne, in the 450
per\mlsun of god, seyyng:
-- "When thowe wer enmye of my fader, [ + ]
reconsyled the to hym by me. And thowe
were ferre fro hym, I came to the to
bye the. And whe[n] thowe erredyst 455
amonge the wodys and hylles, I sought
the and fownde the amonge Stonys and
stykkes. And that ravysschyng wolues

442 the} omit G  offryd . . . offrydde was offrid and
offryd bothe G 442-43 was offrydde) omit H, A H₂
443 And] omit H, A H₂  that] omit A  reconsyled
reconsilyng A 444 Seyth Austyne] and seith A. G; as
seith Aus. A; A. seith H₂ 445 prest and sacrefyce]
sacrefyce and prest H₂ 447 [ ] god to whom we be
reconsyled—all MSS omit this phrase which is included in
the Latin text: "Deus, cui sumus reconciliati," but it is
necessary to complete the sentence 448 tem\mlple . . .
reconsyled) omit A  452 of] to H₂  [ + ] he—all
MSS have I, but he is needed for accurate translation of
the Latin text: "reconciliavit te per me."
453 the] there H₂ 454 I] yet I G H₁ A H₂  came G H₁ H₂
455 erredyst] hardist A 458 that] omit G H, A H₂
ravysschyng] chasyng awaye A

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and wylde bestes schould not devoure
the, I gadered the. And apon my
schulldres I bare the, and yilded the to
my fader. I haue swett and travayled.
I put my hede ayenst the thornys. I
offred my hondys to the nayles; the
spere openedde my syde. I schall not
sey all my injuryes, but with all
scharpenes and cruellenes I was to rente.
I schedde all my blode, and I haue putte
owte mye sowle--all thys haue I offred--
for to ioyne the to me. And yet,
thow partyst fro me.”

2. "Secoundly owre redempcyon was most couen-
able to hele owre maladye. Couenabylte ys
understone of the partye of the tyme, of
the party of the place, and of the party
of the maner.
a. Of the partye of the tyme. For Adam
was made and synned in the monthe of
marche, the vi ferye, and the vi owre.
And therfor, god wolde suffre dethe in th[e] monthe of marche. And in the same that he was anousyd, he suffrid deth—the same day and the same howre.

b. Secondly, of the partye of the place. For the place of hys pas—syou[n] was consydered in treble wyse as comune or especyall or syngule. The place comune ys the lond of p[rolmys—syou[n]; the specyall was the place of caluarye; the synguler was the crosse. The fyrst man was formyd in place comune, in these p[ar]tys, besydes damask{is}e, and was buryed in specyall place. For in the same place *that* Iesu crist was buryed, men seyen that Adam was beryed—thowh yt be not auteCn]tike, for after lerome: Adam was beryed in Ebron, as yt ys expressyd opyny by Iosue. And he was dysseyued in a synguler place—not by that same tre


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that Iesu cryst suffryd dethe on. But yt ys seyde, for as moche as Adam was dysseyved of the tre—that Iesu cryste suffryd dethe on the tre. Notwith-standing that in a story of the grekes, yt ys seyde that yt schuld be the same tre.

c. "The thyrde party: of the maner* of curyng, the whyche maner [ ] *by* lykly wyse and by contrarye wyse. (1) By lykly wyse: So, as Austyne seith in hys boke de doctrina cristiana: "Man was dysseyved by womma[n], and man was borne of a womma[n]. Man delyueryd man; he dedly delyu— 515

[{*f. 52 v.*}]

[er]ed dedly,"--and the chylde by hys dethe. Ambrose seythe: "Adam was borne of the erthe vyrgyne, and crist of the virgyne; he after the ymage of god, and thys [ ] 520

504 the tre] omit G H₂ 505 the] omit H₂ 508 party: of the maner] man[er] of the partye L G H, A 509 [ ] was—although all MSS omit translation of "fuit" in the Latin text, the verb is needed for clarity. by] of L 511 By lykely wyse] omit G H, 518 vyrgyne] omit H₂ 519 vyrgyne] v. Mary A after the] of the G 520 [ ] one--all MSS translate the Latin "hic" as simply thys, but here "hic" means "the latter," referring to a person, Christ.
ys the ymage of god—by the folys-
nes of a womman, and by the wysdom
of a womman. Adam nakyd, and
cryste nakyd. The dethe came by
the tre; the lyfe by the crosse. 525
Adam in desert; Crist in deserte."

(2) By contrarye wyse: "For the fyrst
man hadde synned by pryde, by inobe-
dyence, and by glotonye. He wolde
haue be lyke to god by hyenes of 530
kunnyng, by passyng of the com-
[mlau[n]deme[n]t of god, and by tast-
yng of the swetnes of the appyll.
And for that, curys schuld be done
by contrarye thynges; therfor was 535
thys maner ryght covenable too do
satysfaccyou[n]. For sche™ was by
hummylyeng of the devyne wylle, by
*devyne wille* fulfylly[ng, and
by torment."  "Cf. Of these iij 540
spekyth the apostle: "To the fyrst,
he mekyd hym selfe; to the secunde,  
he was obeydent; to the thyrde, on  
to the deth.”

3. Thyrdlye, sche* was ryght pr[olofytable to 545  
drawe mankynde by the fre wyll to be sauyd;  
no thyng ne myght drawe mankynde so moche  
to the loue and to the trust of hym.  

— 'P Barnarde seythe howe hee drowe vs to  
hys loue: "By thys thynge aboue all 550  
thynges, goode Iesu cryste, yeldest the  
most amyabyl to me—the chalyse that  
thowe drankyst, whyche was the werke of  
oure redempcyou[n]. For that drawyth  
most myghtly alle our louys to the: 555  
for that yt ys that norysscheth owre  
deuocyon most swetelye, and draweth vs  
most ryghtwysly, and enbrasyth vs most  
hastly. And there as thowe anentyssched  
thy selfe, and there as thowe dy— 560  
spoyled thy selfe of naturall bemes,
there schyned most thy pyte, *there*
lyghtnyth most *thy* charyte, and there
*schewith* most thy grace."

-- As the Apostle seythe to the Romaynes 565
in what maner he drowe vs to trust: "For
he sparyd not hys propre sonne, but
delyueryd hym to the deth for vs all."

-- '"And Bernard seyth how that he yaue
vs all w[i]th hym selfe: "What ys he 570
that schuld not be ravysched with hope
for to gete trust that vnderstondyth
the ordynaunce of hys bodye: he hathe
hys hede enclyned for to kisse vs, hys
armys strechyd owt for to clyppe vs, 575
the hondys persyd for to yeve largely,
the syde opyn for to schew vs hys loue,
and all hys body strechyd owt on the
crosse for to yeve hym all to vs."

4. '"Fourthely, he was ryght wyse to chase 580
a wey the enemye fro man kynde.

562 pyte] most pitee and H₂ therel the L 563 thyl
the L G; thire H, 564 schewithl strayneth L H, A
565 to thel to A 566 trustl reste A 567 hysl hys
owne H₂ 569 Bernardl Seynt Bernard H₂ 570 w[i]thl
omit H, A 573 hys bodyel this bodely A 576 thel
his H₂ yevel y. vs A 678 onl of G

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a. Whereof Job seith—xxvij chapitler:
"The wysdom of hym smote the prowde."
[  ] + wyth his hoke?"
For Iseu crist hydde the hoke of hys 585
dyvynyte vnder the mete of hys humanyte.
And when he wolde take the fende, he toke
hym with the hoke of hys godhede vnder
the flesshe of hys manhede. Of thys wyse
takyng, seyth Austyne: "The byer came, 590
and the dysseyver was overcome. And
what dydde the byer to the dysseyver?
He leyde hys snarys—that was the
crosse, and put wyth in the mete of hys
precyous blode. He wolde schede hys 595
blode, not of hys dettour, for the whych
thyng he partyd fro hys dettoures."
b. The Apostel callyth thys dette syrograffe,
*the which Iesu crist bare and flicchid it
in the cross. Of which syrograffe* 600
Austyne seyth: "Eue borowyd synne of the fende; sche wroote the syrograffe and yaue plegge. And the vsure encresyd apon her kynrede. Sche borowyd synne of the fende when sche consentyd to hys wykked techyng ayenst the com[m]launde-ment of god. Sche wrote the syrograffe when sche putte her honde to the for-bodyn frute. Sche yaue plegge when sche made Adam to consent to her synne. And so, the vsure of synne encresyth in her kynrede."

c. Bernard, in reprovyng seyth--ayenst them that dyspysen hys redempcyou[n], by whyche wee were bought a yen by the person of Iesu cryst—that god hym selfe sayde: "My peple, what myght I more haue done for the that I haue not done? What cause hast thou that yt lykyth the too serve rather myn aduersary then me? He made yowe nought, ne he fedde
yow nought—but thys semyth lytyll thynge to sum vnthankfull. Ne he bought yow not, but I bought yow—neyther wyth the pryce of gold, ne of syluer, ne with the sunne, ne with the mone, ne wyth noone angylle—but I bowght yowe with my propre blode. Why wylle ye then, wyth owte cause, eschewe to do to me the due servyce of ryght? Ye schuld— 630 all *thynges* lefte—conuenyte with me, at th[el] lest, of the peny + every day."

"And, for as moche as they deluyeryd Iesu cryte to dethe: Iudas, thorow covetyse; the Iues, for envye; Pylate, by drede, yt ys fyttyng to se what peyne god sente *hem* 635 for the desert of that syn[nle]. As for the peyny of the bryngynge forthe of Iudas, ye schull fynde in the legent of seynt Mathy. Of the Payne and of the destrucyon of the Iues, ye schull fynde in the legent of seynt Iames the lesse. Of the Payne and of the begynnynge of pylate, 640 yt ys wyte[n] in a storye that ys Apocryffe:

624 thel omit G H, A H₂ 625 ne ofl ne G A H₂ 626 the s./the m.] sunne/mone H₂ 630 schuld1 shul H, A; she H₂ 631 thynges] thynges L 632 +1 of L G H, A 634 thowolv for G H₂; t. the A 635 hem] hym L 636 the desert] her d. A As for] as of G H, A H₂ of thel of G H₂ 639 the Iues] Iues and H₂ the legent] the lyfe and in the l. A 640 and of thel and G H₂; of the A 641 apocryffel apocryffe — Narracio — G H, H₂

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Ther was some tyme a kyng, that hyght Tyrus, that knewe flesschely the dought[er] of a myller, that hyght Atus. And the doughter hyght pylam; by herre, he hadde a sonne. And then, the moder toke her fadres name and herres to geder and callyd the chylde Pylatus. And when pylate was thre yere olde, sche sente hym to the kyng.

And the ky[n]lg hadde a sonne by the quene, hys wyfe, that was nye the same age of pylate. And when these chyldren came to yerys of dyscrecyoun, they wolde pley to gedres in whrastelyng and wyth the slynge and at the balle and many other games. But ryght as the son[n]le mulery was more noble by kynrede; ryght so, he was fownde more noble in all placys and more couenable in alle maner of pleyes.

Then was pylate mevyd by envye and w[ith] bytt[er] sorowe, and slewe prevely hys brother. And when the kyng wyst yt, he was wonder sory and asemblyd hys cou[n]sell to gedres and asked hem what he schuld doo wyth that cursyd sonne homycyde. All they seyde that he was gyltye and worthy deth. And then the kyng,
mevyd by mercy, came a yen to hym selfe and wolde not
dowble wykkydnesse appon wykkednesse. But sent hym in
Ostage for the *truage* that was due eu[er]ly yere to the romaynes. And bothe: he wolde be founde Innocent of
hys sonnes deth; and also, he wolde fayne be delyueryd
of the truage of Romaynes.

In that tyme, there was in Rome the sonne of
the kynge of fraunce that the kyng hadde sent theder for truage. And so, pylate fyll in felysschip[pe] wyth
hym. But when he sawe that he surmountyd hym in wysdom
and in all goode condycyons, he was [f. 53 v.] prykked
wyth envye and wreth and slewe hym.

And when the Romaynes enquered amonge them what
men schulde do wyth hym, sum seyde that he--the whyche
hadde sleyne hys brother and hym that was Ostage--yf he
may lyve, schall be ytte full profytable for the wele
of Romaynes. Then seyde the Romaynes, "He ys worthy
to dye; wherefor lete vs sende hym in to the Ile of
Pounte--to these men that wyll suffre noo Iuge--and
lette hym be made Iuge ou[er] them. If by eny fortune

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or aventure, he myght daunt the cruelte of them, and yf
he may not, lette hym than suffre as he hathe deservyd."

"And so, pylate was sente to be luge over that
cruell peple that slewe theyre Iuges. Pylate wyster
whethe[r] he was sent ryght wele and that hys lyfee
stode in aventure by due sentence, but he thought to
kepe hys lyfe. What by *promisses* and by yiftes, by
manacys and by tormentys, he submytte the peple to
hym. And for he hadde ben a vaynquor of so harde a
peple, he was callyd of that Ile of pounte, ponce
pylate.

"Herode then beyng kynge, beryng the wysdom of
that man, reioysed hym of hys wykkednesse—as he was
hym selve wykked, sente to hym and steryd hym by
messengers and by yiftes for to come to hym. And when
he was come to hym, he yaue hym + powere vnder hym
apon Iherusalem.

And when pylate hadde gadered to geder a grete
summe of money, he wente to Rome, vunknowyng of herodys,
and proferyd ryght grete goode to Tyberyen the Emperowre. And *he* gate of hym, by yiftes, that he hylde by fore of herode. And for thys cause, they were enemyes: herode [and] pylate. 'And pylate, in a tyme of the passyon of owre lorde, reconsyled herodys to hym for that he sente our lorde to hym.

Another cause of ther[e] enmyte ys assygned in the storye scolasticis: for oone that made hym self god dys sonne hadde dysseyved moche of the peple of Galylee.

And when he hadde ledde *them* in to Galylee, ther--as he seyde that he wolde styre vppe to hevene--pylate came and slew hym and all hys. And for that cause, they were made enemyes, for herodys had the lordschip of Galylee. So that eath[er] of these causes may be trewe.

And after that, when pylate hadde take our lorde to the Iues for to be crucyfyed, he dredde lest the Emperoure Tyberyen wolde be wrothe wyth hyC m— for he hadde lugyd + the Innocente is bloode. Wheref or he sent a frende of hys to Tyberyen for to *excuse* hym.

And in thys mene tyme, Tyberyen fylle syke of a grevous sykenes. And yt was tolde hym that there was a leche in Iherusalem that helydde men of all maner

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702 and] and he A 703 hel omit L G H, H₂ of] omit H₂ 704 hylde| hadde G H₂ 705 herodel bothe h. A And] and than H₂ 709 self] omit A 711 hem| hym L G H₁ 712 that] omit H₂ to| into H₂ camel come G H₁ H₂ 713 they werel| were they G H, 717-18 the Emperoure Tyberyen] Tiberien the Emperouir H₂ 719 + ] hym L 720 excuse| ascuse L 723 maner] m. of A H₂

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and the lues hadde sleyn hym. Wherfor he calyed to hys preve men abowte hym, that hyght volucyen. And seyde to hym, "Goe a noone over the see, and bydde pylate sende to me, in all hast, the leche by whom I may be restoryd to my fyrste hele."

He came to pylate and hadde seyde to hym the com[m]aundement of the Emperour. Pylate was then all mevyd and [f. 54 r.] aferde and askyd respyte of viij dayes. And in that space of tyme, volucyan mette with a womman that hadde be famylyer wyth cryst, whych hyght veronyacam, and asked her howe he myght fynde cryst. And then sche seyd anoon to hym, with grete lamentacyon, "Alas, he was my lorde and my god. He was takyn for envye vn to pylate, and he hath dampnyd hym and com[m]aundyd that he schulde be crucyfyed." And than was volucyen ryght sory and seyde, "Alas, I am right sory of thys, that I may not fullfylle that my lorde hathe com[m]aundyd me."

724 hys] omit H₂ Hel but he H₂ 726 hys] the H₂ 728 sendel] that he s. G H merch A H₂ to] omit A thel that G H, A 730 he came] he come G H₁; and then he went A; then this messinger come H₂ 731 haddel] omit A H₂ to hym] omit H₂ 731 com[m]aundement] commaundentis to him H₂ Pylatel and pylate A Pylate was then1 than was pilate H₂ 735 and1 and he A fyndel haue G H₂ 736 schel this womman H₂ anoon to hym] to him anone H₂ 737 he was] he that w. G H₁; A; that he that w. H₂ takyn] omit H, A; take H₂ 738 vn] omit G H₂; brought H₁; sent A 740 ryght] ful H₂
Then Veronica seyde to hym, "When my lord wente here appon erthe and prechyd, I was all weyes present. And for that cause, I wolde doo make me an ymage; so that when I schall not be in hys presens, the ymage myght yeue me confort, that was made to hys fygure. And as I bare a clothe to the paynter, owre lorde mette with me and asked me wheth[er] I wente. And when I had tolde hym my cause, he askyd of me the clothe. And when I hadde take yt to hym, he wyped hys vysage therewith, and anoon, the blessyd fygure of hym abode there, in even lyke to hys blessyd vysage. And I dare wele sey that yf thy lorde behylde devoutely that fygure of thys Image, he *schall* anoon be hele."

