

THE MIDDLE ENGLISH *CASTLE OF LOVE*
AND ROBERT GROSSETESTE'S
ANGLO-NORMAN ORIGINAL,
LE CHASTEAU D'AMOUR

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A publication of the
ROSSELL HOPE ROBBINS LIBRARY
in collaboration with
the University of Rochester
and the Teaching Association for Medieval Studies

by

MEDIEVAL INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS
Kalamazoo, Michigan
2025



ABBREVIATIONS LIST

A	London, British Library, MS Additional 22283, fols. 84v–87r (Simeon MS)
AN	Anglo-Norman
AND	De Wilde et al., eds., <i>Anglo-Norman Dictionary</i>
B	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 399, fols. 104v–116r [base manuscript for <i>Chateau d'amour</i>]
Bible	Douay-Rheims Bible
BL	British Library
Boulton	Grosseteste, <i>The Castle of Love (Le Chateau d'amour)</i> , trans. Boulton
CT	Chaucer, <i>Canterbury Tales</i> , ed. Benson
DBTEL	Jeffrey, ed., <i>Dictionary of Biblical Tradition in English Literature</i>
DIMEV	Mooney et al., eds., <i>Digital Index of Middle English Verse</i>
Doyle-Codicology	Doyle, “Codicology, Palaeography, and Provenance”
EETS	Early English Text Society
Godefroy	Godefroy, <i>Lexique de l'ancien français</i> , ed. Bonnard and Salmon
H	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Additional B. 107, fols. 1r–45v [base manuscript for <i>Castle of Love</i> , lines 1515–1862]
Halliwell	Grosseteste, <i>Castle of Love</i> , ed. Halliwell
Horstmann-Furnivall	Grosseteste, <i>Castel of Loue</i> , ed. Horstmann and Furnivall
IMEV	Brown and Robbins, <i>Index of Middle English Verse</i>
L	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 471B, fols. 94v–107v
Mackie	Grosseteste, “Robert Grosseteste’s Anglo-Norman Treatise,” trans. Mackie

THE ME CASTLE OF LOVE AND GROSSETESTE'S AN CHASTEAU D'AMOUR

Mackie- <i>Chasteu</i>	Grosseteste, "Robert Grosseteste's <i>Chasteu d'amour</i> ," ed. Mackie
ME	Middle English
MED	McSparran et al., eds., <i>Middle English Dictionary</i>
MS(S)	manuscript(s)
Murray	Grosseteste, <i>Le Château d'amour</i> , ed. Murray
MW	<i>Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary</i>
NIMEV	Boffey and Edwards, <i>New Index of Middle English Verse</i>
O	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 652, fols. 52r–64r
OE	Old English
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
OF	Old French
Sajavaara	Grosseteste, <i>Middle English Translations of Robert Grosseteste's Château d'Amour</i> , ed. Sajavaara
SC	Madan and Hunt et al., <i>Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford</i>
Southern	Southern, <i>Growth of an English Mind in Medieval Europe</i>
V	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. poet. a. 1, fols. 293rc–296va (Vernon MS) [base manuscript for <i>Castle of Love</i> , lines 1–1514]
Weymouth	Grosseteste, <i>Castel Off Loue</i> , ed. Weymouth
Wheatley	Wheatley, <i>Idea of the Castle in Medieval England</i>
Whiting	Whiting and Whiting, <i>Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases</i>



INTRODUCTION

The fourteenth-century Middle English poem known as *The Castle of Love* is a translation of an earlier poem, *Le chateau d'amour*, written in the first half of the thirteenth century by Robert Grosseteste (ca. 1168–1253) in Anglo-Norman, the dialect of French spoken in England.¹ Its status as a translation does not imply the Middle English poem is an inferior “copy” of a superior “original,” however. Every translation is necessarily an adaptation that reflects the interests and needs of its own translator and audience. The Middle English poem is a skillful translation close to the Anglo-Norman source that nevertheless manifests in its gaps and expansions, its restructurings and additions the interests of its own audiences and moment. The version of the poem preserved in the Vernon manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. poet. a. 1), which forms the base text for the first 1514 lines of this edition, includes a brief incipit that identifies the work as “a tretys” called “*Castel of Love*,” which “Bisschop Grosteyzt made.” This little introduction deploys Grosseteste’s name as if he were the direct author of this Middle English version; in contrast to many English translators’ prologues, the narrator does not admit the poem has been translated.² For the audiences who consumed this text, then, this was the original.

Grosseteste was an important English theologian, philosopher, scientist (natural philosopher), translator, and writer active in the first half of the thirteenth century.³ Not much is known about his early life, but he was born in Stowe, Suffolk, and his family was poor.⁴ He may have spoken English as his native language, or Anglo-Norman; in any case, he was fluent in both languages.⁵ Although he came from a poor family, he was educated in theology (probably in Paris) and served as chancellor of Oxford (between ca. 1214 and 1221), where he also taught theology.⁶ He was a deacon by 1225, became archdeacon of Leicester in 1229,

¹ A version of this earlier AN poem is included in the Appendix of this volume to enable comparison with the ME edition. Wogan-Browne notes that historically two terms were used to describe the French of England: *Anglo-Norman*, usually referring to “French texts composed in the British Isles from the Conquest to the early fourteenth century,” and *Anglo-French*, commonly signifying “textual imports from the continent into England and to contacts between England and the continent in the later fourteenth century and early fifteenth centuries” (“What’s in a Name,” p. 1). In this volume, I use *Anglo-Norman* to refer to the dialect of French spoken in the British Isles and the written language that reflects that dialect. Ingham points out that the lack of regular orthography and grammar in written AN suggests that it persisted as a spoken language into the later medieval period in England (“Mixing Languages,” p. 81). See also Ingham, “Persistence of Anglo-Norman.”

² Dearnley, *Translators and Their Prologues*, p. 92.

³ For a helpful overview of Grosseteste in these various roles, see McEvoy, “The Man and His Legacy.”

⁴ McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste*, p. 19.

⁵ McEvoy says he spoke AN as his native language but that evidence suggests he also spoke English (*Robert Grosseteste*, p. 20), whereas Taylor asserts that English was his first language and points out that Grosseteste’s “resistance to the appointment of foreigners to Lincoln churches was based not just on the general inadequacies of some of the men proposed but more specifically on their inability to speak English” (“Was Grosseteste the Father?,” p. 74).

⁶ McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste*, p. 28.

and began teaching the Franciscans at Oxford in 1229/30.⁷ He was ordained bishop of Lincoln Cathedral in 1235 and died in October of 1253.⁸

Although Grosseteste was a conservative theologian who held traditional views, his works came to the attention of John Wycliffe in the 1360s,⁹ and they became embroiled in Wycliffite controversies in the fourteenth century because of Wycliffe's admiration of them.¹⁰ Like Grosseteste, Wycliffe was part of the clergy, as well as a philosopher and theologian who taught at Oxford University. Unlike Grosseteste, Wycliffe was also a reformer and dissenter — a kind of proto-Protestant — whose use of Grosseteste as an authority in his own writings was often at odds with the views Grosseteste himself espoused. As R. W. Southern explains, Wycliffe's *Civil Lordship* both makes "legitimate elaborations of Grosseteste's argument" and implies "support for a further step which Grosseteste did not take," a move made possible in part by Grosseteste's own "open-ended methods of argument — his invitations to readers to make their own additions."¹¹ Jim Rhodes suggests this "open-ended" style particularly characterizes the *Chateau*, whose "fictionality, that is, its use of poetic analogies and devices, encourages readers to interpret and evaluate events in their own way."¹² Ultimately, the admiration Wycliffe and his followers the Lollards had for Grosseteste turned Grosseteste into a household name for the dissenters, as even less-well-read preachers made use of a repertoire of Grosseteste quotations to bolster their own rhetoric.¹³ This popularity among the Wycliffites also led to the proliferation of copies of Grosseteste's works in the fourteenth century and was probably responsible in some cases for a large number of surviving manuscripts.¹⁴

Grosseteste was a prolific writer of vast breadth. Most of what he wrote was in Latin, but there are a few works in Anglo-Norman besides the *Chateau* attributed to him.¹⁵ He made important intellectual contributions in theology, philosophy, and science, and his output included commentaries on biblical and philosophical works; writings on scientific, philosophical, pastoral, and devotional topics; as well as translations from Greek.¹⁶ As part of his investment in intellectual life and biblical exegesis, Grosseteste was committed to the importance of pastoral care, that is, the clergy's responsibility to guide (and ultimately save the souls of) those in their care. Indeed, as Philippa M. Hoskin explains, "[b]y the time he became bishop of Lincoln, Grosseteste had a developed theory of pastoral care including its purpose, practice and

⁷ McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste*, p. 21; see also p. 29.

⁸ McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste*, p. 30. For a detailed study of Grosseteste's time as bishop, see Hoskin, *Robert Grosseteste and the 13th-Century Diocese of Lincoln*.

⁹ Southern, p. 298.

¹⁰ Southern, pp. 307–08.

¹¹ Southern, pp. 304 and 305.

¹² Rhodes, *Poetry Does Theology*, p. 51.

¹³ Southern, p. 309.

¹⁴ Southern, p. 308.

¹⁵ See Mackie, "Scribal Intervention," pp. 61–63, for details.

¹⁶ For details, see Thomson, *Writings of Robert Grosseteste*. See Panti, "Robert Grosseteste," for a brief overview of Grosseteste's contributions to medieval philosophy. McEvoy, *The Philosophy of Robert Grosseteste*, contextualizes Grosseteste's philosophy and offers a comprehensive study tracing the development of his philosophical thought. To understand more about religious and scientific learning in both Grosseteste's works and his era, see Cunningham and Hocknull's edited collection, *Robert Grosseteste and the Pursuit of Religious and Scientific Learning*. Another valuable essay collection on Grosseteste's intellectual contributions and context is Flood et al., *Robert Grosseteste and His Intellectual Milieu*.

effects.”¹⁷ Grosseteste saw pastoral care as something that not only helped save individuals but also “could bring about global salvation.”¹⁸ Working toward the pastoral goal of communicating complex theological and philosophical concepts to lay or uneducated audiences, Grosseteste’s decision to write some works in Anglo-Norman helped achieve this aim.¹⁹ Part of his project in the *Chateau*, as professed in its opening section, is to reach readers who cannot read Latin, Greek, or Hebrew, an idea that the translator of the Middle English *Castle of Love* extends to those who cannot read French (Anglo-Norman).²⁰

Both Anglo-Norman and Middle English versions of the poem were composed in octosyllabic rhyming couplets, although neither version is strict about the number of syllables.²¹ The Middle English poem, like its Anglo-Norman precursor, deploys courtly poetry motifs, architectural imagery, legal concepts, and popular narrative techniques from oral storytelling to elucidate the poem’s central theme of Adam’s place in salvation history and humanity’s redemption. These aspects of the narrative are joined by the use of popular genres, including allegory and debate, the generic fluidity suggesting one reason for the poem’s popularity and influence on later medieval works. Grosseteste’s well-known and influential treatment of the allegory of the Four Daughters of God and the debate between Jesus and the Devil both employ the language of seisin (property ownership) and English law.²² The allegory of the Virgin Mary as the Castle of Love who protects Jesus’s Incarnation is a rich tapestry of descriptive architectural features and their symbolism. These treatments of the theme of salvation resonated so strongly with later medieval writers that Grosseteste’s *Chateau* influenced such works as the *Cursor Mundi* [*Runner of the World*], the *Gesta Romanorum* [*Deeds of the Romans*], and William Langland’s *Piers Plowman*, among others; it also gave rise to three Middle English translations or adaptations, in addition to *The Castle of Love* edited here.

TITLE OF THE POEM

The poem’s title, whether in English or Anglo-Norman, appears to be apocryphal. Its first known use is in a Latin prologue of one of the extant Anglo-Norman versions of the poem (London, British Library, MS Egerton 846B), where it is given as *Castellum amoris*, showing the title’s association with the poem by 1325.²³ The Vernon manuscript, as mentioned earlier, titles the poem *Castel of Love* in its incipit, and most modern scholars use this title for the English poem, and *Le chateau d’amour* (or its Modern French version, *Le château d’amour*) for the Anglo-Norman poem. *Castel* is used in a figurative sense of the word, meaning

¹⁷ Hoskin, *Robert Grosseteste and the 13th-Century Diocese of Lincoln*, p. 49. Hoskin details Grosseteste’s views of the role of Confession and Penance (pp. 52–56), authority (pp. 56–58), hierarchy and order (pp. 58–66), justice and mercy (pp. 67–71), and natural and divine law (pp. 71–76).

¹⁸ Hoskin, *Robert Grosseteste and the 13th-Century Diocese of Lincoln*, p. 77.

¹⁹ See Taylor, “Was Grosseteste the Father?” Hoskin discusses Grosseteste’s theories of pastoral work in more depth in *Robert Grosseteste and the 13th-Century Diocese of Lincoln*, especially chapter 2 (pp. 47–78).

²⁰ See discussion of this topic below in the section on Date, Audiences, and Language (pp. 9–11).

²¹ This form was “rooted in French oral culture” (Vitz, *Orality and Performance*, p. 24) and popular from the twelfth century onward (Southern, p. 225). For discussion of the relation between oral and written uses of this form, see Vitz, *Orality and Performance*, pp. 4–25.

²² For further discussion of Grosseteste’s use of property and English law in relation to salvation history in the poem, see Jahner (*Literature and Law*, pp. 161–74).

²³ Sajavaara, pp. 372–73.

"a spiritual fortress, a refuge; the stronghold of an emotion,"²⁴ and the title comes from the allegory in the poem of Mary's body as a castle protecting Jesus, discussed below (see pp. 15–18).

SYNOPSIS OF THE CASTLE OF LOVE

The overarching narrative in both the Anglo-Norman *Chateau d'amour* and the Middle English *Castle of Love* is that of salvation history, a popular topic in the Middle Ages. For medieval people, this "history" was the story of humanity as detailed in the Bible, encompassing the creation of the world and everything in it, the Fall of Adam and Eve through disobedience to God, the saving of humanity afterward through the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, the end of the world, and the future judgment of mankind at Judgment Day or Doomsday.²⁵ The mystery cycle plays (also called the Corpus Christi cycle) were a popular version of this type of narrative by the time of the Middle English *Castle of Love* (although it is doubtful Grosseteste would have approved of them²⁶).

The version of the story of salvation in the Middle English poem begins with the creation of the world and the subsequent casting of Lucifer (the Devil) into hell, along with many angels, because of their pride.²⁷ The narrator then tells the story from the biblical Book of Genesis of God's creation of Adam, and subsequently of Eve from Adam's rib, describing how the two then dwell in paradise until the Fall of mankind through sin. The sin is their disobedience to God's command not to eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, which resulted from the temptation of the Devil in the guise of a serpent and causes them to be cast out of paradise.

At this point, the poem departs from the Genesis narrative, describing how Adam lost his "seisin" (i.e., the world) and has become a "prisoner" because of his sin. The narrative then offers an allegory of the Four Daughters of the King (i.e., God), named Mercy, Truth, Justice, and Peace, who argue over whether to condemn the prisoner or release him. The King's Son (i.e., Jesus), on hearing the dispute of his "sisters," feels sorry for the prisoner and helps the sisters reconcile by taking the prisoner's place, bearing all the punishment himself and thus redeeming Adam and saving all of humanity from the consequences of Adam's sin. The narrative then explains "[h]ow ur Saveor wolde come" (line 596) and lists various biblical prophets who foretold the coming of Christ before focusing on a verse from the prophet Isaiah outlining the qualities of the Son (Jesus), which organizes the remainder of the narrative, as the poem annotates each characteristic from Isaias 9:6 in turn.²⁸

²⁴ MED, *castel* (n.), sense 2a.

²⁵ As Mayeski explains, "all of sacred Scripture tells an extended and ongoing story, the story of salvation. Begun in creation, that story continued and encompasses the full history of God's chosen people as narrated in the Old Testament and as it came to its temporal fulfillment in the New Testament. But for medieval exegetes salvation history continued beyond the New Testament, with a future completion only in the end time" ("Early Medieval Exegesis," p. 87).

²⁶ Southern notes Grosseteste's "violent hostility" toward "the new kinds of miracle play which were beginning to make their appearance in open-air performances," as "[w]hen he became a bishop he ordered his archdeacons 'utterly to exterminate them'" (p. 229). Miracle plays acted out saints' lives, whereas mystery plays were based on biblical narratives, but both were open-air performances with religious themes.

²⁷ Though similar, the poems are not exactly the same; this synopsis focuses on the ME version.

²⁸ Isaias 9:6 reads, "For a child is born to us, and a son is given to us, and the government is upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called, Wonderful, Counsellor, God the Mighty, the Father of the world to come, the Prince of Peace." See Southern (p. 226), Mackie ("Scribal Intervention," p. 64), and Jahner (*Literature and Law*, p. 167) for

INTRODUCTION

This extended exegesis on the verse from Isaias is punctuated by the story of Jesus's Incarnation in the body of the Virgin Mary. To take the prisoner's place, the Son (Jesus) must be born as a human, and Mary's body is described in detail as a castle. Jesus's birth happens so quietly that the Devil is not at first aware of him, but his lack of sin then draws the Devil's attention. The Devil proceeds first to tempt Jesus by offering him the world and then to argue with him over mankind's redemption. They negotiate a price: to get mankind out of prison, Jesus agrees to give up his whole body (i.e., die) and in the process suffer all the pains that mankind would have suffered in hell. Before death, however, Jesus goes on to perform miracles as detailed in the Gospels: he turns water into wine at the wedding in Cana, feeds five thousand people with five loaves and two fish, and raises Lazarus from the dead.

In the final section of the poem, Jesus suffers crucifixion and death, is resurrected, meets with his disciples, and ascends into heaven. The poem then describes the events leading up to Doomsday or the Last Judgment, when everyone will face God's judgment. The poem ends with the division of the saved and the damned into heaven and hell, respectively, including a description of what each place will be like. A few lines are missing from the end (as evident from comparison with the Anglo-Norman poem), so the Middle English narrative closes at the end of the poem's imaginary description of heaven.

DATE, AUDIENCES, AND LANGUAGE

The audience Southern proposes is one of "knightly retainers and officials in a great household," based on the poem's addresses to the audience and "general style," without suggesting a date of composition.²⁹ Kari Sajavaara dates Grosseteste's writing of the Anglo-Norman poem to between 1230 and 1253, identifying a possible audience of "noble youths" living in Grosseteste's household.³⁰ These youths might have been, as first suggested by M. Dominica Legge, two of Simon de Montfort's sons fostered there, which would date the poem at about 1250.³¹ Evelyn A. Mackie makes a strong case for dating the Anglo-Norman poem more narrowly, to probably between 1230 and 1235, when Grosseteste was teaching the Franciscans of Oxford, whom Mackie identifies as the most likely original audience.³² This group would have included laypeople, knights, and nobles, among others, as "Grosseteste's responsibilities as lector to the Oxford convent would have required him to teach the entire community, not only those members intent on university studies."³³ Mackie points out based on scribal interventions that the manuscripts themselves provide information suggesting audiences were of differing social ranks.³⁴ Andrew Reeves accepts Mackie's assessment and theorizes that the poem was intended "to instruct laypeople or to help others instruct laypeople" and that it might have been intended as a Franciscan "preaching aid."³⁵

discussions of this aspect of the *Chateau*. The same organization holds true for the ME poem, save that the section describing the Counselor is missing.

²⁹ Southern, p. 225.

³⁰ Sajavaara, p. 48; see also the discussion of scholarship that dated the poem to the earlier period of 1200 to 1230 (Sajavaara, pp. 43–48).

³¹ Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature*, p. 223; Sajavaara, pp. 44–45, 46.

³² Mackie-*Chasteu*, p. 65; Mackie, pp. 154–56.

³³ Mackie, p. 156; see pp. 154–56, for a broader discussion of audience. That two of these Anglo-Norman copies survive in manuscripts dated ca. 1250 (Sajavaara, p. 36) might also suggest the earlier date.

³⁴ Mackie, "Scribal Intervention," p. 65.

³⁵ Reeves, *Religious Education in Thirteenth-Century England*, p. 144.

Guiding the laity gained new importance after the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, which called “for the cultivation of inward contemplation amongst the lay Christian population.”³⁶ Although reforms had already been going on in the previous century, Lateran IV codified several requirements for what clergy should teach laypeople. The canons issued at the council covered the doctrinal understanding of the Trinity, the Eucharist, and Penance, and they also demonstrated concern for “church discipline, clerical morals, episcopal elections, canon law, finances, and the treatment of heretics and Jews.”³⁷ One focus of the canons was to raise the bar for education and preparation of the clergy so that they might minister to and guide the laity.³⁸ More specific, though, was that all Christians were now required to partake in Communion and confession annually, which in turn required “instruction on the nature and implications of those sacraments.”³⁹ Bishops were obligated to hold synods and issue statutes to begin implementing the canons, defining the goals of pastoral care the clergy under their authority should have for instructing laypeople.⁴⁰

Pastoral care — ultimately the enterprise of saving souls — should be the overriding goal of the clergy, in Grosseteste's view.⁴¹ His statutes for the diocese of Lincoln reveal typical concerns, such as some priests relying on “their deacons [to] hear confessions” or “extort[ing] money from the laity for sacraments, including confession, or impos[ing] fines as penances.”⁴² The statutes are somewhat spare, however, as Grosseteste took for granted that clergy would read additional works on pastoral instruction or *pastoralia*.⁴³ *Pastoralia* could be intended for the clergy or laity, and Grosseteste wrote works for each.⁴⁴ His output was considerable, with thirteen Latin texts and three Anglo-Norman ones (four if the *Chateau* is counted).⁴⁵ Much can be gleaned from his *pastoralia*, particularly the *Deus est* [God is],⁴⁶ a treatise on confession, and the *Templum Dei* [Temple of God], “a manual to prepare confessors” that also “includes a treatment of virtues and vices, the Lord's Prayer, the Beatitudes, and the sacraments.”⁴⁷ With its emphasis on confession,

³⁶ Wheatley, p. 96. See also Hoskin, *Robert Grosseteste and the 13th-Century Diocese of Lincoln*, pp. 3–4.

³⁷ Boulton, “Fourth Lateran Council,” p. 2.

³⁸ Boulton, “Fourth Lateran Council,” pp. 2–3.

³⁹ Boulton, “Fourth Lateran Council,” p. 3. Boulton notes that the changes enacted by Lateran IV were not new but rather reflected a culmination of a century or more of reform that likewise extended past the end of the century (p. 3). Claire M. Waters likewise emphasizes the ongoing nature of these changes, describing the council's work as “a crystallization of a process already well underway” (*Translating Clergie*, p. 4).

⁴⁰ Boulton, “Fourth Lateran Council,” p. 3. English “bishops enacted the Lateran reforms with some urgency” and “were notably more concerned with the instruction of the faithful” than in France (p. 5). For a more detailed overview of English statutes in response to Lateran IV, see p. 7.

⁴¹ Grosseteste considered it the “art of arts,” and Hoskin notes that “Grosseteste's contemporaries and successors considered this concentration upon the pastoral to be the distinguishing characteristic of his practice” (*Robert Grosseteste and the 13th-Century Diocese of Lincoln*, p. 49).

⁴² Campbell, *Landscape of Pastoral Care*, p. 199; for additional details on the general contents of the statutes, see pp. 199–200.

⁴³ Campbell, *Landscape of Pastoral Care*, p. 200. Grosseteste did not detail the Ten Commandments and “provided no exposition, nor even a list” of the sacraments, but “merely told priests that they should know about them (especially confession) and teach the laity about them (especially the form of baptism for emergencies)” (p. 200).

⁴⁴ Ginther, “Robert Grosseteste's Theology,” p. 99 and pp. 99–100n12.

⁴⁵ Ginther, “Robert Grosseteste's Theology,” p. 102 and p. 102n22.

⁴⁶ Ginther, “Robert Grosseteste's Theology,” pp. 99–102.

⁴⁷ Boulton, “Fourth Lateran Council,” p. 6. James R. Ginther discusses the complementarity of the two texts, explaining that “the *Templum Dei* provides details of the relationships between the major terms and concepts of pastoral care, whereas *Deus est* provides the reasons why those relationships can exist in the first place” (“Robert Grossetes-

Grosseteste's vision of pastoral care focused on the individual and also encompassed the salvation of all humanity, which included "guiding [humanity] towards the restoration of its relationship with God, and repairing the relationship between God and the natural world that the Fall had fractured."⁴⁸ In addition, Grosseteste's personal supervision of his diocese reveals the high value he placed on direct and unmediated pastoral care. For example, when newly consecrated as bishop, he traveled extensively throughout his diocese despite his age, a pattern that continued throughout his tenure.⁴⁹ Grosseteste felt so strongly about the importance of saving souls as a primary pastoral goal that in 1250 he attended a papal audience where he expressed concern about the tendency to appoint clergy more for "bureaucratic convenience, political expediency and family connexions" than for "saving souls from damnation" and asserted that he considered himself "personally accountable to God for each soul in his diocese."⁵⁰

A work like the *Chateau* addresses the preeminent pastoral concern of soul saving by giving readers the opportunity to grapple personally with a spectrum of theological concepts through its use of narrative, allegories, and debate. These techniques could entertain while offering religious instruction — a juxtaposition that might please a wide range of audiences, both clerical and lay. Enjoyment of Grosseteste's poem was driven in part by a rising enthusiasm for religious texts that expanded after Lateran IV.⁵¹ As Andrew Taylor points out, the thirteenth century, when Grosseteste was writing, saw a marked increase in demand among lay readers for religious content.⁵² Some wealthy thirteenth-century lay readers, desperate for more complex religious instruction, even "acquired copies of the vernacular handbooks composed for their priests," in addition to commissioning copies of texts more in line with their own requirements as lay readers.⁵³ The *Chateau* itself rode a "new wave of vernacular poems, embodying spiritual and devotional truths in the form of chivalric or visionary narratives which emerged around 1220," that arose from the call of Lateran IV.⁵⁴

The manuscript traditions of the Anglo-Norman and Middle English versions offer evidence for their life after composition or translation, suggesting that over time the poem both maintained ecclesiastical connections and remained popular among lay people. Even the range in quality of the manuscripts that include the poem, from likely bespoke to those perhaps produced as part of the commercial book trade that was on the rise, indicates that all kinds of people enjoyed the poem.⁵⁵ Mackie notes the ownership by religious

te's Theology, pp. 101–02). For additional details, see Boyle, "Robert Grosseteste and the Pastoral Care." Reeves offers a detailed discussion of confession in England in the thirteenth century, including a section on teaching laypeople ("Teaching Confession," pp. 273–77).

⁴⁸ Hoskin, *Robert Grosseteste and the 13th-Century Diocese of Lincoln*, p. 77.

⁴⁹ Campbell, *Landscape of Pastoral Care*, p. 198. For detailed discussion of Grosseteste's tenure as bishop of Lincoln, see Hoskin, *Robert Grosseteste and the 13th-Century Diocese of Lincoln*.

⁵⁰ Campbell, *Landscape of Pastoral Care*, p. 1. Ginther also discusses Grosseteste's visit to the papal court ("Robert Grosseteste's Theology," pp. 95–97).

⁵¹ Boulton discusses in some detail the strong interest lay audiences had in religious texts in the thirteenth century ("Fourth Lateran Council," pp. 10–12).

⁵² Taylor, "Manual to Miscellany," p. 5; see also pp. 7–8.

⁵³ Boulton, "Fourth Lateran Council," p. 10.

⁵⁴ Wheatley, p. 96. See also Taylor, "Was Grosseteste the Father?," pp. 75–77, and "Manual to Miscellany," pp. 5–6. For a nuanced discussion of religious teaching in thirteenth-century texts, see Waters, *Translating Clergie*. Reeves contextualizes the *Chateau* within thirteenth-century religious education in the wake of the Fourth Lateran Council (*Religious Education in Thirteenth-Century England*, pp. 141–47).

⁵⁵ See Taylor, "Manual to Miscellany," for further discussion of book production, especially pp. 10–15.

establishments of four extant manuscripts and an additional twelve attested in medieval library catalogs.⁵⁶ The provenance of several manuscripts likewise illustrates the ongoing interest women displayed in the poem.⁵⁷ For example, a copy of the Anglo-Norman poem was made for the noblewoman Joan Tateshal in the late thirteenth century as part of a devotional manuscript.⁵⁸ A fourteenth-century copy may have been prepared for the nunnery that owned it, or possibly for a novice.⁵⁹ In the fifteenth century, a manuscript including the *Chateau* was produced for Margaret of York, duchess of Burgundy.⁶⁰

Multilingual audiences form another important group, one of particular interest to an edition of a Middle English translation of an Anglo-Norman work. Maureen B. M. Boulton identifies several bi- and trilingual manuscripts that contain versions of the poem in either Anglo-Norman or Middle English.⁶¹ Boulton emphasizes the inclusion of a prologue in Latin in many Anglo-Norman copies, and in two cases regular annotations in Latin either summarizing material or citing “scriptural and patristic authorities.”⁶² The source poem’s code-switching between Latin and Anglo-Norman highlights the relation of audience to language, as does the strong interest in translating and adapting the Anglo-Norman poem into Middle English (as evinced by the four independent translations that survive, discussed below in the section on Popularity and Influences on Later Works; see pp. 26–27). Implicit in the act of translation or adaptation into English from Anglo-Norman is the issue of who the poem is for, a question that highlights the importance of understanding the multilingual reality of the medieval period. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne points out the problematic nature of “conceptualizing two separate vernacular languages and traditions, the English of England and the French of England” because “[t]he idea of a culture as a monoglot entity proceeding in organic linearity through time and within the territories of a modern nation state cannot adequately represent medieval textual production and linguistic and cultural contacts.”⁶³ Indeed, the two languages

⁵⁶ Mackie-*Chasteu*, p. 30.