'F' Then he asked her yf thys Image were to selle for any golde or syluer. Sche seyde, "Nay, but *it* ys for to be seyn oonly by goode devocyon and goode wylle. I schall goo wyth the and bere the Emp[er]o[ur] the Image that he may se yt, and then I wyll come home ayeen."
And then came volucyen wyth veronica to Rome, and he seye to Tyberyen, "Iesu crist, that thow hast longe desyred to see—pilate and the Iues haue delyu—\[er\]yd hym to + dethe wyth owte cause and hangyd hym, by envye, apon the gybbbet of the crosse. And a lady ys comen hedyr wyth me that hathe brought an ymage of that Iesu cryst. And yf ye beholde yt devoutelye, ye schall resseyve anoon the benyfyte of yowre hele."

"And then the Emperour made to be streche forth in the weye, clothys of sylke, and made that ymage be presentyd to hym. And as sone as he hadde + beholde yt, he was perfytelye hole.

And then pounce pilate was takyn by the com—
[mlaundement of the Emp[er]lour and brought to Rome.
And whan the Emp[er]lour herde that pilate was come, he was fulfylled ayenst hym with grete wreth and made hym be brought a fore hym. And pilate hadde brought wyth hym the cote of owre lorde that was wyth owt semys, and he ware yt apon hym by fore the Emp[er]lour. And anoone as the Emperour saw hym, all hys anger was goone; [and] 780
arose vp ayenst hym and cowthe, in no wyse, sey but
well to hym. And he was, in the absens of pylate, so
cruell and dredefull; and in the presens of hym, he was
goodely and debonayre. And anoon as he hadde yeve hym
leve to goo, he was hette ayenst hym crybly and callyd 785
hym selfe cursyd for that he hadde not schewed hym the
wrethe of hys corage. And made hym anoon to be callyd a
yen and swore and [f. 54 v.] seyde that he was the sonne
of dethe and that yt sat hym not to lyve a pon the
erthe. And when he was brought ayen, the Emp[er]lour
saluyd hym. And then all hys cruelte was gone. And
then all merveyled—and the Emperour hym selfe, most of
all, of that he felte hym selfe so gretely mevyd ayenst
hym when he sawe hy[m] not. And when he was p[re]sent,
hee myght not sey noo angry worde to + hym. 790
And so at the last, by the wyll of god, or p[arl]·
aventure, by the techyng of sum *cristen* man, they
made hym to dyspoyle hym of that cote. And then anoon,
he toke ayenst hym hys cruelte of corage. And as the
Emp[er]lour merveyled gretely of that coote, yt was 800
seyde to hym that *it* had bene of our lorde Iesu crist.
And then the Emp[er]lour com[m]laundyd that he were putte
in to preson vn to the tyme he hadde ordeyned, by
counsell of wyse men, what schuld be doone wyth hym.

And then was sentence + yeven a yenst pylate 805
that he schuld be dampnyd to a fowle dethe. And when
that pylate herde thys, he slewe hym selfe wyth hys owen
knyfe. And by suche dethe, he endyd hys wrecchyd lyfe.
And when the Emp[er]lour herde howe he was dede, he
seyde[n], "Now truly, he ys dede of ryght a fowle 810
dethe when hys owen hande hathe not sparyd hym."

And then was he bownden to a grete mylystone
and caste in to the floode of *Tibre*. And anoone the
wycked sperytes loyned hem to thys wykked creature
and drewe hym nowe in the water; now they bare hym 815
in the eyre. And they mevyd so mervelously the wawys;
wyth thunder and lyghtnyng and tempestys in the eyre
so orrybly, that all the peple were so brought in
orryble drede that noon *wende to hauel* ascapyd. For
the whyche thyng the Romayns toke hym vp of the floode of Tiber and bare hym to vene and dydde cast hym in the flode of Rome. (And vyene ys expowned as: weye of Iehene, that ys to sey, of helle. For yt was then a place of cursyng.)

But anoon the wykked sperytes weren there and dydde as they dydde byfore. And then the peple myght not endure so grevous tormentys. And vppe fro thenes that vessell of malyce was take vp and sente to be buryed in the depe pytte of losenge. And when they sawe that they were continuallye greved with the foreseyde tempestys, they toke hym a wey and bare hym ferre and throwe hym and plongyd hym in a depe pytte that was all envyrownyd wyth grete hylles. And in that same place as dyverse folke reporten, bene to well vppe many maculacyons of fendys vn to thys daye.
Here ys conteynd in [ ].

the story abow seyde. And *whether it* be to recorde or no, I leue yt in the wyll of the reder.

But wetyth welle that yt ys redde in the mayster of storyes + that pyleate was acusyd of the Iues towardys the Emp[ler]owr of the vyolence and of slawth of Innocent[is]; and for that the Iues pleynyd that he sette in the temple the Images of paynemes. And that the money put in the corbonam, he tok to hys p[rol]pre vsage— and he hadde made in hys howse a cundyte for to make the water come to hym. For all these causys, he was delyuerlyd to lyons, in [f. 55 r.] exyle, where he had be borne; so that he schuld dwelle there, in reprefe, among hys owen *nacion*.

And thys myght be, yf that story conteyneh trewth. For fyrst, the Emp[ler]our ordeyned hym to be delyuerlyd to lyons in exile; and that he was borne thend[ir] byfore volucyen retournyd ayeen to the


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Emp[er]loure. But when the emp[er]loure herde howe he hadde sleyne Iesu crist, he repelyd hym from exile [and] made hym be brought to Rome.

"Eusebee and bede seyn not in ther cronycles that he was sente in to exyle, but they tellyn verelye that he fyll in too many myscheves. And at the last, he slowe hym selfe w[ith] hys owen propre hande."

"Here begynneth the lyfe of seynt Seconde Martyr."

**TEXTUAL NOTES AND COMMENTARY**

The following notes and commentary provide information and explanations to further clarify the text and/or to justify editorial changes in the base text, MS Lambeth Palace 72 (MS L). The numbers in brackets are the pages and the numbers in bold type are the lines where the passages being discussed are located.

[75] 1-2 The Middle English does not maintain the parallel construction found in the Latin: "Ex dolore amara, ex illusione despecta, et ex utilitate multiplici fructuosa," i.e., bitter from sorrow, malicious from deception, and profitable from multiple benefits." The by was omitted in line 2 because "dysputefull" is the nominative form of the adjective, not the ablative.

[75] 3 This is one of many examples of the unconventional spelling used by the scribe of MS L; here prophyte means usefulness—not "one who speaks for God." The other MSS have the more conventional spelling: profite to mean usefulness.
Anstyn is St. Augustine of Hippo (354-430), considered the greatest Latin Father and Doctor of the Western Church. He converted from Manichaeism to Christianity and was baptized by Ambrose in 387. He became a priest and in 395 was made the Bishop of Hippo, in modern Algeria. Much of his theology was formulated in the process of refuting heresies. Against the dualism of the Manichaeans, he taught that evil was the absence of good; against the Donatists, he said that the validity of the sacraments was rooted in the holiness of their true minister, Christ, and not the worthiness of the human minister; against the Pelagians, he insisted that mankind is saved entirely through the grace of God and not by the efforts of the individual. His prolific writings were influential in the development of later Christian theology. Among his most famous works are the Confessiones (Confessions) and De civitate Dei (The City of God).

MS L has tormentyd which would imply that the thieves were making the cross to suffer, especially since of in ME can mean by in modern English. The emendation, torment--found in the other MSS--gives a more sensible reading.

MS L uses in where on, used in the other MSS, is consistent with modern English. The emendations give better readings which make the text more understandable for a modern reader.

The Gospel of Nicodemus, also known as the Acts of Pilate, is among the non-canonical literary works whose form deliberately parallels the canonical scriptures. This particular work from the very late third or early fourth century is an attempt to fill in some of the gaps in the Pilate story and to reinforce the Christian belief in the divinity of Christ. This "gospel" is one of several "pious frauds" written by Christians to counterbalance the non-Christian accounts of Christ's death that circulated among the non-believers for several hundred years, accounts which denied Christ's resurrection (Lost Books 63).

Montague Rhodes James' book The Apocryphal New Testament includes an English translation of The Gospel of Nicodemus, or Acts of Pilate which he based on C. Tischendorf's Evangelia Apocrypha. According to James, Tischendorf divided the Gospel of Nicodemus into two parts: the Passion and the Descent into Hell. The Passion is found in Greek, Coptic, and Latin MSS; the Descent into Hell, a later addition to the work, is rare in Greek, but commonly found in the Latin MSS (94-5).

The Gospel of Nicodemus was well-known and sometimes cited in orthodox works. Varagine specifically cites this
work in lines 24 and 216-17; in both cases he appears to accept it as a legitimate source. However, at the end of the chapter there are stories of the life and death of Pilate from different sources which Varagine clearly labels as apocryphal, in the sense of spurious or false. He then says that he will let the readers decide for themselves whether or not to believe these accounts.

[76] 27 Payne is not an accurate translation of the Latin "supplicium," i.e., capital punishment.

[76] 28-38 Ambrose (340-397) was the Bishop of Milan and a Latin Doctor of the Church who defended the divinity of Christ against the Arians. His most notable work is De officiis ministrorum (About the Duties of Ministers), a treatise on Christian ethics based on Cicero. He also wrote on issues of Faith, the sacraments, and instructions to prepare candidates for baptism, of whom the best known is Augustine of Hippo.

The ME translation of the passage cited is unclear in some places. The Latin text reads: "Ambrosius: auctor pietatis in cruce pendens in singulis negotiis pietatis officia dividebat, persecutionem apostolis, pacem discipulis, corpus Judaes, crucifixoribus vestimenta, patri spiritum, virgini parhymphum, latroni paradisum, peccatoribus infernum, crucem christianis poenitentibus commenda-bat," i.e., the author of piety [love and devotion] hanging on the cross divided the obligations of piety one by one. He commended persecution to the apostles, peace to the disciples, his body to the Jews, his clothing to the crucifiers, his spirit to the father, his best friend [John the Evangelist] to the virgin [his mother], paradise to the [good] thief, hell to sinners, the cross to repentant Christians.

All MSS have pyte; according to the fourth definition in the Middle English Dictionary, pite/pyte can have the more specific meaning of the Latin "pietas," i.e., devotion or dutiful conduct. In this context, the emphasis is not so much on Christ's mercy/pity but on his duty/"pietas" as a dying man to set his affairs in order. Departed means divided or apportioned. The ME phrase seculer nedys which is found in all MSS seems to be a literal translation of "singulis negotiis," i.e., one by one. The phrase "crucifixoribus vestimenta"--clothing to the crucifiers--is omitted in all MSS. "Paranymphum" is a Greek word meaning "the best friend of the groom" which all MSS incorrectly translate as messenger. Jesus Christ is the groom, the spouse of the Church (see Lk. 5:33-35, Jn. 3:29, and Rev. 21:2). In the passage cited, "groomsman" refers to John the Evangelist, the beloved disciple, into whose care Jesus entrusted his mother (see Jn. 19:26); however, in Jn. 3:29 it is John the Baptist who refers to himself as the "best friend of the groom" in describing his relationship to
Jesus. Jesus is the long-awaited Messiah, whose coming John the Baptist announces.

[77] 39-41 The ME translation omitted the phrase "he made no sin," which is found in the Latin text: "quia peccatum non fecit et non est inventus dolus in ore ejus," i. e., he committed no sin and deceit was not found in his mouth.

[77] 49 "Wee seye on goode fryday" refers to the Reproaches sung at the Roman Catholic liturgical service for Good Friday during the Veneration of the Cross. Sung in the persona of the crucified Christ, the song recalls the great things God has done for the people and reproaches them for repaying God's goodness by crucifying God's Son. Some of the Reproaches are enumerated in the text (lines 50-67).

[77] 52 The emendation hem is based on MS G and the Latin: "ubi exprobrat Christus tria beneficia illis collata."

[77] 56 The emendation as though is based on the collated MSS and the Latin: "quasi dicat Christus."

[78] 63 The text is emended also because "als" in the base text seems to involve a scribal omission.

[78] 72 The er in the base text is probably a scribal error. Emendation or is based on the collated MSS and "vel" in the Latin text.

[78] 77-79 The Latin text has "in Psalmo" and does not mention David, to whom many of the Psalms are attributed. The passage cited is Ps. 37:12 in the Vulgate, but 38:12 in the NAB and 38:11 in the RSV.

[79] 80-81 The passage is from Job 19:13. The ME omits the phrase "quasi alieni," i. e., "... parted from me, as if they were strangers."

[79] 82 The emendation thoo ("those" in ME) is based on the collated MSS and the Latin "quibus."

[79] 85 The passage was emended I based on the Bible because the verse cited is John 10:32. Although the MSS are consistent with "Jon. VIII" in the Latin text, the reference is incorrect.

[79] 87 Bernardus is St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153), a Cistercian monk who led the reform

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against the laxity found in the older Benedictine monasteries. In 1115 he founded the monastery at Clairvaux, France, a monastery devoted to monastic discipline and strict observance of the rules. Much of his teaching was based on biblical exegesis, but he approached Scripture as a contemplative and a mystic rather than a scholar. Unlike some mystics who used their mystical experiences as an excuse to veer away from the teachings of the Church, Bernard remained strictly orthodox. Toward the end of his life, he put less emphasis on God’s judgement and more on God’s infinite love and mercy, even for the worst sinners. His great devotion to Mary, the mother of Christ, gave impetus to the growth of her cult.

Bernard is cited several times throughout this chapter. The depth of his love for Christ and the great pain and sorrow he felt when contemplating Christ’s passion is evident even in the short, sometimes badly translated, ME excerpts. Only in passages like this does the chapter depart from its usual clinical and detached treatment of Christ’s sufferings.

[79] 97–98 Medieval writers routinely interpreted the Old Testament in light of the New Testament; thus, people and events—or, as in this case, a very minor reference to Jesbaham, one of David’s military leaders—in the Old Testament are seen as forshadowing Christ in the New Testament. The passage (without the name "Jesbaham") is in II Sm. 23:8 in the Vulgate and in II Kings 23:8 in the Douay-Rheims, where the name "Jesbaham" has been supplied from a parallel passage in I Cron./I Paralip. 11:11 and is footnoted as "He appeared like one tender and weak, but was indeed most valiant and strong." The "tender worm" clause is not included in more recent editions of the Bible, e. g. , NAB, RSV, and Jerusalem.

The ME text is emended to rectify a mistranslation of the Latin (see footnote). Since the quotation is used to support the point that Christ had a tender/human body, "the tender worm on the tree" is a more logical allusion to Christ on the cross than is "the tender tree eaten by a worm" which is found in the ME MSS.

[80] 102 MS L has ". . . boyleth oute of the oyle of charity," which implies that the soune/(sound) is coming from the oil. According to the Latin text, ". . . de quo resonat tinnitus pietatis et ebullit oleum caritatis," both the sound and the oil are coming from the stone; the text was emended accordingly. The oute of, a reading unique to MS L, is a scribal mistake, probably due to its close proximity to oyle of.

[80] 103 Geroa refers to Jerome (Eusebius Hieronymus) (c.345-c.419), biblical scholar, translator, advocate of monasticism, and Latin Doctor of the Church, who was born in Dalmatia on the Adriatic coast. He studied

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and was baptized in Rome. He was drawn to the ascetic life, even living as a hermit in the Syrian desert for several years; during this time he studied Hebrew and perfected his Greek. After his desert experience he became a priest and served as secretary to Pope Damasus from 382–385. Damasus urged Jerome to undertake his greatest achievement, the Vulgate, a translation of most of the Bible from the original Hebrew and Greek into Latin. He also wrote Biblical commentaries, translated and completed Eusebius' Chronicle (see endnote for line 857), and defended the orthodoxy of the Church against Arianism, Pelagianism and Origenism.

[80] 113–14 The ME text attributes the reference to Christ's weeping to the apostle while the Latin text cites Hebr. V. Thus, the "apostle" in the ME text is probably a reference to Paul, the author of most of the New Testament Letters. Although not one of the twelve apostles named in the gospels, Paul often spoke of himself as an apostle (Rom. 1:1, 11:13; 1 Cor. 1:1; 2 Cor. 1:1; Gal 1:1). Citing significant differences in theology and style, modern biblical scholars no longer attribute the Letter to the Hebrews to Paul; however, because Paul's authorship was undisputed in the Middle Ages, the word "apostle" in the ME text was not emended. To avoid further confusion, the Latin text's citation "Hebrews V" was added to the ME text along with the reference from Hebrews 5:7—"with a strong cry and tears" ("cum clamore valido et lacrimis").

This emendation was necessary because immediately following the omission of the reference to Hebrews 5:7, the MSS cite a passage from Bernard without attribution. As a result, the MSS inaccurately attribute Bernard's passage to the "apostle." The emendations to the ME text would have been impossible without the Latin text: "... sicut dicitur Hebr. V. Bernardus: ascendit ..." For the sake of clarity and accuracy, the ME text was further emended in order to correctly attribute the passage to Bernard.

[81] 116 MS L has ascuse, which could be the result of the otherwise usually accurate scribe's unconventional spelling; however, the text was emended to excuse—found in the collated MSS and the Latin text—to avoid confusion since the two words have opposite meanings.

[81] 119-25 The MSS give confused readings because the scribes did not seem to understand that there are three examples of tears, first on the cross—elaborated by the quotations from Hebrews (5:7) and Bernard—then two other times, at the resurrection of Lazarus (Jn. 11:35), and over Jerusalem (Lk. 19:41). The scribes, probably thinking there were only two examples of tears (see line 119), incorrectly substituted other words for the Latin "tertiae." The text was emended third based on the Latin text for a more accurate reading.
Section E., begun on line 108, details the sorrows to all of Christ's five senses—euen, eerys, smellyng, tastyng, and towchyng. Varagine has greatly elaborated the sub-section on "eerys" (E. 2., lines 128-240) making it more than twice as long as his combined treatments of the other four senses. Varagine sets up the sub-section by describing four attributes of Christ that were called into question: "excellentissimam nobilitatem . . . ineffabilem veritatem . . . insuperabilem potestatem . . . singularem bonitatem," i. e., preeminent nobility, truth beyond description, unconquerable power, unique goodness. Then he lists examples in Scripture where each of these four attributes was disparaged or blasphemed; in three instances the Scripture citations are followed by relevant quotations from the Church Fathers. Although this scholastic methodology is the same format he uses throughout his text, its application to these sub-points seems excessive.

Moreover, he seems to go off topic in lines 187-225 with a discussion focusing on Pilate's unworthiness to hear the truth rather than on the fact that Jesus, the embodiment of Truth, had been insulted. This focus on Pilate is most likely influenced by the Gospel of Nicodemus, or Acts of Pilate, cited here in lines 216-17; it may also be Varagine's way of anticipating the emphasis on Pilate that concludes this chapter on Christ's passion.

All the MSS have: "Weye of verite and lyfe" which is a mistranslation of the Latin "via, veritas et vita," i. e., way, truth, and life. To those who are familiar with John 14:6, the ME error is obvious. Nevertheless, the ME text was not emended because the reading is sensible.

The emendation thyages is based on the collated MSS; only MS L had "rynges" which is most probably a scribal error.

The passage cited is Matthew 13:55.

In Old and Middle English the word smethy/smythe was more generic than in modern English. Then it referred to any skilled craftsman who worked with either metals or wood. Carpenter, the more familiar term for Joseph's occupation, is a French loan word that was not in common use when the Wrecche's translation was made in 1438.

The passage was emended to read Thys one/man in order to give the sentence a definite subject based on "hic" in the Latin text. The passage cited is Matthew 12:24.
Crysostome is John Chrysostom (c. 347-407), a Bishop of Constantinople and Doctor of the Eastern Church. After several years as a hermit, he was ordained a priest in 386. His insight into the spiritual sense of scripture combined with the practical understanding of how the message should be lived and an eloquence in speaking made him a great preacher. This earned him the name "chrysostom," i.e., golden mouthed. He insisted on a literal, as opposed to the popular allegorical, exegesis of Scripture, and after being made Patriarch of Constantinople in 389, he reformed the liturgy and tried to eliminate the corruption and complaisance that was found in clergy and laity alike. His own honesty, holiness, and ascetic values made him an outspoken reformer whose tactlessness insulted Empress Eudoxia and angered the Patriarch of Alexandria, Theophilus; thus, he was unjustly condemned as a heretic at the Synod of the Oak (403), deposed, exiled first near Antioch and later to Pontus, and deliberately killed by an enforced march in severe weather.

Although the MSS offered a variety of readings, none were accurate and all were confusing. The emendation was made in keeping with the Latin text as discussed in the footnote.

Two English translations of the Gospel of Nicodemus have somewhat different versions of the last line of the text cited. These variations are to be expected since this text is extant in several MSS. M. R. James' translation is as follows:

Pilate saith unto him: What is truth? Jesus saith unto him: Truth is of heaven. Pilate saith: Is there not truth upon earth? Jesus saith unto Pilate: Thou seest how that they which speak the truth are judged of them that have authority upon earth. (100)

Another translation, published anonymously but which James attributes to William Hone, is somewhat different:

Pilate saith to him, What is truth? Jesus said, Truth is from heaven. Pilate said, Therefore truth is not on earth. Jesus said to Pilate, Believe that truth is on earth among those, who when they have the power of judgement, are governed by truth, and form right judgement. (Lost Books 67)
XXII was necessary for accuracy. The passage cited is from Luke 23:5.


[87] 244 The ME attributes the etymology of Calvary to just "stories;" the Latin text specifically says "scholastica hystoria," a term used again near the end of the text. This refers to the Historia Scholastica by Peter Comestor, a late twelfth century history of Christianity with moral commentary. (See endnotes on lines 708-15, 839-49, and on line 372 in the Advent chapter, p. 185.)

[87] 245-46 All MSS omit the word bone found in the Latin: "os capitis humani nudum;" thus a better reading would be "naked bone of the human head." Varagine is infamous for etymologies that range from merely incorrect to completely ridiculous, but in this case, the etymology of Calvary, a Latin translation of the Aramaic Golgotha, is based on scripture. All four Gospels refer to the site of the crucifixion as "Skull Place" (Mt. 27:33, Mk. 15:22, Lk. 23:33, and Jn. 19:17).

[88] 265-66 All MSS except L read "for in every part" which is in accord with the Latin: "quia in omnibus partibus."

[89] 289-90 Although MS Hz is not usually so accurate as the other MSS, in this case it provides the reading closest to the Latin text; thus it was used for the emendation. Anna refers to Annas, the father-in-law of the high priest, Caiaphas. This incident is found in John 18:13, 22.

[89] 295-96 The phrase omitted in MS L is restored in accord with the other collated MSS.

[89] 299 Herod refers to Herod Antipas who ruled as tetrarch—a tributary prince under the Romans—over Galilee and Perea during the time of Christ. This incident is found only in Luke 23:6-12.

[90] 306 The passage was emended to on for a better reading based on the collated MSS.

[90] 328 Pylate refers to Pontius Pilate, the Roman procurator of Judea from 26-36 CE. He was an arrogant, stubborn, abusive ruler who was greatly disliked by the Jews he governed. The incident described in lines 348-36 is found in Matthew 27:26-30.

[91] 336 The in omitted by MS L was restored in accord with the collated MS.
"Agyos" refers to a Greek invocation attributed to St. John Chrysostom that was part of the Roman Catholic Good Friday services prior to the liturgical changes made after the Second Vatican Council (1962-65). During the veneration of the cross, two choirs alternating in Greek and Latin proclaimed: "Agios o Theos"—"Sanctus Deus" (O holy God); "Agios ischyros"—"Sanctus fortis" (O holy strong One); "Agios athanatos . . ."—"Sanctus immortalis . . ." (O holy immortal One).

The passage cited is Matthew 27:41-42.

MS L’s unique addition of the word "thynges," probably due to a lapse of attention by the scribe, was omitted based on the collated MSS and the Latin text.

Here the ME is awkward and sometimes inaccurate in translating the Latin text. An emended phrase "in wakyng and preyeng" was a way to express "vigiliairum in orando", i.e., vigils in prayer, and stay within the readings found in the MSS. However, there was no justification in the MSS to emend "in wepyng" to read "weeping in compassion." ("lacrymarum in compatiendo") nor to change "in a waytes that he hade in spekyng" to the more accurate "snares [set for him] in discussion." (insidiarum in colloquendo) because the MSS give sensible readings, in spite of these omissions and faulty translations.

In his 1993 English translation of Graesse’s edition of the LgA, V. G. Ryan uses the phrase "his fatigues in explaining" while all MSS read "in werynes in goyng here and there" (see lines 378-79). Graesse’s edition of Varagine says: "fatigationum in discurrendo" which is accurately translated by the ME MSS. Thus, it would appear that in this instance Ryan used a variant reading to emend the text. However, in context, a phrase using a participial form of "discurro," (to hasten to and fro) is a better choice than one using "discutio" (to discuss) because the previous phrase has already mentioned the labor Jesus extended in his preaching which would make a phrase with "discutio" redundant; moreover, according to the Gospels, Jesus frequently traveled from place to place, movement which is accurately expressed by "discurro." Therefore, the ME MSS and Graesse appear to be more accurate on this point than the most recent English translation.

The passage was emended passyon in accord with the collated MSS because the pluralized "passyons" seems to be a scribal error.

The Latin text reads "gloriae exhibitio" which is display of glory rather than "yefte of glory" found in the MSS. The abridged French text --in one of the few times it has a corresponding passage--
agrees with the Latin text: "et la demonstration de la gloire celeste."


[95] 407-09 The text was emended iv and mode/manner of (see footnotes for lines 407 and 408) for the sake of both accuracy and clarity. Although the individual sentence has a sensible reading without the addition of mode/manner of to modify owre redemcyoun, in the larger context of the outline, the emendation is necessary for the accuracy of the point under discussion. All MSS use the pronoun "sche" (line 409) which indicates that at some point in the early transmission, a translator either overlooked or did not understand that the focus was on the mode of redemption and not the act of redemption itself. "Sche" refers to redemption, a feminine noun in Latin, whereas "modus" is a masculine noun. Therefore, if the ME scribe wanted to accurately reflect the gender specific Latin, the sche in line 409 should be he.

[95] 413 As previously noted, in line 407 the MSS incorrectly identify the number of reasons as five, instead of four. The Latin text then enumerates each of the four reasons, but the ME scribes, who believed there were five reasons, were one reason short. In what appears to be an attempt to justify the number five, a ME scribe made up a fifth reason by restating the first reason, "to apese god," in different words, i. e., "to reconsyle vs to god."

[95] 414-15 The MSS offer different readings. The text was emended by blending several of the MSS readings, so that the final text would most closely—although not exactly—parallel the Latin: "Primo ergo fuit acceptissimus ad placandum et reconciliandum Deum," i. e., First, it was most acceptable for placating and reconciling God.

[95] 416-17 Anselme refers to Anselm (c. 1053-1109), a Benedictine from the Abbey of Bec in Normandy who became the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1093 and was named a Doctor of the Church in 1720. He was often in conflict with the English king. As a theologian and philosopher, his defense of the Faith was based on intellectual reasoning rather than scriptural and ecclesiastical authority. His major contribution to the theology of his day is the work cited in the text, Cur deus homo (Why God became Man) in which he rejected the popular theory of Devil's
Right, i. e., the belief that the Devil had a claim on fallen mankind; therefore, Christ had to die to pay ransom to the Devil, or as expressed in the cliche, to give the Devil his due. In contrast, Anselm taught that Christ owed the Devil nothing at all because the Devil could make no claim on God. Instead of Devil's Right, Anselm taught that Christ's death was necessary to satisfy the majesty of God that had been outraged by sin.

MS L's "Anselyne" is most likely a scribal error and was emended according to the collated MSS and the Latin text.

[96] 424 The Latin text further identifies the passage as Ephesians. V; it is, in fact, Eph. 5:12.

[96] 428–29 Trenyte refers to Augustine's fifteen volume treatise De trinitate (On the Trinity) which summarized the patristic teachings on the Trinity and made an original contribution to the development of Trinitarian doctrine when it compared the generation of the Second (Son) and Third (Spirit) Persons of the Trinity to the analogical process of human self-knowledge and self-love. Thus, he explained the generation of the Son as an act of thinking on the part of the Father and the generation of the Holy Spirit as the mutual love of the Father and the Son.

[96] 440 The emendation omitted the phrase to god following sacrifice. Its inclusion appears to be a scribal dittography error.

[97] 447 The line omitted by the MSS (see footnote) was included for a sensible reading. Four roles of Christ (prest, sacrefyce, god, and tempyle) are first listed and then further developed. The omitted line was included in the emended text for completeness.

[97] 451 The Latin text states that Augustine is speaking "in persona Christi" and not in the person of "god" as stated in the ME MSS.

[97] 452 The emendation he, based on the Latin text (see footnote) was necessary for a theologically correct reading, namely, that God the Father sent Jesus, his Son, to earth so that through Jesus mankind could be reconciled with the Father (John 3:16). The I of the MSS incorrectly implies that the Son initiated the act of salvation by himself.

[98] 469 The phrase "all thys haue I offred" is not in the Latin text. Since it is found in all the MSS, it was probably added into the ME text early in its transmission. In fact, this phrase fits Richard Hamer's description of the "short insertions" he believes were added to the text by the Synfulle Wrecche himself (22–23).
Only MS L has offred; the other MSS have suffred. In context, suffred seems a logical choice for a summation statement, but offred also makes sense because Jesus did offer his sufferings to reconcile God and mankind. The base text was not emended because it has a sensible, theologically correct reading.

The emendation that is based on the collated MSS. The substitution of the for that in MS L appears to be a simple scribal error.

Note that Varagine distinguishes between his sources. He indicates that Jerome (ME: Jerome), the biblical scholar and translator, is the more credible source for Adam's burial place than the uncredited, presumably apocryphal, information mentioned in the previous lines. Jerome knew that the burial place of Adam was identified as Hebron (ME: Ebron) in the Book of Joshua (ME: Josue). The Latin text further identifies the passage as Jos. XIV. The passage cited is Joshua 14:15.

M. R. James notes that the sources for many medieval vernacular legends come from Latin MSS that, in turn, identify their sources as being found "in the books of the Greeks." As an example of these "Greek stories" James tells of a cock that was roasting on a fire spreading its wings and crowing three times (116). The "hystoria Graecorum" (ME: "story of the grekes") mentioned here by Varagine—a story which states that Christ was crucified on the same tree from which Adam and Eve had eaten the forbidden fruit—was a popular belief during the Middle Ages and would appear to be another example of James' medieval vernacular legend attributed to a Greek source.

Most of the MSS read maner of the part, probably a mistranslation of "ex parte modi." However, the often inaccurate MS Hz had the correct reading, i. e., "part of the maner," and the text was emended accordingly. The omission of the word "from" ("ex") was rectified with a colon after party but the omitted verb "fuit" (see footnote) was added to the text to insure a correct reading. For the same reason, the by found in the other MSS was used in place of the of found only in the base text.

De doctrina cristiana refers to Augustine's treatise De doctrina christiana (On Christian Doctrine). Begun in 395 in response to the Donatist controversy and then abandoned for almost 30 years, it is an introduction to the interpretation and explanation of the Bible.
513—17 Although clear in the Latin text, the last part of the quotation from Augustine is extremely awkward in ME. The Latin reads: "per femlnam deceptus, per femlnam natus homo homines, mortalis mortales, morte mortuos liberavit." The ME text begins without problem: "Man was dysseyved by womman, and man was borne of a woman." The next part is a bit confusing: "Man delyueryd man" would be better translated with a plural: "Man delyueryd mankind/men." However, the text was not emended because in ME "man" can be used for "mankind." The final part is more confusing: "He dedly delyuered dedly" would be better translated "He by death delyuered the dead." Again, the text was not emended because in ME it is a difficult, but acceptable, reading that illustrates well the problems that arose when a very precise, sophisticated language, like Latin, was translated into Middle English. There were errors due to both the translators' inadequate knowledge of Latin and to the developmental state of Middle English which often lacked the complex grammar and extensive vocabulary needed to render accurate translations.

The ME adds another clause: "and the chylde by hys dethe" which is not in the Latin text. Although its meaning is unclear, this clause was not edited out because it is a part of the ME text—in fact, all the MSS have the exact same wording of this clause which could be another short insertion by the Synfulle Wrecche (see note on line 469 above). R. Hamer explains that some of the insertions serve to clarify the text while others are merely cumbersome (23); this clause seems to be in the latter category. It is possible that the Wrecche was trying to emphasize that Christ's death delivered everyone from sin and death, adult and child alike, but that is only speculation.

519 "Erthe vyrgyne" is an awkward translation of "terra virgine;" "virgin earth" is the more common expression.

520 As stated in the footnote, in this context the Latin "hic" refers to a person; thus, the text was emended this one for clarity.