⁵⁷ Boulton’s concise summary and characterization of the manuscripts is helpful here (“Introduction,” pp. 9–10), and she notes that some copies “are associated with women” (p. 9). Marx describes the Anglo-Norman manuscripts in detail in *Devil’s Rights and the Redemption* (pp. 160–70). Siebach-Larsen likewise notes the particular interest of women (“Structures of Thought,” p. 173).

⁵⁸ Siebach-Larsen, “Structures of Thought,” pp. 173–74. Siebach-Larsen offers a detailed discussion of this copy, first identified by Bennett as having been made for Joan Tateshal, wife of Robert, fifth baron of Tateshal (“Book Designed for a Noblewoman,” p. 167; for a more detailed provenance, see Bennett, p. 176). Taylor also discusses this copy in some detail (“Manual to Miscellany,” pp. 10–11).

⁵⁹ The nunnery was that of Nuneaton, in Warwickshire (Marx, *Devil’s Rights and the Redemption*, p. 161). Betty Hill speculates based on the contents that the original compilation may have been “for a wealthy, educated and devout lady, probably a member of the novitiate of an English House” (“Manuscript from Nuneaton,” p. 197). She points out that the nunnery’s ownership in the fourteenth century is noted only in an “an *ex libris* inscription” in the manuscript dating from around fifty years after its probable creation and hypothesizes instead that the manuscript “was commissioned by a wealthy patron for the individual use of a novice at Amesbury” (p. 200).

⁶⁰ Boulton, “Introduction,” p. 9; Siebach-Larsen, “Structures of Thought,” pp. 179–80n26; Mackie-*Chasteu*, p. 27. Siebach-Larsen notes that a woman named Margaret Byngham owned Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 99 in the fifteenth century (“Structures of Thought,” pp. 179–80n26), but it is likely that the portion of this composite manuscript that contained the *Chateau* was added after the inscription (Murchison, “Readers of the *Manuel des péchés* Revisited,” p. 171). See also Mackie-*Chasteu*, p. 28.

⁶¹ Boulton, “Introduction,” pp. 9–10.

⁶² Boulton, “Introduction,” p. 10.

⁶³ Wogan-Browne, “What’s in a Name,” p. 5.

demonstrate “a deeply interwoven lexical borrowing back and forth . . . that makes the boundaries of our modern dictionaries of ‘Middle English’ and ‘Anglo-Norman’ themselves problematic.”⁶⁴

The opening lines of both the Anglo-Norman and Middle English texts draw attention to the multilingualism of audiences in England at the same time as they avow linguistic limitations in conventional ways. The narrator of the Anglo-Norman poem explains the intention to write in “romance” [French] (Appendix, line 26) because not everyone can praise God in languages they do not know well — in this case, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin (Appendix, lines 16–18).⁶⁵ The narrator of the Middle English poem adapts this motif, announcing the intention to make the work accessible by writing in English for an unlearned audience unfamiliar with French and Latin: “Ne mowe we alle Latin wite, / Ne Ebreu, ne Gru that beth iwrite, / Ne French, ne this other spechen” [Nor can we all know Latin, / Nor Hebrew, nor Greek that are written, / Nor French, nor these other languages] (lines 23–25). This is a common motif in English prologues,⁶⁶ one which the narrator circles back to and elaborates on later in the passage:

Thauh hit on Englisch be dim and derk
Ne nabbe no savur bfore clerk,
For lewed men that luitel connen,
On Englisch hit is thus bigonnen.
(lines 71–74)

[Though it (i.e., the poem) is hard to understand and obscure in English / And has no appeal in the presence of a cleric (learned person), / For the sake of unlearned people who know little, / In English it is in such a way begun.]

Here the narrator apologizes because English is not for educated people, but the subsequent lines reassure readers about the legitimacy of using English to understand religious truths.⁶⁷ The narrator asserts that the wise and prudent reader who “yerne biholdeth this ilke writ” [attentively contemplates this very treatise] (line 76) may, despite the language, still find “[a]lle poyntes . . . / Of ure beleewe and Godes lay” [all points . . . about faith and God’s law] (lines 79–80).

That the translator adapted the list of languages from the prologue of the Anglo-Norman work into the Middle English poem illustrates that such overt discussions about writing in the vernacular for so-called unlearned readers are not unique to English prologues but are a feature of the period.⁶⁸ The translator’s comments about English in these passages nevertheless reflect an anxiety that rests on the changed status of

⁶⁴ Wogan-Browne, “What’s in a Name,” p. 6.

⁶⁵ All translations and glosses throughout the volume are mine unless otherwise noted. See the Appendix, lines 15–28, for the whole passage.

⁶⁶ Dearnley, *Translators and Their Prologues*, p. 64.

⁶⁷ Rhodes points out how the translator of *The Castle of Love* “attributes the attitude of contempt rather exclusively to the clerks” (*Poetry Does Theology*, p. 53).

⁶⁸ Wogan-Browne and colleagues note that these tropes “are ubiquitous in texts of the period in all languages, and can never be taken at face value” (*Idea of the Vernacular*, p. 19). For example, much like the translator’s narrator in *The Castle of Love*, the narrator of the prologue to Robert Mannyng’s *Chronicle* (ca. 1338) offers to tell “the story of Inglande” (line 5) written “on Inglysch . . . / Not for the lerid [educated] bot for the lewed [uneducated], / For tho [those] that in this land won [live] / That the Latyn no Frankys con [neither Latin nor French know]” (lines 7–10). See Wogan-Browne and colleagues for the edition of Mannyng’s prologue and analysis (*Idea of the Vernacular*, pp. 19–24).

the language after the transition from Old to Middle English. Old English was the language of government and literature during the early English period, but this changed after the Norman Conquest of England in 1066.⁶⁹ King William replaced the governmental use of English with Latin, a change that Thomas Hahn argues undermined the importance of written English.⁷⁰ French was imported along with Latin after the Conquest and became a standard literary language in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Thus, in simple terms, Latin was the language of learning and government, accessible mainly to clerks; French was the standard for literature; and English represented the vernacular, oral culture.⁷¹ Nevertheless, it is important to understand these distinctions as fluid and evolving rather than fixed and separate. As Mark Faulkner points out, "[n]ot all languages were equal in their prestige, scope for conveying complex ideas and potential for an audience, and their capacity for each was constantly changing."⁷²

James H. Morey argues against the idea that English before the end of the fourteenth century should be understood as "the silenced language," since it still operated "as an important language of social, commercial, and religious discourse throughout the period."⁷³ Although Morey points to the difficulty in pinning down the success of English in relation to Latin and Anglo-Norman in the thirteenth century, some scholars aim to bridge that gap.⁷⁴ Examining the transition between Old and Middle English in *A New Literary History of the Long Twelfth Century*, Faulkner cautions against characterizing the twelfth century as "inscrutable" or "a period of disjunction" for the English language.⁷⁵ For Faulkner, the idea of a "rupture" in twelfth-century English is problematic, as it does not account for works that might be twelfth-century being characterized as Old English, the recent "steady stream of (re)discoveries of twelfth-century texts," or the ease of coming up with "a generically diverse list" of texts in English most likely written in the so-called long twelfth century.⁷⁶ Faulkner further highlights the importance of examining texts as multilingual productions in their cultural contexts and sees English society after the Conquest moving toward multilingualism.⁷⁷ Indeed, even by the middle of the century preceding Grosseteste's writing, many writers could speak, read, and write multiple languages, thus enabling them to make the best linguistic choices to support "their literary aspirations, linguistic competency and intended audience."⁷⁸ Grosseteste himself chose Anglo-Norman for the *Chateau* and other works in order to include an audience he could not reach in Latin.

Although English becomes more important as a literary language over the course of the fourteenth century, Wogan-Browne notes that "reports of the fourteenth-century death of Anglo-Norman have been

⁶⁹ As Fenster and Collette point out, "The arrival of the French language did not suddenly bring multilingualism to the British Isles, already the home of a mix of Celtic, Germanic, and Scandinavian vernaculars as well as of Latin" ("Recognizing the French of Medieval England," p. 1).

⁷⁰ Hahn, "Early Middle English," pp. 63–64.

⁷¹ Morey discusses the use of English in "ecclesiastical, legal, and historical documents from the Norman Conquest to the early fifteenth century" (*Book and Verse*, pp. 24–55); Hahn discusses the status and implications of English use (oral and written) in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries ("Early Middle English"); and Turville-Petre covers the period from 1290–1340 (*England the Nation*).

⁷² Faulkner, *New Literary History*, p. 24.

⁷³ Morey, *Book and Verse*, p. 24.

⁷⁴ Morey, *Book and Verse*, p. 53.

⁷⁵ Faulkner, *New Literary History*, p. 6.

⁷⁶ Faulkner, *New Literary History*, p. 11. The "long twelfth century" refers to the period beginning at the Norman Conquest in 1066 and continuing through the end of the twelfth century.

⁷⁷ Faulkner, *New Literary History*, pp. 23–24.

⁷⁸ Faulkner, *New Literary History*, p. 24.

exaggerated.”⁷⁹ Richard Ingham points out that the use of French in England was not isolated to literary efforts, as it was used administratively from the mid-thirteenth century onward.⁸⁰ The fourteenth century then saw steep gains in French replacing Latin “for administrative and commercial purposes.”⁸¹ Similarly, the use of French in legal contexts spanned the period from 1275 to 1417.⁸² Ingham further explains that the lack of regular orthography and grammar in Anglo-Norman texts points to its persistence as a spoken language into the later medieval period in England and notes that evidence suggests pronunciation influenced the orthography of the written language.⁸³ Anglo-Norman was not simply learned in school as a second language but rather continued to develop as a dialect alongside continental French until the late-fourteenth century.⁸⁴ Even the Vernon manuscript (discussed below; see pp. 31–33), one of the pre-eminent manuscript collections of Middle English verse, is itself a trilingual manuscript; though predominately English in its contents, the codex includes some Anglo-Norman and Latin.⁸⁵ Although one or the other may dominate at different times, it may be more profitable to think of English and Anglo-Norman as “sister vernaculars,” to modify a phrase from Thelma Fenster and Carolyn Collette.⁸⁶ The relation between the two languages reflects “complementarity” rather than competition between “differing communities with opposed interests.”⁸⁷ Just as the Anglo-Norman poem’s narrator positions French as the vernacular against Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, the narrator of the Middle English poem in turn positions English as the vernacular against Latin, Hebrew, Greek, and French. The point is that all three languages — Latin, French, and English — were used in literary works throughout the medieval period, to a greater or lesser extent, and that ebb and flow is reflected in both the Middle English and Anglo-Norman poems presented in this volume.⁸⁸

The Middle English translation edited here may have been composed as early as 1300, around fifty years after Grosseteste’s death, and the earliest surviving manuscript witness, as I discuss later, was probably produced sometime between 1390 and 1400.⁸⁹ The timing of the translation reflects a fourteenth-century

⁷⁹ Wogan-Browne, “What’s in a Name,” p. 9. See, Ingham, “Persistence of Anglo-Norman,” for in-depth discussion of this topic.

⁸⁰ Ingham, “Persistence of Anglo-Norman,” p. 45.

⁸¹ Ingham, “Mixing Languages,” p. 80.

⁸² Serge Lusignan notes that “the first statute written in French can be dated to 1275,” and “the first official act written in English and sealed with the signet is dated to 1417” (“French Language in Contact,” p. 21).

⁸³ Ingham, “Mixing Languages,” pp. 81–82. Ingham points out that the lack of “consistent norms of spelling or grammar” are evident even “within texts written by the same scribe” (p. 82). See also Ingham, “Persistence of Anglo-Norman.”

⁸⁴ Ingham, “Persistence of Anglo-Norman,” esp. pp. 53–54. Ingham asserts, “The so-called ‘final decline’ of insular French . . . did not occur much before the end of the fourteenth century” (p. 54). Ingham explains that “members of the literate classes experienced years of practice using French as a spoken medium of instruction at grammar school” (“Mixing Languages,” p. 80).

⁸⁵ See the catalog entry for Vernon, which details the language for each item in the manuscript (“MS. Eng. poet. a. 1,” *Medieval Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries*).

⁸⁶ The original phrase is “Sister Languages: English and French Vernaculars” (“Recognizing the French of Medieval England,” p. 4).

⁸⁷ Ingham, “Mixing Languages,” p. 80.

⁸⁸ As Faulkner points out, the use of all three languages for literary works was true even in the twelfth century (*New Literary History*, p. 24).

⁸⁹ Sajavaara estimates the original date of the translation on the basis of the rhymes (p. 159).

rise in translations of French texts into English.⁹⁰ Nevertheless, the gradual trajectory was toward a preference for religious texts in Middle English in the fourteenth century.⁹¹ The language of the translation is a southwestern Midland dialect, more specifically that of Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, and southern Warwickshire, with some evidence of the eastern Midlands.⁹²

SOURCES

As mentioned earlier, the source for the Middle English *Castle of Love* is the Anglo-Norman *Chateau d'amour*. There is not a single source for the *Chateau*; it is rather a narrative tapestry that weaves together strands from a variety of sources. The opening sections describing the creation of Adam and Eve and their Fall through disobedience originate in the Bible's creation story in Genesis (1–3). The allegory of the Four Daughters of God has its seeds in parables and allegories derived from Psalm 84:11, and the allegory of the Castle of Love has its genesis in exegesis of Luke 10:38. Jesus's life, including the miracles he performs, his suffering and Crucifixion, Resurrection, and Ascension into heaven all come from the New Testament (mainly the Gospels). The section detailing the signs leading up to the Last Judgment, which is an interpolation appearing only in the Middle English version, is a variant of *The Fifteen Signs Before Doomsday*.⁹³ Finally, the Last Judgment of the dead and the visions of hell and heaven echo various biblical descriptions but also have their source in Grosseteste's own ideas about the afterlife, as detailed in letters and other writings.⁹⁴

Southern sees the Anglo-Norman *Chateau d'amour* as Grosseteste's *summa*, that is, a comprehensive summation of his theological views.⁹⁵ Southern points out that “[a]dvanced scientific learning and theological concepts on the fringe of eccentricity flowed irresistibly into his poetry of popular instruction,” as if Grosseteste “could not keep these thoughts out of his theology even on the most popular level.”⁹⁶ The Middle English translation leaves out at least one of the most difficult concepts (as I discuss below; see pp. 22–25) but nevertheless maintains much of the theological complexity of the Anglo-Norman poem. But the popular and philosophical-theological themes are not really in conflict, and we should understand their juxtaposition as a feature of the poem, not a bug, as the Anglo-Norman *Chateau d'amour* and the Middle English *Castle of Love* alike meld high theology and philosophy with genres that appealed to lay audiences.

Despite omitting some of the more esoteric concepts, *The Castle of Love*, like its Anglo-Norman precursor, touches on a number of theological doctrines. These include the concept of the Trinity, the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and Son, Jesus as fully God and fully human in the Incarnation, natural law (innate moral feeling, arrived at through reason) and positive law (divine law, created and imposed), the idea that God the Father created everything through the Son (i.e., Jesus), Mary's perpetual virginity, the seven deadly sins, Christ's judgment of the living and the dead in the Last Judgment, and the resurrection

⁹⁰ Boulton, “Fourth Lateran Council,” p. 12.

⁹¹ Boulton notes that “[i]n the fourteenth century, religious texts in Middle English appear alongside, and eventually supplant, those in Anglo-Norman” (“Fourth Lateran Council,” p. 35).

⁹² Sajaavaara, p. 159.

⁹³ Sajaavaara, p. 393n1525–1620.

⁹⁴ The Explanatory Notes detail biblical allusions. For an overview of the main biblical passages touched on, see Morey, *Book and Verse*, pp. 95–96. In his study of the whole tradition, Heist discusses the *Castle of Love*'s version in relation to other adaptations of the list (*Fifteen Signs*, pp. 145–49).

⁹⁵ Southern, p. 227.

⁹⁶ Southern, p. 228.

of the faithful at the Last Judgment, among others. The poem also successfully marries exegesis, exempla, theological complexity, and the themes of devotional literature with popular genres such as allegory, debate and dialogue, drama, and courtly or chivalric tales. Both poems likewise make use of popular narrative tropes, such as addressing the audience, meant to evoke an oral storytelling or reading performance.

ALLEGORY OF THE FOUR DAUGHTERS OF GOD

The allegory of the Four Daughters of God features the personified virtues Mercy, Truth, Justice, and Peace, named *Merci*, *Soth*, *Riht*, and *Pees* in the Middle English poem, and *Misericorde*, *Verité*, *Justize*, and *Pes* in the Anglo-Norman one.⁹⁷ In a kind of courtroom drama, the daughters argue the case of a “prisoner” (Adam) confined because of his sin. This “trial” of the prisoner is a debate between the four sisters before their father, the King, whom the prisoner has wronged. The dramatic twist comes when their “brother,” the King’s Son (i.e., Jesus), offers to take the place of the prisoner in order to free him. The names of the daughters derive from Psalm 84:11: “Mercy and truth have met each other: justice and peace have kissed.”⁹⁸ Some uses of the allegory before Grosseteste include the *Midrash Rabbah*, parables by Hugh of Saint-Victor and Bernard of Clairvaux, and an anonymous Latin prose version of the allegory, *Rex et Famulus* [*The King and the Servant*].⁹⁹ Two works by Grosseteste’s contemporary Guillaume Le Clerc may or may not be later than the *Chateau* but do not appear to be sources: *De salvatione hominis dialogus* [*Dialogue on the Salvation of Man* or *Dialogus*] and the *Vie de Tobie* [*Life of Tobias*], which incorporates a version of the *Dialogus*.¹⁰⁰ A version of *Rex et Famulus* was likely one of the direct sources for both the *Dialogus* and the *Chateau*, as both poems share verbal correspondences with the Latin text (the majority in the *Chateau*).¹⁰¹ Grosseteste’s main contributions to the allegory’s development are the legal and feudal aspects.¹⁰²

The allegory of the Four Daughters of God (lines 275–554 of the Middle English poem; lines 205–456 of the Anglo-Norman poem in the Appendix) opens with the description of a King (God) and his family: a Son (Jesus) and Four Daughters (*Merci*, *Soth*, *Riht*, and *Pees*). Having set up this familial situation, the narrator explains, “This Kyng, as you herdest ar this, / Hedde a thral that dude amis” [This King, as you heard before this, / Had a slave that did wrong] (lines 307–08). These lines reveal the relative relations between God and Adam as those between the King and his “thral.” The poem’s use of the word “thral” here

⁹⁷ It is clear through context and vocabulary choices that in some passages the AN poem does not refer to the allegorical figures but simply the concepts of mercy, truth, justice, and peace. In some parallel passages, the ME version thus contains mention of the of allegorical figures where the AN poem does not.

⁹⁸ See Sajavaara, p. 63; Boulton, p. 65n25. But Sajavaara argues, “The tradition did not spring up in the sixth century A.D. as an allegorical commentary on a few lines of a psalm,” proposing its ultimate sources to be in Babylonian and Egyptian traditions (Sajavaara, p. 90); for discussion, see pp. 85–90.

⁹⁹ Sajavaara, p. 62. Sajavaara discusses in detail the Midrashic tradition (pp. 72–76), the relation between the analogues by Hugh of Saint-Victor and Bernard of Clairvaux (pp. 76–78), and *Rex et Famulus* (pp. 69–72). A version of *Rex et Famulus* is printed as a homily in *Patrologia Latina* 94.505–07.

¹⁰⁰ Traver, *Four Daughters of God*, p. 33n5; Sajavaara, p. 62. Traver examines the allegory and its sources at length in *Four Daughters of God*, as does Sajavaara (pp. 62–90).

¹⁰¹ Sajavaara, p. 79; see discussion of the interrelation of these texts in pp. 76–82. Sajavaara notes that surviving manuscripts show *Rex et Famulus* “is definitely earlier” than *Dialogus*, *Vie*, or *Chateau*, and identifies an extant version in a MS from the early thirteenth century in the British Library (p. 70).

¹⁰² Sajavaara, p. 84. Zatta discusses “the extensive feudalization of [the *Chateau*’s] presentation of salvation” (“Romance’ of the *Castle of Love*,” pp. 169–78). See also Rhodes, *Poetry Does Theology*, pp. 56–59.

echoes the narrator's earlier explanation that Adam has become "[s]unnes thral" [sin's slave] (line 242) because of the consequences of his transgression, emphasizing that a "thral may not crave / Throw riht non heritage to have" [slave may not demand / To have any heritage through right] because "[a]s sone as he is thral bicombe, / His heritage is him binome" [as soon as he has become a slave, / His heritage is taken away from him] (lines 249–52). In other words, Adam has lost his right to his heritage because he has become "[s]unnes thrall" as a result of his disobedience to God's laws.

The word "thral" is only used in the poem in two passages: the section describing the consequences of the Fall and throughout the allegory of the Four Daughters of God. The link to the earlier usage not only shows that the "thral" is Adam but also makes clear that he is the King's "thral" because of his transgression, not because he is meant to be a slave or servant to the King. Although the word "thral" can mean in literal terms "a slave, servant, serf," or "a subject," it can also designate "a prisoner, captive."¹⁰³ Adam's relationship to God should have been that of a vassal with a seisin, but he has lost his right to his inheritance and now is simply a prisoner. The use of "thral" in the allegory emphasizes Adam's status as prisoner throughout the argument between the sisters, as the narrator refers to the "thral" being released from prison (lines 359, 368), mentions the "thral" being sentenced to death (lines 410, 424), and at one point directly equates the terms: "the thral, the prisoun, / Mote come to sum raunsoun" [the slave, the prisoner, / Must come to a redemption (i.e., be redeemed)] (lines 513–14).

Throughout the allegory, Merci and Pees advocate the prisoner's release, whereas Soth and Riht argue for his condemnation. Merci blames the prisoner's enemies, as they seduced him through their promise that he would have God's power if he ate the fruit of the forbidden tree, and advocates mercy and forgiveness for him. Truth argues against Merci's desire to release the prisoner, insisting that he sinned, and the King should not listen to Merci. Truth says the prisoner deserves what he gets and should stay in prison; he has lost mercy and forgiveness, and he was warned beforehand. Riht says she is the magistrate and that just judgments come from the King. She contends that the prisoner deserves death because he turned away from Merci, Pees, Soth, and Riht and left them of his own free will; if justice prevails, the prisoner will suffer death, for Soth has witnessed that he is guilty, and Riht, as magistrate, is willing to pass sentence on him. Pees finally speaks up and complains that Soth and Riht have forsaken her by making their judgment without Pees, and that they also refuse to allow Merci to sway them. Pees appeals the judgment of Soth and Riht, saying it is unacceptable and too violent without Merci and Pees, and that no judgment should be made until all four sisters agree. She then says she will flee and not return unless all her sisters are reconciled. The King's Son then addresses his father and says he will reconcile the sisters by putting on "the thralles weden" [the slave's clothes] (line 547) and "holde the doom" [endure the punishment] (line 549) that Soth and Riht "wolden and beoden" [order and command] (line 548). The framing of the story of Christ's redemption of humanity as a tale of a king and his children, of lost inheritance and reconciliation, calls to mind popular courtly and chivalric literature but then uses these motifs in a theological context, just as the allegory of the Castle of Love does.

¹⁰³ MED, *thral* (n.1), senses 1a, 1b, and 1c, respectively. In figurative terms, the word can refer to "[a] slave or bond-servant of God, Christ, or the Virgin Mary; one who follows Christian precepts; also, coll. the creatures of God" (sense 2a), "a slave of the devil, demons, etc." (sense 2b); "fig. a slave to riches, sin, the world" (sense 2d).

ALLEGORY OF THE CASTLE OF LOVE

The dispute between the Four Daughters of God and the resolution of their conflict through the Son sets up in turn the allegory of Mary's body as the Castle of Love, which represents the Incarnation of Jesus. The allegory of the Castle of Love is related to the more general one of the castle of the body, used in poems such as Thomas of Hales's *Love Rune*.¹⁰⁴ The idea of the castle or household representing the soul under siege is typified by poems such as the Katherine Group sermon *Sawles Warde* (*The Guardianship of the Soul*), in which Wit (Reason) is the head of the household, and the Four Daughters of God (in this case the cardinal virtues of Vigilance, Spiritual Strength, Moderation, and Righteousness) must help guard the soul against Wit's wayward wife Will and the vices led by the Fiend (Devil).¹⁰⁵ A variant is the allegory of the five senses as guardians of the soul within the heart, seen in Part Two of the *Ancrene Wisse*, or *Guide for Anchoresses*, a thirteenth-century prose work in early Middle English related to the Katherine Group texts and written for women who chose to live as anchorites.¹⁰⁶ These are all related concepts, but the Virgin as a stronghold is itself a longstanding idea that originated in part from Jerome's use in Luke 10:38 of *castellum* [village] in the Latin Vulgate Bible; in the Middle Ages, the village became "a single edifice," in turn leading exegetes to "read this biblical text as an allegory of Jesus' entry into Mary's womb."¹⁰⁷ The motif was generally popular in sermons in England by the twelfth century.¹⁰⁸ But, whereas earlier references to the Virgin drawing on

¹⁰⁴ In her edition of *Love Rune*, Fein notes, "In *Love Rune*, the word *bolde* expands from its basic meaning 'castle' and its metaphorical meaning 'the maiden's body' to embrace a sense of phallic masculinity ('tower') When given to the maiden, God's *bolde* is here both a figure for her intact body and his virile presence by which she may find spiritual ecstasy with her Divine Lover" (Thomas of Hales, *Love Rune*, ed. and trans. Fein, p. 383n60). See also Cornelius's chapter, "The Castle of the Body" ("Figurative Castle," pp. 14–19).

¹⁰⁵ The Katherine Group refers to a collection of early Middle English texts that survive together in an early-thirteenth-century manuscript and are named after the first text in the manuscript, *The Martyrdom of Sancte Katerine* (Huber and Robertson, eds., *Katherine Group*, p. 1). Emily Rebekah Huber and Elizabeth Robertson note that each of the Katherine Group texts was adapted "to highlight the virtues of the virgin life for women" (p. 2). I use the Modern English names from Huber and Robertson's edition of *Sawles Warde*, but the Daughters are sometimes called Prudence, Fortitude, Temperance, and Justice. Whitehead discusses *Sawles Warde* in *Castles of the Mind*, pp. 119–22. See also Cornelius's chapter, "The Castle and the Wardens of the Soul," ("Figurative Castle," pp. 20–36).

¹⁰⁶ An anchorite was a type of hermit who was permanently enclosed in a cell, often attached to a church, in order to live a life of contemplation and devotion to God, though in practice this withdrawal from the world often put anchorites "in the center of village life," since "at least some anchorholds, it seems, became the center of town life, acting as [a] sort of bank, post office, school house, shop, and newspaper" (Hasenfratz, ed., *Ancrene Wisse*, pp. 6 and 7). For more details on the anchoritic life, see Hasenfratz, ed., *Ancrene Wisse*, pp. 2–9. The opening of part 2 of the *Ancrene Wisse* says, "The heorte wardeins beoth the fif wittes: sihtthe, ant herunge, smechnunge, ant smeallunge, ant euch limes felunge" [The heart's guardians are the five senses: sight, and hearing, tasting, and smelling, and each limb's feeling (i.e., touch).] (2.4–5; trans. Hasenfratz, p. 95n4–5). Huber and Robertson note that "The Katherine Group and the *Ancrene Wisse*, along with a set of prayers known as the Wooing Group, share not only their interest in female spiritual experience but also closely related dialects and a common geographical region of origin, for both original texts and surviving manuscripts" (Huber and Robertson, eds., *Katherine Group*, p. 2).

¹⁰⁷ Mann, "Allegorical Buildings," p. 198. See also Cornelius, "Figurative Castle," pp. 37–38; Sajavaara, p. 91.

¹⁰⁸ Southern, p. 226n32. A notable extended exegesis on the biblical verse appears in a sermon by Aelred of Rievaulx (Wheatley, pp. 78–89).

architecture were limited to religious contexts, in the twelfth century, vernacular literary versions began to make use of the motif.¹⁰⁹

The description of the castle in the allegory is elaborate and highly symbolic, a fact the poem itself highlights with its explicit interpretations of the castle's architecture and colors. The castle is described as "[m]uche and feir and loveliche" [great and strong and lovely] (line 668), with a tower surrounded by a defensive trench impenetrable to any "kunnes asaylyng" [kind of military assault] (line 675). It stands in the borderland and fears no foe; it is on a high cliff where siege engines cannot harm it. It stands on a firm rock surrounded by deep ditches; four small towers surround the tower's perimeter, and there are three baileys to defend it. Its battlements are protected by seven barbicans (outer fortifications), each with a gate and tower, and no one who flees there for protection will be harmed by enemies.

The castle is colored on the outer walls with three colors: the foundation is green; the middle color is indigo blue; the uppermost color illuminates everything around it and is redder than any rose. Within, the castle shines as white as snow, and the light is cast so wide that wrong can never come there. From the midst of the high tower springs a well that always flows, with four streams that flow upon the gravel and fill the moats. Whoever may draw this water need not seek any other medicine. There is a white ivory throne in the tower, brighter than the summer sun, cleverly made, with seven steps leading to it, surrounded by a rainbow. No king or emperor ever had a fairer throne. Where God chose his inn, there will never be another such castle: "the castle of love and lisse, / Of solace, of socour, of joye and blisse, / Of hope, of hele, of sikerness" [the castle of love and delight, / Of comfort, of refuge, of joy and bliss, / Of hope, of salvation, of safety] (lines 757–59).

The narrator then explains the meaning of the castle and its design: "This is the Maydenes [i.e., Virgin Mary's] bodi so freo" (line 761). The firm rock is the Virgin's heart, which sin never entered. The greenness of the foundation is the Virgin's faith, for faith is the foundation of all virtues. The middle color (blue) signifies sweetness and beauty; the meaning is that she was busy in sweetness to serve God in humility. The third color (red), the uppermost, that casts its light over everything as though it were burning, is the love clear and bright with which she is all alight, and she is moved by the fire of love to serve God above her. The four small towers that protect the high tower are the cardinal virtues, Fortitude, Prudence, Justice, and Temperance, and every one has a gate with a defensive machine so that wickedness cannot enter. Of the three baileys, the innermost signifies the Virgin's holy virginity, the middle signifies her holy chastity, and the outermost signifies her holy marriage. The seven barbicans (fortifications) that protect this castle so well with arrow and crossbow bolt, are the seven virtues that overcome the seven deadly sins. Pride, the beginning and root of all evil, is overcome by Humbleness; True Love (Charity) overcomes Envy; Abstinence overcomes Gluttony; Lust is made to flee through Mary's holy Chastity; Covetousness (Greed) is destroyed through Generosity; Wrath (Anger) is overcome by Patience; and spiritual Joy destroys Sloth.¹¹⁰ The well that fills the moat is God's grace; God loved this Virgin so much he gave the full amount of grace to her, through whom the grace that overflows saves all the world even now. The moats are her long-suffering poverty, through whom the Devil is overcome, and his power destroyed. At the end of this instructive section, the narrator's own voice intrudes into the poem, as he bangs on the gate to the castle and directly

¹⁰⁹ Whitehead, "A Fortress and a Shield," p. 110.

¹¹⁰ The idea of virtues opposing sins derives from Aurelius Clemens Prudentius's allegorical Latin poem *Psychomachia* (*Battle for the Soul*) (ca. 410), which describes a battle between sins and virtues for the soul of the Christian; see Klausner's introduction (pp. 1–2) to *The Castle of Perseverance* for more on the background of this theme.

addresses the Virgin Mary, requesting help against his three foes, the World, the Flesh, and the Devil (enemies of mankind in Christian tradition), who have beset him with armies.

Southern suggests that the castle is “of up-to-date design,” identifying “the extreme elaboration and modernity of the castle’s outworks and fortifications” as particular to Grosseteste.¹¹¹ But even if the architectural features described are real, the castle itself is unrealistic. Boulton points out, for example, the contrast between the number of barbicans (seven), and real castles of the period, which might have up to two.¹¹² Likewise, Abigail Wheatley argues that the Castle of Love does not represent a real building but is rather an “architectural mnemonic” meant to help “the recall of a series of sacred texts and devotional precepts.”¹¹³ Mackie sees the castle’s architecture evoking the details of New Jerusalem’s biblical description (from the Apocalypse) and some of its medieval interpretations.¹¹⁴ The ideas that the architecture in Grosseteste’s poem makes use of real design elements or that it is highly symbolic do not necessarily conflict. The use of recognizably specific and tangible architectural features to express ideas of symbolic or theological importance could be a way of using the concrete to help audiences understand the figurative. Wheatley nevertheless rejects the view of architecture being used in this way: “Far from representing the mediation of difficult theology through an essentially lay and medieval symbol, Grosseteste’s *Château d’Amour* expresses the strength of the castle as a Biblical type and religious image.”¹¹⁵

Christiania Whitehead sees the castle as equally figurative, linking the treatment of Mary as a castle in Grosseteste’s poem with the depictions of “virginity as an inviolate castle” that permeate the *Ancrene Wisse*.¹¹⁶ Whitehead questions whether Grosseteste may have meant Mary’s body in the poem to be interpreted as “an anchoritic *exemplum*” in which Grosseteste perhaps deliberately highlights similarities between Mary’s “vocation of intact perfection and that of the thirteenth-century anchoresses.”¹¹⁷ Whitehead sees the impenetrable castle “[w]orking in conscious contradiction to normative perceptions of fallen femininity as open, breachable and characterized by incompleteness and excessive release of moisture”; thus, “[t]he writing of Mary as a castle stands as a total annulment of her female physicality.”¹¹⁸ Whitehead points out that, at the same time, the intrusion of the narrator’s voice into the final section of the allegory, as he bangs on the gate begging Mary for entry to protect him from the World, the Flesh, and the Devil, effectively undermines the idea of the inviolate virgin because of the frequent association of such scenes with secular romances, where “the courtly castle of the flesh is built to await violation”; that is, the assault on a castle is a metaphor for an attempt on virginity, whether through rape or seduction.¹¹⁹

¹¹¹ Southern, pp. 226 and 226n32.

¹¹² Boulton, p. 71n57.

¹¹³ Wheatley, pp. 97 and 96, respectively. Wheatley details the biblical allusions throughout the allegory that draw on the specific architectural features in the castle’s description (pp. 95 and 97–98).

¹¹⁴ Mackie-*Chasteu*, p. 77. The relevant verses from Apocalypse are 21:2–23 and 21:27 (Mackie-*Chasteu*, p. 77n83). The interpretations of Apocalypse that Mackie refers to are those “in the commentary of Hugh of St Cher” and the *Glossa Ordinaria* [*Ordinary Gloss*], a twelfth-century collection of glosses on (i.e., interpretations of) the Bible (see discussion in Mackie-*Chasteu*, pp. 77–79).

¹¹⁵ Wheatley, pp. 97–98. Wheatley nevertheless points out that “[t]he castle of the Virgin Mary . . . was not only applied in spiritual texts, but also found a context in the buildings of the period” (p. 98; see pp. 98–102 for details).

¹¹⁶ Whitehead, *Castles of the Mind*, p. 92.

¹¹⁷ Whitehead, *Castles of the Mind*, p. 96.

¹¹⁸ Whitehead, *Castles of the Mind*, p. 97.

¹¹⁹ Whitehead, *Castles of the Mind*, p. 98; see pp. 89–90 and 97–98 for discussion of the two competing versions of the besieged castle in medieval literature, the courtly and the religious. The lines in the ME poem are 886–912; com-

Karin Boklund-Lagopoulou points out, however, that even if “many of the poems to the Virgin make use of the language of courtly love, they never catalogue the beauties of Mary’s body” because religious poetry conceptualizes Mary’s body “in multiple metaphors, derived from centuries of patristic biblical hermeneutics.”¹²⁰ The focus on Mary’s virginity illustrates this aspect of the religious use of the courtly motif of virginity as a “locked gate” of the castle, most clearly represented in *The Castle of Love* as the “faste gat” [closed gate] (line 877) that Jesus both enters and exits in the course of the Incarnation without opening (see lines 877–88). Wheatley connects the gate to Ezekiel 44:2: “And the Lord said to me: This gate shall be shut, it shall not be opened, and no man shall pass through it: because the Lord the God of Israel hath entered in by it, and it shall be shut”; more prominently, the “faste gat” refers to Mary’s virginity¹²¹ (perhaps even, in a literal sense, to the hymen). The “faste gat” emphasizes the idea that Mary remains a virgin even after she has conceived and born Jesus at the same time as it alludes to the idea of Mary as the “gate of heaven,” a metaphor Boklund-Lagopoulou explores in depth.¹²² In religious literature of the Middle Ages, Mary is represented as “sinless because she maintains her bodily virginity, her intact and unpenetrated body. Because she is a virgin and thus physically pure, her body can become a conduit, a passage or gateway between heaven and earth, God and man, spirit and flesh. Christ descended from heaven into her body; but also, in a reverse movement, sinners can pass *through* Mary into heaven.”¹²³

As these interpretations highlight, Mary’s importance is primarily as a theological construct, not as a person. Whitehead points this out when she explores the relation of the castle allegory to the development of the cult of the Virgin Mary, “in which the architectural representation of the Virgin acts as an appropriate response to advances in Marian doctrine which, promoting the concepts of the Immaculate Conception and the Bodily Assumption, increasingly detach her from human limitation, and from the flaws and changes associated with sin, sex, age and death.”¹²⁴ Whether as a type of the New Jerusalem, an “architectural mnemonic,” an elaboration of the virgin-as-castle motif, “an anchoritic exemplum,” or a “gate of heaven,” Mary’s significance lies in her role as a double vessel: that of the body that literally received Jesus in the Incarnation and that of the castle, which exists as a repository of theological interpretations. The poem in other words offers Mary’s body as a symbolic text for the reader’s pleasure and consumption. Just as the narrator elucidates the meaning of the architectural features and their colors in the description of the castle, so the representation of the architecture in the castle allegory invites analysis by the reader, following the narrator’s model. And just as the narrator intrudes into the narrative and pounds on the “faste gat,” asking Mary for help to save him from his enemies, so the reader may follow the narrator’s lead in intruding to beg entry to the castle.

COURTLY ROMANCE

Part of the appeal of the poem was no doubt its use of tropes and conventions from popular genres. As we saw in the section on the Castle of Love allegory just above, the poem makes use of courtly or chivalric romance

pare lines 789–820 in the AN poem (see Appendix). The classic study on this topic in medieval French literature is Gravidal’s *Ravishing Maidens*.

¹²⁰ Boklund-Lagopoulou, “*Yate of Heven*,” p. 139.

¹²¹ Wheatley, p. 95.

¹²² Boklund-Lagopoulou, “*Yate of Heven*,” esp. pp. 141–42.

¹²³ Boklund-Lagopoulou, “*Yate of Heven*,” p. 141 (italics in original).

¹²⁴ Whitehead, “A Fortress and a Shield,” p. 117.

motifs in its treatment of Mary as a castle to be defended, with the dual implications of the “faste gat” (line 877) that protects both Jesus in the womb and Mary’s virginity from assault, calling to mind poems such as Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun’s *Le roman de la Rose* [*The Romance of the Rose*], a well-known example of a courtly romance where the assault on a castle is an attempt on virginity (Guillaume’s portion was written ca. 1230, around the same time as or slightly before the *Chateau*). Another aspect of the theme shows up in the Four Daughters of God allegory of the earlier part of the poem, discussed above (see pp. 13–14), where we see the playing out of a domestic drama, in which the King is betrayed by his servant, who is then tried by the King’s Four Daughters, and subsequently redeemed by his Son.

Alongside these allegorical scenes, the poem’s language resonates with the courtly love genre in the deliberate use of “trewe love” to describe the love God wants from humanity (line 1024). The corresponding “fin amur” [true love] from the Anglo-Norman poem (Appendix, line 998) makes clear the implications of the phrase, which the Anglo-Norman poem uses again later to emphasize the degree of God’s love for humanity (Appendix, line 1376). Both “trewe love” and “fin amur” signify the concept of Christian love or *charité* [charity]. The AND defines *fin amur* as “*fin amor*, courtly love,”¹²⁵ but, despite its secular associations, “fin amur” had a dual resonance as a term for courtly love in lyric poetry as well as the perfect love of God in religious contexts.¹²⁶ The frequent use in both poems of the more straightforward word “*charité*” (lines 912, 987, 1162; Appendix, lines 697, 737, 820, 961, 996), however, points to Grosseteste’s (and the translator’s) deliberate choice to evoke a courtly love context for understanding how humanity and God should love one another.

This juxtaposition of courtly love language with religious ideals was common in religious poetry. For example, we see a similar use in Thomas of Hales’s *Love Rune*, a thirteenth-century Middle English poem that explores the confluence of holy and erotic love more overtly than the *Chateau*.¹²⁷ As in the *Chateau*, the narrator of the poem uses *fyn amur* in a religious context: “Mayde, al so ich the tolde, the ymston of thi bur / He is betere an hundred-folde than alle theos in heore culur; / He is idon in heovene golde, and is ful of *fyn amur* [Maid, as I told you, the gemstone of your bower, / He is better a hundredfold than all these in their colors; / He is set in the gold of heaven, and is full of *fin amour*]” (Thomas of Hales, *Love Rune*, ed. and trans. Fein, lines 89–91; italics in original). The description here dually refers to “Christ and the gem of virginity.”¹²⁸ In *The Castle of Love*, Mary’s virginity is not a gem but rather a “faste gat” (line 877), and her body as the castle is protected in part by “Trewe Love” (line 833), one of the seven virtues represented by the barbicans guarding the Castle of Love, a place where “Charité is constable” (line 912). The appropriation of courtly love language for religious contexts would still echo the secular poetry from which it was drawn, enhancing the enjoyment of audiences who wanted to be both religiously educated and entertained in a popular fashion.

¹²⁵ AND, *fin*² (adj.).

¹²⁶ Boulton, p. 78n99.

¹²⁷ As Susanna Fein puts it, in *Love Rune*, “Christ has an appeal that is palpably physical, with his humanation openly male in its ability to attract a maiden. He is depicted as more handsome, more rich, more powerful, more wise, and of course more amorous than any earthly suitor may hope to be . . . Clothed in a material courtliness, Christ becomes the ultimate Lover-Knight proffering incomparable gifts (a castle and a gem) and wooing by means of the ultimate love song” (Fein, ed., *Moral Love Songs*, pp. 18–19).

¹²⁸ Thomas of Hales, *Love Rune*, ed. and trans. Fein p. 386n91.

DEBATE AND LEGAL LANGUAGE

The “trial” of the “prisoner” (Adam) conducted by the Four Daughters of God and the later argument between Jesus and the Devil over Adam rely on the conventions of debate and dialogue, related types of poetry popular throughout the medieval period. The poem’s interest in legal language and the finer points of law, particularly evident in these sections, enhanced the drama of these episodes. This focus on what John A. Alford calls “the art of pleading” was part of a trend that began developing in debate and dialogue as early as *The Owl and the Nightingale*; the subgenre’s apex was arguably found in *Piers Plowman*, which contains “several charters, court scenes, and hundreds of legal terms and maxims from common, civil, and canon law, so that in the whole history of English literature there is nothing even remotely to be compared with it.”¹²⁹

In the preamble to the allegory of the Four Daughters of God, the poem places sin in the context of feudal relations and legal consequences; that is, Adam’s sin causes his loss of his inheritance or seisin (i.e., possession of the world). The Anglo-Norman poem equates sin with the legal meaning of “defaute” as a failure to appear in court in answer to a summons:¹³⁰ “Pecché, ad parole breve, / Est defaute apertement; / Defaute e pecché en un se entent” [Sin, in a brief word, / Is clearly default; / Default and sin are considered as one] (Appendix, lines 160–62). The explanation of this “defaute” occurs two lines later: “Defaute après defaute a fine / Fet par dreit perdre seysine” [Default after default in the end / Rightfully causes one to lose lawful possession] (Appendix, lines 165–66), the narrator adding that “[e]ncore en la curt le rey / Use l’um icele ley” [even now in the court of the king / One practices the aforesaid law] (Appendix, lines 167–68). This definition of “defaute” is based on a point of thirteenth-century English law referring to a defendant’s failed court appearance: if a defendant was in default (i.e., absent) two times without a legitimate excuse (“[d]efaute après defaute”), the court would award the disputed property to the plaintiff.¹³¹ Alford quotes a specific hypothetical case studied by law students of the day, which explained: “il fayte ourement defaute e aspres defaute si perd seysine de terre” [he committed, finally, default after default, thus lost seisin of land].¹³² Alford notes that Grosseteste borrowed this legal point “almost verbatim into his poem” and suggests he “redefined the term ‘defaute’ in order to make it fit.”¹³³

The Castle of Love uses “wone” similarly to “defaute” but does not define the term in the same technical way. The narrator says that “sunne and wone, al is on” [sin and (de)fault, all is one] (line 233), where “wone” still refers to a failure to meet a legal requirement or a lack of conformity to law.¹³⁴ But the subsequent lines do not explain the point of law on which the idea turns, simply saying that Adam committed “wone” when he resisted God’s commandment and when he ate the apple, adding that “[t]horw wone he lees his seysyne, / Thorw wone he brouhte himself in pyne” [through sin he lost his seisin / Through sin he brought himself into pain] (lines 237–38). Like the *Chateau*, the Middle English poem says that every day in the

¹²⁹ “Literature and Law in Medieval England,” pp. 941 and 942. See also Fein’s edition of *The Owl and the Nightingale*. This poem was once dated to 1189–1216 but may be as late as 1250–1280 (ed. and trans. Fein, *Owl and the Nightingale*, p. 318).

¹³⁰ See *AND*, *defaute* (n.), sense 4.

¹³¹ Murray, p. 173n162 and nn165–66, citing Pollock and Maitland (*History of English Law*, 2:592). See also Sajavaara, p. 378n233–40; Jahner, *Literature and Law*, pp. 165–66.

¹³² “Literature and Law in Medieval England,” p. 943.

¹³³ “Literature and Law in Medieval England,” pp. 943–44. For further discussion of “defaute” in the AN poem, see Jahner (*Literature and Law*, pp. 165–66).

¹³⁴ See *MED*, *wane* (n.1), sense 2b.

king's court "[m]e useth thulke selve lay" [people enforce the very same law] (line 240), but there is no line equivalent to "[d]efaute après defaute." This line in the *Chasteau* makes explicit Grosseteste's meshing of sin with default, which undergirds the Anglo-Norman poem's legal code and lays out Adam's sin in familiar terms audiences could understand. As Jane Zatta points out, in the *Chasteau* "God operates under exactly the same code of laws as contemporary English kings, and it is by comparison to feudal reality and its values of descent, inheritance, and land, that Grosseteste explains the generosity of God and presents the rewards of salvation."¹³⁵ Rhodes argues that the legal wrangling is one of the aspects of the poem that "humanizes [Grosseteste's] characters" by "placing them in a familiar setting surrounded by familiar concerns."¹³⁶ Just as contemporary English plaintiffs would have, Adam lost his inheritance through "defaute," which stands for sin.¹³⁷ The Four Daughters of God allegory then offers a dramatic rendition that illustrates how the legal concepts play out in the world.

Like we saw in the allegory of the Four Daughters of God and the play between the meanings of "sin" and "defaute," the dialogue between Jesus and the Devil in lines 1041–1132 of *The Castle of Love* displays an interest in legal argumentation. More properly a dialogue than a courtroom drama, despite its legal "pleading," the encounter alludes to the biblical account of Christ's temptation in the wilderness. The conversation in the poem is a foreshortened and rearranged version of that in the Gospel of Matthew (see especially 4:8–10). The Devil attempts to argue his case for "seisyne," saying, "icham prince and lord of this londe, / And in the seisyne habbe longe ibe / Thorw the heighe Kyng that grant hit me" [I am the prince and lord of this land, / And in the seisin (possession in freehold) have long been / Through the high King Who granted it to me] (lines 1048–50). Jesus retorts that the agreement was held until the Devil broke it by telling Adam he could eat the apple without consequences (lines 1066–74). The Devil's response is that he is "bitrayyed" and "thorw ple overcomen" [overcome by argumentation] (lines 1079–80), but he goes on to assert that Adam is his prisoner because he "hath misdoun" [has done wrong (i.e., sinned)] (line 1087) and therefore must be ransomed from the Devil: "bote he beo forbought of me, / He ne oughte from wo disseysed be" [unless he be ransomed from me, / He should not be delivered from suffering] (lines 1089–90). The word "disseysed," here translated as "delivered," may be a deliberate play on the more common meanings of the verb: "to deprive (sb.) of seizin; to dispossess (sb.) unlawfully (of land, goods, etc.)" and "to deprive (sb.) of authority, dominion, or privileges."¹³⁸ This wordplay illustrates some of the enjoyment offered by the legal wrangling between Jesus and the Devil throughout the scene.

The Devil's demand in this dialogue for a ransom in order to release Adam has sometimes been interpreted as evidence of Grosseteste's support for the Devil's rights theory of Christ's redemption of humanity.¹³⁹ Sajavaara explains that there were two main threads to the theory, one juridical, based on the idea of Christ as a ransom for Adam, the other political, centering on the Devil's abuse of power. The ransom idea held that "God and the Devil are . . . two opposing rulers, who desire man's soul. Adam has the choice, and he chooses the Devil. To make man return to him God must give ransom to the Devil, and this ransom is his only Son"; the abuse of power view maintained that "[a] contract between God and the Devil stipulated the limits of their spheres and neither of them could infringe on the domain of the other. The life and death of

¹³⁵ "'Romance' of the *Castle of Love*," p. 168.

¹³⁶ *Poetry Does Theology*, p. 55.

¹³⁷ Compare *AND*, *defaute* (n.), *defaute après defaute*, which explains the legal definition of *defaute après defaute*: "(law) two defaults in succession," which lead "to loss of the action" in court.

¹³⁸ *MED*, *disseisen* (v.), senses 1a and 2a, respectively.

¹³⁹ Creek, "Sources and Influence," pp. 27–85.

fallen man was in the hands of the Devil, but he used his power on the Son and transgressed the contract."¹⁴⁰ C. W. Marx explains that in the *Chateau's* debate between Christ and the Devil, Grosseteste ultimately rejects the idea of the Devil's rights.¹⁴¹ But, as Alford argues, even though the theory was debunked in the eleventh century, because of its "dramatic possibilities," poets wanted to "keep the old analogy of ransom but qualify it by means of a debate between Christ and Satan in which the author of law himself would overthrow the Devil's claims to any 'rights.'"¹⁴² Audiences knew how the conflict would turn out but enjoyed the process of seeing Jesus trick the Devil and win the debate. The Devil was sure that he would profit by Jesus's death when he took the deal to exchange Jesus for the "prisoner," the narrator explains, but instead is caught and defeated, "[a]s fisch that is with hok inomen, / That, whon the worm he swoleweth alast, / He is bi the hok itiyed fast" [as a fish that is captured with a fishhook / So that, when he at last swallows the worm, / He is tethered fast by the hook] (lines 1130–32; compare Appendix, lines 1106–08). The use of a proverbial saying to close the debate helps audiences connect with the narrative.¹⁴³ These dramatic scenes, such as the prisoner's trial and the debate between Jesus and the Devil, offered medieval audiences the popular appeal characteristic of dialogues and debates and even evoked some of the pleasures of medieval drama.

RELATION BETWEEN *LE CHASTEAU D'AMOUR* AND *THE CASTLE OF LOVE*

Although it is a translation, the Middle English poem is not simply a copy of the Anglo-Norman original, nor is it an oversimplified version of a more sophisticated poem. It is rather a series of contractions, expansions, reorganizations, interpolations, and gaps based on the needs and interests of its own audience and the knowledge and interpretations of the translator. Sajavaara notes that approximately seventy-four percent of the lines in the Middle English translation have matching verses in the Anglo-Norman text.¹⁴⁴ To understand more about the relation between the two poems, I examine two instances of theological complexity, one that appears only in the Anglo-Norman, and one that is preserved in both the Anglo-Norman and Middle English versions.

The first is the elision from the Middle English poem of two related philosophical-theological concepts: *natura naturans* (God as the creator) and *natura naturata* (nature as the creation).¹⁴⁵ Southern explains that Grosseteste's use of these terms was meant "to express the unity of God and nature, both in the Creation and Incarnation" and suggests the translator probably left them out because they were "beyond the comprehension of a popular audience."¹⁴⁶ But such complexities did not necessarily put off medieval audiences. Consider that by the thirteenth century lay audiences were eating up religious poetry of instruction in the vernacular, such as a nearly fourteen-thousand-line didactic religious poem, Pierre d'Abernon's popular

¹⁴⁰ Sajavaara, p. 58.

¹⁴¹ *Devil's Rights and the Redemption*, p. 71. I discuss Marx's argument in depth, below (see p. 38).

¹⁴² "Literature and Law in Medieval England," p. 944.

¹⁴³ See Whiting F230.

¹⁴⁴ Sajavaara, p. 224. This figure rises to seventy-nine percent when the portion of the poem that survives in the Vernon and Simeon manuscripts (i.e., the first 1514 lines) is compared to the corresponding part of the Anglo-Norman poem (Sajavaara, p. 225).

¹⁴⁵ As Sajavaara notes, the translator skips over lines 847–914 of the *Chateau* (p. 388n939). The missing lines would come between lines 938 and 939 of the ME poem. The lines would also have included an explanation of how there was peace on earth due to the rule of Caesar Augustus, as well as an account of Jesus as a true Counselor, who found humanity lost and cast out of paradise and who will show the way to heaven.

¹⁴⁶ *Growth of an English Mind*, pp. 227 and 228.

Lumere as lais [*Light for the Laity*], which accompanies the *Chasteau* in one manuscript (see discussion of Bodley 399, pp. 41–42, below).¹⁴⁷ And by the fourteenth century, the Middle English *Castle of Love* could be found in the Vernon manuscript together with the A-version of William Langland's masterpiece of complexity, *Piers Plowman*, which, despite "its inherent difficulties . . . was extremely popular in its own time, as more than fifty surviving manuscripts attest."¹⁴⁸ As Rebecca Davis argues, Langland's poem in fact took Grosseteste's affirmation of "the intimacy between God and nature" one step further in the figure of Kynde, "*Piers Plowman's* daring merger of creator and creation."¹⁴⁹

I suggest rather that the *Chasteau's* translator may have left out the passage including these concepts at least in part because the lines are just plain confusing, as is clear from the way they confounded medieval copyists, as well as modern editors and translators. In the following lines, the Anglo-Norman poem discusses the concepts of *natura naturans* and *natura naturata* (I have italicized the Anglo-Norman counterparts here):

Mout est nature enbelie	(Nature is greatly embellished
Kaunt <i>Nature naturaunce</i>	When God the Creator
A nature est ignoraunce	Is without knowledge of nature
Kaunt <i>nature est naturee</i> ;	When nature is created;
Lors est nature puree	Then is nature purified
Cent taunt plus ke einz n'estoit	A hundred times more than formerly it was
Einz ke Adam forfet avoit.	Before Adam had sinned.)
(Appendix, lines 866–72)	

These lines are difficult to interpret because it is unclear what could be meant by "[w]hen God the Creator / Is without knowledge of nature / When nature is created." Perhaps "ignoraunce" is a metaphor meant to refer not to an absence of knowledge per se but rather to God's lack of human nature before the Incarnation, after which Jesus becomes fully human while retaining full divinity, but the meaning is not self-evident. That these concepts were challenging not only to a potential translator but also to copyists of the Anglo-Norman poem is clear from the variants in this passage among the Anglo-Norman manuscripts — and the fact that one surviving copy leaves out the lines altogether; the fluidity of the lines among the Anglo-Norman copies implies that not all scribes copying their exemplars knew what the passage was saying.¹⁵⁰

The difficulty due to the word "ignoraunce" [ignorant, without knowledge] (Appendix, line 868) has led modern editors and translators to revise and interpret the passage to make sense of it. In his discussion of the lines, Southern sidesteps the problem by emending to "joygnante" in place of "ignoraunce," changing "A nature est ignoraunce" to "A nature est joygnante."¹⁵¹ The reason for this emendation is clear, since

¹⁴⁷ See Taylor, "Manual to Miscellany," p. 12.

¹⁴⁸ Langland, *Piers Plowman*, ed. Robertson and Shepherd, p. xiii. Skeat's edition of the A-version is based on the text in the Vernon MS.

¹⁴⁹ Davis, *Piers Plowman and the Books of Nature*, p. 119.

¹⁵⁰ See textual notes to lines 867, 868, and 869 of the AN poem in the Appendix to this volume; for further variants, see also Murray's textual notes to the same lines (p. 155) and Mackie-*Chasteu's* textual notes to lines 871, 872, and 873. The AN text that leaves out these lines is in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS français 902 (see Mackie-*Chasteu's* textual note to lines 872–77).

¹⁵¹ Southern quotes lines 866–72 in his note, using Murray's edition as the basis of his lines but emending based on MSS B; O; and London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 522 (p. 227n35). In her dissertation, an edition based on the Lambeth MS, Mackie makes the same change, presumably following Southern's example (Mackie-*Chasteu*, line

it makes better sense of the lines to say that "nature is greatly embellished when God is joined to nature," and the change helps clarify that the lines refer to the Incarnation of Jesus. Unfortunately, the emendation to "joygnante" is not supported by any manuscript reading; although "joygnante" does occur in one copy of the poem, it is in place of "naturaunce" in the previous line (line 867), not in place of "ignoraunce."¹⁵² In addition, it is unclear what should be done with the line, "Kaunt nature est naturee,"¹⁵³ if the previous line means something like "is joined to nature" (lit. "to nature is juxtaposed"¹⁵⁴). Southern, Mackie, and Boulton all translate the passage using the emended reading (i.e., with "joined"),¹⁵⁵ but only Mackie includes a direct translation of the line "Kaunt nature est naturee," as "so that Nature was perfected."¹⁵⁶ These difficulties illustrate the challenges readers, translators, and copyists alike would have had in understanding the theological point being made.

Although it is certainly possible the surviving exemplars all contain some corruption of these lines, I suggest the difficulty of God's "ignoraunce" of nature can be resolved by recognizing a deliberate ambiguity in the phrase "nature est naturee," a line meant not as a direct translation but rather a riff on the philosophical term *nature naturee* [the created world].¹⁵⁷ In this verse, the phrase arguably also refers to the Incarnation of Christ, with "nature" in "nature est naturee" referring simultaneously to creation and Creator. That is, the phrase means both "nature is created" and "the Creator is Incarnated." The second interpretation suggests the idea of "est naturee" as the process of Jesus undergoing birth as a human being (through Mary's Castle of Love) and acquiring "nature," that is, both "human nature" and "the human form."¹⁵⁸ The play on "naturee" likewise offers the sense of "natural, from birth" or "natural, innate,"¹⁵⁹ which again emphasizes that Jesus is fully human, even as the earlier reference to "Nature naturaunce" alludes to God as the Creator and shows he is fully divine (a theological doctrine made clear in both versions of the poem).¹⁶⁰ As a continuation of this play on "nature," "nature puree" in the subsequent line refers both to Christ's human body and the perfected human nature that Jesus fulfills. The complex philosophical terminology, together with repetition of the word "nature" and related words, offer a convoluted play on words that underpins in turn a theological complexity that may have defeated the translator's attempts to parse it, just as it has many modern readers. And even if the translator knew the technical terms and was familiar with the concepts, the exemplar may not have included the passage or may have garbled it enough to make it nonsensical.