527 The Latin text attributes the quotation that follows to Gregory. This is a reference to Gregory the Great (c. 540–604), a monk who became Pope Gregory I in 590. He is a Latin Doctor of the Church and the father of the medieval papacy, which he upheld as the supreme authority in the Church. He also maintained the supremacy of the Roman See over the Empire. His practical intellect made him an excellent administrator. His diverse accomplishments include promoting monasticism, fostering the development of liturgical music, and sending missionar­ies to convert England.
According to the Latin text, Christ's death was suitable to satisfy the damage done by sin because it was "per humiliât ionem, divinae voluntatis impletionem et afflictionem," i.e., through humiliation, the fulfilling of the divine will, and suffering. The ME text was emended to more clearly express that the divine will was fulfilled.

Apostle, referring to Paul, is not found in the Latin text; however, the Latin text cites "Philipp. II." The passage cited is from Paul's Letter to the Philippians 2:8.

The text was emended from the variant readings of the collated MSS to best express "ibi pietas magis emicuit, ibi caritas plus effulsit, ibi gratia amplius radiavit," i.e., there pity shone forth more strongly, there charity shown more brightly, and grace radiated more abundantly.

Romaynes refers to Paul's Letter to the Romans. The Latin text further identifies the passage as "Roman. VIII;" it is Rom. 8:32.

The Latin text combines two verses from the Book of Job; first, 26:12: "prudentia ejus percussit superbum," then, 40:20: "et, ultimo: numquid poteris capere Leviathan hamo?" All the MSS have the first quotation "The wisdom of hym smote the prowde," but none of the collated MSS have the first part of the next verse, namely, "who will be able to take leviathan," yet, they all have the concluding phrase "with his hook." This indicates that early in the transmission of the ME text, a scribe, or possibly the Wrecche himself, omitted the part of text that read: "Can you draw out the Leviathan?"--omissions like this due to eyeskip ("parablepsia") are common scribal errors.

It appears that a later scribe, realizing that the text was deficient, interpolated a replacement line based on the part of the quotation that was included in the text. The discussion following the quotation describes Christ "fishing for the devil" with the hook of his divinity hidden under the bait of his humanity. With the replacement line the sentence reads: "Whether crist may not take the prowde wyth his hoke." This line appears a scribal interpolation because it is not found in every MSS and the wording is too different to be a mistranslation of Job 40:20. MS H does not have the interpolated line; thus, there is justification in the MS to remove it from the text, and since the end of the omitted quotation ("wyth his hoke") is present in all the MSS, there is justification to restore the beginning of the quotation based on the Latin text. These emendations are necessary for an accurate reading.
The apostle is again Paul; the verse cited is Paul's Letter to the Colossians 2:14: "Delens quod adversum nos erat chirografum decretis quod erat contrarium nobis et ipsum tuuit de medio adfigens illud cruci." The Douay-Rheims translates the verse as: "Blotting out the handwriting of the decree that was against us, which was contrary to us. And he hath taken the same out of the way, fastening it to the cross." The idea that on the cross Christ paid the debt that was held against mankind gave rise to the Devil's Right theory that was refuted by Anselem (see endnote to lines 416-18).

The emended lines were restored to the text based on the collated MSS. Because the word "syrograffe" begins and ends the omission, it was clearly the result of eyeskip on the part of MS L's scribe.

MS L has the unique reading  hym er them while the other MSS read  just them. The text was emended to  them because MS L appears to be a scribal error—perhaps the scribe mistakenly wrote "hym," realized his error, and then attempted to correct it by including "them."

These lines are difficult to understand in Middle English. Restating the idea in modern English helps to clarify the text: "Why will you then, without cause, avoid giving me the rightful service that is my due? You should—all things put aside—unite with me, at least, for the daily wage." [In ME the preposition of can be used as for in modern English.]

In this case the daily wage is a "penny"—an allusion to the parable of the laborers in the vineyard in Matt. 20: 1-16 in which the generous householder gave all the workers, even those who worked only a short time, the same recompense. ME translates the Latin "denarius" as a "penny;" to cite the Douay-Rheims: "They received every man a penny." When one man who had worked all day felt cheated and complained, the householder said: "Friend, I do thee no wrong: didst thou not agree with me for a penny? Take what is thine, and go thy way: I will also give to this last even as to thee."

Thus, in this passage Bernard, speaking in the persona of Christ, says: if you do not come to me because you are grateful for what I have done for you, at least, come to me to claim your daily wage [salvation] that I have already earned for you through my suffering and death.

The rest of the chapter, about one-third of the text, is an example of negative hagiography, that is, the life of an unholy person, Pilate, the Roman official who condemned Jesus to death. Modern readers are likely to find this apocryphal story of
Pilate, which is distasteful enough by itself, almost sacrilegious when juxtaposed with the cold, academic presentation of Christ's passion in the LgA. However, the connection between Pilate and the Passion was commonplace in the Middle Ages. In addition to The Gospel of Nicodemus, or Acts of Pilate which was previous discussed (see endnotes to lines 24, 128-240, and 216-17), M. R. James summarizes seven other apocryphal writings that were appended to the Acts of Pilate and were in circulation during the Middle Ages. These writings include: "Letter of Pilate to Tiberius," "Report and Paradoxes of Pilate," "Letters of Pilate and Herod," "Letter of Tiberius to Pilate," "The Death of Pilate," "The Vengeance or Avenging of the Saviour," and "Story of Joseph of Arimathaea" (153-65). James also points out that Varagine used two of these appendixes as sources for the LgA. "The Death of Pilate" ends the Passion chapter (157), and a portion of "The Vengeance or Avenging of the Saviour" is recounted in the chapter on James the Less (160).

The portion of the chapter on the Passion of Christ did not appear to command the same level of interest generated by the accounts of Pilate. In fact, as late as 1913 Teodor de Vyzewa's print edition of La Légende dorée recounts a severely abridged version of the Passion of Christ (about 40 lines of text) while transcribing a much longer and more complete account of Pilate's story (about 130 lines of text). The Golden Legend, the 1941 English translation of the LgA by Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger, also condenses the account of the Passion, but not so drastically as does Vyzewa, while keeping the Pilate story mostly intact.

635-40 The emendation he is based on the collated MSS. Because the antecedents are Judas, the Jews, and Pilate, a plural pronoun is needed.

Sherry Reames shows that in the LgA Varagine repeatedly presents an unmerciful God who delights in the humiliation and/or destruction of enemies (131) and the severe punishment of sinners (159). This section presents, perhaps, the clearest example of Varagine's predilection for God's wrath and punishment. Ignoring the fact that Christ preached the love of one's enemies (Mt. 5:43-5), a teaching which he put into practice when he forgave his crucifiers (Lk. 23:34), Varagine explains that those responsible for Christ's death were severely punished for their evil deeds. Based on the Scriptural accounts of the Passion, Judas the Apostle who betrayed Christ (Mt. 26:25, 47; 27:3-11), the Jews who took Christ's blood upon themselves and their children (Mt. 27:25), and Pilate the Roman governor who had the power to release Christ but who washed his hands of the case (Mt. 27:24) are singled out as the ones who deserve to be punished for their involvement in Christ's death.
There are even cross references in the LgA to direct readers to those legends that recount the horrible fates of Judas and of the Jews, so that the readers will know that justice had been served. According to M. R. James, the legend of Judas Iscariot and the "Death of Pilate" are often found in the same MSS (see endnote for lines 721-835 below); James also says that "The Vengeance or Avenging of the Saviour," often appended to the Acts of Pilate, is a source for the legend of James the Less (160). Varagine puts the story of Judas in the legend of Matthias (#45 LgA, LgD; #44 GiL) because Matthias was chosen as Judas' replacement (Acts 1:25-26). The fate of the Jews is told in the legend of James the Less (#67 LgA, LgD; #60 GiL) who was the leader of the Church in Jerusalem (Acts 15:13) and who might have been martyred by the Jews.

These lines containing the story of the begynnyng of Pylate correspond to M. R. James' very brief reference to a biography of Pilate which is found in the LgA but which he says is "of too late a date" to be reproduced in his book (156). He does not identify the exact date, but most of the texts in his book were written before the eleventh century. Thus, this story was probably written after 1000.

The emendation truage is based on the collated MSS; "true" seems to be a scribal error.

Pounte is most likely a reference to Bithynia and Pontus, an ancient district along the Black Sea in Asia Minor (modern: northern Turkey). Once a province of Persia, it was conquered by the Roman general Pompey in 66 BCE and became a Roman province in 62 CE.

[Given Varagine's reputation for recording fictitious etymologies, it is highly unlikely that the incident recounted in the following lines is true.]

The emendation promises is based on the collated MSS and the Latin text.

The text was emended according to the collated MSS to best express the idea found in the Latin text, namely, that Herod invested Pilate with his own power to rule Jerusalem: "et super Judaeam et Jerusalem potestatem et vicem suam ei tradidit."

The emendation he based on MS A in an attempt to make clear that it was Pilate whose authority to rule Jerusalem, once given to him by Herod, was now confirmed by the Emperor Tiberius--thus eliminating the need for Pilate's dependence on or loyalty to Herod.
The storye scolasticis (Latin: "hystoria scholastica") is probably a reference to Peter Comestor's Historia scholastica. The incident described in the text could be based on a factual event.

The Gospel says that Pilate's sending of Christ to Herod turned the animosity between Pilate and Herod into friendship (Lk 23:12), but it does not say what made them enemies in the first place. The incident in question could be an adaptation of a real incident in Pilate's life when he "attacked, imprisoned, and slaughtered some credulous Samaritans who had gathered on Mt. Gerizim to witness the 'discovery' of sacred vessels, allegedly buried by Moses on their holy mountain." Because these Samaritans had no political motives, Pilate's massacre was totally unjustified. When the Samaritans complained to the legate of Syria, he sent Pilate back to Rome to give the emperor an account of his deeds (Wright, Murphy, and Fitzmyer, JBC 75:143).

In Varagine's source, the "sacred vessels of Moses" had become the "ascension of a 'false messiah'," but the cruelty of Pilate remained constant. The Latin and ME texts agree that the followers were from Galilee, but the Latin text places the ascension at Gerizim (Gerizim in modern spelling), a mountain located about 35 miles north of Jerusalem. The ME MSS agree that the ascension was to be in Galilee. One of the common rules in MS editing is to restore the harder reading ("lectio difficilior") because the tendency is for scribes to substitute more familiar words for less familiar ones, for example, Galilee for Gerizim; however, this rule was not applied in this case because of the content of the passage.

The historical massacre was on Mt. Gerizim, but the purpose of the story in question is to provide a reason for the enmity between Herod and Pilate. According to the text, Herod, King of Galilee and Perea, was angry because he felt that Pilate's action invaded his territory. For this passage to make sense, the incident would have had to occur just inside or along the border of Galilee or Perea, but Mt. Gerizim is nowhere near Herod's territory; it is clearly within Pilate's jurisdiction. Thus, the Galilee of the ME MSS is the better reading to support the idea that Pilate usurped Herod's authority.

[It is very possible that Pilate, who was arrogant and antagonistic toward the Jews (JBC 75:143), did at one time or another invade Herod's territory and/or usurp Herod's authority, an event that Varagine's source conflated with the massacre of the Samaritans on Mt. Gerizim.]

MS L's unique reading "Iugyd hym," probably the result of a scribe's momentary lapse of attention, was omitted based on the collated MSS which are in agreement with the Latin text.
The unique reading ascuse in MS L, which could be just another case of the scribe's peculiar spelling, was emended based on the other MSS to read excuse to clarify the meaning of the sentence. (See also endnote on line 116.)

These lines contain a very faithful account of "The Death of Pilate," one of the works identified by M. R. James as an appendix to the apocryphal work called the Acts of Pilate. Concerning this work James says:

The Latin legend of Pilate's death hardly ranks as an apocryphal book. It is printed by Tischendorf from a Milan manuscript of the fourteenth century . . . under the heading of Infancy Gospels, facsimiled under the title of Canonical Histories and Apocryphal Legends. It is also found in the Golden Legend, cap. 53, as the conclusion of the fabulous life of Pilate, and is there said to be taken from 'a certain history, though an apocryphal one.' This life is found separate—usually in company with a similar life of Judas Iscariot—in manuscripts of an earlier date than the Golden Legend; but the whole composition is thoroughly mediaeval and has nothing antique about it. (157)

James then summarizes events from "The Death of Pilate" which are very similar to those found in the LgA, but because it is only a summary, it is not so useful as a transcription of the text. However, the anonymous Lost Books of the Bible and the Forgotten Books of Eden—which James justifiably criticizes for not acknowledging its sources (xv)—does contain an English translation of the full text which is extremely close to the text found in the LgA and the Gil (279-81). Unfortunately, Lost Books gives no information at all about the original text from which the translation was made.

In the Latin text, Pilate asks for fourteen (XIII) days, as he does in the French text ("quatorze jours").

The obvious scribal error of the instead of then was emended based on the collated MSS.

The text was emended schall to be in accord with the collated MSS and the future tense of the Latin text: "continuo sanitatis beneficio potietur," i. e., immediately they shall obtain the benefit of health.

MS L has sche referring to the image ("imago" is feminine in Latin), but the text was emended to it based on the collated MSS for a clearer reading that is closer to modern English.
The he was added to the text based on MS A to properly identify Volucyen as the speaker.

Based on the collated MSS, MS L's unique inclusion of the was omitted for a smoother reading.

The emendation that was made for a better reading based on the collated MSS.

The text was emended from among the variant readings in the MSS to best convey the sense of the Latin: "Caesar igitur pannis sericis viam sterni fecit," i.e., Caesar, therefore, made a way to be strewn with silk cloths.

MS L's redundant seyn and beholde was emended behold in keeping with the other MSS. The double predicate in MS L may have been a mistranslation of the Latin: ut eam fuit intuitus, sanitatem pristinam est assecutus," i.e., as soon as he had beheld it, he observed his former health.

The emendation pounce is based on the collated MSS and the Latin text. The pons of MS L might have been a scribal abbreviation.

The ME expression "he arose vp ayenst hym" means that he, the Emperor, stood up facing him, Pilate. This is noteworthy because the emperor, who was of the highest rank, remained seated when others were presented to him, but in this case, the Emperor, in spite of his great anger toward Pilate, not only rises to meet him but also speaks to him kindly. The emendation he was made to show that it was the Emperor who was rising in Pilate's presence.

The scribal dittography to to in MS L was emended according to the other MSS.

The emendation cristen is based on the collated MSS and the Latin text.

The emendation it is based on the collated MSS for a reading closer to modern English. The unique reading sche in MS L refers to the coat of our Lord which is the feminine noun "tunica" in the Latin text.

The redundant caste and unique to MS L was omitted from the text. This might have been another instance of the scribe miscopying a word, realizing his error, and then adding the correct word to the text. The emendation is based on the collated MSS.
The emendation Tibre is based on the collated MSS and the Latin text in order to clarify the unusual spelling "Tymbre" in MS L.

MS L has the unique reading "went" to which could mean that the people were so paralyzed by fear that they did not "try to" escape. However, the text was emended "wende to haue" based on all the other MSS because it seems a better reading, i.e., the demonic manifestations were so horrible that none of the people expected to be able to escape—in other words, they thought they were doomed. The phrase is not found in the Latin text.

Because Vene is the city of Vienne, France (located about twenty miles south of Lyon on the Rhone river), Pilate's body had to be put into the Rhone. Therefore, the text was emended "Rome" based on MS A; all the other MSS had the more familiar but incorrect reading "Rome"—which does not make sense. In this case, the restoration of the harder reading was the best editorial choice.

Absurd etymologies, like this one of the name "Vienne," are among the reasons for the discrediting and ultimate denunciation of the LgA. Richard Hamer, editor of Three Lives from the Gilte Legende, notes that the Gil usually omitted the fictitious etymologies of the saints' names that begin the hagiography chapters (19). In this instance, the etymology of Vienne has been abbreviated, using only the reference that connects to the Pilate story, namely, that it is a place of punishment. The Latin text reads: "Vienna enim dicitur quasi via Gehennae, quia erat tunc locus maledictionis, vel potius dicitur Bienna eo quod, ut dicitur, biennio sit constructa." (Vienne, therefore, is spoken of as the way of Gehenna because it was then the place of the curse, or rather it is called Bienna because, as it is said, it was built in two years.)

Gehenna was a sometimes burning, always smoldering garbage dump outside of Jerusalem. Because of Jesus' references to it in connection with punishment for sins (Mt. 5:22, 29, 30; 10:28; 18:9; 23:33), it has come to represent the fire of hell.

"Losenge" (Latin text: "Losannae") probably refers to Lausanne, Switzerland, which is about 120 miles northeast of Vienne, France.

These two lines had many variant readings in the MSS. The ME text was emended to best reflect the Latin text: "ubi adhuc relatione quorundam quaedam dyabolicae machinationes ebullire videntur," i.e., where by the telling of certain people, certain diabolical machinations are seen to boil up to this day.
As stated in the footnote, the reference to the apocryphal story was added to the ME text for a sensible reading. Varagine's comment indicates that he did not find this particular story credible.