872). On the basis of Southern's emendations, Jahner goes so far as to suggest that "Murray, or a scribe, misread this word [i.e., joygnante] as 'ignorante'" (*Literature and Law*, p. 172n128).

¹⁵² See Murray's textual note to line 868 (p. 155) and Mackie-*Chasteu's* textual note to line 872.

¹⁵³ "Ke nature naturee" in Murray's edition (line 868); "Ke nature est naturee" in Southern's version (p. 227n35).

¹⁵⁴ See *AND*, *joindre*¹ (p.pr. as adj.), sense 1.

¹⁵⁵ Here I include the published translations of these lines: "Nature was much embellished when God, 'natura naturans', was joined to Nature, 'natura naturata'. Then was Nature purified a hundred times more than it was before Adam paid the forfeit of sin" (Southern, p. 227); "Nature is greatly embellished when the Creator is joined to nature; for then is nature purified, a hundred times more than it was before Adam sinned" (Boulton, p. 76; see also p. 76n89); "Nature was greatly enhanced when God joined with Nature so that Nature was perfected. Then was Nature made a hundred times more pure than ever it had been before Adam erred" (Mackie, p. 169).

¹⁵⁶ Mackie, p. 169.

¹⁵⁷ See *nature naturee* (p.p. as adj.), listed under *AND*, *naturer* (v.); Southern, p. 227; Boulton, p. 76n90.

¹⁵⁸ See *AND*, *nature* (n.), senses 5 and 1, respectively.

¹⁵⁹ See *AND*, *naturer* (p.p. as adj.), senses 1 and 2, respectively.

¹⁶⁰ Lines 635–62 in the ME poem and lines 547–66 in the AN poem (see Appendix).

The second comparison of the Middle English to the source poem, in contrast, shows that wordplay and complexity do not necessarily deter the translator, who in some cases chose instead to explore the earlier poem's density. The difficulty arises in a passage of the *Chasteau* where the narrator explains that the Child whom Isaiah foretold (i.e., Jesus) is both fully human and fully God, and "Par lui tute rien est fet, / E sanz lui nule rien n'est" [Through Him everything is created, / And without Him nothing is (created)] (Appendix, lines 553–54). Following these lines, a single verse in the Anglo-Norman poem has troubled modern editors and translators, who have not arrived at any consensus in translating the line: "Kar defaute n'est pas fet" [Indeed sin (default) is not created] (Appendix, line 555). R. F. Weymouth translates the line as "for it [i.e., creation] was not made defective (or, faulty)."¹⁶¹ In contrast, Mackie offers a different interpretation: "Now sin was not created."¹⁶² Boulton in turn presents yet another possibility: "for he was not created in sin," clarifying this to mean "when he became man, Jesus was free of all sin, unlike all other humans who are born with original sin."¹⁶³ The range of translations illustrates the struggle a translator faces when interpreting this line. The challenge arises out of the difficulties in understanding what is meant by the word "defaute" in the Anglo-Norman poem, as well as in interpreting how the word is being used. The *Anglo-Norman Dictionary* entry for *defaute* (n.) includes the senses "lack, shortage; need, want"; "error, mistake; fault, defect"; and "failure; failure to attend; default, failure to answer a summons."¹⁶⁴ Most pertinent here is the legal meaning of "defaute" as a failure to appear in court in answer to a summons because the narrator already explained earlier that sin is equivalent to a legal default, as discussed above (see pp. 20–21). In the *Chasteau*, "defaute" is thus freighted, since it encompasses a wide range of meanings: the definitions given in the poem — sin and legal default (i.e., absence from court) — alongside other meanings already implicit in the word, such as lack, error, imperfection, and so on.

The translator of the Middle English poem resolves these challenges through an expansion of that single line into three lines, an amplification that reveals the sophistication of the translator's insights into the Anglo-Norman verse, even as modern editors and translators have struggled to make sense of it. At the end of the translation of the passage about the marvelous child (lines 645–50), the subsequent three lines in *The Castle of Love* translate the single line 555 from the *Chasteau* ("Him" refers to Jesus): "And withouten Him is synne evere, / For wone dude He nevere, / Ne no schaft thorw Him mihte lees" [And sin is always outside Him, / For He never committed default (or, made a mistake; or, caused an imperfection / a lack / an omission), / And no creature might be dispossessed through Him] (lines 651–53). These three lines resolve the potential translation challenge by unpacking the word "defaute" from the Anglo-Norman poem into its various connotations, as the three lines evoke several meanings of the word from the source poem. In particular, the movement from the concepts of *sin* to *default* to *dispossession* in the lines suggests not only the range of meanings the word "defaute" conveys in the single line from the *Chasteau* but also a progression in which the presence of sin would cause default, which would in turn lead to dispossession.

By deliberately including in the three lines of the translation a range of ideas about sin, mistakes, imperfection, lack, and being dispossessed of property or inheritance because of a legal default, the English translator in fact demonstrates a deep understanding of both the implications contained in the Anglo-Norman word and the difficulties presented by the line and its possible interpretations. The use of "wone" to translate "defaute" encompasses a similarly wide range of meanings: mistake, imperfection, lack, or omission, in

¹⁶¹ Weymouth, pp. 28–29n13.

¹⁶² Mackie, p. 166.

¹⁶³ Boulton, pp. 70 and 70n49.

¹⁶⁴ See *AND*, *defaute* (n.), senses 1, 3, and 4, respectively.

addition to “lack of conformity to a law or legal requirement, transgression, fault.”¹⁶⁵ The use of this Middle English word reveals a nuanced sense of the Anglo-Norman poem: “wone” simultaneously replicates the density of “defaute,” even as the medieval translator parses for the English-reading and -listening audiences the meaning of the original verse by turning the single line into three. Perhaps the difference between excluding some ideas and expanding on others has to do with the interests of the translator’s audience, who might find points of English law — and the courtroom drama the poem portrays — more relevant than the “new and highly controversial,” as well as technical and philosophical, ideas of *natura naturans* and *natura naturata*.¹⁶⁶

POPULARITY AND INFLUENCES ON LATER WORKS

Grosseteste’s Anglo-Norman *Chateau* was popular enough to survive in eighteen manuscripts.¹⁶⁷ Taylor proposes that it was “a medieval best-seller,” offering as evidence the poem’s frequent grouping with other popular works and its appearance in manuscripts whose quality suggests they were professionally copied as part of the book trade instead of being prepared by clerics for a wealthy household.¹⁶⁸ Grosseteste himself was a popular figure with brand-name recognition, which made him appealing to bookmakers because he was a prestigious and authoritative ecclesiastic, who nevertheless chose to write in the Anglo-Norman vernacular.¹⁶⁹ Grosseteste consequently had a number of works falsely attributed to him¹⁷⁰ and “by the late fourteenth century . . . had become a legendary figure.”¹⁷¹

In addition to the extant copies of the Anglo-Norman poem, four Middle English translations survive. *The Castle of Love*, edited here, is the translation closest to the Anglo-Norman poem and survives in three manuscripts (discussed below; see pp. 29–34). The fifteenth-century *Myroure of Lewed Men* is the only translation besides *The Castle of Love* that preserves the overall outline of salvation history from the *Chateau*’s narrative, but it has been translated much more loosely.¹⁷² The other two focus only on the allegory of the Four Daughters of God, a particularly popular element from Grosseteste’s poem. These shorter Middle English poems are “The King and His Four Daughters”¹⁷³ and the incomplete “Foure Daughters.”¹⁷⁴ The four Middle English poems appear to be independent translations.¹⁷⁵ The repeated interest in providing Middle English adaptations illustrates the popularity of the Anglo-Norman poem while acknowledging the

¹⁶⁵ See *MED*, *wane* (n.1), senses 2a and 2b. The translator also uses “wone” earlier in the Middle English poem: “For sunne and wone, al is on” [For sin and default, all is one] (line 233).

¹⁶⁶ Southern, p. 228.

¹⁶⁷ Mackie, “Scribal Intervention,” p. 73n18.

¹⁶⁸ Taylor, “Was Grosseteste the Father?,” p. 82.

¹⁶⁹ “Was Grosseteste the Father?,” p. 83.

¹⁷⁰ Thomson details spurious works attributed to Grosseteste (*Writings of Robert Grosseteste*, pp. 241–70).

¹⁷¹ Taylor, “Was Grosseteste the Father?,” p. 79; see discussion, pp. 79–81.

¹⁷² Sajavaara, pp. 320–53. The poem is extant in London, British Library, MS Egerton 927 from ca. 1425 (Sajavaara, p. 101).

¹⁷³ Grosseteste, “King and His Four Daughters,” ed. Shuffelton. See also “King and Four Daughters,” Sajavaara, pp. 354–65. The poem survives in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 61, from ca. the late fifteenth century (Sajavaara, p. 101).

¹⁷⁴ Sajavaara, pp. 366–71. The poem appears in London, British Library, MS Cotton Appendix VII, ca. 1400 (Sajavaara, p. 101).

¹⁷⁵ Sajavaara discusses the evidence for this, pp. 221–24.

difficulties of access to Anglo-Norman by the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Two of the four Middle English versions note this linguistic challenge by adding “French” to a list of inaccessible languages (Latin, Hebrew, and Greek).¹⁷⁶

In addition, there are a number of medieval French poems based on the *Chateau d’amour* that also center on the Four Daughters’ debate.¹⁷⁷ The allegory likewise appears in later Middle English works, including the *Cursor Mundi* [*Runner of the World*], a biblical paraphrase that incorporates some passages translated from the *Chateau d’amour*; the *Gesta Romanorum* [*Deeds of the Romans*], a popular collection of tales in Latin; Langland’s *Piers Plowman*, an allegorical dream vision; *The Court of Sapience*, a dream vision that is a kind of allegorical proto-encyclopedia; *The Castle of Perseverance*, a late-medieval morality play where the Four Daughters of God appear as characters who debate Mankind’s salvation; *Mankind*, another late-medieval morality play; and *Ludus Coventriae*, the N-Town mystery cycle plays. The allegory also possibly influenced the Tale of Telaphus and Teucer from book 3 of John Gower’s *Confessio Amantis* [*The Lover’s Confession*].¹⁷⁸

The Castle of Love was also a popular concept, but the specific influences of Grosseteste’s work are harder to trace and perhaps impossible to prove because the concept was already commonplace when Grosseteste adapted it. Sajavaara points out that the motif of the castle of the body and the idea of Jesus entering the Virgin Mary’s castle-body were prevalent in the homiletic tradition, making Grosseteste’s particular influence unclear.¹⁷⁹ Wheatley likewise acknowledges the difficulty in identifying Grosseteste’s impact with any precision but notes that “later developments in the Castle of Love certainly show the popularity of the motif and demonstrate that, by the later Middle Ages, it had become far more widespread and had many modes of application, both serious and lighthearted in intent.”¹⁸⁰ The Castle of Love motif also had secular interpretations where the Castle of Love could be an allegory for the lady’s heart or virginity, and the motif involved a siege,¹⁸¹ something Grosseteste’s poem only alludes to in the moment when the narrator knocks at the gate pleading for the Virgin Mary to let him in so he can escape the World, the Flesh, and the Devil. This *fin amor* tradition appeared in pageants that included a mock siege of a Castle of Love, first documented in Treviso, Italy (1214), as well as portrayals of such sieges on early-fourteenth-century

¹⁷⁶ See *The Castle of Love* (line 25) and “The King and His Four Daughters” (ed. Shuffelton, line 15). The prose prologue of *The Myroure of Lewed Men* mentions translating the poem “out of a Frenche romance” (Sajavaara, p. 320) but without displaying “anxiety associated with making the English translation” (Dearnley, *Translators and Their Prologues*, p. 94). Elizabeth Dearnley discusses the translators’ prologues in detail in all four ME poems in *Translators and Their Prologues*, pp. 91–94.

¹⁷⁷ Traver explores these in detail in *Four Daughters of God*, pp. 31–39.

¹⁷⁸ For the use of Grosseteste’s poem in *Cursor Mundi*, see Thompson, *Cursor Mundi*, pp. 139–47; and Sajavaara, “Use of Grosseteste’s *Chateau d’amour*.” For the influence on *Piers Plowman*, see Davis, *Piers Plowman and the Books of Nature* (pp. 113–19); and Watson, “William Langland Reads Robert Grosseteste.” For more about the Four Daughters of God allegory in *The Castle of Perseverance*, see Klausner’s introduction (a summary of the play is on p. 3). For an overview of influence on the dramatic tradition, including a list of ME works, see Murphy, “Four Daughters of God,” *DBTEL*; and Traver, *Four Daughters of God*, pp. 39–40. For Gower’s possible use, see *Confessio Amantis*, ed. Peck, 2:26n60.

¹⁷⁹ Sajavaara, p. 99.

¹⁸⁰ Wheatley, p. 103.

¹⁸¹ Loomis, “Allegorical Siege,” p. 255.

ivory caskets and decorative mirror cases.¹⁸² Other forms included tapestries, manuscript illuminations, and table decor.¹⁸³ Sajavaara suggests it is impossible to say definitively how much influence Grosseteste's allegory specifically had, but that its "direct influence . . . must have been rather small."¹⁸⁴ Wheatley notes scholars' unanimous dismissal of connections to Grosseteste in these traditions but argues for evidence of mutual interchanges between "descendants" of Grosseteste's allegory and the pageant in Treviso.¹⁸⁵ For example, similar siege-of-the-castle scenes are depicted in some English religious manuscripts such as the *Peterborough Psalter* and the *Luttrell Psalter*, which Roger Sherman Loomis claims show the particular influence of secularly themed mirror cases and "must have diverted the thoughts of many a worldly reader from his devotions, if indeed they were not put there for that very purpose."¹⁸⁶ Wheatley argues, however, that the siege illumination in the *Luttrell Psalter* should be interpreted in relation to the text of the psalter and notes a specific parallel with the moment in Grosseteste's poem when the narrator knocks on the gate, as the illumination in the *Luttrell Psalter* sidelines the usual siege machinery in favor of a lone knight whose "left hand is raised in a fist, and [who] seems to be knocking on the door of the castle."¹⁸⁷ Arguably, *The Castle of Perseverance*, whose use of the Four Daughters of God allegory is mentioned above (see pp. 13–14), likewise shows the influence of Grosseteste's Castle of Love allegory, as within the Castle of Perseverance, Mankind is besieged by the World, the Flesh, and the Devil, like the narrator in Grosseteste's poem who asks Mary to save him from these traditional enemies. Loomis notes a fourteenth-century casket with a different "ecclesiastical version of the Siege motif," as "the castle is surmounted by a church, and the battlements are held by nuns" who "hurl down white pellets on the powers of the world represented by six gaily clad youths mounting upon ladders to the assault."¹⁸⁸ These examples illustrate the difficulty in definitively separating the allegory's secular and religious threads.

Regardless of its connections with other well-known traditions, the poem draws on popular oral storytelling tropes, such as direct appeals to the audience to listen, that recall the practices of live performances. Some of these are brief, a single line or part of a line, as for example, "Lustneth to me, lordynges" (line 91), "as I er tolde" (line 157), or "Lusteneth yet further" (line 1515). Others are more elaborate, such as when the narrator offers the following rhetorical scenario in which a hypothetical question is posited that the narrator will then answer:

Nou mihte sum mon asken thus:
 "Hou wolde God plede for us?
 Hou He eny batayle nom

people
 did God consent to plead
 took on

¹⁸² Wheatley, p. 103. Sajavaara also discusses these examples, pp. 94–95. Sajavaara explores whether examples of the Castle of Love theme in English folksongs might have been influenced by Grosseteste's poem but ultimately concludes that the folksongs were more likely inspired by the pageants, although "[t]he possibility of some influence from the religious tradition cannot . . . be excluded" ("Castle Of Love' in English Folk-Songs," p. 401). Loomis likewise discusses these examples and includes images of a casket ("Allegorical Siege," figure 1, p. 257) and a mirror case (figure 2, p. 258). Loomis's essay also outlines details of the mock siege in Treviso and similar pageants in depth in ("Allegorical Siege," pp. 255–58).

¹⁸³ Wheatley, p. 104. See also Loomis, "Allegorical Siege."

¹⁸⁴ Sajavaara, p. 99.

¹⁸⁵ Wheatley, p. 104.

¹⁸⁶ Loomis, "Allegorical Siege," p. 259.

¹⁸⁷ Wheatley, p. 106; see also Wheatley's reproductions of the illumination from the *Luttrell Psalter* (plates IX and X).

¹⁸⁸ Loomis, "Allegorical Siege," p. 264; for a reproduction, see figure 7 (p. 263).

And won ure righte and the Fend overcom?"
Lustneth thenne to me nou,
And ichulle ow tellen hou.
(lines 1025–30)

regained
Listen
you

Based on similar rhetorical flourishes in the Anglo-Norman poem, Southern suggests the *Chateau* was meant to be recited aloud or even sung, but it is hard to say definitively, as such appeals were commonplace in popular tales of all types and may simply have been rhetorical flourishes meant to recall oral storytelling.¹⁸⁹ Reading aloud was popular from the twelfth through the fourteenth centuries, as were recitations from memory and other performances.¹⁹⁰ As Nancy Mason Bradbury explains, "A given story might in the course of its career be read privately by an educated individual, read aloud from manuscripts by members of the household to their social equals, and both read aloud and recited from memory by professional performers, both to their social superiors in banquet halls and to their equals in taverns and marketplaces."¹⁹¹ The elaborate presentation of the Vernon manuscript, described below (see pp. 31–33), nevertheless emphasizes its visual appeal — its significance as an object to be seen — thus signaling the value placed on its visual consumption.

THE MANUSCRIPTS

The Middle English *Castle of Love* survives in three manuscripts: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. poet. a. 1, known as the Vernon manuscript (ca. 1390–1400); London, British Library, MS Additional 22283, known as the Simeon manuscript (ca. 1400); and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Additional B. 107 (ca. 1425–50). The copies of the poem in Vernon and Simeon both leave the poem unfinished, appending a conclusion of twelve lines after line 1514. The third manuscript, MS Additional B. 107, called H in this volume, contains a more complete version of the poem, though due to a missing leaf, H lacks the lines at the end that would correspond to the final twelve lines in the Anglo-Norman source poem.¹⁹²

I use H as the base text for the lines missing from the end of the poem in Vernon and Simeon (lines 1515–1862), but I did not find it suitable as the source for the complete poem for several reasons. First, the poem in H appears to be a later version, farther from the original translation. There are hundreds of revisions resulting from the desire to modernize the text or because words were unknown or simply old-fashioned.¹⁹³ Likewise, there are frequent changes in word order and the addition of words to fix the meter due to the loss of the pronunciation of final *-e*.¹⁹⁴ Second, the overall quality of H's text is lower in the portion overlapping with the Vernon and Simeon copies. H is missing a number of lines, including a fairly long passage of forty lines (lines 1235–74) that was unintentionally omitted, as well as some garbled passages

¹⁸⁹ Southern says it was "probably intended to be sung or declaimed, perhaps with some kind of instrumental backing, to a lay audience, whom the author addresses as *Seigneurs*!" (p. 225).

¹⁹⁰ Joyce Coleman explains that reading aloud was popular not only in the vernacular languages (English and Anglo-Norman) but also in Latin (*Public Reading*, p. 84). On performances and recitations from memory, see Bradbury, *Writing Aloud*, especially the introduction, "Orality, Literacy, and Middle English Romance," pp. 1–21.

¹⁹¹ Bradbury, *Writing Aloud*, pp. 20–21.

¹⁹² For the sake of continuity, where I abbreviate MSS, I use the sigla employed by previous editors.

¹⁹³ Sajavaara, pp. 150–51. See the Textual Notes in this volume for H's readings.

¹⁹⁴ Sajavaara, pp. 151–52.

because of the scribe's evident misunderstanding of the exemplar at various points.¹⁹⁵ Third, damage to the first three leaves means that many parts of lines 8–112 are now illegible.¹⁹⁶

Collation of variants from the Vernon and Simeon manuscripts shows that, although these versions of the poem are very close, they are not identical, despite being copied by the same scribe at roughly the same time.¹⁹⁷ Where the two manuscripts diverge, Vernon has better readings in almost all cases.¹⁹⁸ Moreover, the copy in the Simeon manuscript omits a few lines that the Vernon copy includes, some based on the Anglo-Norman poem and others apparently added by the translator.¹⁹⁹ Thus, for lines 1–1514 of the poem I use the Vernon manuscript as the base text.

The portion of the poem elided in Vernon and Simeon includes the section describing the events leading up to the Last Judgment (based on *The Fifteen Signs Before Doomsday*, as mentioned above; see p. 12); the Last Judgment of the dead and the division of the saved and the damned into heaven and hell, respectively; and the visions of hell and heaven. There are two possibilities to explain the missing lines: either the exemplar used for copying the manuscripts was incomplete or the omission was deliberate. The twelve-line conclusion (given in the textual note to line 1514) appended to the poem's end could imply the omission was intentional, yet the scribe might have composed a boilerplate conclusion if the exemplar were defective. Of particular interest is that the twelve concluding lines from the Vernon and Simeon copies of *The Castle of Love* have enough echoes with the final four lines of the Anglo-Norman poem to suggest they may have been a loose translation of these lines.²⁰⁰

The closely related Vernon and Simeon manuscripts “are the largest known collective volumes of Middle English verse and prose, both physically and in number of contents.”²⁰¹ They are nevertheless not unique but exist rather within “a tradition of ‘massy’, collective vernacular book production.”²⁰² The Vernon manuscript's size and weight illustrate just how difficult it would have been to manage physically. The manuscript weighs 22 kilograms (about 48.75 pounds), with 350 leaves remaining of its probable 422 or 426

¹⁹⁵ An omission could result from a defective exemplar, an inadvertently skipped section, or a scribe's deliberate elision. Significant differences among the three MSS are detailed in the Textual Notes, and some confused passages in H are discussed in further detail in the Explanatory Notes.

¹⁹⁶ Sajavaara says the staining is gall (p. 128), a component in some medieval inks.

¹⁹⁷ For discussion of the interrelation between the two manuscripts and their production, see Doyle, “Shaping,” especially pp. 10–13. Analyzing the variants, Sajavaara concludes that the poem in Simeon could have been copied from Vernon or both could “derive from a common source,” but that Vernon could not have been copied from Simeon (Sajavaara, p. 142). See also Sajavaara, “Relationship of the Vernon and Simeon Manuscripts.”

¹⁹⁸ See the discussion in Sajavaara, pp. 144–48. Out of 74 cases recorded in the Textual Notes to this volume (i.e., where Vernon and Simeon differ in more than orthography), I retain the Vernon reading 57 times. I emend Vernon using the Simeon reading 14 times, and an additional 3 times when Simeon and H agree against Vernon; see the Textual Notes for details.

¹⁹⁹ See discussion in Sajavaara, pp. 140–42. See the Textual Notes to this volume for details.

²⁰⁰ The ME lines are transcribed in the textual note to line 1514, and the AN lines are lines 1755–60 in the Appendix. Sajavaara notes some earlier scholars who were divided on the matter (pp. 142–43) and himself argues for the theory that the scribe chose to end the poem “after the last complete section” and added the concluding twelve lines (p. 143).

²⁰¹ Doyle-Codicology, p. 3. Wendy Scase's edited collection, *The Making of the Vernon Manuscript* and Derek Pearsall's *Studies in the Vernon Manuscript* are invaluable sources of information on the Vernon manuscript and contain a fair amount of information on Simeon, since the manuscripts are so closely related.

²⁰² Scase, “Some Vernon Analogues,” p. 248.

original leaves, which are each 544 × 393 mm (about 21.5 × 15.5 inches).²⁰³ Simeon was even larger at 585 × 400 mm²⁰⁴ (about 23 × 15.75 inches). Vernon and Simeon would have been extremely expensive to produce, given the quantity and quality of the vellum and other materials used in their composition.²⁰⁵ Most likely both books would have required “a lectern desk or table” to support them.²⁰⁶ The Vernon and Simeon manuscripts are both available for viewing online as digital facsimiles, and it is well worth examining these manuscripts in high resolution to get a sense of what the medieval readers of these massive books would have seen.²⁰⁷

Vernon’s folios are ruled “for eighty lines of writing in each column, with an additional pair of ruled lines in the lower margins, only utilized for catchwords on the last page of each quire” and are divided into two or three columns, depending on the length of the lines being copied (two for prose or longer verse lines vs. three for shorter verse lines).²⁰⁸ (*The Castle of Love* is copied in three columns.) There are fifty-three quires originally made up of eight leaves apiece (except quire seventeen, which has six), though some individual leaves have been lost.²⁰⁹ The Vernon manuscript has a high level of artistic production throughout, including borders, miniatures, and decorated and historiated initials, including a twenty-two-line historiated initial (fol. 265r) showing “God the Father holding a Crucifix between angels with censers with a monk in white habit kneeling in front, holding a scroll,”²¹⁰ which required a whole team of artists.²¹¹ Details of the decorated and illuminated initials in Vernon are given in the Textual Notes. Vernon’s current binding comprises heavy wooden boards, possibly medieval, covered in the nineteenth century with tooled leather, and “sewn on six double spine supports of cord, in the position of medieval thongs.”²¹²

The Vernon manuscript is from near the end of the fourteenth century and would have taken years to complete.²¹³ It was copied by two scribes, designated Scribe A and Scribe B. Most of the copying was done

²⁰³ Doyle, “Introduction,” p. 1; Doyle-Codicology, p. 3.

²⁰⁴ Doyle-Codicology, p. 3. According to Doyle, “Simeon now has fewer than half of its probable 382 original leaves” (p. 3).

²⁰⁵ Doyle-Codicology, p. 3.

²⁰⁶ Doyle, “Introduction,” p. 1.

²⁰⁷ For Vernon, see Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. poet. a. 1. For Simeon, see London, British Library, MS Additional 22283. Scase’s *Facsimile Edition of the Vernon Manuscript* is also a very helpful resource, but the files must be downloaded and unzipped before being viewed in a browser. Doyle’s printed facsimile is also helpful but less accessible.

²⁰⁸ Doyle-Codicology, p. 4.

²⁰⁹ Doyle-Codicology, p. 6. Quires are gatherings of leaves similar to booklets.

²¹⁰ “MS. Eng. poet. a. 1,” *Medieval Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries*.

²¹¹ For discussion, see Farnham, “Border Artists”; Stones, “Miniatures”; Dennison, “Artistic Origins”; Scase, “Artists of the Vernon Initials.” Especially helpful is the table “Division of Artists’ Hands / Decoration Types” (Scase, *Making of the Vernon Manuscript*, pp. 227–28).

²¹² Doyle-Codicology, p. 24; see pp. 24–25 for a detailed description. For an excellent overview of how medieval books were put together, see “Introduction to Medieval Books,” Manuscripts and Special Collections, University of Nottingham. The webpage contains several subpages explaining materials used, assembly of quires, how the text was laid out, types of decoration and illumination, examples of decorative layouts, how binding was done, and so on. For a comprehensive look at the history of the book, see Raven, *Oxford Illustrated History of the Book*.

²¹³ For date, see the following online catalog descriptions: “MS. Eng. poet. a. 1,” *Medieval Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries*, which dates it at ca. 1390–1400; and “Oxford, Bodleian Library, Eng. poet. a. 1,” *Manuscripts of the West Midlands*, which dates it at ca. 1390. Doyle does not give a definitive date but suggests likely not “before the later 1380s” (Doyle-Codicology, p. 8). For time to completion, see Doyle-Codicology, p. 11.

by Scribe B (also responsible for much of the Simeon manuscript), who wrote in an Anglicana script characteristic of the mid-fourteenth century and therefore outdated by the time the manuscript was copied near the end of the century.²¹⁴ Because Scribe B's hand is so regular and consistent and lacks many distinguishing features, it is difficult to be sure whether it can be identified with the scribes of any other manuscripts.²¹⁵ Simon Horobin suggests a possible association of Scribe B with Lichfield Cathedral.²¹⁶

Vernon's Scribe A copied the first quire, which contains the table of contents and the translation of Aelred's *De institutione inclusarum* (fols. i–viii), as well as adding rubrics and foliation to the remainder of the manuscript, which Scribe B copied (fols. 1 ff.).²¹⁷ This division suggests that Scribe A may not have been involved until near the end of Vernon's production.²¹⁸ Scribe A wrote in a less regular and old-fashioned hand than Scribe B.²¹⁹ Evidence suggests Scribe A may have been a professional scribe, like John Sciveyn, another scribe associated with both Vernon and Simeon.²²⁰ Although John Sciveyn did none of the copying, he "evidently had access to both manuscripts during their production."²²¹ Horobin suggests that the "unequal distribution of labour" between the scribes implies that Scribe A was a kind of supervisor for the project.²²²

Almost all the works in Vernon are in Middle English, and N. F. Blake notes the vernacular religious focus to the manuscript.²²³ Blake categorizes the contents into five units: "legendary material," "prayers and devotional material," "general didactic material," "devotional material of a more mystical nature," and "short devotional lyrics."²²⁴ A look at the manuscript shows that *The Castle of Love* comes between part III of *The South English Legendary: Legend of St. Michael* (beginning *Pe rizte put of helle*) and *Ypotis*, a dialogue consisting of a "mishmash of biblical facts, pseudo-scientific lore, and proverbs" popular in the Middle Ages.²²⁵

Scholars locate the Vernon manuscript's production in the West Midlands, with more or less specificity. Horobin believes the manuscript was professionally produced by lay scribes and locates its production at Lichfield Cathedral.²²⁶ In contrast, A. I. Doyle identifies a connection with the Cistercian abbey

²¹⁴ Horobin, "Scribes," p. 35.

²¹⁵ Horobin, "Scribes," p. 35; see also Figure 1 (p. 36) for an example of Scribe B's hand.

²¹⁶ Horobin, "Scribes," p. 39.

²¹⁷ "MS. Eng. poet. a. 1," *Medieval Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries*.

²¹⁸ Horobin, "Scribes," pp. 39–40; see also Doyle-Codicology, p. 9.

²¹⁹ Horobin, "Scribes," p. 41; see also pp. 40–46, for additional details about Scribe A; and Figure 4 (p. 42), for a sample of Scribe A's hand from the Vernon MS.

²²⁰ Horobin, "Scribes," p. 44.

²²¹ Horobin, "Scribes," p. 30; John Sciveyn was evidently responsible for commissioning a copy of a portion of a text "for which either the Vernon or Simeon manuscript was to serve as the exemplar" (Horobin, "Scribes," p. 29); see pp. 29–35 for discussion.

²²² Horobin, "Scribes," p. 45.

²²³ Blake, "Vernon Manuscript: Contents and Organisation," p. 59. A few of the works are in Latin or Anglo-Norman; see the catalog entry for Vernon, which details the language for each item in the manuscript ("MS. Eng. poet. a. 1," *Medieval Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries*).

²²⁴ Blake, "Vernon Manuscript: Contents and Organisation," p. 47; for a detailed discussion of the contents, see the whole essay.

²²⁵ Shuffelton, ed. *Ypotis*, p. 505. *The South English Legendary: Legend of St. Michael* is indexed in IMEV 3453 and DIMEV 5451. *Ypotis* is indexed in IMEV 220 and DIMEV 383. The *Castle of Love*'s placement can be viewed in the digital facsimile of the MS: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. poet. a. 1.

²²⁶ Horobin, "Scribes," p. 46.

of Stoneleigh, Warwickshire.²²⁷ On the basis of the illumination styles, Lynda Dennison suggests a West Midlands monastic venue for the artistic production.²²⁸ Wendy Scase conjectures a possible patron for the Vernon manuscript, William Beauchamp (the brother of Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick).²²⁹

Between its production and its donation to the Bodleian Library in about 1677 by Colonel Edward Vernon, the Vernon manuscript was owned by an earlier Vernon, Walter Vernon, whose marriage to Marie Littleton (1583) is recorded on fol. 413v, together with the dates of their children's births (1584–85); additional names, some partially missing where a large margin of the page has been cut off, are written below these “possibly by another hand,” and further down, yet another hand recorded a second “list of nine Christian names, each bracketed with two more cut off, probably the godparents, in another generation or kinship.”²³⁰ Other names linked to the Vernon family are written on folios 413v (Thomas Brooke the senior) and 53r (Mary Harpur), as well as some illegible scribbles on folios 316v and 317v; the name “Gruffith Smyth” is written on folio 343v.²³¹

In contrast to the Vernon manuscript's impressive size and artistic presentation, MS Additional B. 107 (H), dating to probably the second quarter of the fifteenth century, and possibly not much before 1450,²³² is a small manuscript, just 155 × 120 mm (about 6 × 4.75 inches), roughly the size of a mass-market paper-back. It has spare decoration consisting mainly of occasional two-line decorated initials done in blue ink with red flourishes, infrequent paraph marks, and on folio 35v the “remnants of a drawing in black ink coloured red and blue” that “appears to have been pasted on.”²³³ *The Castle of Love* is the only work in the manuscript, which consists of forty-six vellum leaves arranged in four quires ranging from ten to twelve leaves, with one or more leaves missing at the end of the manuscript, leaving the poem unfinished. Folio 46r is the back pastedown, with a modern note in pencil that says, “An exceedingly rare MS, only one other copy of wch. is known to exist, but the present containing a superior text. The last leaf is wanting & the first few leaves are slightly discoloured by galls, but otherwise the MS is in a fine & perfect co[n]di[tion]. Wharton has mentioned [t]he copy in the celebrated Ve[rnon] MS no other being k[nown] [to] him. Note by Halli[we]ll,” and below this is written in brackets, “[an important note].” There is penwork on the top of folio 10r in black ink²³⁴ and additional writing in the left margin of folio 45v, which I am unable to decipher.

The poem is written by a single scribe in a regular Anglicana hand in one column, usually of twenty lines (though ranging from eighteen to twenty-two), and couplets are bracketed in red ink in the right

²²⁷ Doyle-Codicology, p. 9.

²²⁸ Dennison, “Artistic Origins,” p. 204.

²²⁹ Scase, “Patronage,” p. 273; Scase discusses the evidence in detail on pp. 273–93.

²³⁰ Doyle-Codicology, p. 23. Edward Vernon was the “grandson of Mary by her later marriage to Walter's cousin John Vernon, of Sudbury, Derbyshire” (p. 23).

²³¹ Doyle-Codicology, pp. 23–24. Any of these names can be viewed through using the digital facsimile, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. poet. a. 1, and navigating to the relevant folio.

²³² See Sajavaara, p. 129. “MS. Add. B. 107,” *Medieval Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries*, dates it to the second quarter of the fifteenth century; “Oxford, Bodleian Library, Add. B. 107,” *Manuscripts of the West Midlands*, dates it to the first quarter of the fifteenth century.

²³³ “Oxford, Bodleian Library, Add. B. 107,” *Manuscripts of the West Midlands*. Note that Sajavaara measured the MS at 6 1/4 × 4 3/16 inches, which would be about 159 × 106mm (p. 128).

²³⁴ This is identified as a pen trial, possibly sixteenth century (“Oxford, Bodleian Library, Add. B. 107,” *Manuscripts of the West Midlands*).

margin; the numbering is modern pencil.²³⁵ The current binding is early though not medieval (after 1520) and consists of "plain white parchment with marks of ruling . . . cut and pasted onto board but not properly mitred," and the binding is "[s]ewn with four white leather thongs, probably in their original positions."²³⁶ The provenance of H is unknown. When James Orchard Halliwell first edited the manuscript in the mid-nineteenth century (1849), he simply noted in his preface that "[t]he text of this edition is chiefly taken from a manuscript in private hands."²³⁷ The manuscript showed up at the sale of John Fuller Russell's library in 1885 (after his death in 1884), where it was purchased by the firm Bernard Quaritch; the Bodleian Library purchased the manuscript in September 1885.²³⁸

PREVIOUS EDITIONS AND SCHOLARSHIP

Nineteenth-century scholars focused mainly on making the poem accessible through editions of the Anglo-Norman and Middle English poems. The earliest edition of the Anglo-Norman poem was produced by M. Cooke in 1852 under the title *Carmen de creatione Mundi*. Cooke also includes in his volume a poem called the *Vie de Sainte Marie Egyptienne* and one of the Middle English translations of the *Chateau, The Myrour of Lewed Men*, which he titles *The Romance of Chateau D'amour*. Cooke offers minimal context for his texts in the form of a preface that contains a few details about Grosseteste's life and works and identifies the manuscripts used to produce the volume. There are no textual or explanatory notes. Later scholars criticized Cooke's edition of the Anglo-Norman poem as flawed due to inaccuracies.²³⁹

The earliest edition of the Middle English *Castle of Love* is Halliwell's 1849 limited printing of the poem based on H. This edition is not lineated, emendations are not noted, and Halliwell supplied without noting them the missing or illegible lines from Vernon, including the long passage consisting of lines 1235–74.²⁴⁰ The edition by R. F. Weymouth, published in 1864, is not reader-friendly for present-day audiences. It does

²³⁵ "Oxford, Bodleian Library, Add. B. 107," *Manuscripts of the West Midlands*. The single image of the MS available online shows the bracketing, decorated initials, and modern pagination (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Additional B. 107).

²³⁶ "Oxford, Bodleian Library, Add. B. 107," *Manuscripts of the West Midlands*.

²³⁷ Halliwell, p. v.

²³⁸ Sajavaara calls it "the J. Fuller sale" (p. 130). The sale for the portion of the library that included this MS was at Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge, June 26–30, 1885, where Quaritch bought it. The *Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts* description simply notes the sale as "the J. Fuller Russell sale (1885)," where the MS was lot 513; "it was there purchased by B. Quaritch, from whose Rough List 72 (no. 159) it was bought by the Library in Sept. 1885 for 12£ 12s" (SC 29560; 5:642). The manuscript is listed in a notice in *The Athenæum* of Sotheby's sale of the library as "'Castle of Love,' a poem by Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, in manuscript, of which only one other copy is known" ("Mr. Fuller Russell's Library," p. 184). The specific dates for the Sotheby sale are given in a later notice, "The Fuller Russell Library, Part 1," (p. 682). "Antiquarian News and Notes" from *Walford's Antiquarian* includes a section on the Sotheby sale (pp. 99–100) that lists many of the items sold, including the manuscript of *The Castle of Love* (p. 100).

²³⁹ A few of Cooke's errors are noted in Weymouth's edition (pp. 13n6, 16n10, 32–33n5, 55–56n16). Horstmann-Furnivall gives a general assessment that "Cooke's ed. of the French text is quite insufficient, and full of mistakes" (p. 355n1). Likewise, Murray, who published an edition of the AN poem, points out, "L'édition de Cooke contient de nombreuses fautes" [Cooke's edition contains numerous errors] (p. 31). Sajavaara similarly characterizes Cooke's version as "marred by numerous errors" (p. 37).

²⁴⁰ The passage appears in Halliwell, pp. 54–55. Sajavaara suggests Vernon was Halliwell's source for missing and damaged sections (p. 129); Weymouth notes "Mr. Halliwell . . . informed me that the first two or three pages of the

not modernize the letterforms and reproduces the abbreviations rather than expanding them. The edition has only a brief preface that discusses editorial practices but nothing more, as the introduction was published separately as a journal article.²⁴¹ There are a few explanatory notes mixed in with the textual notes, but these are geared toward scholars rather than students. The collation of variants in the textual notes is incomplete. There is a brief glossary. Weymouth's edition presents the Vernon manuscript's version of the poem, which, like that in Simeon, includes only the first 1514 lines plus a twelve-line conclusion. The edition by Carl Horstmann with marginal notes by F. J. Furnivall, published in 1892, likewise presents the text of Vernon, recording in a separate section the variants from H, as well as the end of the poem, but these are supplied from Halliwell's edition rather than from the manuscript.²⁴² The text of the poem is presented without an introduction, and textual notes collated with Simeon are published in a separate volume.²⁴³ The presentation of the poem includes some marginal notes suggesting corrected readings of words in the poem, detailing the topic of the poem at different points, and offering comparisons with the edition of the Anglo-Norman poem by Cooke,²⁴⁴ although there are no explanatory notes. The Horstmann-Furnivall edition does not modernize the letterforms but does expand abbreviations.

J. Murray's 1918 edition of the Anglo-Norman text titled the poem *Le Château d'Amour* and included a much more extensive editorial apparatus, with an introduction covering Grosseteste's life and works, descriptions and classifications of the Anglo-Norman manuscripts, various linguistic aspects of the poem's language (e.g., versification, phonology, pronunciation, syntax, morphology), the date of the poem, a summary of the *Chasteau*, the poem's sources, and its translations and influence. Murray's edition also includes textual notes, a few explanatory notes, and a brief glossary.²⁴⁵ In 2002 Evelyn Anne Mackie produced a modern edition for her Ph.D. dissertation, which includes examination of the manuscripts and their provenance; discussion of Grosseteste and the poem's likely audience; analysis of the poem's text, date, contemporary literary context, sources, and the allegories; textual notes; a brief glossary; and an appendix containing the Latin prologues.²⁴⁶

The most recent edition of the Middle English poem is by Kari Sajavaara, published in 1967. This volume is very helpful for scholars but less so for students. It includes all four Middle English translations of the *Chasteau d'amour* and offers a wealth of information. The introduction has sections on Grosseteste's life and works, various aspects of the Anglo-Norman *Chasteau*, and each of the four English translations or adaptations. Sajavaara's extensive discussion of the Anglo-Norman poem includes sections detailing manuscripts and editions, authorship and date, a summary, and analyses of the general theme and the specific allegories of the Four Daughters of God and the Castle of Love. The volume includes introductions to each

MS. were in so bad a condition that he was under the necessity of filling up some lacunae conjecturally" ("Robert Grosseteste's *Castle*," p. 52n1).

²⁴¹ See Weymouth, "Bishop Grosseteste's *Castle*."

²⁴² Horstmann-Furnivall, pp. 394–406.

²⁴³ See Grosseteste, *Castle of Love*, ed. Furnivall.

²⁴⁴ Sajavaara notes this edition is full of errors (p. 37). For the edition, see Grosseteste, *Chasteau d'amour*, ed. Cooke.

²⁴⁵ Sajavaara argues the stemma of the manuscripts created by Murray is flawed, indicating that "most of her examples are invalid or show entirely different relationships from those indicated" (p. 38).

²⁴⁶ See Mackie-*Chasteu*, pp. 192–97. Mackie-*Chasteu* notes that the Latin prologues in London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 522 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 132 were added after the poem was copied, in each case on the verso folio preceding the start of the poem (pp. 11–12). The relevant folios for MS Douce 132 are available to view online; see also "Lambeth Palace Library MS 522," *Database of Manuscripts and Archives*, for additional information on the placement of the Latin prologue in this MS.

Middle English version that encompass relevant details of the manuscripts (including descriptions, provenance, language, and their interrelation and relative authority); discuss a given translation's date, dialect, and authorship; and examine versification. The final portion of Sajavaara's introduction addresses issues of translation, including the relation between the Anglo-Norman and the four Middle English poems, translation techniques, changes the translations make to the message of the poem, narrative or rhetorical devices used in translating, and the translators' mistakes. In the editions of the poems, the letterforms are not modernized, and there are no marginal glosses (although there is a small glossary). The volume also includes textual and explanatory notes for each Middle English poem. Sajavaara provides the textual variants at the bottom of the page throughout the poem and provides an additional mixture of explanatory and textual notes toward the end of the volume. The notes detail biblical allusions, some historical and contextual information, and comparisons with the Anglo-Norman poem, as well as discussions of word use, emendations, and prosody. Although it is possible to borrow it in digital form from the *Internet Archive*, a physical copy of the edition is difficult to access.²⁴⁷

Early scholarship often explored sources, analogues, and influences, or comparisons between versions of the poem from different manuscripts. Weymouth's "Bishop Grosseteste's *Castle of Love*" (1862), published separately from his edition of the *Castle* (1864), identifies the Anglo-Norman poem as the source for the Middle English one but then focuses mainly on understanding the relation between copies of the *Castle of Love* in the surviving manuscripts through an analysis of select passages. Hugo Haenisch's dissertation (1884) on the *Cursor Mundi* examines the *Chasteau* as a source for parts of the *Cursor Mundi* using side-by-side comparison of passages from the *Cursor* with the *Chasteau*.²⁴⁸ The deeper contextualization and the higher quality texts provided by the twentieth-century editions reinvigorated scholarly interest in the Anglo-Norman and Middle English poems, but much of the twentieth-century scholarship still centered on the preoccupations of sources, analogues, influences, and manuscript interrelation, as in Sister Mary Immaculate Creek's dissertation, "The Sources and Influence of the *Chasteau d'Amour*" (1941). Sajavaara explicitly extends Haenisch's work by exploring additional passages that show the *Chasteau*'s influence on the *Cursor Mundi* in "The Use of Robert Grosseteste's *Château d'amour* as a Source of the *Cursor Mundi*: Additional Evidence" (1967).

Two of the most fruitful strands of scholarship — both early and late — have explored the religious allegories of the Four Daughters of God and the Castle of Love, discussed in detail, above (see pp. 13–18). The initial works on these topics, like other early scholarship, focused on teasing out the origins of the allegories, discussing their changes over time, and exploring the relation between different sources and analogues. The first in-depth exploration of the Four Daughters of God allegory is Hope Traver's study, *The Four Daughters of God* (1907), which details the origin and evolution of the allegory through nine strands of its development. Traver includes a chapter on the *Chasteau*, contextualizing it within a group of other works and exploring their interrelation. The focus of the discussion is not interpretive but rather seeks to identify the works from which Grosseteste's poem borrowed and those the *Chasteau* influenced in turn.²⁴⁹ Building on Traver's work, Creek's later essay "The Four Daughters of God in the *Gesta Romanorum* and the *Court of Sapience*" (1942) explores the interrelation of several works containing the allegory, including

²⁴⁷ Borrowing is limited to one hour at a time but is renewable.

²⁴⁸ Haenisch, "Inquiry into the Sources of the *Cursor Mundi*," pp. 23–30.

²⁴⁹ Traver, *Four Daughters of God*, pp. 29–40. Traver later revisited the topic in an essay exploring the theology of the allegory but only briefly mentions the *Chasteau* (see "Four Daughters of God: A Mirror of Changing Doctrine").

Grosseteste's *Chateau*.²⁵⁰ Mattias Tveitane continues the interest in sources and analogues in his discussion of the *Chateau* as one possible source for the Old Norse didactic work the *King's Mirror* (*Speculum Regale* / *Konungs skuggsjá*) in "The 'Four Daughters of God' in the Old Norse *King's Mirror*" (1972).²⁵¹ The seminal work on the Castle allegory is Roberta Douglas Cornelius's Ph.D. dissertation, "The Figurative Castle" (1930). Within the larger study, Cornelius covers the history of the representation of Mary's body as a castle in her chapter "The Blessed Virgin as a Castle," where she contextualizes Grosseteste's use of the allegory briefly within this chronology.²⁵² In "The 'Castle of Love' in English Folk-Songs," Sajavaara examines the popularity of the motif of the Castle of Love in a number of ballads, acknowledging that "the similarity with Robert Grosseteste's *Castle of Love* is only very vague" (1972).²⁵³

Though later explorations of the allegories or other religious themes often maintain an interest in the influences of Grosseteste's poem, the focus of this more recent scholarship is on understanding the interpretive implications for the later work. In *Poetry Does Theology: Chaucer, Grosseteste, and the Pearl-Poet* (2001), for example, Jim Rhodes first explores how the *Chateau* reflects Grosseteste's theology, especially in the Four Daughters allegory, and then examines in turn Langland's use of the allegory and its theological implications in *Piers Plowman*. Nicholas Watson's "William Langland Reads Robert Grosseteste" (2017) analyzes *Piers Plowman*'s "sense of its place in a continuing tradition of English pastoral literature," exploring how the allegories of Mary's body as the Castle and the Four Daughters of God, as well as the debate between Jesus and the Devil, reflect *Piers Plowman*'s reception of theological ideas from Grosseteste's poem, where we might see Langland "write around and even against the *Chateau*."²⁵⁴ In *Robert Grosseteste: The Growth of an English Mind in Medieval Europe* (1992), R. W. Southern considers the poem primarily a pastoral work intended to explain complex theology for lay people, including the difficult concepts of *natura naturans* (God as the creator) and *natura naturata* (nature as the creation), discussed above (see pp. 22–25).²⁵⁵ Rebecca Davis's *Piers Plowman and the Books of Nature* (2016)²⁵⁶ similarly investigates how Langland's use of these same concepts in his portrait of Kynde in *Piers Plowman* shows the influence of Grosseteste's theology from the Anglo-Norman poem.

The idea of the architectural allegory of the Castle of Love is likewise a productive one, explored by Jill Mann in "Allegorical Buildings in Mediaeval Literature," where she examines a number of uses of allegorical structures, contextualizing Grosseteste's among them.²⁵⁷ Several critics investigating the architectural motif of the Castle of Love as Mary's body interpret the allegory in terms of what the poem suggests about Mary's virginity. In *The Idea of the Castle in Medieval England*, Abigail Wheatley enumerates biblical allusions in the *Chateau*'s description of the Castle of Love and explores the implications of the figuration as a device for

²⁵⁰ Creek gives an overview of scholarship on the Four Daughters of God allegory up to the point of her essay ("Four Daughters of God," p. 951n2). Included in this essay is a version of *Rex et Famulus* (pp. 952–54).

²⁵¹ Tveitane, "'Four Daughters of God' in the Old Norse *King's Mirror*," pp. 803–04. Tveitane's later essay, "The Four Daughters of God: A Supplement," does not discuss Grosseteste's poem. Tony Hunt ("The Four Daughters of God: A Textual Contribution") and Ralph A. Klinefelter ("The Four Daughters of God: A New Version") made available additional medieval texts with versions of the allegory without a strong connection to the *Chateau*.

²⁵² Cornelius, "Figurative Castle," pp. 37–48.

²⁵³ Sajavaara, "'Castle of Love' in English Folk-Songs," p. 398.

²⁵⁴ Watson, "William Langland Reads Robert Grosseteste," pp. 145 and 154, respectively; see pp. 147–55 for the whole discussion.

²⁵⁵ Southern, pp. 225–30.

²⁵⁶ Davis, *Piers Plowman and the Books of Nature*, pp. 113–19.

²⁵⁷ Mann, "Allegorical Buildings," pp. 198–200.

remembering theological concepts while at the same time connecting the castle's gate to Mary's virginity.²⁵⁸ In "A Fortress and a Shield," an essay exploring the *Chateau's* treatment of the Virgin Mary, Christiania Whitehead examines the Castle allegory in relation to various contemporary and historical doctrinal and theological underpinnings of the cult of the Virgin Mary.²⁵⁹ In her full-length study, *Castles of the Mind: A Study of Medieval Architectural Allegory*, Whitehead links the treatment of Mary's virginity in the Castle of Love allegory to religious works written for women, such as the *Ancrene Wisse*,²⁶⁰ and explores two competing versions of the besieged castle in medieval literature: the courtly and the religious.²⁶¹ In "The 'Romance' of the *Castle of Love*," Jane Zatta discusses the poem's use of courtly love and medieval romance motifs in a feudal context and explores the reception of Mary from Grosseteste's *Chateau* in the *Cursor Mundi* and *Myroure of Lewed Men*.²⁶² Jennifer Jahner takes a look at the feudal backdrop in the poem through the lens of its legal ramifications in *Literature and Law in the Era of Magna Carta*, where she analyzes Grosseteste's use of English property law in relation to salvation history in the *Chateau*.²⁶³

Another important theological topic in recent scholarship is the poem's treatment of the two theories of the "Devil's rights," of Christ as a ransom for Adam, and the Devil's abuse of power, which I discuss above (see pp. 21–22). James McEvoy, Creek, and Sajavaara, respectively, see the poem combining the two theories,²⁶⁴ but C. W. Marx makes a different case in *The Devil's Rights and the Redemption in the Literature of Medieval England*. Focusing on both the debate between Christ and the Devil and the courtroom arguments of the Four Daughters of God, Marx explores how Grosseteste treats this issue in the *Chateau* through the lens of his *Dictum 10*.²⁶⁵ There, Grosseteste "describes Christ as a 'buyer' who bought the human race from God and the Devil," but his theory of ransom differs from that of "Gregory of Nyssa[,] where the ransom is paid to the Devil and no mention is made of payment to God"; rather, Grosseteste holds that payment for releasing the prisoner "must be made to the king (God) not the jailer (the Devil)."²⁶⁶ In the *Chateau's* debate between Christ and the Devil, Marx suggests that "Grosseteste has modernized this picture of the defeat of the Devil by showing that the Devil had no right over humanity."²⁶⁷ In the Four Daughters of God episode, likewise "[t]he ransom is not to be paid to the torturer (the Devil) but to the king, and the king's son does not say that he will pay a ransom to the jailer but that he will suffer the judgement of death, in place of the prisoner, in order to reconcile the dictates of justice with mercy," and "[u]ltimately the Devil is irrelevant to the redemption."²⁶⁸

Other recent scholars examine the manuscript tradition, gleaning information about audiences, book production, and ownership through the extant physical copies (in contrast to earlier manuscript work, such as Weymouth's, that focused on the relation between copies of the poem). In the opening to her translation into Modern English of the Anglo-Norman version of the poem, Mackie uses the surviving copies of the

²⁵⁸ Wheatley, pp. 95–98.

²⁵⁹ Whitehead, "A Fortress and a Shield," esp. pp. 114–18.

²⁶⁰ Whitehead, *Castles of the Mind*, pp. 92, 96–98.

²⁶¹ Whitehead, *Castles of the Mind*, pp. 89–90 and 97–98.

²⁶² Zatta, "'Romance' of the *Castle of Love*," pp. 181–84.

²⁶³ Jahner, *Literature and Law*, pp. 161–74.

²⁶⁴ McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste*, p. 152; Creek, "Sources and Influence," pp. 27–85; Sajavaara, p. 60.

²⁶⁵ Marx, *Devil's Rights and the Redemption*, pp. 65–79.

²⁶⁶ Marx, *Devil's Rights and the Redemption*, p. 67.

²⁶⁷ Marx, *Devil's Rights and the Redemption*, p. 71.

²⁶⁸ Marx, *Devil's Rights and the Redemption*, p. 72.

work, as well as medieval library inventories, to hypothesize about the audiences of the poem.²⁶⁹ Mackie's essay "Scribal Intervention and the Question of Audience" also identifies ways that scribal "editing" in the *Chateau* reveals information about audiences through an examination of specific interventions by scribes in the manuscripts.²⁷⁰ In "From Manual to Miscellany: Stages in the Commercial Copying of Vernacular Literature in England," Andrew Taylor explores what the surviving Anglo-Norman and Middle English manuscripts of the poem suggest about audiences and book production in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.²⁷¹ Taylor's piece "Was Grosseteste the Father of English Literature?" shows how important the figure of Grosseteste was in the development of English commercial book production.²⁷² Anna Siebach-Larsen then brings the threads of Grosseteste's theological messaging and manuscript production of his work together in her essay "Structures of Thought in Robert Grosseteste's *Chateau d'amour* and the Tateshal Miscellany." Siebach-Larsen analyzes the presentation of a manuscript owned by Joan Tateshal to understand the relation of audience to manuscript production and the relative authority of a manuscript's patron in relation to the work being commissioned.²⁷³ This particular commission, Grosseteste's *Chateau*, is intended to transform the reader "through the material workings of vision and light."²⁷⁴ Siebach-Larsen investigates the participatory aspects of Grosseteste's pastoral project of transformation in the poem as realized through Joan, who both commissions and reads the text, going so far as to have herself painted into the *Chateau's* opening line standing next to Grosseteste in a historiated initial, thus participating in the poem's transformative action of salvation as both patron and audience.²⁷⁵

Mackie and Maureen B. M. Boulton, respectively, offer Modern English prose translations of the Anglo-Norman poem. Although these translations have helped make the poem somewhat accessible to broader audiences, the poem's relative obscurity continues to make teaching the work impractical and scholarship on it challenging. This new edition thus aims to offer more to present-day audiences of students, teachers, and scholars alike. The features that help readers include generous marginal glosses in the Middle English poem and explanatory notes geared toward students; an Appendix with the Anglo-Norman text, together with a facing-page verse translation; and ample textual notes to both poems for scholars.

EDITORIAL PRACTICES

I have edited the poem according to the standard METS practices of following modern rules for capitalization, punctuation, and word division. I silently expand scribal abbreviations, regularize the spelling of *i/j* and *u/v*, change *ff* to *F* or *f* where applicable, modernize the archaic letterforms thorn (*þ* > *th*) and yogh (*ȝ* > *g*, *gh*, *h*, *y*, or *z*, as appropriate), and change *þe* to *thee* when the meaning is "you." Words that begin with *I* followed by a punctus are written without a space or hyphen, following modern editorial practice (e.g., *ichulle*, *ihud*, *isome*). As is common with many fifteenth-century hands, the scribe of H uses a number of strokes that I disregard as otiose, including flourishes on some final letters (*-d*, *-g*, *-n*), as well as barred *h* and *ll*. I expand the loop on the letter *r* in both medial and final position to *-e*, however, which Sajavaara did

²⁶⁹ Mackie, pp. 151–56.

²⁷⁰ Mackie, "Scribal Intervention," pp. 65–70.

²⁷¹ Taylor, "Manual to Miscellany," pp. 8–15.

²⁷² Taylor, "Was Grosseteste the Father?," esp. pp. 79–83.

²⁷³ Siebach-Larsen, "Structures of Thought," pp. 174–76 and 194–96.

²⁷⁴ Siebach-Larsen, "Structures of Thought," p. 179.

²⁷⁵ Siebach-Larsen, "Structures of Thought," pp. 194–96. See the miniature on the cover of this volume.

not.²⁷⁶ Variant readings in the Textual Notes retain their original letterforms, although scribal abbreviations are still expanded. Throughout the poem, I note folio numbers in the margin. In most cases, the line breaks I add in the poem immediately precede decorated initials as they occur in the Vernon manuscript until line 1514, after which I follow H. In the first 1514 lines, I also note marginalia from Vernon, such as notes for exempla, in the Textual Notes.

The Textual Notes record emendations and note variants among the three manuscripts, as well as describe decorated initials and paraph marks or pilcrows (¶) in the base manuscript (V or H). In addition, damage and staining in H renders portions of some lines illegible (particularly on the first several folios), and I note wherever there are lacunae. The Textual Notes do not record spelling variations between manuscripts except when catchwords or -phrases are already cited to note more significant differences. Previous editors' brackets indicating their insertions or changes have been silently elided when noting their emendations. I emend when necessary for sense or when evidence points to an obvious omission or change, but I do not attempt to correct meter or line length. In creating a hybrid of the texts in Vernon and H, I am not presenting something close to an actual surviving copy; my goal is to offer modern readers the best version of as complete a poem as I can.