The emendation whether it is based on MS G because the neuter pronoun gives a reading closer to modern English; therefore, it is less likely to confuse the reader. The sche in the other MSS refers to the Latin feminine "historia" (story).

Mayster of storyes is "hystoria scholastica" in the Latin text and "l'historie scholas-tique" in the French. It is another reference to Peter Comestor's Historia scholastica. Varagine makes a careful distinction between this scholarly source and the previously mentioned apocryphal story. Comestor's Historia Scholastica is in Migne's Patrologia Latina, Vol. 198. The reference to Pilate is in Cap. XXVIII, column 1551.

The three specific offenses of Pilate mentioned in the text, as well as his being sent to Rome to account for his actions, are also verified in other sources. Pilate's massacre of innocent Samaritans was discussed in the endnote for lines 708-15; moreover, Luke 13:1 says that Pilate mingled the blood of some Galileans with their sacrifices, probably referring to the sacrifices they made in the Temple in Jerusalem. Philo's Embassy to Gaius records that Pilate brought military standards bearing the image of the emperor into Jerusalem, setting off five days of protest from the Jews who would tolerate no graven images. Philo also says that Pilate used money from the Temple's sacred treasury, the corbonam, to build an aqueduct, and he had the Jews who demonstrated against his profane act beaten to death; thus, the legate of Syria, L. Vitellius, sent Pilate back to Rome to account for his deeds before the emperor (JBC 75:143).

The repeated phrase yt ys redde was omitted from the text. This error probably occurred because of eyeskip back to the previous line.

The emendation the is based on the collated MSS. The "corbonam" was the money which the Jews dedicated to the service of God; thus, it was not to be used for a secular purpose, such as building an aqueduct.

In Mark 7:11 Jesus condemns the Jews for evading their duty to care for their aged parents by declaring the money that would have been spent on the elderly as "corban," i.e., for God alone.

The emendation nacion is based on the collated MSS because the singular gives a more
sensible reading. According to the JBC, Pilate's fate after his return to Rome is not known (75:143); thus, his exile in Lyons is likely to be apocryphal.

852 Lyons (also Lyon) is a city in east central France. Founded as a Roman colony in 43 BCE, it became the leading city of Gaul. It was also the place where Christianity was introduced into Gaul.

857 Busebee and bede refer to Eusebius and Bede, scholars who chronicled Christian history and English church history respectively. Eusebius (c.260–c.339), an adult convert to Christianity, became Bishop of Caesarea in Palestine. His Historia ecclesiastica (Ecclesiastical History), a ten volume work, is a main source for the history of Christianity from the Apostolic Age to 324 and earned him the title Father of Church History. He also wrote a Chronicle of world history complete with tables and dates from creation to 303, and devised a system for cross referencing the Gospels. The JBC says that according to Eusebius (HE 2.7), Pilate committed suicide under Caligula (75:143).

Bede or Bedea (c.673–735), a Benedictine monk of Jarrow in Northumbria, England, is known as the Father of English History. His Historia ecclesiastica gentis anglorum (Church History of the English People) sets the story of English church history into the general history of the nation. He is known for his skill in collecting information, for carefully listing his sources, for separating historical facts from hearsay and traditions, and for his vivid descriptions and details. His works also include biblical commentaries and the lives of some English saints.
The comyng of our Lord that is callid advent is made by iiiij wokis to signyfy th[at] ther be iiiij comyngis: the first comyng is in flesshe; the secunde in deeth; the thirde in thought; the iiiij in Iugement. And the laste woke it is vnneth endit for that the glory of seyntis th[at] shall be geve hem at the last comyng shal nevir fayle. "And th[er]for, the first respons of the first sonday of advent, for to acounte the gloria patri, conteyneth iiiij versis to that ende--for to signyfy the forseyde iiiij comyngis.

*And though hit be so that there be iiiij comyngis*, yit the churche makith speciall my[n]de but of iij: that is to sey of the comyng in flesshe and of the Iugemem[nt]--as it shewith in the office of that tyme. And for this cause the *fast* of advent hathe *som part* of ioy and som *part* of wepyng. For by the comyng in to flessh, the *fast* is seide of ioy, and be reson of the comyng in

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Lugement, the *fast* is seide of wepyng. And for to shewe this thynge, the churche than syngheth som songis of ioy—and that is for comyng of mercy, and she takith away som songis of ioy—and that is for the comyng of the cruell lugement.

I. ^And as for comyng in to flesche may be seide iij thynghis: the first is the covenabilite of the comyng and the necessite and the prō[fite. 25

A. The covenabilite is vndirstond:

1. First, of the parte of the man that was first overcome in the *lawe* of kynde by defawte of goodely knowleche. For in thoo dayes, they fill in right wickid erroris of Idolatrye. 30 And therefor he was constreyned to sey:

"Lord, geve me Light to my eyen." ^And aftir that, come the lawe th[at] com-

[m]aundid in which man was overcome by nonw power. As he before crieth and seith: 35

"There is noon that fullfillith, but there is


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And thus he is only taught, but he is not deliverid from synne; nether holpe be any grace for to do wele. And thervfor was he constreyned for to sey and for to chaunche his spekyng: "Ther is noon that com[mlau[nldith, but that fulfillith." And than come the sonne of god covenably, when men had be overcrome withl ignorau[n]ce and vnmyght. For if he hadde be come before, p[ar]aventure, man wolde haue seide that he had be helid by his p[ro]pir meritis. And by that, he shulde nat take his medicyne agreably.

2. "Secondly, she is vndestonde by the parte of tyme. Wherof the apostill seith to the Galathas in the [ + ] chaptir: "He cal[m] in the plente of tyme." And seynt Austyn seith: "Meny men seyn, 'Why come nat Iesu criste before?' And it is answerid, 'For that the  

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plente of tyme was nat come be the attemperyng of hym by whom the tymes be made. And when the plente of tyme was come, he came—that same that delyverid vs of the tyme. And wee, deliverid of the tyme, shall come to that everlastyngnes wher there is noo tyme.'"  

3. '^-^-Thirdly, it is vndirstonde the parte of the wounde and the vnyuer|sall sikenes. For when the sikenes was vnyuer|sall it was moost covenable to put th|erle to an vnyversall medicyn. Where of Seynt Austyn seith: "That the grete leche came when that sikenes lay thorowe the world.'"  

B. Wherfor the church shewith in vij antemes th[at] by song in the advent before the Nativite, and shewith the multiplienge of his sikenes. And for everiche, he reqvyreth the remedy of medycine. For before the comyng of the sonne of god in flesshe, wee were ignoraunte and blynde and bownde
to the peynes everlastyng, servaunt[is] of the 75 Feende, bownden w[ith] the wickid custum, wrappid in derkenes, chasid from our contre. And therfor wee haue neede of a doctour, of a rede[mlptour, of a deliverer, of a outdrawer, of a enlumynour, and of a saveour[e].

1. And for that wee were vnkunyng, we had neede to be taught. And therfor wee crye in the first anteene: "O wisdom that passid owte of the mouth of the moost hiest, come and teche vs the wey of wisdom."

2. But litill availid it that wee were taught, but if wee were [ J ageen bought. And th[er]for wee reqvyre to be bought *of hym* when wee in the secunde anteme sey: "O Adonay, duke of the meyne of Israell, come and by vs in the myght of thy right arme."

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75 peynes] p. of A ofl to A 76 bownden w[ith] the] bounde with H2; and we were also bounde by A wrappid A 77 derkenes] d. of synne and A froml away from A 79 deliverer] d. and H2 a outdrawer] an c. H2 A a enlumynourl an e. H2 A 81 were] be A 82 And] omit H2 83 passid] cometh H2; came A 83-4 of the] omit A 86 availid] shewith H2 A 86-87 taught ... bought] omit H2 87 if] if that A [ ... ] not—all MSS omit; however found in Latin text and necessary for a correct reading. 87-88 ageen ... be] omit A 88 of hyml ageen L 89 in ... sey] seie in the secounde anteme H2 A 91 thy] the H2
3. 'f'And what shulde availe vs our techynge and our ageen byeng, if wee shuld all wey be kepte and holde in captivite. And therfor wee requyre to be deliverid when wee crye in the thirde antene: "O roote of Iesse, com, thowe, and deliver vs, and tary nott."

4. But what shuld avayle vn to vs wrecchis, yf wee were bought and deliverid and not vnbounde of all our bondis--so that we myght goo frely where wee wolde. And therfor wee requyre to be take out of the bondis of synne when wee crye in the iiiij antene: "O key of Dauid, come to vs, and take vs out of the shadowe of deeth."

5. And for thoo th[at] long tyme haue be in derkenes have noo clere sight, for her eyen be derkid. Th[er]for aftir the deliveraunce of the preson, wee reqvyre to be enlumyned

that wee mowe se where wee shull goo. And therfor wee crye in the v antem: "O orient, shyner of evrelastynge light, come and enlumyne thoo that sitten in derkenes [and] in the schadowe of dethe."

6. And if wee were taught, ageen bought, vnbounde, [and] enlumyned, what shulde avayle vs but yf wee shuld be savid. And th[er]for wee requyre to be savid in ij antemes folowynge and sey:

-- "O kynge of men, come and save vs that thowe madist of the slyme of the erthe."
-- "O emanuell, duke and berer of our lawe, Lord our god, com and save vs."

C. The p[ro]phite of his comyng is assigned of meny seynt[is] in meny maners:

1. For as luke seith in the iiiij chaptir that our lord was sente and come for vij p[ro]phetis, and he seith: "The sperit of our lord oppon me [etc.]." Where he seith by ordir that
he was sent: to the comfort of the pore, to
hele thooc th[at] were syke, to deliver thooc
that were in preson, to teche the vnkunnyng,
to forgeve synnes, and for to by all mankynde,
and for to geve guerdon to hem that deserve it.

2. Syent Austyn puttith iiij p[rol]fitis of his
comyng and seith: "In this wickid world, what
thyng aboundith but for to be borne, to
traveile, and to dye. These been the iiij 140
marchaundisis of this regioun. And to these
marchaundisis he cam down. And for that all
marchaundis geven and taken—they geve that
they haue and take that they haue nott—Our
lord, Iesu crist, in his marchau[n]dis 145
gave and toke. He toke th[at] haboundith
here, that is, for to be bore, to travell,
and to dye, and he gave for to be bore ageen, for to rise, and for to regne eternally.

This marchaunt come to vs for to take represe [and] geve worshipp[e], for to take deethe and to geve life, for to take pou[er]te and to geve glory.”

3. ‘Ç’ Seynt Gregore puttith iiij causes or pr[ol]fites of his comyng and seith: "All the proude that were come of the sonnes of Adam stodien for to haue the prosperitee of this world, and to eschewe contrary thyngis, for to flee represves, and to desire glory.

‘Ç’ And than com our lord a monge hem— borne in flesshe, couetyng adversitees, and dispisyng prosperitees, by clippy[n]g represves, and fleyng gloryes. And Iesu crist cam that was abidyn and taught newe thyngis. And in
techyng, he didde mervelous thyng[is]. 165
And in doyng mervelous thyngis, he suffrid
many sorowes [and] diseese." 166

4. "Seynt Bernard put other wise and seith:
"Wee be travel lid wrecchidly with iij man[er]
siknesse. For wee be light to be 170
disseivld, febill for to worke, and freell to
withstond. Yf wee will disserne betwene goode
and evill, wee be disseivld. If we assay to
do well, wee fayle full sone. If wee enforce
vs to withstond evill, wee be sone 175
ovrcome. And th[er]for the comyng of our
saviour was necessary so that he, dwellyng in
vs be feith, enlumyne our blyndnes. And in
dwellyng with vs, helpe our sikenes. And in
stondyng for vs, defende our freelte." 180

II. The secunde comyng is to the Iugeme[n]t. And there
in be ij thyngis to be seyn, that is, the thyngis
that be before the Iugement [and] the thyng[is]
that be at the Iugement.

165 mervelous] grete m. A  166 mervelous thyngis]
merualis H₂; these mervailles A  168 Seynt] and seynt
A  169 wrecchidly with iij man[er]] with thre wickid H₂
A  170-71 to be disseivld] to dissieue H₂ A  171 for
to] to H₂ A  172 Yf] and if H₂  175 evill] omit H₂ A
wee be] we wille be H₂; we shalle be A  178 feithl
feithe and H₂ A  180 stondyng for] beynge with H₂ A
182 is] be H₂ A  184 atl aftir H₂ A

151
A. The thyng[is] that be before the Iugement been ii[ ] thyngis: first, dredefull signys; and [f. 418 v.] than, the fals begily[n]g of antec[ril]st; and the right grete strenght of fire.

1. The dredefull tokens that shall be before the Iugement be sett in luke in the xxj chaptir: "Th[er]e shall be signes in the sunne and in the moone and in the sterris [and] houge grevauncis to men."

a. The thre first signes be determynyd in the Apokalips in the vj chapit[ir] that seith: *"The sonne is made blak as a sakke of heer, and the mone is made as bloode, and the sterris shulle falle down to the erthe."*

(1) The sunne is seide derke for as muche as he is deprivid of his light as he were sey weepyng + for the dyeng of men. Or as for the comey[ng] of the gretter, that is, the brightnes of Iesu crist. Or ellis, for to
speke by symylitude, for seynt Austyn seith that: "The vengeaunce shall be so cruell th[at] the sunne dare nat beholde it." Or for to speke for the p[ro]pir signyficacioun[ne], for the sonne of rightwisnes, Ieus Crist, shall be so derke that there dare noon knoweleche hym.

(2) [ ]

(3) "The heven th[at] is callid aereu[n] and the sterris that be callid assuli, that haue symylitude of sterris, and they be seide the sterris that fallen from heven, aftir the comune opynyou[n], when assull descendith—for the scripture conformyth to the comune maner of spekyng. And than, namely, shall be made suche impressioun[ne] that the qualite of the fire shall habou[n]de, and that shall oure lord

doe for to fere the synfull. Or
ellis, the sterris be seide to fall
for that they put out flames of fire;
or ellis, for that many prelatis whiche be seyn for to be prelatis of
the churche shall fall; or ellis, for that they withdrawe theyr light that
they be nat seyn.

b. Of the iiiij signe, that ther shall be grete pressure in erthe of men, seith
sey[nlt [ + ] in the xxiiij chaptir:
"Than ther shall be tribulacioun that
ther was nevir noon suche from the
begynnyng of the world."

c. The v signe shall be confusioun of the see. Som ween and seyn that the see shall
p[erlisshe with grete brennyng fro his
first qualite, aftir the [ + ] that

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227 for tol to H₂ A 230 that\[ that\] omit H₂ A 231
whiche\[ that\] A be seyn for to bel for omit H₂; should be
A prelatis\[ om\] omit A 232 shall fall\[ shall fall\] be feynte and
fall A 233 withdrawing with with drawe H₂ 236 grete\[ grete\]
omit H₂ pressure\[ pressure\] greuancis A in
earthel\[ om\] omit H₂ A of\[ to\] H₂ A 237 [ + ] Matthew--
all MSS have Mark: seith sey[nlt Marke L; seith Marke H₂;
seynte Marke sayeth A, but Matthew in the Latin text is
correct. 239 suchel gretter H₂ A 241 be\[ be\] of A
242 Soml for some H₂; for som clerkis A ween and omit
A 243 gretel huge H₂ A 244 [ + ]] Apocalypse--all
MSS have Apostill; however, the Latin text has Apocalypse
which is correct.

154
seith in the xxj chapitre: "And the see shall no more be." Or aft[ir] som other, it shall be for th[at] he shall nat be lifte vp w[ith] owte grete murm[ur] xl cubitis aboue all the mountaines of the world, and sith she shall be abasid ageen. Or pleynly to the lett[ir], aftir Gregor: "Than shall th[er]le be made a newe see that never was herde [and] ther shall be trobelyng of wawis."

d. 'R' Seynt Ierom founde in the Annuell of hebrewes xv signes th[at] shall be before the Iugement. But for to wete whether they shall be before the Iugement contynuелly or betwene whilis, he expressith nat. And he seith that: (1) The first + day the sea shall arise xl cubitis aboue the bight of hillis. And he shall be in his place as a walle.
(2) The secunde day he shall descende so lowe that vnnetls he may be sene.

(3) The iij day the *whalys* of the see shall apere aboue the watir, [and] they shall crye and rode vp to heven. And god only shall vndirstond her crye.

(4) The iij day the see and the lond shall brenne.

(5) The v day the trees [and] the herbes shall geve blody dewe and foulis shall assembl in a feelde, every maner foule by hym self. [And] they shall tast of noo thyng for drede of the nye comynge of the lugge.