A NOTE ON THE APPENDIX

I include the *Chateau d'amour* together with a facing-page translation in this volume to enable easy comparison between the Middle English and Anglo-Norman versions of the poem. My verse translation is relatively literal and matches the Anglo-Norman line by line. This sometimes makes for awkward syntax in Modern English, but sticking close to the original assists readers who want to use the Anglo-Norman text but may not be familiar with the dialect or medieval French more generally. The Anglo-Norman poem survives in eighteen manuscripts,²⁷⁷ which can be divided into two groups, one of which is more closely related to the Middle English translation.²⁷⁸ Of this stemma, three manuscripts stand out as most useful to this volume: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 399 (1300), referred to as B; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 652 (second half of thirteenth century), identified as O; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 471B (ca. 1300), here called L.²⁷⁹ Although none of the surviving copies could have supplied the translator's exemplar, it probably came from the stemma that includes these manuscripts.²⁸⁰ In this grouping, B and L are the best texts, but B has fewer intentional changes, its variations due more to scribal errors.²⁸¹ The versions in B and O are closely related to one another, but B is a better copy than O, with fewer errors and missing lines, and I thus use B as my base text. Although B and O are nearer the earlier stemma than L, they nevertheless leave out some lines that the translator used.²⁸² As the most reliable of the remaining copies in the stemma, L is useful for supplying missing lines and corrections.

²⁷⁶ Sajavaara acknowledges hesitating over whether or not to expand the loop on *r* (pp. 128–29).

²⁷⁷ Mackie, "Scribal Intervention," p. 73n18.

²⁷⁸ This is Sajavaara's conclusion, based on the inclusion, exclusion, and transposition of various lines (p. 210). There are eight in each stemma, as Sajavaara only knew of sixteen copies (p. 36).

²⁷⁹ Sajavaara gives the dating of the MSS on p. 36; the date for O, which Sajavaara puts at 1250, is from "MS. Bodl. 652," *Medieval Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries*.

²⁸⁰ Sajavaara, p. 211.

²⁸¹ Sajavaara, p. 39. Sajavaara's diagram of the stemma indicates that B and O are more closely related to one another than to L (see Sajavaara, p. 38), but O has too many errors and omissions to be especially helpful in correcting B.

²⁸² Sajavaara, p. 210.

Bodley 399 (MS B) is an English manuscript containing 124 leaves (vi + 118 fols.) of 247 × 170 mm (about 9.75 × 6.7 inches), written in two columns of thirty-seven to thirty-eight lines with some decorated initials and rubrics. It was copied by two scribes, one who wrote folios 1–31v, and a second who copied folios 32–116v. Except for some brief theological notes in Latin on folios 116r (after the end of the *Chasteau*) and 117r, all the works are in Anglo-Norman.²⁸³ The manuscript contains seventeen quires, mostly eight leaves apiece (the first and the fifteenth have six, the second has one, the ninth has nine, and the seventeenth has four), plus a smaller fragment, folio 118 (glued to folio 117). It has rubrics, running titles, and some catchwords, and the decoration consists of alternating red and blue initials with penwork flourishes.²⁸⁴ The binding of the manuscript, though old, does not appear to be original; the boards are made of cardboard covered in light brown leather with darker speckles throughout. The decoration of the binding includes a fine double line impressed around the outside of both front and back boards, crossing in the corners, with cold-stamped leaf and floral details (much better preserved on the front) running vertically along the edges next to the spine. The portion of the manuscript containing the *Chasteau* was copied by the second scribe in a careful and regular English bookhand. The poem begins with a five-line initial *K* in dark blue, elaborately decorated in blue, red, and yellow and embellished with penwork flourishes within the letter that also extend across the top of the page and down the left margin an additional eight lines. Interspersed throughout the remainder of the poem are two-line decorated initials alternating between blue embellished with red penwork and red embellished with blue penwork (some also with light brown or yellow accents); the penwork flourishes decorate the space within the letters and extend up and down the left margins. In addition to theological notes, there is a record of payment in a sixteenth-century hand on folio 116r: “Follar hawe resywed of hes wages for this quartar the xx of july iis id” (i.e., 2 shillings, 1 penny). Folios 116v–117r also contain a number of pen trials, including the notation “In my beginning” on folio 116v. A notation at the top of folio 115v reads “Concede nos *famulorum*” [Grant our *famulorum*].²⁸⁵

Taylor suggests that Bodley 399 may have been produced like other collections of vernacular texts as part of the commercial book trade; rather than a “bespoke” manuscript, readers might request “an elegant collection of fashionable and varied material by making a personal selection of pre-copied fascicles.”²⁸⁶ Most of the market for commercially produced books were religious texts, like this “handsome and substantial” collection.²⁸⁷ The manuscript begins with *La lumere as lais* [Light for the Laity] by Pierre d’Abernon (also known as Pierre de Peckham of Fetcham), an Anglo-Norman didactic religious poem of 13,960 lines that covers a range of theological topics and survives in twenty copies (some fragmentary).²⁸⁸ Rauf de Lenham’s *Art de Kalender*, a computus text, follows this,²⁸⁹ at the end of which is appended eight lines identifying the

²⁸³ These details about the manuscript are taken from “MS. Bodl. 399,” *Medieval Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries*.

²⁸⁴ These details about the manuscript are taken from “Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 399,” JONAS.

²⁸⁵ According to *MED famulorum* (n.), sense 1, the *famulorum* is “[e]ither of two prayers in the Mass, one commemorating the living, the other the dead, and both beginning with the words ‘Memento, Domine, famulorum [familiarumque tuarum]’” [Remember, Lord, Your servants, male and female]. The description of the binding, characterization of the decoration, and transcriptions of notes and annotations are based on photos taken by Anna Siebach-Larsen.

²⁸⁶ Taylor, “Manual to Miscellany,” p. 11.

²⁸⁷ Taylor, “Manual to Miscellany,” p. 12.

²⁸⁸ Sandler, “*Lumere as Lais* and Its Readers,” p. 73; Legge gives a helpful overview of the contents (“Pierre de Peckham,” p. 41).

²⁸⁹ *Computus* refers to “the body of data and precept used to maintain the medieval Christian calendar” (Wallis, “What a Medieval Diagram Shows,” p. 4).

current date as 1300.²⁹⁰ Next comes Grosseteste's *Chateau d'amour*, followed by what was originally a fragment of another copy of *La lumere as lais* (fol. 118) from the early fourteenth century that was discovered in the nineteenth century.²⁹¹ On folio iii is a note that appears to be written by Sir Thomas Bodley, recording a gift most likely given between 1605 and 1611: "Donum Francisci Cleeri Militis" [Gift of Sir Francis Cleer].²⁹²

The editorial practices for the Anglo-Norman text are substantially the same as noted for the Middle English poem earlier in this Introduction. I regularize the spelling of *i/j* and *u/v*; silently expand abbreviations; and follow modern rules for capitalization, punctuation, and word division. In addition, I have added diacritics where appropriate: the acute accent on *é*; the diaeresis (French *tréma*) on *ï*, *ÿ*, *ë*, or *ü*; and the cedilla on *ç*.²⁹³ Throughout the poem, I note folio numbers for B in the margin; in most cases the line breaks I add immediately precede the decorated initials in B.

I collate B in the Textual Notes to the *Chateau* with L, as well as with Murray's early-twentieth-century edition, which is based on a manuscript from the group less closely related to the English poem. Although I consulted O, I do not include it in the Textual Notes, as most differences with B are errors or misreadings. I have included Murray's edition because it is the text scholars have long quoted and relied on for the Anglo-Norman poem, and it will be helpful to note the differences between that edition and the text in this volume.²⁹⁴ I emend when necessary for sense or when evidence points to an obvious omission or change. The scribe of B usually expunges words and letters by writing dots below what should be deleted; in the Textual Notes, these are marked with the strikeout feature, as with other cancellations (except in cases where a single minim is expunged). As with the Middle English poem, variant readings in the Textual Notes retain their original letterforms, and scribal abbreviations are silently expanded. I note decorated initials and paraph marks or pilcrows (¶) where they occur in B. Notes are not included specifically to record variations in spelling or for variants between *ki* and *ke* (*qui* and *que*), as their spellings in Anglo-Norman are inconsistent and overlapping, and do not necessarily reflect grammatical differences.²⁹⁵

²⁹⁰ The eight lines explain how many years have passed since the creation of the world and end with the verse, "Mil .c.c.c. anz est la summe" [A thousand three hundred years is the sum], identifying the current date as 1300.

²⁹¹ One source gives a date of 1884 (Rauf de Linham, *Kalendar*, ed. Hunt), whereas another gives the year as 1844 ("Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 399," JONAS).

²⁹² SC 2230 (2:1:271).

²⁹³ I have followed the principles for adding diacritics laid out by Alfred Lucien Foulet and Mary Blakely Speer, *On Editing Old French Texts* (pp. 67–73).

²⁹⁴ Murray's edition unfortunately has a number of errors in its recording of variants for B, O, and L, and in its lineation, which I do not detail exhaustively in the notes. Mackie's more recent edition for her Ph.D. dissertation is more accurate (see Mackie-*Chasteu*).

²⁹⁵ See AND *que*¹ (pron.), *qui*¹ (pron.), and *que*² (conj.).



THE CASTLE OF LOVE

fol. 293r (V)	<i>Her byginnet a tretys</i> <i>That is yclept Castel of Love,</i> <i>That Bisschop Grosteyzt made, ywis,</i> <i>For lewede mennes byhove.¹</i>	<i>treatise</i> <i>called</i> <i>Grosseteste; indeed</i>
5	That good thenketh good may do, And God wol helpe him therto, For nas nevere good werk wrought Withoute beginninge of good thought, Ne never was wrought non uvel thing That uvel thought nas the beginnyng. God, Fader and Sone and Holi Gost, That alle thing on eorthe sith and wost, That o God art and Thrillihod	<i>[Who] that; intends</i> <i>will; to that</i> <i>For never was; done</i> <i>Unless originating in; intention</i> <i>Nor; sinful (wicked)</i> <i>was not; source</i>
10	And threo Persones in onhod, Withouten ende and biginninge, To Whom we oughten over alle thinge Worschupe Him with trewe love, That kineworthé Kyng art us above,	<i>sees and knows</i> <i>one; Trinity</i> <i>three; unity</i>
15	In Whom, of Whom, thorw Whom beoth Al the goodschipes that we here iseoth; He leve us thenche and worchen so That He us schylde from ure fo. Alle we habbeth to help neode,	<i>noble (royal)</i> <i>through; are</i> <i>good things; see</i> <i>causes; to think; act</i> <i>shield; our foe</i> <i>We all need help</i>
20	That we ne beth alle of one theode, Ne iboren in one londe, Ne one speche understonde; Ne mowe we alle Latin wite, Ne Ebreu, ne Gru that beth iwrite,	<i>Though; are not; people</i> <i>Nor born</i> <i>language</i> <i>can; know</i>
25	Ne French, ne this other spechen That me mihte in world sechen, To herie God, ure derworthé Drihte. As uche mon oughte with al his mihte Loftsong syngen to God yerne,	<i>Hebrew; Greek; are written</i> <i>these; languages</i> <i>people (one) might; use</i> <i>praise; noble (worthy) Lord</i> <i>Because each person</i> <i>[A] hymn (song of praise); eagerly</i>

¹ For uneducated people's (laity's) benefit (or use)

30	With such speche as he con lerne, No monnes mouth ne be idut, Ne his ledene be ihud, ² To serven his God, That him wroughte And maade al the world of noughte.	Who; created out of nothing
35	On Englisch ichul mi resun schowen For him that con not iknowen Nouther French ne Latyn.	In; I shall; argument explain who does; understand
40	On Englisch ischulle tellen him Wherfore the world was iwrouht, Theraftur how he was bitauht Adam, ure fader, to ben his, With al the merthe of paradys, To wonen and welden to such ende, Til that he scholde to hevene wende.	I shall Why it; given [to] father; be joy (bliss) dwell; govern go
45	And hou sone he hit forles, And seththen hou hit forbouht wes Thorw the heighe Kynges Sone, That here on eorthe wolde come For His sustren that were toboren, And for a prison that was forloren. And hou He made, as ye schul heeren, That heo icuste and saucht weren; And to whuche a castel He alihte, Tho He wolde here for us fihte,	immediately; lost (forfeited) it then; was redeemed Through Because of; sisters; at odds prisoner; lost caused they kissed; were reconciled what a remarkable; descended
55	That the Marie bodi wes, That He alihte and His in ches. And tellen we schulen of Ysay, That us tolde trewely, "A Child ther is iboren to us And a Sone igenous us, Whos nome shal inempned beon Wonderful, as me may iseon, And God, Mihtful and Rihtwys, Of the world that comen is,	When; fight [Virgin] Mary's body In which; inn chose Isaiah truly
60	Lord the Fader and Prince of Pes." Alle theos nomen hou He wes Ye schulen iheren and iwiten, And of Domesday hou hit is ywriten; And of hevene we schulen telle, And sumdel of the pynen of helle.	Peace names learn Judgment Day (Doomsday)
70		a little; pains

² Lines 31–32: *Let no one's mouth be shut, / Nor his speech be prevented (i.e., Nor be prevented from speaking)*

fol. 293v	Thauh hit on Englisch be dim and derk Ne nabbe no savur bfore clerk, ³ For lewed men that luitel connen, On Englisch hit is thus bigonnen.	people; little know
75	Ac whose is witer and wys of wit And yerne biholdeth this ilke writ ⁴ And con that muchel of luitel unlouken And hony of the harde ston souken, Alle poyntes he fynde may	much out of; unlock (extract) honey; stone suck
80	Of ure beleeve and Godes lay, ⁵ That bifalleth to Godes godhede, As wel as to His monhede.	Which is fitting; divinity human nature
	Ofte ye habbeth iherd ar this Hou the world imaked is;	before
85	Forthi ne kep I nought to telle Bote that falleth to my spelle. ⁶ In sixe dayes and seve niht God hedde al the world idiht, And tho al was derworthliche ido.	seven nights had; created then; splendidly made
90	The sevethe day He tok reste and ro.	repose
	Lustneth to me, lordynges, Tho God atte begynnynge Hedde imaad hevene with ginne, And the angeles so briht withinne,	Listen (Pay attention); lords After skill
95	And the eorthe therafter therwith, And al that evere in hire bilyth, Lucifer in hevene wox so proud, And he was anon icast out, And mo angeles then eni tonge mai telle	on it (i.e., the earth) is located grew immediately more; any
100	Fullen adoun with him to helle. And yit was the sonne tho seve sythe, iwis, Brihtore forsothe then heo now is; Also schon the mone aniht, So doth the sonne on dayliht.	Fell yet; sun then seven times, indeed Brighter in truth; it shone; moon at night
105	Ne holde ye hit not for folye, For so seith the prophete Ysaye.	As look upon; nonsense Isaiah

³ Lines 71–72: *Though it is hard to understand and obscure in English / And has no appeal in the presence of a cleric (learned person)*

⁴ Lines 75–76: *But whoever is wise and prudent of thought / And attentively contemplates this very treatise*

⁵ *Of our faith and God's law (Christian religion)*

⁶ Lines 85–86: *For this reason I do not wish to tell anything / Except that [which] is appropriate to my teaching.*

	Alle the schaftes that tho weren More might and strengthe beren Bifore that Adam the world forles.	<i>shafts [of light]; existed then possessed</i>
110	Allas, whuch serwe and deol ther wes.	<i>what sorrow; grief</i>
	Alle heo beoth ibrouht to grounde, ⁷ That of his ofspringe beoth ifounde; Of hevene blisse heo beoth iflemed And to deolful deth idemed.	<i>From heaven's bliss; banished sorrowful death sentenced</i>
115	The reson is good and feir forwhi, As ichulle ow telle forthi That ye schule love God the more And Him serven and clepe to His ore.	<i>just therefore I shall you; in order worship; appeal; mercy</i>
120	Tho God hedde al the world iwrought That ther ne faylede right nought — Beest ne fisch ne foul to fleon, And uche thing as hit oughte to beon:	<i>was nothing at all missing bird to fly</i>
	Blosme on bough and breer on rys, And alle thing betere then hit nou is.	<i>bough; dog rose; branch everything</i>
125	And tho He hedde al wel idon He com to the valeye of Ebron; Ther He made Adam alast, so riche Of eorthe, after Hymself iliche, ⁸	<i>when Hebron finally; well-made</i>
	And aftur His holy Thrillihod He schop his soule feir and good.	<i>in the likeness of; Trinity shaped</i>
130	How mighte He him more love schowen Then His oun liknesse habben and owen? To paradys He ladde him tho And caste sleep on him also,	<i>Than; appearance have and possess next</i>
135	That of his syde a rib he nom And therof Eve, his feere, com; He gaf Adam Eve to wyve To helpen; He gaf him wittes fyve To delen that uvel from the good,	<i>from; took wife gave; as his wife five senses</i>
140	Yif he wel Him understood. He gaf him yit more worschipe: Of al the world the lordschipe, And alle the schaftes of water and lond Scholden ben under his hond.	<i>distinguish the evil obeyed honor rule creatures</i>
145	Feirlek and freodam and mucche miht,	<i>Beauty; freedom; great strength</i>

⁷ All of them are killed (lit., brought to ground)

⁸ [Out] of earth, in the image of Himself

	And the world to delen and diht,	<i>rule; govern</i>
	And paradys to wonen in,	<i>live</i>
	Withouten wo and serwe and pyn,	<i>suffering; sorrow</i>
	Withouten deth in goode lyve,	
150	Ther joye and blisse is so ryve,	<i>abundant</i>
	And evere to libben iliche yong,	<i>remain also young</i>
	Othat of hem to weren and-sprong	<i>Until; two; descended (born)</i>
	The noumbre of the soulen that from hevene felle	<i>[total] number; souls</i>
	Thorw Lucifer adoun to helle.	<i>Through (By means of)</i>
155	And whon hit forth com al the stren,	<i>when; offspring</i>
	So bright heo scholden iblessed ben	<i>they</i>
	So was the sonne, as I er tolde,	<i>As; before</i>
	Brihtore then heo now is sevenfolde.	<i>Seven times brighter than it is now</i>
	And so heo scholden to hevene wende,	
160	To the blisse withouten ende,	
	Withouten drede of dethes dome.	<i>fear; death's judgment</i>
	And al the ofspring that of hem come,	
	From that ilke day to this,	<i>same</i>
	Scholde so steyghe to hevene blis,	<i>ascend; heaven's</i>
165	To the heritage of wynne and wele,	<i>heavenly bliss; heavenly joy</i>
	Among the murthe of aungeles fele.	<i>eternal bliss; many angels</i>
	Two lawen Adam scholde iwis	<i>laws; indeed</i>
	Witen and holden in paradys:	<i>Follow; obey</i>
	That on him was thorw kynde ilet,	
170	That other was clept lawe iset. ⁹	
	That on him taughte atte leste	<i>The first one; at least</i>
	Thorw kynde to holden Godes heste; ¹⁰	
	That othur lawe that him was set:	<i>The second</i>
	"Of the appel yow never ne et,	<i>fruit (apple); eat</i>
175	Of the tre that is forbode,"	<i>forbidden</i>
	So He seide; that highte Gode	<i>thus threatened</i>
	That, whon he of the appel ete,	
	Thorw deth he scholde the lyf forlete,	<i>life lose</i>
	And al the kynde that of him com	<i>descendants</i>
180	Scholde thole thulke dom; ¹¹	
	And yif he heolde His heste riht,	<i>obeyed; commandment</i>
	God gaf him so muche miht	
	To welden al this worldes winne,	<i>enjoy; joy</i>

⁹ Lines 169–70: *The first one was given [to] him through [mankind's] natural (innate) moral feeling / The second was called imposed law (i.e., positive law; see note)*

¹⁰ *Through innate moral feeling to follow God's commandment*

¹¹ *Should submit to this judgment (punishment)*

185	Withouten wo and serwe and sinne. The seisin hedde Adam tho To wonen in blisse evere and o — In muche mirthe and joye he wes. Awei to sone he hit forles, His worschipe and his welfare,	<i>control (lit., seisin); then forever and ever</i> <i>too quickly; forfeited</i>
190	And broughte us alle in muche care. Tho he of the appel eet, Godes heste he tobrek; The kuyndeliche and the set ek,¹² Bothe His lawen he tobrek;	<i>sorrow When commandment; disobeyed</i>
195	And rathure he dude his wyves bode Then he heold the heste of Gode.	<i>rather; did; wife's bidding Than</i>
200	Thus Adam thorw reuthful rage Was cast out of his heritage, And out of paradys idrive, In swynk and swot in world to live. The blisse of lyf he hath forsaken And to deolful deth him itaken; Carfuliche he hath icoren. Now he thorw right hath iloren	<i>grievous foolhardiness [spiritual] inheritance</i> <i>labor; toil</i> <i>surrendered himself Badly; chosen forfeited (lost)</i>
205	The murthe that he mighte haven. Whom mai he to helpe craven? Out of his heritage he is pult¹³ For synne and for his owne gult. Lucifer gon wel lyke tho,	<i>eternal bliss ask for help</i> <i>Because of; transgression liked that a lot</i>
210	Tho Adam was biswiken so, For alle the fendes hedden onde That he scholde come to that blisful londe; That he hedde thorw pruide forlore, Wel hit likede hem therfore.	<i>That; deceived (led into sin) devils (fiends) were envious</i> <i>pride it pleased them</i>
215	So muche vox heore miht tho That al the world moste after hem go,¹⁴ And whon mon hedde ilived in care, Atte laste he moste dyen and forthfare; Ne mighte him helpe no good dede	<i>grew their power</i> <i>after [a] person At the end of his life; pass away any; deed</i>
220	That his soule moste to helle neede, For so hit was tho Adam bispeke, And God nolde no forward breke.	<i>But that; must necessarily go to hell to; promised would not any promise break</i>

¹² The natural moral [one] and the imposed (positive) also

¹³ He is deprived of (or exiled from) his [spiritual] inheritance (i.e., his place in paradise)

¹⁴ That all the world had to be ruled by them (i.e., follow their ways)

	For eyle and hard and muche hit wes —	<i>grievous; harsh; severe</i>
	The synne that thus the world forles —	
225	That uche thing under hevene Driht	<i>heaven's Lord (i.e., God)</i>
	So muche les of strengthe and miht.	<i>lost; inherent power of existence</i>
	God ne wrouhte never that thing	
	But hit out les thorw his wonyng;	
	For nis no wone on him ilong, ¹⁵	
230	Yif synne nere so hard and strong,	<i>If; were not; powerful</i>
	For God gaf uche thing al his riht,	<i>all its due</i>
	Ac sunne wonede heore alremiht, ¹⁶	
	For sunne and wone, al is on,	<i>(de)fault (see note); one</i>
	And wone dude Adam tho anon,	
235	Tho he Godes heste atseet,	<i>When; resisted</i>
	And eke tho he the appel eet.	
	Thorw wone he lees his seysyne,	<i>lost; ownership (seisin)</i>
	Thorw wone he brouhte himself in pyne.	
	In the kynges court yit uche day	
240	Me useth thulke selve lay.	<i>People enforce the very same law</i>
	Now is Adam with wo inome!	<i>seized</i>
	Sunnes thral he is bicomē,	<i>Sin's slave</i>
	That freore was er then enything	<i>freer; beforehand</i>
	That livede under hevene Kyng.	
245	He is, thorw riht, theuwe and thral	<i>judgment (law), servant; slave</i>
	To whos servise he understod withal,	<i>servitude; submitted completely</i>
	Whon he him serwede in thedome	<i>served in bondage</i>
	And diyede withouten fredome.	<i>died</i>
	And theuwe and thral may not crave	<i>demand</i>
250	Thorw riht non heritage to have:	
	As sone as he is thral bicomē,	
	His heritage is him binome.	<i>taken away from him</i>
	In court ne in none londe	
	Me ne oughthe onswere him, ne undurstonde. ¹⁷	
255	Thenne he mot another seche	<i>seek</i>
	For to schewe for him his speche,	<i>plead his case for him</i>
	That mowe his heritage crave;	<i>might; demand</i>
	And that he the kynde have,	<i>has the nature</i>
	That he beo iboren fre	<i>be born free</i>
260	And that he ne eete of the tre;	<i>not eat</i>

¹⁵ Lines 228–29: *Except it lost something because of his (Adam's) failing; / For no default is attributable to him (i.e., Adam)*

¹⁶ *But sin lessened their highest virtue (moral strength)*

¹⁷ *People are not obligated to defend him, nor hear [his plea]*

	That he habbe iwust withinne	<i>has kept</i>
	The threo lawen withouten synne:	
	Thulke two of paradys,	<i>Those</i>
	And thulke of the Mount Synays	<i>that one; Mount Sinai</i>
265	That to Moyses ighiven was,	<i>Moses</i>
	That never yute iholde nas	<i>never yet were obeyed</i>
	Of non that ever dude sunne.	<i>By any who</i>
	Who mihte thenne such mon munne,	<i>conceive of such [a] man</i>
	Other thenchen or iknowe,	<i>Either think</i>
270	That such wonder mihte schowe?	
	Siggen I may in this stude	<i>Tell; passage</i>
	Therof that ich er dude,	<i>I did before</i>
	For nou ichul tellen of the stryf,	<i>I shall</i>
	That among the foure sustren lith.	<i>sisters lies</i>
275	Hit was a Kyng of mucche miht,	<i>There</i>
	Of good wille and gret insiht,	<i>benevolence; wisdom</i>
	And this Kyng hedde a Sone	
	Of such wit and of such wone,	<i>disposition</i>
	Of such strengthe and of such chere,	<i>bearing</i>
280	As was His Fader in His manere.	<i>after His fashion</i>
	Of on wille Heo weoren bo,	<i>one; both</i>
	And of on studefastschipe also;	<i>resolve</i>
	Of on fulnesse Heo weoren outriht,	<i>completeness (see note); entirely</i>
	And bothe Heo weoren of on miht.	
285	Thorw the Sone the Fader al begon	<i>created</i>
	That bilay to His kynedom;	<i>belonged</i>
	Al that was of His begynnyng	<i>that [which]; beginning</i>
	The Fader wolde to ende bringe.	<i>would bring to completion</i>
290	Foure douhtren hedde the Kyng,	<i>daughters</i>
	And to uchone sunderlyng	<i>each one individually</i>
	He gaf a dole of His fulnesse,	<i>portion; completeness</i>
	Of His miht and of His wysnesse,	<i>wisdom</i>
	As wolde befallen to uchon	
	(And yit was al the folnesse on	<i>one</i>
295	That to Himself bilay),	<i>belonged</i>
	Withoute whom He ne mai	<i>whom (i.e., the four daughters)</i>
	His kindom with pees wysen,	<i>rule over</i>
	Ne with rihte hit justisen.	<i>govern</i>
	Good is to nempnen hem forthi:	<i>name them therefore</i>
300	The furste doughter hette Merci	<i>is called Mercy</i>
	The Kynges eldeste doughter heo is;	
	That other hette Soth, iwis;	<i>second; Truth</i>
	The thridde soster is cleped Right;	<i>called Justice</i>

305	Pees hette the feorthe, aflight. Withouten theos foure with worschipe Mai no kyng lede gret lordschipe.	Peace; in faith rule; kingdom
310 fol. 294r	This Kyng, as you herdest ar this, Hedde a thral that dude amis, That, for his gult strong and gret, With his Lord was so ivet That, thorw besiht of riht dom, To strong prison was idon, And bitaken to alle his fon, That sore him pyneden, everichon, That of nothing heo nedden onde Bote him to habben under honde. ¹⁸ Heo him duden in prisun of deth And pyneden him sore, withouten meth.	before Who; sin grievous so regarded as an enemy provision of just sentence In secure; placed handed over; foes sorely tormented him, every one they had a strong desire for nothing without restraint (excessively)
	<i>De Misericordia</i>	<i>Of Mercy</i>
320	Merci that anon iseigh; Hit eode hire herte swithe neih, ¹⁹ Ne mai hire nothing lengore holde, Byforen the Kyng comen heo wolde To schewen forth hire resoun And to dilyvere the prisoun.	saw that right away restrain speak forth (i.e., explain) her argument release; prisoner
325	“Understond,” quath heo, “Fader myn, Thow wost that I am douhter Thyn And am ful of boxumnes, Of milce and of swetnes, And al ich habbe, Fader, of Thee.	“Take note,” said know humility compassion; spiritual sweetness
330	I beseche that Thou here me, That the wrecche prisoun Mote come to sum raunsum, That amidde alle his fon In strong prison hast idon.	receive hear miserable May; a redemption (i.e., be redeemed)
335	Heo him made agulte, thulke unwreste, And biswikede him thorw heor feire behest ²⁰ And seiden him yif he wolde the appel ete, That whon he hedde al iete, He scholde habbe al the miht of Gode	[You] have placed told eaten

¹⁸ Except to have him under hand (i.e., in their control)

¹⁹ It went very near her heart (i.e., touched her very deeply)

²⁰ Lines 335–36: They caused him to sin, those wicked ones, / And seduced (deceived) him through their agreeable promise

340	Of the treo that him was forbode, And begilede him therof, and heo luytel roughen, For falshede ever yite heo souhten. And falshede hem iyolde be, ²¹ And the wrecche prisun isold to me.	From; tree took little heed For they always pursue dishonesty delivered up
345	For Thow art Kyng of boxumnes, Of milce and of swetnes, And I Thi douhter alre eldest, Over alle the othere beldest. Nevere I Thi douhter neore	the very boldest (bravest) were not
350	Bote milce toward him were. Milce and merci he schal have, Thorw milce ichulle the prisun crave; For Thin owne swete pité I schal him bringe to saveté.	Forgiveness and mercy; receive sweet safety
355	Thi milce for him I crie evermore; And have of him milce and ore.”	have mercy and forgiveness on him
	<i>De Veritate</i>	<i>Of Truth</i>
	Anon whon Soth this iseigh, Hou Merci, hire soster, hir herte beigh And wolde this thral of prisun bringe, That Riht hedde him idemet withouten endinge, Al heo chaunged hire mood And biforen the Kyng heo stood: “Fader, I Thee biseche, herkne to me. I ne may forbere to telle hit Thee	Truth bowed her heart out of Justice; damned listen I cannot refrain from telling seems to me; astonishing sister's desire Who; mercy-begging speech Release Who is very guilty of sin; saw near tell; therefore ought not to listen to Concerning any favor Unless; are present lies
365	Hou hit me thinketh a wonder thing Of Merci my suster wilnyng, That wolde, with hire milsful sarmon, Dilivere the thral out of prison, That swithe agulte, ther ich hit seih And tolde hit to Riht, that stood me neih.	
370	Fader, ich sigge Thee forthi: Thou ouhtes nought to heere Merci Of no boone that heo bisecheth Thee, Bote Riht and Sooth thermide be.	
375	And Thow lovest soth and hatest lees, For of Thi fulnesse icomen ich wes, And eke Thow art Kyng rihtwys, And Merci herte so reuthful is	rightful Mercy's heart

²¹ And may dishonesty be yielded to them

	That yif heo mai save with hire mylde speche	
380	Al that heo wole fore biseche, Never schal be misdede abouht, And Thou, Kyng, schalt be doutet right nouht. Thou art also so trewe a Kyng And stable of thought in alle thyng;	wrongdoing punished feared not at all honorable reasonable
385	Forthi me thinketh Merci wilneth wough And speketh togeynes Right inough, For Riht con hym in prison bynde, He oughte nevere milce to fynde. Milce and merci he hath forloren;	desires injustice speaks very much contrary to Justice to receive pardon Forgiveness
390	He was warned therof biforen. Whi scholde me helpe thulke mon, That nedde of himself pité non? His dom he mot habbe, as Soth con sugge, And al his misdede abugge.”	that man had not; any compassion did say pay for
	<i>De Justicia</i>	Of Justice
395	Riht iherde this talkyng, Anon heo stod before the Kyng. “Thi doughter,” heo seith, “I am I wot bi thon, For Thou art Kyng, riht Domesmon: Ther beth rihte domes mitte ²² ;	speech by this true Supreme Judge
400	Alle Thine werkes beth ful of witte. This thral of whom my sustren mene Hath dome deservet as at ene, For in tyme while that he freo wes, He hedde with him bothe Merci and Pees,	wisdom sisters speak immediately
405	And Soth and Riht he hedde bo, And with his wille he wente hem fro And tyed hym to wraththe and wough, To wreccheddam and serwe inough. So that yif Riht geth,	both left them committed himself; sin misery; sorrow prevails
410	He schal evere tholyen deth: For tho Thow him the heste hightest, Thorw Soth Thou him the deth dightest, And I myself him gaf the dom As sone as he hedde the gult idon,	undergo death (i.e., meet his end) make him the promise condemn him [to] death sentence sin committed
415	For Soth bereth wnesse therto, And elles nedde I no dom ido. Yif he in court biforen us were,	otherwise

²² *There are just judgments in Thee*

	The dom Thou scholdest sone ihere.”	
	For Riht ne spareth for to jugge	judge
420	Whatsoevere Soth wol sugge.	Whatever; declare
	Thorw wisdom heo demeth alle	everyone
	As wole to his gult bifalle. ²³	
	Soth and Riht, lo, thus heo suggeth,	say
	And this thral to dethe juggeth.	
425	Never nouthen ne speketh him good, ²⁴	
	Ne non that Merci understood.	Nor anyone who took heed of Mercy
	Ac as a mon misirad,	wrongly advised
	On uche half he is misbilad;	abused
	Ne helpeth him nothing wherso he wende,	wherever
430	That his fo fetteth him in uche ende	attacks on every side
	And istruct him al start naked,	stripped; stark naked
	Of might and strengthe al bare imaked.	
	Him and al that of him sprong	
	He dude a theuwedam vyl and strong ²⁵	
435	And made agult swithe ilome.	caused to sin greatly often
	And Riht com after with hire dome,	Justice follows; judgment
	Withouten Merci and Pees, heo con jugge	
	Ever aftur that Soth wol sugge.	Always according to what
	Ne Pees mot not mid hem be;	may; with
440	Out of londe heo mot fle,	must
	For Pees bileveth in no londe	remains
	Wher ther is werre, nuth, and onde;	war, ill will; hate
	Ne Merci mot not among hem live,	
	Ac bothe heo beth of londe idrive.	they both are; exiled
445	Nis ther nout in world bileved	There is nothing; left
	That nis destrued and todreved,	is not destroyed; scattered
	And dreynt, forloren, and fordemed,	drowned, lost; condemned to ruin
	But eighte soulen that weren iyemed	Except eight souls; protected
	In the schup, and that weoren heo:	ship; these were they
450	Noé and his sones threo,	Noah; three sons
	And heore wyves that heo hedden bifore;	wives
	Of al the world nas beleved more.	was not left
	Careful herte him oughthe come,	[A] fearful; must come to him
	That thencheth uppon the dredful dome;	terrible judgment
455	And al hit is thorw Riht and Soth,	
	That withouten Pees and Merci doth.	

²³ In the way that will be appropriate to his sin

²⁴ Neither one nor the other speaks well of (kindly to) him

²⁵ He (i.e., his foe) caused a slavery [that was] grievous and severe

	<i>De Pace</i>	<i>Of Peace</i>
	So that Pees alast upbreek	<i>finally spoke up</i>
	And thus to hire Fader speek:	
	“I am Thi doughter saught and some,	<i>compliant; reconciled</i>
460	And of Thi fulnesse am I come.	
	Tofore Thee my playnt I make:	<i>I present my complaint</i>
	Mi two sustren me habbeth forsake.	
	Withouten me heo doth heore dom;	<i>make their judgment</i>
	Ne Merci among hem nought ne com,	
465	For nothing that I mighte do.	<i>At any price; offer</i>
	Ne moste Merci hem come to —	<i>might</i>
	Ne for none kunnes fey —	<i>no kind of payment</i>
	Ne moste ich hem come neygh;	<i>near</i>
	Ak that dom is al heore owen.	<i>But rather</i>
470	Forthi ich am of londe iflowen	<i>I am; driven away</i>
	And wole with Thee lede my lyf,	
	Ever othat ilke stryf	<i>until that same</i>
	That among my sustren is awake	<i>has arisen</i>
	Thorw sauhtnesse mowe sum ende take.	<i>reconciliation; come to an end</i>
475	Ac what is hit ever the bet	<i>better</i>
	That Riht and Soth ben iset,	<i>established (created)</i>
	Bote heo witen wel the pees?	<i>Unless; understand (know)</i>
	Rihtes mester hit is and wes	<i>Justice's duty</i>
	In uche dom pees to maken.	<i>bring about peace (reconciliation)</i>
480	Schal I thenne beo forsaken,	
	Whon everiche good for me is wrouht,	
	And to habben me bithouht?	<i>planned for me to have</i>
	Ak he ne lovede me nevere to fere	<i>as a friend</i>
	That Merci, my suster, nul not here.	<i>Who; will not hear</i>
485	Of us foure, Fader, ichul telle Thee	
	Hou me thinketh hit oughte to be.	<i>it seems to me it</i>
	Whon the foure beth togedere isent	<i>in agreement</i>
	To don an evene juggement,	<i>just</i>
	And schul thorw skil alle and some	<i>sound judgment fully</i>
490	Given and demen evene dome,	
	Ther ne oughte no dom forth gon,	<i>verdict; go</i>
	Er then the foure ben at on.	<i>Until; are in full agreement</i>
	At on heo moten atstonden alle	<i>remain</i>
	And loken seththen hou dom wol falle.	<i>determine then</i>
495	Be us foure, this I telle:	<i>As regards</i>
	We beoth not alle of on spelle;	<i>in agreement</i>
	Bothe ich and Merci,	
	We beclepeth the dom forthi;	<i>appeal</i>

500	Hit is al as Right and Soth wol deme, Merci ne me nis hit not qweme. Withouten us ther is bale to breme, Forthi, Fader, Thow nime yeme! Of uche goodschipe Pees is ende, Ne fayleth no weole ther heo wol lende,	To Mercy or me it is not acceptable suffering too violent take heed each virtue good thing where; will arrive
505	Ne wisdom nis not worth an hawe Ther Pees fayleth to felawe, And hose Pees loveth withouten gabbe, ²⁶ Pees withouten ende he schal habbe. Mi word oughte ben of good reles,	power
510	For Thou art Kyng and Prince of Pes; Forthi Thou oughtest to here me, And Merci, my suster, that clepeth to Thee, That the thral, the prisoun, Mote come to sum raunsoun. ²⁷	
515	Ure wille, Fader, Thou do sone, And here ure rihte bone, For Merci evere clepeth to Thee Til that the prison dilyvered be, And ichul fleon and nevere come	quickly just boon flee
520	Bote my sustren ben saught and some.”	Unless
525	The Kynges Sone al this con heren, Hou His sustren hem tobeerren, And seigh this strif so strong awaken, And Pees and Merci al forsaken, That withouten help of His wisdom Ne mihten heo nevere togedere come. “Leove Fader,” quath He, “Ich am Thi sone Of Thi wit and of Thi wone, And Thi wisdom me clepeth Me.	heard quarreled with one another Dear disposition people call
530	And so muche Thou lovedest Me That al the world for Me Thou wrouhtest, And so Thou Me in Thy werke broughtest, For We beoth on in one fulnesse, In miht, in strengthe, and in heighnesse.	through Me You use Me in Your work majesty
535	Ichulle al don that Thi wille is, For Thou art Kyng rihtwis So muche, Fader, Ich nyme yeme	rightful (just)

²⁶ Lines 505–07: *And wisdom is worthless (lit., is not worth a hawthorn berry) / Where Peace fails to join in partnership, / And whoever loves Peace without deception (i.e., truly) (see note)*

²⁷ *Must be redeemed (lit., Must come to a redemption)*

	Of this strif that is so breme,	<i>fierce</i>
	That for the tale that Merci tolde Thee	
540	Ful sore the prisun reweth Me;	<i>I feel very sorry for the prisoner</i>
	Forthi he reweth Me wel the more,	
	For Merci evere clepeth Thin ore.	<i>Your pardon</i>
	Thou art, Fader, so milsful King;	<i>merciful</i>
	Hire We schul heren of alle thing: ²⁸	
545	Al hire wille Ichulle done	<i>bidding; carry out</i>
	And sauhten Soth and hire ful sone.	<i>her (i.e., Mercy)</i>
	Nimen Ichulle the thralles weden,	<i>Put on; slave's clothes (see note)</i>
	As Soth and Riht hit wolden and beoden,	<i>order; command</i>
	And alone Ichul holde the doom,	<i>endure the punishment</i>
fol. 294v	As justise ouhte to don,	
551	And maken Ichule Pees to londe come,	<i>earth</i>
	And Pees and Riht cussen and be saught and some,	<i>kiss each other</i>
	And druyven out werre, nuth, and onde,	<i>war, spite; hate</i>
	And saven al the folk in londe."	<i>on earth</i>
555	Hose this forbysene con,	<i>exemplum (lesson) understands</i>
	He may openliche iseo bi thon	<i>clearly realize by this</i>
	That al this ilke tokenynge	<i>aforementioned significance</i>
	Is Godes insiht, Almihti Kynge:	<i>wisdom</i>
	Withoute God the Fader nis maked nouht,	
560	Thorw God the Sone is al thing wrouht,	
	And alle thing is folfuld outriht	<i>fulfilled completely</i>
	Thorw God the Holigostes miht;	<i>Holy Ghost's</i>
	And alle threo beth on, thouh hit be so,	
	In one fulnesse and in no mo.	<i>completeness</i>
565	He giveth His blessynge with mouth and honde	
	To alle that this writ understonde.	<i>account hear</i>
	Ye habbeth iherd as ich ow tolde,	<i>You; you</i>
	Forwhi God the world maken wolde,	
	And hou Adam forles thorw synne	
570	World and hevene and al monkyne,	<i>[The prelapsarian] world; mankind</i>
	That for might, ne strengthe, ne for nothing	
	No mon nedde of himself a covryng,	<i>had; redemption (deliverance)</i>
	Ne angel mighte mon helpe on none wyse,	<i>any way</i>
	Ne mon mighte himself fro dethe aryse.	<i>raise</i>
575	Thenne moste nede beo thorw uche doom	
	That God of hevene mon bicom:	<i>man become</i>
	Mon the deth tholen thorw serwen ryve ²⁹	

²⁸ *We shall follow her advice in all things*

²⁹ *[As] man to suffer death through severe sufferings*

	And God uprysen from deth to lyve —	[as] God to rise
	Elles were alle forlore to nouht,	completely lost
580	That God hedde in the world ibrouht.	created
	Herkeneth whuche love and boxumnesse,	
	Whuch milce and eke swetnesse,	compassion; spiritual sweetness
	That God from hevene alihten chees	chose to come down
	For o sele shepe that He lees;	helpless sheep; lost
585	The ninti-nine He levede and eode	left behind and went away [from]
	To sechen on in uncouth theode.	seek one; unknown place
	Thenne nis ther such Herdemon non,	Shepherd (see note)
	Ne non so milsful Lord as He is on.	
	Whose wolde his herte on such Lord holde	
590	That so muche love him kuithe wolde	would show toward him
	That lyk Himself wolde him make	
	And sithen deth tholyen for his sake,	subsequently
	Er him ouhte the herte tospringe	Rather; break
	Then he scholde him wraththe for enythinge.	Than [that]; get angry
595	Herkeneth now forthure, atte frome,	moreover, first of all
	How ur Saveor wolde come.	
	To Abraham the tythinges comen;	
	The prophetes hit undernomen,	received
	That is, Moyses and Jonas,	Moses; Jonah
600	Abacuk and Helyas,	Habakkuk; Elias (Elijah)
	Daniel and Jeremye,	Jeremias (Jeremiah)
	David and Ysaye,	Isaias (Isaiah)
	And Eliseu and Samuel	Elisha (Elisha)
	Siggeth Godes comynge wel.	Saw God's coming
605	Wonder hit were hem alle to telle,	
	Ac herkeneth hou Ysaye con spelle:	prophesied
	<i>Puer natus est nobis, filius datus est nobis</i> ³⁰	
	"A Child ther is iboren to us	
	And a Sone igeven us,	
	That schal upholden His kynedome,	uphold
610	And al thus schal ben His nome:	as follows; name
	Wondurful God, and of Miht,	
	And Redeful, and Fader ariht	Wise; truly
	Of al the world that hereafter schal ben,	
	Prince of Pees me schal Him sen."	people; call
615	Theos beth the nomen as ye mowe leeven,	believe

³⁰ A child is born to us, a son is given to us

	That the prophetes Him geeven. Yif ye wolen heren tellen ichulle How that Child is Wonderfolle. Such wonder nas never iherd in sawe,	<i>speech</i>
620	Ne nevere schal bi none dawe, For no tyme that ever schal come, As God of hevene mon bicomē. For hose now iseghe heere A child that riht ilimed nere, ³¹	<i>on any day</i> <i>was incarnated</i> <i>(see t-note)</i>
625	That threo feet and threo honden beere, And another that otherweis weere, That hedde foot or hond forlore, And heo weore bothe so ibore, Weoren heo wonderfol theose two?	<i>had</i> <i>different</i> <i>missing</i> <i>born</i>
630	Nay, forsothe, neoren heo no, For the on hedde kuynde overmeth, And that other to luyte, and so hit geth. Ac hit is as hit mot nede ben, Of unmete kuynde a forschipte streon. ³²	<i>they were not</i> <i>one; nature to excess</i> <i>too little; goes</i> <i>must needs be</i>
635	Ak that mihte mucche wonder ben, Yif me mighte eny iseon That monnes kuynde hedde al ariht, That him neore to luite ne to mucche wiht, So that he were al sothfast mon,	<i>(see t-note)</i> <i>people</i> <i>human nature; as it should be</i> <i>were not too little nor too; humanity</i> <i>real (physically human) man</i>
640	That no forschippyng weore him on, And eke were a good hors withalle. Such thing may never bifalle! For hose seghe a such gederyng, He mihte hit clepe a wonder thing.	<i>deformity</i> <i>horse besides</i> <i>happen</i> <i>such a union of diverse natures</i>
645	And yit is more wonder a thousandfolde Of the Child that Ysayhe oftolde And clepede Him Wonderful for thon That He is soth God and soth mon, For of monhede ne wonteth Him nouht,	<i>spoke of</i> <i>because</i> <i>true . . . true</i> <i>He lacks nothing of human nature</i>
650	And thorw Him is al thing iwrouht, And withouten Him is synne evere, For wone dude He nevere, Ne no schaft thorw Him mighte lees, As biforn irad wes.	<i>outside</i> <i>default (i.e., sin) committed</i> <i>creature; be dispossessed</i> <i>was told</i>
655	Othur God nis then He that hevene dihte, That from hevene dude alihte	<i>There is no other God than; rules</i> <i>descend</i>

³¹ A child that was not limbed correctly (i.e., according to nature)

³² Of excessive nature a monstrous (lit., misshapen) offspring

	And under ure wede ure kynde nom ³³	
	And al sothfast mon bicom.	
	And whon He wolde alles bicom mon,	<i>in some way</i>
660	He moste be boren of a wommon,	<i>born of a woman (i.e., as a human)</i>
	Thulke schaft to underfonge withalle	<i>form (or nature); take on completely</i>
	That oughthe to monnes kynde bifalle.	
	God nolde alihte in none manere	<i>in any manner (i.e., at all)</i>
	But in feir stude and in clere.	<i>pure (fair) place; pure (bright)</i>
665	In feir stude and clene siker hit wes	<i>truly</i>
	Ther God almihti His in ches:	<i>inn chose</i>
	In a castel wel comeliche,	<i>beautiful</i>
	Muche and feir and loveliche,	<i>Great; strong; lovely</i>
	That is the castel of alle flour,	<i>[the] flower of all (i.e., best of all)</i>
670	Of solas and of socour.	<i>consolation; spiritual aid</i>
	In the mere he stont bitwene two,	<i>boundary (borderland) it</i>
	Ne hath he ferlak for no fo,	<i>it fear</i>
	For the tour is so wel withouten,	<i>secure on the outside</i>
	So depe idiched al abouten, ³⁴	
675	That none kunnes asaylyng	<i>no kind of military assault</i>
	Ne may him derven for nothing.	<i>damage it for anything</i>
	He stont on heigh roche and sound,	<i>It; high cliff; solid</i>
	And is iplaned into the ground,	<i>made even with</i>
	That ther ne mai wone non uvel thing,	
680	Ne derve no gynnes castyng. ³⁵	
	And though he be so loveliche,	
	He is so dredful and hateliche	<i>frightening; terrible</i>
	To alle thulke that ben his fon,	
	That heo flen him everichon.	<i>flee</i>
685	Foure smale toures ther beth abouten,	<i>around the perimeter</i>
	To witen the heihe tour withouten.	<i>defend</i>
	Seththe beoth thre bayles withalle,	<i>Next are; baileys (see note)</i>
	So feir idiht with strong walle.	<i>splendidly constructed</i>
	As heo beoth hereafter iwrite,	
690	Ne may no mon the feirschiþe iwite,	<i>splendor understand</i>
	Ne no tonge ne may hit telle,	
	Ne thought thenche, ne mouth spelle.	<i>mind imagine; describe</i>
	On trusti roche heo stondeth faste	<i>firm rock</i>
	And with depe dicheþ beth bicaste.	<i>[defensive] ditches; surrounded</i>

³³ And in our likeness (lit., garment) took on our nature

³⁴ So deeply ditched all about (i.e., surrounded by a defensive trench)

³⁵ Lines 679–80: [So] that in that place neither may any sinful thing reside, / Nor [may] any seige engine's hurling of missiles cause damage

695	And the carnels so stondeth upriht, Wel iplaned and feir idiht. Seve berbicans ther beoth iwrouht, ³⁶ With gret ginne al bithouht, And everichon hath gat and tour,	<i>crenels (part of the battlements)</i> <i>skill; planned</i> <i>gate</i>
700	Ther never ne fayleth socour, Never schal fo him stonde with That thider wol flen to sechen grith. ³⁷ This castel is siker and feir abouten, And is al depeynted withouten	 <i>against</i> <i>sound throughout</i> <i>colored on the outer walls</i>
705	With threo heowes that wel beth sene. So is the foundement al grene That to the roche faste lith; Wel is that ther murthe isihth, For the greneschiþe lasteth evere,	<i>colors (hues)</i> <i>foundation</i> <i>the one who; sees</i> <i>greenness</i>
710	And his heuh ne leoseth nevere. Seththen, abouten that other heuh, So is inde and eke bleu, That the middel heuh we clepeth ariht, And schyneth so feire and so bright.	<i>color</i> <i>Next, near to</i> <i>indigo; blue</i> <i>correctly</i>
715	The thridde heuh an ovemast Overwigheth al and so is icast That withinnen and withouten The castel lihteth al abouten, And is raddore then evere eny rose schal,	<i>uppermost</i> <i>Covers over</i> <i>inside and out (i.e., everywhere)</i> <i>illuminates</i> <i>redder; shall [be]</i>
720	That thuncheth as hit barnde al. Withinne the castel is whit schinyng, So the snowh that is sneuwyng, And casteth that light so wyde Afterlong the tour and besyde,	<i>seems as [if] it burned completely</i> <i>white shining</i> <i>As; snowing (i.e., falling)</i> <i>brilliance</i>
725	That never cometh ther wo ne wouh, Ac swetnesse ther is evere inough. Amidde the heighe tour is springynge A welle that evere is eornynge, With foure stremes that striketh wel	<i>Along the length of</i> <i>wrong (sin)</i> <i>gushing</i> <i>flow</i>
730	And erneth uppon the gravel And fulleth the diches aboute the wal. Muche blisse ther is overal: Ne dar he seche non other leche That mai riht of this water cleche.	<i>run</i> <i>fill</i> <i>One need not seek any; medicine</i>
735	In thulke derworthé feire tour	<i>draw</i>

³⁶ Seven barbicans (outer fortifications) there were made

³⁷ Who there (thither) will flee to seek protection

	Ther stont a trone with much honour	<i>throne; splendor</i>
	Of whit ivori and feirote of liht	<i>brighter</i>
	Then the someres day whon hee is briht.	<i>Than; it</i>
	With cumpas ithrowen and with gin al ido;	<i>ingenuity fashioned; skill</i>
740	Sevene steppes ther beoth therto,	<i>steps</i>
	That so feire with ordre itiyed beoth;	<i>in order are connected</i>
	Feior thing in world no mon seoth,	
	For hevene-bouwe is abouten ibent,	<i>rainbow; curved</i>
	With alle the hewes that him beth isent.	<i>colors</i>
745	Nevere so feir chayyere	<i>throne</i>
	Nedde kyng ne emperere.	
	Muche more feirschupe inough ther wes	
	Ther God almighten His in ches.	<i>inn chose</i>
	Thenne nis ther such castel non:	<i>Thus there is no similar castle</i>
750	Ne never nas but thulke on,	
	Ne never eft after be ne schal,	<i>again</i>
	For God of hevene hit dihte al	<i>created</i>
	And wroughte hit himself and al dude,	
	To alihten in thulke feyre stude	<i>place</i>
755	From his kindam above;	<i>kingdom</i>
	He cudde the stude much love.	<i>showed</i>
	This is the castel of love and lisse,	<i>delight (peace)</i>
	Of solace, of socour, of joye and blisse,	<i>refuge</i>
	Of hope, of hele, of sikernes,	<i>salvation; safety</i>
760	And ful of alle swetnesse.	
	This is the Maydenes bodi so freo;	<i>Maiden's (i.e., Virgin Mary's) body</i>
	Ther never nas non bote heo	<i>anyone; she</i>
	That with so fele thewes iwarned wes,	<i>many virtues was defended</i>
	So that swete Mayden Marie wes.	<i>As; Virgin Mary</i>
765	Heo stont in the mere betwene two;	<i>boundary; two extremes</i>
	Heo schilde us alle from ure fo	
	That us awayteth day and niht;	<i>lies in ambush for us</i>
	Heo us helpeth with al hire miht.	
	The roche that is so trewe and trusti,	
770	That is the Maydenes herte, forthi,	<i>into that place</i>
	That never synne ther-withinne com,	<i>devoted herself completely</i>
	Ac heo to serven God al hire nom	<i>protected herself; humility</i>
	And wuste hire with mucche boxumnesse,	<i>virginity</i>
	Hire maidenhod with swetnesse.	
775	The foundement that faste to the roche lighth,	<i>foundation; firmly; adheres</i>
	And the feire greneschipe therwith,	<i>greenness</i>
	Is the Maydenes bileeve so riht,	<i>faith</i>
	That hath al hire bodi iliht,	<i>illuminated</i>
	For hire bileeve that is so trewe,	

780	That evere is grene and evere newe; For bileeve is apertement Of alle vertues foundement. Of the middel heuh is to wite The swetnesse and the feirschipe.	clearly [the] foundation to mean
785	That is the bitokenyng: In goode hope as so yong thing Was so bisy in swetnesse To serven God in boxumnesse.	meaning
fol. 295r 790	The thridde heuh, and the on ovemast, That hath over al his liht icast, And as thaugh hit barnde al hit is (Nis non of so muche pris), That is the clere love and briht That heo is al with iliht	burned worth pure; bright all ablaze with
795	And itent with the fuir of love, To serve God that is hire above.	inflamed; fire
800	The foure smale toures abouten That witeth the heighe tour withouten, Foure hed thewes that aboute hire me iseoth; Foure vertues cardinals ther beoth, That is, Strengthe and Sleihschupe, Rihtfulnesse and Worschupe, Everichon with a gat with ginne, That may non uvel come therinne.	protect; outside cardinal virtues; one sees Fortitude; Prudence Justice; ?Temperance (see note) gate; machine (i.e., for defense) wickedness (evil)
805	And whuche beoth the threo baylés yet ³⁸ That with the carnels beth so wel iset And icast with cumpas and walled abouten, That witeth the heihe tour withouten? Bote the inemaste baylé, I wot,	crenels (part of the battlements) constructed; ingenuity
810	Bitokneth hire holy maidenhod, That never for nothing iworsed nas, So ful of Godes grace heo was.	innermost Signifies; virginity besmirched
815	The middel baylé, that wite ye, Bitokneth hire holy chastité. And seththen the outemaste baylé Bitokneth hire holy sposaylé. Riht me clepeth hem bayles forthi That heo habbeth this Ladi in here bayli,	outermost marriage Rightly people call they; their charge (lit., bailey)

³⁸ And what are the three baileys (walls surrounding the castle) in addition

820	That hireself, one makeles, Is Mayden chast and weddet wes. Thorw on of theos bayles he mot teon That wol on ende iborwed beon.	<i>matchless (unequaled)</i> <i>chaste Maiden; married</i> <i>must move</i> <i>redeemed</i>
825	The seve berbicans abouten, That with gret gin beon iwrought withouten And witeth this castel so wel, With arwe and with qwarel, That beth the seven vertues, with winne, To overcome the seven dedly sinne: That is Pruide, the beginnynge And the roote of al uvel thinge, Al maat and overcomen wes Thorw Boxumnes that heo ches; And hire Trewe Love overcom Envye, And hire Abstinence Glotonye; 835 And Lecherye heo made fle Thorw hire holy Chastité; And al was distruyed Covetyse Thorw hire Largesse in uche wyse; And evere Wraththe heo overcom 840 Thorw Mekenesse that heo nom; And hire gostliche Gladynge Destroyed Sleuthe thorw alle thinge.	<i>skill</i> <i>arrow; quarrel (crossbow bolt)</i> <i>pleasure</i> <i>[Of] which; Pride</i> <i>defeated</i> <i>Humbleness</i> <i>True Love (i.e., Charity)</i> <i>[overcame] Gluttony</i> <i>Lust</i> <i>Covetousness (Greed)</i> <i>Generosity</i> <i>Wrath (Anger)</i> <i>Patience</i> <i>spiritual Joy</i> <i>Sloth</i>
845	The welle springeth of alle grace That fulleth the diches in uche a place. Godes grace todeleth this, Thorw meth with al as His wille is, Ac He lovede so this Mayden, aflight, The folle of grace He hire gaf outriht, Thorwh whom the grace that overfleot 850 Socoureth al the world yut. ³⁹ Forthi me may hire riht clepe and calle, "O blessed Ladi" over othere alle. And what mowe the diches be But hire tholemode poverté, 855 That nones kunnes assaylyng Ne may derve the tour for nothing, Thorw whom the Fend is overcomen And his miht al bynomen.	<i>apportions</i> <i>With restraint (i.e., Appropriately)</i> <i>full amount</i> <i>overflows</i> <i>people; justly greet</i> <i>may; moats</i> <i>long-suffering (patient)</i> <i>no kind of assault</i> <i>Devil (Fiend)</i> <i>destroyed</i>