(6) The vj day the bildyngis shull fall down. And in that day, as it is seide, tempestis of fire shull brenne. And they shall come fro the orient, agens the face of the

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261 The] in the A  262 hight of hills] high hillis $H_2$; hieste hillis A  263 And hel and anone ayen he A  264 walle] valey A  265 The] And the A he shall] shal the see A  266 may bel] shal be knowe and A  267 whalys] wawes L $H_2$  269 they shull] omit A to] to the $H_2$ heven] h. full petevouslye A  272 & 274 day] omit $H_2$  275 blody dewe] a dewe like blood $H_2$ A and foulis] and some seïn that that daie all the briddis of heueu[n] $H_2$; and some clerkis sayen . . . A  277 foule] of f. $H_2$ A  280 the] alle A  284 face] place $H_2$ A
f firmament. And they shall renne 285
even to the occident.

(7) The viij day the stonys shall Smyte
[and] burtill to gidir, the toon
with that othir [ ] in iiiij
parties. And *eu[erly p[arltye] 290
shall hurtylle ayenste oth[irl] [and]
ther shall* noon vndistonde her
sowne, but onely god.

(8) The viij day the erth shall trembill
generally. And ther shall be so 295
grete mevying that noo creature
shall mow stonde, but fall downe to
the erthe.

(9) The ix day the mounteynes shall be
made even with the erth. And 300
all the coppis of the hillis shall
turne in to powdir.

(10) The x day men shall arise out
Cavis and ren aboute as woode men,
and noon speke to other. 305
(11) The xiij day the bonys of dede men shall arise and be oppon her sepulcris. And all the sepulcris from the eest to the weest shall be opyn so th[at] dede bodies mowe go owte.

(12) The xij day the sterris shull fall fro heven, and all tho that turnyn [and] [ ] be stabill shall caste owte fire. [And] than shall Asub be gretely grevid. And in this day men seyn that all beestis shall assembll, and they shall lowe right petevously and taste of noo thyng.

(13) The xiiij day all levi[ng] thyng shall dye for to arise with the dede.

(14) The xiiiij day heven and erthe shull bren.

(15) The xv day shall be made a newe heven and a newe erthe, [and] all shall arise.
2. "The secon[n]de thynge that shall be afore
the Iugement shall be the fals begilyngis of
antecrist. For he shall enforce hym for to
disseive the pepill in iiiij maners:

a. First, by malicious techyngis or by fals
exposicioun of scripturis. For he shall
enforce hym by scripturis to affeme that
he is Messias behight in the Lawe
and distroy the feith of iesu crist
and ordeyne his owen.

(1) "Wherof Dauld seith: "Lord, ordeyn
above hym the berer of the Lawe."

(2) And the gllose seith: "That it is
antecrist that is berer of this
wickid Lawe.

(3) And Danyell seith: "He shall geve
abhomynacioun and discomfort.

(4) And the gllose seith: "That
antecrist shall be in the tempill
of our lord, right as god, for to
take awaye the lawe of god.

328 be thel be A 329 for tol to H2 A 333 by
scripturis to affeme] to affeme by scripturis H2A
334 behight] that is b. A 335 andl and shall nye A
336 andl and than he shall A owenl owen feyth H2 A
337-42 Lord ... seithl omit A--some omitted lines are
inserted after line 343 338 above hyml hem above H2
340 thisl the H2 343 discomfortl d. and Dauld sayeth
Lorde ordeyne them aboue the berer of the lawe 344 Andl
as H2 345 be inl be as in H2; be thatnl right as in A
tempilll time H2 A 346 right asl omit A for tol
to H2; and shall A
b. "Secou[n]dly, he shall enforce hym for to disceive the pepill by myraclous werkis. [ + ] seith in the second 350 chapt[c]ir] of the whiche: "The comyng shall be aftir the worke of the feende in all wordis and tokyns [and] fals shewyng[is]."

c. Thirdly, he shall dysseive by large giftis. [ + ] seith: "He shall 355 geve power in many thyngis and shall devide the erthe to his plesaunce."

[ ]: "And tho that he may not submyt to his erroures by drede, he shall submyt hem by [ ]. 360
d. [ ] turmentis.

3. "The third thyng [that shall be before the Jugement is this: There shall be right grete
strenght of fire the whiche shall goo before the face of the Iuge. And our lord shall sende this fire:

(1) First, for to renewe the world, for he shall purge and renewe all the elementis.

[And] right as the water of Noe's floode was, the fire shall be more hye than the mountaynes by xv cubitis. And so it is seide in the maist[er] of stories:

"For that the workis of men myght have stied so hye."

(2) Secondly, for the purgyng of men. For to hem that shull than live, it shall be purgatory.

(3) Thirdly, for to turment more the dampnyd.

(4) Fourthly, for more enlumynyng of seyntis.

For aftir seynt Basile: "When god hath made this purgacioun of the fire, he shall departe the light from the hete. [And] he shall sende all the hete in to the Regioun of thoo that shall be..."
damned for to be the more turmentid. 385
And he shall sende the brightnes in to
the Regioun of the blessid for to
encresse her Ioy."

B. The thing[is] that felawship[e] the
Iugement shall be meny:
1. The first shall be the vnagreabilite of
the Iuge.
a. The Iuge shall dessende in to the vale of
Iosaphath, and he shall put the goode in
the right side and the wickid in his
lefte side. And as it is to beleve, he
shall be in a plase aperyng so that all
mowe se hym. "And it is nat to be
undirstonde that all shull be closid in
that vale," so as Ierom seith. They
shall be in placis a boute, for in litill
lond may be men with owten nombir—[and]
namely when they be streite. And,
paraventure, the goode shull be in the
eyr for the lightnes of her bodies, and the dampnyd also by vertu of the godhede.

b. "And than the luge shall begynne to reprove the wickid and put agenst hem the workis of mercy that they had nat do. And than shull they all wepe oppon hem selfe. Aftir that Crysostom seith oppon Mathewe: "The Iewes shull weyle and pleyn when they shull se Iesu crist levyng and gevyng life, the whiche they wende for to have be a deedly man. And they shull be ovircome when they shull se hym woundid in his body. And they mowe nat deny her felonye. "And the paynyms shull waile for the by her vein. disspataciouns of philosophris, they were disseivld and wend that it hadde been foly vunresonable for to have worshippid
the god crucified. And the synfull
cristen shall wepe for that they
lovid and worshippid [and] servid more
the world than iesu crist, almyghti god.
And all the kynredis of the erthe shall
wepe for than th[er]e shall be no vertu
to withstonde agenst hym. And for
to hide hem, it is impossibill; and for
to flee, they have no leyser, ne place
of pen[a]lunce, ne tyme of satisfaccioun.
Th[er]e shall be anguyssh of all thyngis;
ne noo thyng shall a byde that shuld
plese hem."

2. "'The secounde thynge shall be difference
of the ordynaunce. For as seynt Gregor seith
that: "Th[er]e shall be iiiij ordris at the
lugement: iij of the party of the reprovid,
and iij of the party chosyn."

424 crucified] that was c. A
425 and] omit H₂
426 lovid
and worshippid [and] servid] lovild servid and w. H₂ A
427 iesu crist] omit A
428 And] and than A
429 than] omit A
430 to] omit H₂; that maye A
431 for] omit H₂
432 ne placel for th[er]e is ne p. A
433 nel nor A
434 Th[er]e] but there A
435 ne nool
436 for there shal le no] omit A
437 shall . . . shuld] omit A
438 he[ml] the synfulle A
439 bel be the H₂ A
440 iij The
tweme H₂
party of th[el] party A
441 chosynl of the c. H₂
a. That con shall be Iugid and p[er]lissh—thoo to whom yt shall be seide, "I had hungir, and ye gave me noo mete; I thristid, [and] ye gave me noo drynke."

b. *The othCer* e shull nat be Iugid*, but they shull p[er]lissh—as tho of whom it is seide, "He that levith nat is forthe—with Iugid." For they wolde not p[re]seyve the wordis of the luge, ne wolde nat kepe his feith.

c. *That other party of th[at] chosyn shull be Iuged and reigne—as they to whom it shall be seide, "I had hung[ir], and ye gave me meete [etc.]."

d. Other shall not be demyd and shall reigne as p[er]fite men that shall Iuge other—not that they shall geve the sentence, but they shall accorde with the luge, for that ap[er]teyneth to god a loone.

(1) And that accordaunce shall be, first, in the worshipp[e] of seyntis. For it is a grete worshipp[e] for to

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442 That] the H₂ 443 thoo] omit H₂ A 445 thristid] had thurste A 447 The . . . Iugid] phrase written twice L 448-57 they . . . and] omit H₂ A 458 that shull) and A 461 that] alle that Iugement A 464 worshipp[e] w. to seyntis A for to] to H₂ A

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have a sete with the Iuge. Aftir 465 that, he behotith hem seiyng: "Ye shall be above the segis."

(2) "Secondly, to the confirmacioun of the sentence, for they shall approve the sentence of the Iuge. 470 Right so as som tyme thoo that be with the Iuge approven his sentence [and] subscribe to approven it. And of that seith David: "They shall make agenst hem a Iugement wretren." 475

(3) "Thirdly, to the condempnacioun of the wickid, which they shall dampne by the workis of her lyfe.

3. The thirde thynge th[at] shall be with the Iuge shall be the signes of his passioun, 480 that is, the crosse, the naylis of his feet and hondis, and the woundis of his body. And these thyngis be for to shewe:

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a. First, his glorious victory. And they shall apere in an excellent glory. As Crisostom seith oppon Mathewe: "The crosse and the woundis shall be more brighter than the bemes of the sunne." And it is to considir howe myche the vertu of the crosse is grete, for the sunne shall wexe derke and the moone shall geve no light. For that thowe shall knowe th[at] the crosse is more shynyng than the moone and more clerer than the sun[ne].

b. Secoundly, in shewyng of his grete mercy. And by these thyngis, he shewith howe the goode be savid by the grete mercy.

c. Thirdely, for the shewyng of his rightwisnes, so that there by be shewid howe th[at] the reprovid be rightwisly damned—for they disputid god th[at] was the price and ageen by- eng of her synnes by his bloode. Wherfore he repreveth hem by these wordis, as

484 First . . . victoryl omit A 485 anl omit A 486 Thel] than the A 487 woundis] w. of owre lord A morel omit A 489 considir] vndirstonde and to c. H_2 A 491 wexe] than w. A 492 For thatl for A 493 than] than is H_2 497 shewithl s. to you H_2 A 497-98 by . . . mercyl of his m. H_2; by his m. A 500 bel maye be A 503 andl and the H_2 A 504 bloode] precious b. H_2 A 505 heml omit H_2
Crisostom seith oppon Mathewe: "I am made a man for yowe and bounden and dispisid and betyn [and] crucified. Loo, here howe I geve the prise of my bloode for the redempcioun of your sowlis. Where is the service that yee have do for me, for the price of my blood, for the redempcioun of your sowlis? I had yowe more dere than my glory--for as I was god, I becam man. And ye made me the moost vile of all other thyngis--for yee lovdi more the mooste vile thynge of all the erthe than my right and my feith."

4. "The fourthe is the cruelte of the Iuge.

For he may nat be turnyd:

a. By noo power, for he is all myghti. "Nor by noo giftis, for he is all riche," and th[er]eof seith seynt Bernard. "That day shall come when the pure hertis shall be more worthe than prowde hertis, +

507 al omit A 508 bowel h. that A 509 gevel have gave A 510 sowlis] folies H_2 510-13 Where . . . sowlis?] omit A 513 Ii For I A 514 myl omit H_2 becaml be come H_2 515 mel omit A 516 otherl omit A more thel the H_2; omit A 517 vile thyngel v. thingis H_2; than the vyleste thyngis A alll omit A erethel worlde H_2 A thanl better than me and A 522 all richel moost richeste A 523 That] the A 524 thel omit A 525 thanl than the H_2 A +] and grete wordis L

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and goode conscient bettir than full pursis. It is he that may nat be disseivid by wordis, nor he may nat be bowid by giftis," *as* seynt Austyn seith. The day of dome is abiden, and there shall be that rightfull luge that woll nat resseyve the p[erson]e of + myght--*for though his* paleys been of gold [and] of sylver. Nor no bishopp[e], nor abbot, ne no prynce may nat 535 corrupte hym by golde ne by silver.

b. Nor by hate, for he is all goode. And for that he is all goode, he may nat fall in *to* hate. Whereof it is seide in the booke of Sapience: "<Lord, 540 thow hatist nevir thyng of thyne that thow madist."

c. Nor by love, for he is moost rightfull. For he woll nat delyver his bretheren,
the fals cristien men. And so seith 545
Dauld, "The brother shall nat by his
brother [etc.] ."

d. Nother by errorey, for he is moost wyse.
And therof seith seynt leon the pope:
"This is the sentence of the sovereyn 550
Iuge. He hath right dredefull and
treblelyng beholdeyn—to whom all stabill
thyng[is] be litill, and all secrete
thyngis aperith to hym, and all derkenes
to hym is clere; dombe thyngis answere 555
to hym, and thoo th[at] mowe nat speke
confesse to hym, [and] thought spekith
to hym with owte voys. And for that his
wisdom is so huge and so grete, the
allegaunce of the advocatis be nat so 560
grete ne worthy as his wisdom, nether the
argumentis of philosophirs, nether the
right feyre spekyng of maistres, nor the
pride of folis." And of these iiiij
thyngis, seith also seynt Ierom: "Howe 565 muche shull they be more blesid before hym theo with owte spekyng than the feire spekers," and this for the first.

"For the secou[n]de, "And howe moche more the shepardis than the philoso- 570 phris." And to the third, "[ ]."

"Howe muche theo that be vnku[n]ny[n]g in spekyng to the argumentis of Citerion,"

+ as to the fourth.

565 also omit H₂ A 566 more] the more A 567 thoo] thoo that ben A than] or H₂ A 568 spekers] speakers as to hym alle is on[el A this] this is A 569 For] as for A And] omit H₂ A 570 more] more shull H₂ A than] speche or A philosophris] philosophris to hym alle is one A 571 And] as A [ ] rustics than orators--all MSS omit Jeromes's third group of the more blessed: "quanti rustici oratoribus, quo ad tertium."

(How much the awkward bumpkins will be preferred to the professional speakers, this to the third.) Then in third place, all MSS have an inaccurate translation of Jerome's fourth group: "quanti hebetes argutiis praeferendi sunt Ciceronis, quo ad quartum." (How much the arguments of dullards will be preferred to the arguments of Cicero, this to the fourth.) This misplacement also effects the following section because having missed the third point, the MSS incorrectly take the "quo ad quartum" as a reference to the first point of section B. 5. (things that accompany the judgment) which further confuses the reading. 572 muche] muche more H₂ A 573 in spekyng] omit A the] omit H₂ Citerion] Seint Citerion H₂ A 574 +] and L H₂ A

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5. [ + ] The fifth is the horrible accuser—emended from the Latin text: "quintus est accusator horribilis" which indicates that this is the fifth in the list of things that will accompany the final Judgment; thus it begins a new section. However, having omitted Jerome's third point in 4.d. (above), the MSS take this to be his fourth point—possibly misreading "quintum" as "quantum" and mistranslating "accuser" as accusation; thus, the MSS read: Howe moche the accusaciouu is horrible the which the accusaciouns shall be full horrible ayenste the synners than omit A 576 be ther than A [ + ] three—all MSS have iiiij, but "tres" in the Latin text is correct. 579 all omit H₂ A 581 houre] omit H₂ A 583 that adversary] all the adversaries H₂; the adversaries A 584 right rightfull] right-wisse A hyml hem H₂ A 585 be myne] me H₂ hisl her H₂ A 587 hisl omit H₂ A 589 the] omit H₂ Hel and he A 590 vn to] to H₂ A andl] and he hath A tol vnto H₂
me. He toke of the the stole of immortallite and of me this pure cote wherewith he is clothid. He hathe loste thy clothyng and is come heder in my clothyng. Wherfore, O moost rightwis Iuge, deme hym to be myn and to be condempned with me.' Alas, alas! Howe may he open his mouth, that is founde in this plite, that by right is ordeyned to the Feende.'

b. "The seconde accusour shall be his p[ro]pir mysdedis. For the p[ro]pir synnes shull accuse hem that have done hem. Wherof the wise man seith: "The Iniquitees, that is to sey the wickidnessis of hem shull come dredefully in her myndis and be contrary to hem. And seynt Bernard seith: "The workis spekyng to geders shull sey, 'Thowe hast do vs; wee be thy workis. And wee
shall goo with the *to the* Iugement,

[f. 421 r.]

[and] accuse the of multiplieng mysredis.'"

c. '熘'The third accusour shall be the world. Whereof seynt gregor seith: "Yf thowe aske whoo shall accuse thee, I sey, 'All the world. For when the creatour shall be wroth, all the world shall be wrothe.'" Whereof Crisostom seith oppon Mathew: "At that day ther is noo thynge that in heaven and erthe, sunne and moone, day and nyght, and all the world shall be agenst vs in witnes of our synnes. And if all these were stull, neteles our owne thoughtis and our workis shall be specially agenst vs in accusyng vs before god."

6. '熘'"The thyng that shall be ther shall be the undesseyveable witnes. For than the synfull shall haue iij witnessis agenst hym:

611 to thel in L 616 when] than shalle H2 A shall]
omit H2 A 617 all . . . wroth] omit H2 A 618 Whereof C.] where Seinte John C. A 612 [and] there to A multiplieng mysdedis] multiplieng of m. H2; thy grete [and] ful wyckyd dedis A 620 wee] omit A as] for H2 A 623 synnes] grete s. A 623-24 these were stull] thingis holde her pees H2 A 624 neteles our owne] our H2; and our A 625 specially] than moost s. A 626 agenst] a. to accuse A in accusyng us] omit A god] the Iuge that is almyghty god A 627 [ + ]] sixth--all MSS have iiiij; however, "sextus" in the Latin text is correct. 628 be thel be A vndesseyvabill desseiu-
able H2 witnes] w. to vs A 629 synfull] synner A
a. The toon above hym, and that is god shall be luge and witnes. Wherof [ + ] seith: "'I am luge and witnes,' seith our lord."

b. Another witnes shall be with in hym, and that is the p[rol]pir conscience. Wherof seynt Austyn seith: "Whoo that evir drede the luge to come, correct he his owen conscience; for the worde of thy mowthe is witnes of thy conscience."

c. The third witnes shall be besides hym. That shall be thy p[rol]pir aungell, ordeyned to thy kepyng; that shall bere witnes agenst hym, as he that knowith all that he hath doone. So as Iob seith in the xx chapitir: "The heven"--that is to sey, the *aungellis*--"shall open the Iniquitees of hym."

7. The vij thyng that shall felisship[ps]

the Iuge shall be the constreynt of the

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"O howe the weies shall than be streite to the synners! For the luge full of wrath shall be above, the dredefull confusioun of hell shall be vndir, the synnes accusyng on the right syde, and on the lifte side, Feendes with owt nombir to travell and turment. With in, his conscience shall brenne hym; and with out, all the world brennyng. And the wrecchid synner, thus overleide on eu[erly side, where shall he flee? Where shall he hide hym? For to hide hym, it is impossibill; and for to appere, it is intollerabill."

8. The viij thynge is the sentence nat ageen callyng, for she may nevyr be callId ageen.

a. And in the causis of Iugement, the apele is nat resseivd for thre causis:

(1) First, for the excellence of the Iuge. For a man may nat *appele*
from the kyng that gevith sentence
in his *reame* for he hathe noo

souvereyn over hym. And also, ther
may noon repele fro the pope, ne
fro the Emp[ir]lowre.

(2) Secondly, for the evidence of the
mysdede. For when it is knownen
openly, it may nat be repelid.

(3) Thirdly, for that the *thinge* be
nat enloynyd. For, p[ar]aventure,
if she were p[rol]oynd, she
shulde p[er]isshe.

b. [And] for that men apele nat from these
iij sentencis; right so, they mowe nat
apele from this sentence;

(1) First, for the excellence of the
[ + ]. For there is noon above
hym, for he surmountith all other
by everlastyngis, by dignyte, [and]
by powste. For from the Emp[ir]our
[and] the pope, men myght in some
wise apele to + god, but from god, 690
they mowe nat apele to noon other.

(2) "Secondly, for the evidence of
the mysedede. For all the wickid
synnes of wickid dooers shull apere
and be open. Wher for seynt 695
lerom seith: "In that day shall
all oure dedis apere, right as the
poynsis in a tabill."

(3) Thirdly, the thyng shall nat be
prolyoned. For thyng that is 700
doon, ther shall have noo delacioun-
for all shall be doone in a moment,
as lightly as the twynklyng of an
eye.

Here begynneth the concepcioun
of owre lady seynt Marye

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TEXTUAL NOTES AND COMMENTARY

As in the previous chapter, the following notes and commentary provide explanations to further clarify the text and/or to justify editorial changes in the base text.

Manuscript Lambeth Palace 72, (MS L). The numbers in brackets are the pages and the numbers in bold type are the lines where the passages being discussed are located.

[142] 2 Advent is the liturgical season that begins the Church year. The word derives from the Latin adventus, i.e., coming; it is a time of prayer and penance in preparation for the feast of Christmas. The exact time and nature of Advent has changed over the centuries. As early as 380, the Council of Saragossa ordered a three-week fast before the feast of Epiphany (January 6), at which time catechumens were baptized. Over the next 200 years, this custom spread from Spain into France and England. The early form of Advent was an ascetical rather than a liturgical season.

Advent was not observed in Rome until the sixth century; there it was a liturgical season, a six-week preparation for the feast of Christmas. This was shortened to four weeks during the liturgical reform of Pope Gregory I (590-604). Gregory also composed prayers to be used in the Mass and in the Divine Office during this season; these prayers were said in anticipation of the celebration of Christ's coming to earth. The Roman rite, including Advent, was introduced into Gaul in the ninth century.

In Gaul, the season of Advent emphasized Christ's Second Coming, his return in glory at the end of time to reward the just and to punish sinners. Tenth-century Rome began using the combined Roman and Gallican Advents; thus, Advent received the double emphasis on Christ's first coming in Bethlehem and his second coming at the end of time that is very evident in this chapter of the GIL. During the Middle Ages the season of Advent was strictly observed as a "little Lent," a time of penance, prayer, and fasting to prepare for both Christ's birth and one's own death.

[142] 3-4 The Latin text lists the comings: "in carnem, in mentem, in mortem et ad judicium." The abridged French edition of de Wyzewa follows the same order as the Latin: "dans la chair, dans l'esprit, dans la morte, et au jugement dernier." However, in Dunn-Lardeau's critical edition the list is the same as in the GIL: "en chair, en mort, en pensee et au jugement." This change seems to indicate a line of influence between the GIL (1438) and the...
LGD (1476), but because of the late date of Dunn-Larudeau's base text, the direction of influence cannot be definitively determined.

[142] 8-10 The first responsory for the first Sunday in Advent is the Introit of the Mass which is:

"Ad te levavi animam meam: Deus meus, in te confido, non erubescam: neque irradiant me inimici mei: etenim universi, qui te exspectant, non confundentur. Ps. Vias tuas, Domine, demonstra mihi: et semitas tuas edoce me. Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui sancto. Sicut erat in princípio, et nunc, et semper, et in saecula saeculorum. Amen." (To you have I lifted up my soul: in you, O my God, I put my trust, let me not be ashamed: neither let my enemies laugh at me: for none of them that wait on you shall be confounded (Ps. 24:4). Show, O Lord, your ways to me: and teach me your paths. Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit. As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen.)

The ME omits the sentence which follows line 10 in the Latin text: "Quis autem aut cui magis conveniat, prudens lector attendat," i.e., Let the attentive reader determine which verse best fits each coming. [Although I consider myself an attentive reader, I found it difficult to fit the verses to the different comings. I believe the coming in flesh corresponds to: "To you have I lifted up my soul: in you, O my God, I put my trust, let me not be ashamed." I made this selection because Varagine was uncomfortable with the incarnate deity and felt the world of the flesh was shameful. The coming in judgment was easy to find: "Neither let my enemies laugh at me: for none of them that wait on you shall be confounded." Confound can mean to damn, an unwanted result of Christ's coming in judgment; equally unwanted is one's enemies laughing at the sentence one receives. The coming in mind/spirit corresponds to "Show, O Lord, your ways to me: and teach me your paths." One learns what God teaches with his/her mind. Finally, the coming in death is seen in the: "Glory be to the Father, . . . world without end." The "world without end" refers to eternity, and death is an entrance into eternity.

[142] 11 MS L's omission of the line was probably the result of eyeskip. The line was restored based on the other MSS and the Latin text.

[142-3] 15-18 MS L's feast was emended to fast based on the other MSS and the Latin "jejunium." Until changed after the Second Vatican Council (1962-65), Advent, like Lent, was a time of obligatory fast. The emendation some part instead of MS L's songis, was made based on the the other MSS, the Latin "partim," and the French "partie."

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MS L's party of kynde was emended to lawe of kynde based on the other MSS and the Latin "lege naturae." The meaning is that man, by his very nature, lacks the knowledge of God.

The quotation, "Lord, . . . eyen," is from Psalm 13:4.

She refers to the covenabilite, i.e., the appropriateness of the timing of Christ's first coming to earth.

The reference to Paul's letter to the Galatians is incorrectly attributed to the seventh (viij) chapter in both the LgA and the GIL. (Galatians has only six chapters.) The passage cited is Gal. 4:4.

The quotation is from Augustine. (See endnote for line 14 of the Passion chapter on page 119 for information on Augustine.)

An antiphon is a verse of a psalm or hymn that is said or sung in response to another. The antiphons cited in lines 81-124 are known as the Greater or O-Antiphons; those who pray the Divine Office sing or say these verses before and after the Magnificat during evening prayer, known as Vespers, on the seven days preceding Christmas Eve, i.e., December 17 to 23. Their authorship is unknown, but they were in use by the eighth century. The verses anticipate the birth of Christ, addressing him by titles that express his role as the promised Messiah and Savior of mankind and asking for his help in freeing mankind from sin and death.

Although omitted in the MSS, the word not is necessary for a correct reading. It is found in the Latin text: "si doceremur et non redimeremur," i.e., if we were taught but not redeemed.

Emendation of hym is based on the other MSS and the Latin text: "ab ipso." The Latin is "by him," but the use of ME prepositions was not as standardized as it is in modern English.


The quotation is from Gregory. (See endnote for line 527 in the Passion chapter on page 131 for information on Gregory.)
The quotation is from Bernard of Clairvaux.  (See endnote for line 87 in the Passion chapter on page 121 for information on Bernard).


The omitted passage, probably the result of eyeskip, was included based on the other MSS and the Latin text.

The and that had been included in the text of MS L was omitted based on the other MSS and the Latin text: "hominem moriendi," i. e., as for the death of man. The weeping is the result of the death. The weeping and the death are not parallel phrases as the coordinate conjunction and in the base text indicates; thus, the and was omitted. The ME text omits a phrase found in the Latin: "vel quantum ad sui luminis privationem, ut patre familias, id est homine, morienti quasi lugere videatur, vel . . . ." In context, the thought expressed by the omitted phrase is: when your father dies, the sun seems to shine less brightly on you—and he was just a man! How much more so is the world dimmed when the Light from Light goes out, (i. e., when Christ dies on the cross).

The ME propir is a translation of misticam, i. e., mystical signification, found in the Latin text. Varagine is following a medieval custom of interpreting events, especially biblical events, on several different levels, for example: literal, metaphorical, spiritual, and eschatological. In this case the sun becoming dark on a mystical or spiritual level means that the Son of God, Jesus, will be dark, i. e., unknown, because in the sinful world there will be no one with the courage to acknowledge him.

All MSS and the Latin text omit an explanation of the second sign, "et luna tota facta est sicut sanguis," i. e., "and the whole moon became as blood." This sign is among the three mentioned in the quotation from Revelation 6:12 (lines 197-98): the sun is dark, the moon turns to blood, and the stars fall from the sky. Because its meaning is clear, perhaps Varagine felt it needed no further elaboration, but it must be included in the list in order to keep signs four (line 235) and five (line 241) in correct sequence.

From the contexts, Aereum seems to be a ME proper noun for the upper air and Assuli could be a ME proper noun for a comet. Neither word was found in the Middle English Dictionary.
Several different ways of interpreting the "falling stars" are being suggested, including a metaphorical understanding that the leaders, or "stars," of the the Church will fall from power.

Although all the MSS have Mark, the ME was emended to Matthew based on the Latin text. The passage cited is Matt. 24:21.

Although all the MSS have Apostill, the ME was emended to Apocalypse III based on the Latin text. The passage cited is from the Apocalypse, also known as the Book of Revelation, 21:1.

The quotation is from Jerome. (See endnote for line 103 in the Pasion chapter on page 122 for information on Jerome.)

M. R. James explains these fifteen signs of the last days before the final judgment thus: "a little piece which is found in innumerable manuscripts and had often been printed. . . . Its popularity was very great. Illustrations of the Fifteen Signs are occasionally to be found in manuscripts, and I have seen them on the alabaster tablets carved at Nottingham in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but the best known representation of them is in a window at All Saints, North Street, York" (526).

James also says that "the annals of the Hebrews" is mentioned only in connection with these signs; thus, the reference to Jerome may be the attribution of an apocryphal work to Jerome rather than an actual work that Jerome translated (562).

The and which appears to be a simple scribal error in the base text was omitted based on the other MSS and the Latin text.

The emendation to whalys was made based on MS A and marinae belluae in the Latin text. This is an example of restoring the more difficult reading; since the passage is about the upheaval in the sea, waves would be a more common reading than whales.

All the ME MSS are in agreement that the fire runs from East to West—orient to occident; however, in the Latin text, the lightning runs from West to East, from the setting of the sun across the sky to its rising: "fulmina ignea surgent ab occasu solis contra faciem firmamenti usque ad ortum concurrentia." Since lightning can come from any direction, the ME has a sensible reading; the text was not emended. Perhaps the Wrecche was "correcting" his exemplar in the light of Matt. 24:27 where the lightning runs from East to West.
As explained in the footnote, the emendation was based on the Latin text for a more sensible reading. In the emended text, it is clear that the stones are broken into four pieces when they hurl into one another; without the emendation, the ME text implied that four pieces of stone were hurling into one another.

The scribal omission in MS L was emended based on the other MSS and the Latin text.

The emendation was made to better convey the meaning of the Latin text in which it is clear that both the wandering and the stationary stars will spew fiery tails: "omnia enim sidera erantia et stationantia spargent ex se igneas comas." The Latin text adds a phrase that is not found in the ME MSS: "et iterum tunc valde generabuntur a substantia," i.e., and then they shall again be vigorously produced from substance.

The phrase [And] ... grevid is in all the MSS, but it is not in the Latin text. The word Asub was not in the Middle English Dictionary, but from the context, it seems it could be a reference to a star.

The Latin text reads: "et legem Christi destruct," i.e., and destroy the Law of Christ; whereas the ME reads: "feith of iesu crist."

The passage cited is Psalm 9:21.

The gloss (Latin: Glossa) refers to the standard medieval commentary on the Bible, the Glossa ordinaria, which was based mainly on the works of the Church Fathers. Within the Glossa the marginal glosses were attributed to the German theological writer, Walafried Strabo (c. 808-49), and the interlinear ones to Anselm of Laon. Although J. P. Migne edited parts of the Glossa under Walafried's name for the Patrologia Latina, it is now believed that Walafried had little to do with it. Instead, Rabanus Maurus is thought to be the principal source of the commentary found in the Glossa.

Rabanus (c. 780-856) was Abbot of Fulda and Archbishop of Mainz and was influential in the evangelization of Germany. He was a theologian known for his sound knowledge of Scripture, the Latin Fathers, and liturgy, as well as the zealous promotion of learning. Most likely, it was Rabanus' biblical commentaries that his pupil, Walafried, copied into the Glossa (Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church 572, 1154, 1454).

The passage cited is Daniel 11:31.
The emendation was made because the passage cited is from 2 Thessalonians 2:9. The Latin text is correct in its attribution to II Thess. II. The incorrect attribution to Daniel in the MSS is possibly due to eyeskip to the following passage (line 355).

The MSS cite apokalipse, but then they omit both the passage and the gloss. The Latin and the French texts have the following lines not found in the ME MSS: "Apocal. XIII: Fecit signa ut etiam ignem faceret de coelo in terram descendere. Glossa: Ut apostolis datus est spiritus sanctus in specie ignis et illi dabunt spiritum malignum in specie ignis." (Apocalypse 13:[13]: He did [great] signs, so that he made also fire to come down from heaven to earth. Gloss: As the Holy Spirit was given to the apostles in the form of fire, they also will give the wicked spirit in the form of fire.) Because the MSS skip these lines, they incorrectly attribute the next biblical passage to apokalipse when the passage cited is from Daniel. The Latin text cites Daniel XIII, but the passage cited is Daniel 11:39. The emendation was made to correct the attribution of the biblical passage.

As explained in the footnote, the emendations were made to correct a conflated text. The gloss was noted in order to distinguish it from the biblical passage on which it comments. The conflated third and fourth points were separated because line 330 clearly states that the Antichrist will deceive the people in four ways; the MSS had listed only three. The Latin and French texts elaborate on the fourth point: "Quarto per tormentorum illusionem. Daniel VIII: Supra quam credi potest, universa vastabit. Item Gregorius loquens de Antichristo: Robustos quippe interficit, cum ens, qui invicti sunt, corporaliter vincit." (Fourth, by inflicting torments. Daniel 8:[24]: He shall lay all things waste, and do more than can be believed. Likewise, Gregory says in speaking of the Antichrist: "certainly, he kills the strong, conquering in the body those who had remained unconquered.") All the ME MSS omit these lines.

The Latin text has hystoria scholastica, not Maister of stories which is found in all the MSS. A similar translation is found in the Passion chapter (lines 839-40)--Varagine says "hystoria scholastica" and the Wrecche translates it as "maister of stories." (See endnote on line 224 of the Passion chapter on page 126.) This could have been a title of respect given to Peter Comestor because in Migne's Patrologia Latina the heading for the Scholastic History reads: "Eruditissimi viri magistri--Petri Comestoris Historia Scholastica."
Seynt Basile refers to Basil the Great (c. 329-379) who was born in Cappadocia (an eastern region in what is now Turkey). After completing advanced studies at Athens, he returned to Cappadocia and taught rhetoric. He was baptized about 357 and devoted himself to an ascetic life, founding an ascetic monastic community in Pontus, north of Cappadocia. He left seclusion in 364 at the request of Bishop Eusebius who asked Basil's help in fighting the Arian heresy. Basil became Bishop of Cappadocia after Eusebius' death in 370. As bishop, Basil continued to preach, as well as write books and treatises against the heretics, the most famous of which are De Spiritu Sancto and Adversus Eunomium. He was concerned for the spiritual and physical well-being of his people, to which end he built a hospital and hostels for the poor. Basil, along with his brother, Gregory of Nyssa, and his friend Gregory of Nazianzus, were successful in slowing the growth of the rift that was developing between the eastern and western Church.

Jehoshaphat, which means "Yahweh judges," is the place where all the nations will assemble for judgment by the Messiah on the great and terrible Day of the Lord described in the Book of Joel. The Valley of Jehoshaphat is specifically mentioned in Joel 4:3. It alludes to an incident during the reign of King Jehoshaphat when Yahweh's enemies were defeated and destroyed in the Valley of Beracha (2 Chronicles 20:13-30). In the text, the Valley is used symbolically, rather than geographically, as the place of the final judgment.

Crysostom refers to John Chrysostom (see endnote for line 208 in the Passion chapter on page 125 for information on Chrysostom), in particular, this is a reference to his commentary on the final judgment in Matthew 25:31-46.

The passage was emended based on the collated MSS in order to express more accurately the Latin text: "variis disputationibus philosophorum," i.e. various arguments of philosophers. Although the ME veine, meaning false or empty, is not the same as the Latin variis, meaning various or diverse, the ME reading is still sensible; thus, the word was not changed.

The passage cited is Matthew 25:42.

The emendation was made to correct a scribal dittography.

The passage cited is John 3:18.

The passage cited is Matthew 25:36.
466–67 The passage cited is Matthew 19:28.

474–75 The passage cited is Psalm 149:9.


495–97 Notice the brevity of this point on the mercy of God and the salvation of the just in contrast to the numerous lines devoted to the condemnation and damnation of sinners.

519 The ME word crueltie means sternness or harshness.

521 The Latin is: "non timore," i.e., no fear, rather than noo power; the Latin text attributes this line to Chrysostom. Then, the Latin text has another line that is not in the Middle English MSS: "Nec resistendi virtus est contra eum nec fugiendi facultas." (Nor is there any power that can resist him, nor possibility of fleeing from him.)

525 MS L’s phrase and grete wordis was omitted because it broke the parallelism of the sentence, making its reading more difficult. The phrase was not in either the Latin text or in the collated MSS.

529 The and was emended to as based on MS A because it better indicates that the preceding line, not the one that follows, is from Augustine.

532–33 The emendations, which are explained in the footnote, were made to clarify the reading and to have it more accurately express the idea in the Latin text.

539 The to omitted by MS L was included for a clearer reading based on the other MSS.

540–42 The passage cited is Wisdom 11:25.

546–47 The passage cited is Psalm 48:8 (Vulgate, Douay); 49:7 (RSV).

549 Seynt leon the pope refers to Pope Leo the Great (c. 400–461) who became Pope in 440. Leo believed that the Pope, the Bishop of Rome, had a unique position of authority over the rest of the Church, and he used his talent for administration to secure and strengthen the primacy of the Pope within the Western Church. He stressed the need for uniformity in government and doctrine throughout the universal Church.
Leo defended the Church against several heretical sects, including the Manicheans, Monophysites, and Pelagians, and he defined and defended the Incarnation of Christ against the attacks of the Eutychians who denied Christ's humanity. Although he preferred to write sermons and letters rather than the more formal treatises, his clarity of thought and precision in writing influenced the early doctrines on the Trinity. His sermons cover the entire ecclesiastical year and reflect his solid understanding of liturgical principles. Ninety-six of his sermons have survived and provide information on the liturgical practices of his day, including the Advent observances.

[170] 550–51 The beginning of the quotation from Leo. This . . . beholdyng is not in the Latin text. However, it is a very close translation of Dunn-Lardeau's edition of the French text: "ceste est la sentence du souveraine juge: 'Celui a tres tremblable regard ouquel'."

[171] 570 As explained in the footnote, the omitted passage is necessary for the accuracy of the text; without it, there are only three groups when there are supposed to be four (see line 564).

[171–72] 574–75 The and was omitted because it confused the reading. The and gives the incorrect impression that the fourth point comes after the phrase when, in fact, it precedes the phrase. The fifth thing to accompany the Judgment, the horrible accuser, has been emended based on the Latin text. The emendations, which are explained in the footnotes, were necessary for a sensible reading of a conflated, inaccurately translated, and confusing portion of the text.

[172] 576 The emendation was made for accuracy based on the Latin text; there are only three accusers described in the lines that follow.


[174] 611 The emendation to the was made based on the collated MSS and the Latin: "ad judicium," i. e., to the judgement.

[174] 627 The emendation sixth, based on the Latin text, was made for the accuracy; the appearance of the three infallible witnesses is the sixth event that will accompany the Judgment.

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The attribution was changed to Jeremias based on the Latin text. The passage cited is Jeremiah 29:23.

The passage cited is Job 20:27.

The emendation **aungellis** is based on the other MSS and "angeli" in the Latin text.

The emendations **appele** and **reames** are based on the collated MSS and the Latin: "unde a rege ferente sententiam appellari in regno suo non potest," i.e., wherefore no appeal can be made from a king's sentence within his kingdom.

The emendation **thing** is based on the collated MSS and the Latin: "rem."

The emendation is based on the Latin text. MSS L and A had kync which is a sensible reading as long as it is understood to be Christ the King. However, that meaning is not clear because this part of the outline consistently refers to Christ as the Judge, not the King. Moreover, shortly before (lines 668-71), reference is made to a human king. Thus, the amendment **iuge** was necessary for the clarity of the text.

MS L's scribal dittography of the word to was omitted.

A **tabill** is a flat surface to be inscribed; it has the same root as the modern English word "tablet," meaning a pad of writing paper. The **poynitis** are the inscriptions, the writing. The meaning is that all sins will be made known, as if they were inscribed on a tablet for all to read.
CONCLUSION

An edition of a text that has previously existed only in manuscripts is in itself a contribution to scholarship. The study of literature requires accurately transcribed and intelligently edited texts, but not all scholars have the time, patience, and skill necessary to produce a useful text. This is the job of the editor: to provide the readers with a reliable text for continued research. Thus, the ability to provide a text, especially a critical edition, not only contributes to scholarship by making new information available, but it also provides the foundation on which future academic research will be built. Having access to an academically solid critical edition can provide researchers with information to further develop their existing projects, or it can give them ideas for exploring new areas of research. In general, it can be said that an edition contributes its edited text as both support and invitation for scholarship.

In particular, I believe that this critical edition of the Passion and Advent chapters of the Gilte Legende makes three significant contributions in support of scholarship. The first is that it has made accessible two more of the non-hagiographic chapters of the Gil; an area which, to my knowledge, has received little, if any, scholarly attention other than my own. The next contribution is two-fold: the initial discovery that the non-hagiographic chapters are outlines and their ultimate presentation as
such in the edited text. The last contribution to academic research is the presentation of information which corroborates Sherry Reames' theories that the *Legenda aurea* was intended as a handbook for the educated clergy and that the *Legenda* presents an image of a remote and wrathful God.

The presentation of the non-hagiographic material from the *Gilte Legende* expands the area of interest in this work. Previously, the *Legenda* and its vernacular branches were the almost exclusive property of the hagiographers. Now researchers, like myself, who are more interested in the interpretation of scripture and/or the developments in theology during the Middle Ages than in the saints' cults will have reason to examine this work. Moreover, this edition presents the theological information in a clear and comprehensive way.

The main reason for the clarity of information in this edition is that the material is presented in the form in which it was written: as outlines. Editing the Passion and Advent chapters confirmed the discovery that I made when editing the Pentecost chapter, namely, that these chapters are outlines, not essays or treatises. This discovery of the outline format allowed me to better understand the text and to present it in a more accessible way.

Caxton, Graesse, and, most recently, Dunn-Lardeau have edited these chapters as prose treatises, and their ensuing texts have been jumbled listings of numbered statements with no discernable relationship among them. By presenting
the chapters in their intended outline format, I could show the readers the relationships of the ideas among and within the main points of the topic being discussed. Therefore, the discovery and presentation of the outline format of these chapters has given the academic community a readily comprehensible edition of the Passion and Advent chapters of the *Gilte Legende*, as well as an understanding of Varagine's methodology in compiling the non-hagiographic chapters of the *Legenda*.  

In discussing the ways in which my master's thesis contributed to scholarship, I said that showing the Pentecost chapter to be an outline strengthened the claim made by Sherry Reames that the *Legenda* was intended as a sermon resource book for the educated clergy and not for distribution among the general population. I sent her a copy of my thesis and asked her if she agreed with my findings. She did. First in a letter, and later in a brief meeting at the 1992 Medieval Conference in Kalamazoo, Michigan, Professor Reames stated that the outline format of the Pentecost chapter provided further evidence that the *Legenda* was intended for clergymen who had been instructed in theology and not for public distribution. However, she mentioned that one chapter was not definitive and suggested that I edit some of the other non-hagiographic chapters. Having edited two more chapters, both of which proved to be outlines, I feel confident in stating that my research corroborates Reames' claim that the *Legenda* was written for
educated clergymen to use as a supplement, a resource book, for their sermons. It was never intended for the general public.

As discussed in the Introduction, the Advent and Passion chapters attest to another of Reames' theories, namely, Varagine's selective editing of his material resulted in a image of God that was quite similar to the perception of God that would become part of the Puritans' beliefs three hundred years later. In fact, I believe that these chapters show a remote, wrathful, punishing God even more clearly than in the sample chapters discussed by Reames. Reames analyzed the saints' lives where the primary focus is on the saints, with only occasional glimpses of God. However, in the Passion and Advent chapters, the primary focus is on God—a focus which clearly reveals Varagine's preference for a God too distant for mankind to approach and too holy to tolerate either sin or the sinner.

Varagine wrote a chapter on Advent without once discussing Christ's birth and a chapter on the Passion without a direct reference to Christ's death. I believe this is ample support for Reames' suggestion that Varagine avoided the concept of an incarnate deity and focused instead on God's "otherness." The wrath and punishment of God is further evidenced through the obvious joy Varagine takes in relating the fates of Pilate in the Passion chapter and of sinners in the Advent chapter. His readers are ever conscious of the swiftness of judgement and severity of
punishment that awaits the evildoers. These chapters, perhaps even more than the saints' lives, reveal Varagine's unorthodox concept of spirituality.

In addition to supporting scholarship, this edition offers an invitation for further research. As I worked with the *Legenda*, I thought of two areas that may prove to be interesting topics for future study: the indeterminacy of the Pentecost, Passion, and Advent texts and the relationship between the theology of the *Legenda aurea* and the Inquisition. I tentatively suggest these ideas because I have yet to begin the preliminary studies that separate fanciful notions from feasible research topics.

I would have to do a great deal of research on the indeterminacy idea, probably beginning with a review of my notes on Jacques Derrida and a re-reading of Robert Sturges' book *Medieval Interpretation*, but it could turn out to be an interesting paper. There is no denying the "play" in those texts because, as discussed in the introduction, the texts say something quite different than the author's intent. The Pentecost chapter is filled with even more irony than is found in the Passion and Advent because Varagine managed to make the Holy Spirit, the Giver of Inspiration and Source of Life, uninspired and lifeless. Moreover, this chapter on the Spirit of Truth who instructs us in everything begins brilliantly and then deteriorates badly, ending with a point that is not only off topic, but quite incorrect. Therefore, a close reading
of the Passion, Advent, and Pentecost chapters would reveal the deconstructive irony in these chapters, chapters that effectively, but unintentionally, negate the very purposes for which they were written.

Another area of further study is the possible connection between history and literature, namely the Inquisition and the Legenda. As stated in the Introduction, this book was an instant success and, at times, more popular than the Bible. This has frightening theological implications considering the image of the impersonal and avenging God that emerges from the book. Reames states (emphasis added),

The Legenda was not compiled to provide edification and reassurance to Christians at large, but to arm preachers for battles against some current enemy or enemies of the saints and their sponsors. (99)

The aggressive and punitive attitude of the Legenda brings to mind the Inquisition. The Roman Inquisition began in 1230; the Legenda was completed about 1266. The research question would be: did the Legenda reflect or stoke the Inquisitional fires that always smoldered and sometimes blazed throughout the latter Middle Ages? Even if it could not be definitively answered, it is an interesting point for speculation.

Editing a manuscript is a demanding, tedious process, but it is also a gratifying one. There is, of course, a sense of gratitude that the task is complete, but there is also a deeper sense of gratitude to all those anonymous scribes, like the Synfulle Wrecche, whose labor...
reproduced and preserved our literature. The speed and accuracy of modern printing sometimes makes us forget our indebtedness to the scribes who copied the Bible, as well as all of the classical and medieval works in which so much of our subsequent literature is rooted.

Being able to have multiple, identical, and even bound copies of a text within a matter of minutes has made it difficult to appreciate the fact that for many centuries the only "copies" were individually written scribal texts. Therefore, I believe this dissertation has made its most significant contribution to my own scholarship. Knowing first-hand that the process of manually copying a text is both difficult and fraught with the potential for errors, I am filled with awe at the quantity and quality of texts that have been preserved for our knowledge and enjoyment. From this dissertation I have learned to appreciate and to respect texts in a way that could only be learned through a hands-on experience.
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V I T A

Rosary Ann Jackman was born in New Orleans on December 6, 1948. She attended St. Raphael elementary school and St. James Major High School. After two years at Mallinckrodt Junior College in Wilmette, Illinois, she earned a Bachelor of Arts degree in secondary education at Louisiana State University in New Orleans. She taught religion and social studies for several years in Catholic high schools in the New Orleans area while working on advanced degrees in theology.

In 1974 she completed a Master's of Religious Education degree through the Catechetical and Pastoral Institute of Notre Dame Seminary in New Orleans. While taking courses at the Institute, she became especially interested in Scripture studies. At the urging of her Scripture Professor, Reverend Imre Mihalik, she decided to pursue an advanced degree in Scripture. She was the first woman to attend Notre Dame Seminary Graduate School of Theology as a full-time student. There, in 1975, she earned a Master's degree in Theological Studies, summa cum laude.

Rosary Jackman married Jesse W. Crain on June 26, 1976, and they moved to their present home in Luling, Louisiana. They have an adopted son, Terrence. From 1976 through 1988, she worked as a Director of Religious Education at St. Anthony Parish in Luling. During this time, she did freelance writing and consulting for publishers of religion textbooks, teacher manuals, and audio-visual materials.
In 1988 she returned to the University of New Orleans to pursue a Master of Arts degree in English. She was a graduate teaching assistant from 1989 until she graduated in 1991, at which time the senior faculty in the English Department named her the Outstanding Graduate Student in English. After graduation, she became a part-time English instructor at the University of New Orleans where she taught all levels of freshmen composition and a sophomore level course on the Bible as Literature.

Her part-time position at the University of New Orleans allowed her to enter the Program in Comparative Literature at Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge as a doctoral student in 1992. For the past seven years, she has balanced the demands of teaching and the pursuit of doctoral studies. In the Fall of 1998, she became a full-time instructor at the University of New Orleans, and in December of 1999, she will graduate with a doctorate in Comparative Literature from Louisiana State University.
DOCTORAL EXAMINATION AND DISSERTATION REPORT

Candidate: Rosary Jackman Grain

Major Field: Comparative Literature

Title of Dissertation: A Critical Edition of the Passion and Advent Chapters of the Pre-Gaxtonian Gilte Legende

Date of Examination: May 5, 1999

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

Approved:

Major Professor and Chairman

Dean of the Graduate School

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