³⁹ *Saves from damnation all the world even now*

860	For this is the Ladi so gent and fre	noble
	That God seide of to the neddre on the tre	serpent (i.e., in the garden of Eden)
	That ther scholde comen a wommon blyve	in due season
	That scholde al his hed todryve.	completely crush his head
865	Iblessed be this buyrde of prys	noble (excellent) lady
	That over al othure iblessed is,	
	That so feir was and good so sone	
	That of hir bodi God made His trone	
870	To His owne gistenynge,	lodging
	And nom flesch and blod of hire to bringe	took
	His folk out of prisoun:	
	That was ure garysoun.	salvation
875	This Ladi is feir and good and fre,	
	Whon heo hath so muche bounté,	virtue
	More then eny schaft that wes;	creature
	Forthi the Rihtwys Sonne hire ches	Righteous Sun (see note)
880	And schadewede on hire in wolde	overshadowed; strength
	And feireded hir more a thousandfolde.	exalted
	Thorw the faste gat He con intoe,	Through; closed; did enter
	And at the outgoing He lette faste beo.	exit; let [it] stay closed
885	How so that was, beo we stille,	let's remain silent (i.e., not argue)
	For of alle thing God may don His wille.	
	A, derworthé Qween, so gent and fre,	
	That helpeth alle that fleoth to thee.	flee to you
890	Mi soule is comen to thee for nede,	
	That at thi gate bat and loude doth grede,	knock (pound); cry out
	Bat and gredeth and loude gon crye,	
	“Helpe me, swete Mayden Marie!	
895	Undo, Ladi, I thee biseche!	Open [the gate]
	Thou lete me a luitel cleche	little draw
	Of thulke grace that alle frovere	comforts
	That gostliche beoth in herte povere.	humble
900	Lo, hou I am biset heeroute,	outside
	With my threo fon al aboute:	
	The Fend that with me fihtheth evere,	Devil (Fiend)
	The World, my Flesch, heo ne stunteth nevere.	they never cease [in their efforts]
905	Withouten eny meth on me heo foth;	any restraint they attack me
	Swithe gret harm heo me doth.	Very
	Gret parlement heo habbeth inome:	conference; convened
	The Fend furst is forth icome;	
910	With threo hostes he deth me gret wo,	armies (hosts)
	With Pruide and Wraththe and Sleuthe also;	Pride; Sloth
	The Worlde me hath with two hostes bistonde,	beset
	That is, with Covetyse and Onde;	Covetousness; Envy

	And my Flesch me fondeth to spille	<i>tempts me [with sin] to damn me</i>
	With Glotenye and with uvel Wille.	<i>Gluttony; sinful Lust</i>
905	Gret wraththe heo habbeth to me inome: ⁴⁰	
	I am as campion overcome.	<i>defeated as champion</i>
	But thou me helpe, Mayde Marie,	<i>Unless</i>
	Ichabbe ilore the maystrie.	<i>I have lost; contest</i>
	Thow, that art to all febull leche, ⁴¹	
910	Thow let me of thy dyches cleche	
	Ther the castel is faste and stable	<i>Where</i>
	And Charité is constable."	<i>Charity (see note)</i>
	Of this castel ichabbe a luitel told,	
	Ac more me mighte a thousandfold,	
915	For alle the godschupes that in the world is	<i>good things</i>
	Out of this castel icomen is.	
	Thorw this laddre, God, hevene Drihte,	<i>ladder (see note)</i>
	From hevene into eorthe alihte,	
	And nom of hire His monhede,	<i>took; humanity (see note)</i>
920	Thorw whom He wrey His godhede.	<i>concealed; divinity</i>
	This is the yard that bereth the flour,	<i>rod; bears; flower (see note)</i>
	That Maiden that bar hire Creatour,	
	And thus the Child is iboren to us	
	And such a Sone igeve to us.	
925	And nis He Wonderful therfore	
	Whon He is thus for us ibore?	
	So muche wonder nis of nothings	
	As two kuynden togeder bringe,	<i>natures unite [in the same body]</i>
	And that either kuynde withalle	<i>each; in addition</i>
930	Habbe that wole to heom bifalle,	<i>whole [that] belongs to it</i>
	That never nouthen ne wonte no wiht,	<i>each never lacks anything</i>
	Ac that either habbe al his riht.	<i>rightful nature</i>
	That is Jhesu, Godes Sone,	
	That from hevene to eorthe wolde come	
935	To saughten His sustren that were toboren,	<i>reconcile; set at odds</i>
	And dilyveren the prison that was forloren.	<i>prisoner</i>
	Two kuynden He hath, we witen bi thon,	
	That He is soth God and soth mon.	
	Bihold now, mon, to Godes miht	
940	And His deden hou heo beoth diht,	<i>miracles; performed</i>
	That thou aboute nouht fer se,	<i>you see on all sides not far off</i>

⁴⁰ Great hostility they have undertaken against me

⁴¹ You, who are to all [the] weak [the] physician (protector)

	Ac bihold hou boxum He wolde be	<i>humble</i>
	That He wolde be boren of wommon	
	And for ure sake bicommen mon.	
945	And seththen behold hou He us redeth	<i>saves</i>
	And into saveté us ledeth	<i>salvation</i>
	On ful swete manere and on non othur,	
	And seith thus to us, "Leve Brothur,	<i>Dear</i>
	I seo thee mislyken and al foryemed	<i>you disliked; neglected</i>
950	And out of thin owne lond iflemed,	<i>exiled</i>
	And thou seost wel that for nothing	
	Thow hast of thiself no keveryng.	<i>redemption (deliverance)</i>
	Ne beo thou in wonhope non,	<i>despair</i>
	Ac ful siker thou beo theton,	
955	Yif thou wole Me loven and understonde,	<i>love; believe</i>
	Ichul thee bringe into thin owne londe.	
	Ententyfliche thou herken to Me	<i>Diligently (Intently)</i>
	And do that Ich comaunde thee.	
	Mi yok is softe inowh to weren	<i>yoke; easy; carry</i>
960	And My burthene light inowh to beren.	<i>burden</i>
	To Merci bihove I am al inome,	<i>Mercy's duty; completely subject</i>
	And thus I am for thee icome,	
	And Ich thee rede, thou suwe Me:	<i>advise; follow</i>
	Ichulle the batayle nyme for thee.	<i>take on the battle</i>
965	To ple Ichulle this princes haven, ⁴²	
	And thi rihte Ichulle craven;	<i>claim</i>
	For Icham of thi lynage,	<i>Because; lineage</i>
	I may craven thin heritage;	
	And Icham of freo nacion,	<i>free birth</i>
970	Me oughte ihere My reson;	<i>People are obliged; petition</i>
	And Ichabbe iwust with wyne	<i>obeyed; joy</i>
	The threo lawen withouten synne.	
	For thee Ichulle to batayle wende,	<i>go</i>
	And siker beo thou of ful good ende,	
975	For Ichulle an ende overcome that fiht	<i>in the end</i>
	And todreynen al thi riht.	<i>champion</i>
	Ne darstou on erthe thenchen elles nouht	<i>You need not</i>
	But God and thin evencristen to love in trewe thought."	<i>your fellow Christian</i>
	Lord, whuch freschipe! Hose nome yeme:	<i>generosity; take heed</i>
980	Whon He that welde al thing and al mai deme	<i>rules; judge</i>
	Us schewed such frenschip and swetnes	
	And a forbysne of boxumnes;	<i>example; humility</i>

⁴² *I shall bring suit against this magistrate*

	Ac thulke forbisne me luitel telleth to, And selden in the world iseghen, ne yore hath do, ⁴³	
985	For the worldlich mon evere iliche Loveth thing that is worldliche.	<i>man (i.e., person) invariably</i>
	Ac the gost of charité and of tholemodnesse Loveth ever goodschipe and boxumnesse,	<i>spirit; patience in adversity</i>
	For whon to the world him geveth the mon, And the worldes good him waxeth on,	<i>the man devotes himself</i> <i>increase</i>
990	He ne thenketh on God ne non other thyng Bote worldes catel togeder bringe;	<i>meditate</i> <i>material possessions accumulate</i>
	And whon the catel hath the maystrie alast, Hit is in his cofre biloke so fast	<i>chest (coffer) locked up; tightly</i>
995	That al he bicometh overgart proud And misdoth his neighebers bothe stille and loud. ⁴⁴	<i>excessively</i>
	Nothing ne wilneth he largesse, But lordschipe and heighnesse.	<i>In no way; generosity</i> <i>authority; rank</i>
	The forbysne of boxumnesse, iwys, Al thorw pruyde forgeten is.	<i>example</i>
1000	Theose ne mowen Jhesu suwen with, ⁴⁵ For heore dede al tolyth,	
	Ne His red ne leeveth heo nought. ⁴⁶ Whi thenne wolden heo wilnen ought	<i>deeds differ (i.e., from Jesus's)</i>
1005	Of heritage in His kyndom, Thaugh He in batayle the ple biwon,	<i>battle; conflict (lit., plea) won</i>
	Whon heo doth al that He forbat And nothing doth of that He hat,	<i>prohibited</i> <i>commanded</i>
	Ac ever secheth pride and heihnesse, Ne biddeth heo nought of boxumnesse?	<i>desire</i>
1010	Forthi Lucifer, as ye habbeth herd telle, Fel from hevene adoun to helle, And also I drede heo scholden an ende,	
	Thulke that such werkes doth, aftur him wende. Ac I ne sigge hit, not for thon,	<i>Those who; follow</i>
1015	That mai ful wel everiche goode mon Habbe gret lordschipe and heighnesse,	<i>nevertheless</i>
	Castels and toures and gret richesse, And may wel don and Godes wille holde	
1020	And libbe God to queme wel, yif he wolde,	<i>live to please God well</i>

⁴³ Lines 983–84: *But this example says little to people (i.e., is little valued) / And [is] seldom seen in the world, nor has [been] done for a long time now*

⁴⁴ *And wrongs his neighbors both privately and publically (i.e., at all times)*

⁴⁵ *These cannot follow alongside (i.e., be followers of) Jesus*

⁴⁶ *And they do not believe His teaching*

	Yif he lyveth in love and in boxumnesse, In sothschupe and in rihtwysnes, For God wilneth nothing on eorthe her But al monnes herte with trewe love and cler.	truthfulness here
1025	Nou mihte sum mon asken thus, “Hou wolde God plede for us? Hou He eny batayle nom And won ure righte and the Fend overcom?” Lustneth thenne to me nou, And ichulle ow tellen hou.	people did God consent to plead took on regained Listen you
1030 fol. 295v	Tho Jhesu, Godes Sone, in the world was ibore, So stille and derne He was the Fend fore That he of His come riht nought nuste, ⁴⁷ Ac to beo lord and syre yit evere he truste, As he hedde ben, ac his miht was binome Tho that Jhesu was ibore and into the world icome. Wel the Fend Him seigh in monnes weeden, ⁴⁸ Ac he nust what He was, ne which weren His deden. He Him seigh wel mon and icomen of monkunne, Ac evere in the world He livede withoute sinne.	hidden; secret; in front of was confident When knew not
1040	The Fend wondrede swithe and seide, “What artou? Wher Thou be Goddes Sone that art icomen nou? Al this wyde world ichul geven Thee So that Thou bouwe and honoure me.” <i>Respondit Jesus</i>	puzzled greatly; are You Is it the case that You are Provided; bow Jesus responds
1045	Tho seide Jhesu, “Go awei, Sathan, go! Thi kuynde Lord ne schalt thow fonde so.” <i>Diabolus dicit</i>	true (lawful) Lord; tempt [The] Devil says
1050	“What wenestou? I ne mowe understonde, That icham prince and lord of this londe, And in the seisyne habbe longe ibe Thorw the heighe Kyng that grant hit me. Alle thing I seo and all thing ich wot, But of Thi thought nothing I not. Thou nymest ful muche an hond To benymen me enything in this lond. Thaugh I nabbe miht over Thee,	do you expect; obey Because seisin (possession in freehold) see; know I know You undertake a very great deal take from
1055		

⁴⁷ That he (the Devil) knew nothing at all of His (Jesus's) coming (i.e., birth)

⁴⁸ Clearly the Devil saw Him in man's clothing (i.e., human appearance)

	Wenestou my preie to benyme me?	<i>Do you expect; prey; take from</i>
	Nay, for that foreward thorw Soth and Riht	<i>agreement</i>
	Faste in Godes court is congraffet, apliht,	<i>written down, in faith</i>
	That hose passedede Godes heste	<i>disobeyed</i>
1060	He scholde be myn and in sunne leste,	<i>sin continue</i>
	An ende dyen thorw hard deth inouh,	
	And the Kyng of Hevene nul do no wouh.	<i>will not</i>
	What, wenestou such foreward breke,	
	That was in Godes court ispeke?"	<i>Which; spoken</i>
	<i>Respondit Jhesus</i>	
1065	And tho swete Jhesu him onswerde and tolde,	
	"That foreward on ende wel was iholde,	<i>contract continuously</i>
	Ac thou hit bigonne formast to breke,	<i>first</i>
	Tho thou thorw treson to monkuynde speke	
	And seidest that treo him was forbode	<i>tree; forbidden</i>
1070	Lest he hedde the miht of Gode;	<i>For fear that; would have (see note)</i>
	Ac wolde he of the appel ete,	<i>But [if] he would</i>
	Thenne, thou seidest, he hedde igete,	<i>would be successful</i>
	For he scholde konnen al that God con,	<i>know; knows</i>
	And he scholde never die forthon.	<i>therefore</i>
1075	He agulte thorw thee, and elles he wer skere.	<i>was guilty; blameless</i>
	Understond My reson: yif hit skile were ⁴⁹	
	That thou heddest alle forward of Me,	<i>all terms of the agreement from</i>
	And thou noldest holden hem, as anont thee."	<i>on your part</i>
	<i>Diabolus dicit</i>	
	"A, ich am bitrayyed!" quod the Fend tho.	<i>said</i>
1080	"Nou ich am thorw ple overcomen so.	<i>by argumentation</i>
	Of whom and hou cometh hit,	
	Such reson and such wit,	
	That Thou so baldeliche darst nymen Thee	<i>boldly dare undertake</i>
	Forte dispute ageynes me?	<i>To debate with</i>
1085	Thorw ple ichabbe iloren al anon,	
	Ac so ne may hit nought gon;	
	Algate he hath misdon,	<i>In any case</i>
	Thorw whom he is in my prison,	<i>which</i>
	And bote he beo forbought of me,	<i>ransomed</i>
1090	He ne oughte from wo disseysed be." ⁵⁰	

⁴⁹ Consider My argument: whether it were reasonable

⁵⁰ He should not be delivered from suffering

Respondit Jesus

- Tho swete Jhesu to him con sugge,
 “And Ichulle him thenne forbugge.” *ransom*
 “Yif thou wolt him bugge to his feore, *buy; price*
 He schal costen Thee ful deore.” *very dear*
 1095 “Hou deore?” quath Jhesu tho.
 “As he is worth, er thenne he go *before*
 Out of bonde of my prison.” *confinement*
 “That is skile,” quath Jhesu, “and good reson. *reasonable*
 Ne kep I nought togeynes riht, *hold; in opposition to*
 1100 Thorw maystrie binyme thee no wiht.” *force take away from; person*

Diabolus dicit

“No, ac er he dilyvered be,
 Thou most also muche delyvere me
 As al this world is nou worth, atte frome, *above all*
 With alle thulke that schulen herafter come.”

Jhesus dixit

Jesus said

- 1105 “Bletheliche,” quod Jhesus, “al Ichul don this, *Gladly*
 For My luttel fynger more worth is
 Then such an hondred worldes ben,
 With al that folk that me may herafter sen.” *those people whom one; see*

Diabolus dicit

- 1110 The Fend tho to Jhesu onswere con:
 “That is al soth I seo bi thon,
 For Thou maight al the world demen and dihte:
 For nou over Thee nabbe I no mihte.
 And woldestou Thi fynger geve, though Thou so sugge, *would You*
 So unworth and so vyl chaffare to bugge?” *worthless; inferior merchandise*

Respondit Jesus

- 1115 “Ye, and al My bodi for his raunsoun,
 But Ichul him habbe out of prisoun.”
 “Thou most yit more do ar Thou him habbe so,
 Tholen on eorthe wandrethe and wo. *Suffer; wretchedness*
 And yif Thou wole amenden his wough, *sinful behavior*
 1120 Thou most deth tholen thorw strong pyne enough.”
 And tho swete Jhesu him onswerde tho:
 “Al that thou hast seid al schal be do,

	For Soth seide hit ouhte ben so, And Riht come after and gef the dom tho.	
1125	And more then thou hast iseid Ichulle don To dilivere the thral out of prison.” Tho was the Fend siker and wende wel ethe Forte have biyeten thorw His dethe, Ac he was caught and overcomen,	<i>believed very easily</i> <i>profited</i>
1130	As fisch that is with hok inomen, That, whon the worm he swoleweth alast, He is bi the hok itiyed fast.	<i>fishhook captured</i> <i>tethered</i>
	A, mon, nim yeme and understond thee Hou fynliche in herte God loveth thee, That wolde deth tholen thorw pyne withouten meth To save thi soule from pyne of deth! Al ure gult on Him He wolde take, And lodliche was bilad al for ure sake, For He that never no sunne dude,	<i>think about</i> <i>fully</i> <i>Who; excessive</i> <i>harshly; treated</i>
1140	Ne never nas with fulthe ifounden in no stude. In alle the lymes that hath the mon, Seththen Adam formest sunne bigon, Wolde that His lymes alle ipyned were To maken us of sunne al quit and skere:	<i>sinfulness (filth) discovered</i> <i>Ever since; first began to sin</i> <i>from sin completely free; absolved</i>
1145	For ure unwrestschupe here The coroune of thornes on His hed He beere, And for ure fol eye also His eyen weore blyntwharvet bo; And al was His face bifoulet with spot, And eke grete boffetes among me Him smot; ⁵¹ And for ure speche unwreste and vyl Atter heo Him dude to drinke, imeynt with eisil; For the otewyse werkes as there abonden, ⁵² He lette bothe thurlen His feet and honden;	<i>wickedness</i> <i>crown</i> <i>wanton</i> <i>blindfolded both</i> <i>soiled (befouled); spittle</i> <i>wicked; corrupt</i>
1150	And for ure woke thoughtes He tholede smerte That me His syde thurlede right to the herte. What miht He thenne do for us more? No tongue may tellen of that fore, Ne no monnes herte ne mihte thenche so,	<i>allowed [them] to pierce both</i> <i>vain; pain</i> <i>people</i> <i>death</i> <i>man's; imagine</i>
1160	As He tholede for us pyne and wo. And ho is that ne mighte habbe pité	<i>who; compassion</i>

⁵¹ And also great blows (buffets) people gave Him all the while

⁵² Lines 1152–53: Gall they made Him drink, mixed with vinegar; / For the heinous (worldly?) deeds that abound there (i.e., on earth) (see note)

	Of such frendschupe and charité?	For
	Suche beo the dundes of batayle	blows
	That He tholedde for us withouten fayle.	
1165	Ac He tholedde to dethe ben ibrought:	
	Ure deth thorw His deth He hath forbouht,	
	For more tholedde He an hundretfolde	
	Serwe and pyne, tho He dyen wolde,	
	Then the Fend mihte for eny synne	
1170	Leggen hond uppon monkunne.	Strike (<i>lit., Lay hands on</i>)
	For the soule loveth the bodi so	
	That nevere heo nule him wende fro ⁵³	
	For no pyne ne for sore —	any; suffering
	Thaugh me hit tohewe evermore —	people cut it to pieces
1175	Er the fyf wittes ben loren outriht,	Until; five senses
	Al heore vertue and al heore might:	power (see note); vitality
	That is, the siht and the herynge,	
	The speche and the smellynge,	
	And the felynge he schal leosen an ende,	it (the soul); at last
1180	Ar he wole from the bodi wende:	
	Kuynde ne may for nothings	
	Tholen her the tithelynge. ⁵⁴	
	Ac He that alle thing mai welde	rule
	Doblede His peyne an hondredfelde,	hundredfold
1185	For tho He pynede on the Crois,	suffered
	He gaf His soule with loud vois.	
	Ther He schewede that He was God so,	
	Ure raunsum He dude tho.	
	The bodi yit livede withoute fayle,	
1190	And so He overcom the batayle.	
	Kuynde ne mihte thole such peyne non,	Nature
	For the Fend ne mighte hit never legen on.	inflict
	A, Marie, Mayden schene,	bright (fair)
	Mihtful Moder and milde Qwene,	Mother
1195	For deol mungen I ne may	sorrow I may not tell
	The pyne that thou tholedest thulke day!	
	Ac the prophecy of Symeon	Simeon
	Was folfuld tho bi thon,	
	As with swerd in thulke stounde	at that time
1200	Thi soule heddest tho ful bitter wounde.	
	Ac thi joye doublede an hondrutfolde,	

⁵³ That it (the soul) will never leave it (the body)

⁵⁴ Allow (Bear) at that time the division [of the soul from the body]

	Tho He from deth uprysen wolde, For nought worth weore His Passion, Neore His Resurexion. ⁵⁵	
1205	Thou seghe openliche in alle thinge Of His batayle the endynge, Thorw Whom the Fend was al mat	<i>defeated</i>
	And the world forbought and brought in stat. ⁵⁶ The trouthe of us and the beleewe also	<i>faithfulness</i>
1210	Forsothe bilevede al in thee tho. In wonhope weore His disciples uchon, Ac thou weore studefast ever in on,	<i>dwelt</i> <i>steadfast</i>
	Ne mighte thee nothing tornen out; ⁵⁷ In trewe bileve evere thou weore, stille and loud.	<i>steadfast; at all times</i>
1215	Marie, Mooder of pité, Mayden ful of alle bounté, Ure bileeve was tho in thee, iwis, And nou al ure hope is That thou biseche thi Sone for us,	
1220	That so on Rode forbought us.	<i>Cross</i>
	Ye habbeth iherd of swete Jhesu Hou He thorw His muchel vertu Us redeth to goode evermore,	<i>urges toward</i>
1225	And hou He wolde us plede fore, And hou He wolde to batayle wende, And hou He hit overcom an ende. Nas this a good Redesmon, That us so deore forbuggen con And hath irud us the way	<i>Was this not; Adviser</i> <i>prepared (cleared) [for]</i>
1230	Ther uchone of us that wole, he may To the blisful joye come, That so longe thorw Adam was binome? Understondeth nou forthure, notheles, Hou He is God and evere wes,	<i>Where</i> <i>for such a long time; taken away</i> <i>nevertheless</i>
1235	And ye mouwe openliche iseon That hit ne may not elles ben. O God al the world wroughte, And thulke God us alle forboughte; Other God nis non then He,	<i>may readily</i> <i>than</i>

⁵⁵ Lines 1203–04: *For His Passion would be worth nothing / [If] His Resurrection had not happened (lit., Were not His Resurrection)*

⁵⁶ *And the world redeemed and brought into a good state*

⁵⁷ *Nor might anything cause you to apostatize (renounce your faith)*

1240	The God of Whom I seide er thee: Persones threo in Thrillehod And o God cleped in onhod. Men may also, clerkes that conne reden, Iseon His godhede thorw His deden,	told you before Trinity unity read Perceive
1245	For al the deden that He dude here With godhede and monhede imeynt were ifere. And nym nou yeme and thou miht sen Hou that ilke mihte ben. Hose hedde a swerd here	mixed; together (see t-note) very [thing]
1250	That wel isteled and kene were, And he hit into the fuir dude That hit were brennynge in the stude, Ho is that thenne mihte, Whon hit barnde so brihte,	hardened to steel fire burning Who burned
1255	The fuyr todelen the stel fro, Other the stel from the fuir mo? And hose with the swerd smite, Two kuynden he mighte sen and wite: The stel thorw kuynde kerveth, apliht, And the fuir brenneth, and that is riht,	Separate the fire from the steel Or observe cuts, in faith
1260 fol. 296r	And al of o swerd hit come. Also is of Jhesu, Godes Sone: Two kuynden He hath, we witten bi thon, That He is soth God and soth mon.	So [it] is with regard to
1265	For atte neces of this privee, ⁵⁸ At the Caane of Galylee, A gistnyng he made, Architriclyn; ⁵⁹ Ther He torned water to wyn. Sixe vessels ther weoren idon,	Cana; Galilee
1270	Of water He bad hem fulle son. As mon He bad don water therin And as God He turned hit to wyn, And this ilke dede was al on, Of sothfast God and sothfast mon.	
1275	And elleswher ther He eode, Muche folk Him suwede of feole theode, That fyf thousand men He hath iset, And with fyve loves and twey fissches hem fed, And of the relef that hem levede before	followed; many lands people; organized two
1280	Twelf cupeful weoren up ibore.	leftovers; remained in front of them basketfuls; collected

⁵⁸ For at [the] wedding of this friend (or relative)

⁵⁹ A feast he made, Architriclin (i.e., the master of the feast) (see note)

	As mon He hem the bred tobrek	<i>broke into pieces</i>
	And as God He hath hem ifulled ek.	<i>filled</i>
	Of Lazar also thou miht iseon ethe,	<i>Lazarus; easily</i>
	Hou He him arerede from the dethe,	<i>raised</i>
1285	That foure dawes he leigh along	<i>days; lay buried</i>
	In the buriles, that he stonk.	<i>tomb</i>
	With loud voys He clepede thus:	<i>called</i>
	"Lazar, arys and cum out to us."	
	Riht as mon He clepede him to	
1290	And as God He arerede him also.	
	In alle His deden me may wel isen	<i>deeds people</i>
	That He is God and ever schal ben.	
	Thulke God alle thing dihte,	
	That in the swete Mayden alihte.	
1295	Al ure beleewe in Him is —	
	Ure treuthe and ure hope, iwis, —	<i>faith</i>
	Persones threo in Thrillihod	
	And o God thaugh in onhod.	<i>nevertheless</i>
	Nou ye habbeth iherd witterly	<i>truly</i>
1300	Hou He is God almihti,	
	Ac His strengthe ne may non telle,	<i>none</i>
	Herte thenke, ne mouth spelle,	<i>describe</i>
	For the heighe nome Jhesu	
	Hath in Him so muche vertu	
1305	That al that is in hevene highe,	
	In erthe, and bineothen, feor and neighe, ⁶⁰	
	Bouweth to thilke nome uchon.	<i>Bows; this</i>
	Forthi ther ne may hit telle non,	
	His miht and His strengthe hou hit geth.	
1310	But as a mon the rynde fleth, ⁶¹	
	Sumwhat touchen ichulle fonde	<i>In part; attempt</i>
	Of that ich may understonde.	
	Tho Adam hedde iloren thorw synne	
	Hevene and eorthe and paradyses winne,	<i>the joy of paradise</i>
1315	The Fend hedde such miht tho	
	That al the world moste after him go;	
	For whom the world was furst wrouht	
	He hath him under ibrought.	<i>overcome</i>
	Such strengthe he him tho ches	
1320	That prince of al the world he wes.	

⁶⁰ On earth and underneath (i.e., in hell), far and near

⁶¹ But as a man peels away the bark (see note)

	Ther nas non, for his goodschupe,	<i>no one</i>
	For penaunce, ne for holyschupe,	<i>penance; sanctity</i>
	Thauh he pynede himself in flesch and felle, ⁶²	
	That the Fend ne ladde him to helle.	<i>did not lead</i>
1325	Ac the strengthe of Jhesu, Godes Sone,	
	Hym hath al mated and overcome.	<i>defeated</i>
	Overcomen and imat he was ful sone,	
	Tho he wende of Him to done,	<i>believed</i>
	As he hedde don of other alle	
1330	That he lette into helle falle;	
	Alle he ladde herbifore after his wille	<i>previously</i>
	And into helle con hem spille.	<i>condemn</i>
	To the Croys, as Cryst honged, he con come	<i>he (i.e., the devil)</i>
	And wolde habben His soule inome,	<i>taken</i>
1335	Ac he faylede, the traytour;	<i>tempter</i>
	He was abated of his tour,	<i>struck down in; turn</i>
	For Godes godhede him hath doun cast	
	Into helle and ibounden fast;	
	For thorw His godhede His soule eode	
1340	Thidere for Hise that hedden neode,	<i>There; His own; need</i>
	That yore hedden Him abide	<i>for a long time; hoped for</i>
	And sore longeden to gon Him mide. ⁶³	
	Helle gates He al tobreek	<i>Hell's</i>
	And todaschte al the fendes ek. ⁶⁴	
1345	A gret bite He bot, of helle nom	<i>took (ate)</i>
	And drouh alle Hise out uchon,	<i>drew</i>
	That leeveden His nome and Him knewe	<i>believed in</i>
	And serveden Him with herte trewe.	
	Such strengthe nas never iherd ar this,	
1350	Ne never schal but of Him, iwis,	
	For the meste strengthe He al birevede	<i>greater part [of]; snatched away</i>
	That the Fend in the world hevede.	<i>had</i>
	He was enarmed ful stronge,	<i>armed very heavily</i>
	That his gat wuste ful longe,	<i>guarded</i>
1355	Ac tho the strengore him overcom;	<i>then the stronger (i.e., Jesus)</i>
	Gret preye He him binom.	<i>spoils</i>
	Forthi him seith wel Ysaye,	<i>Isaiah</i>
	That seith in his prophecye	
	That He scholde Mihtfol icleped ben. ⁶⁵	

⁶² *Though he tormented himself for penance in flesh and skin*

⁶³ *And earnestly desired to go along with Him*

⁶⁴ *And smashed to pieces (i.e., destroyed) all the fiends also*

⁶⁵ *That He (Christ) should be called Mighty*

1360	His strengthe may no mon iseon, Ne no tonge ne mihte reden, Ne thought thenken His mihtful deden. For His miht me oughte Him drede And for His swetnes Him love ful nede.	<i>describe</i> <i>imagine</i> <i>people; fear (stand in awe of)</i> <i>necessarily</i>
1365	This is ure child and ure help, Ure strengthe and ure yelp, Ure beleve and ure socour, Ure treuthe and ure honour, That so boxum bicom for us,	<i>shield</i> <i>pride</i> <i>glory</i> <i>humble</i>
1370	He gaf Himself to saven us. And al o God dude this: Fader and Sone and Holigost, iwis.	
	Sumdel ye habbeth iherd nou riht Of His strengthe and of His miht, Ac herkneth yit forthure of Ysaye, That cleped Him in his prophecie Fader of the world that scholde come, For while He walkede her, atte frome He folfulde in alle thinge	<i>Something; heard about</i> <i>here, above all</i>
1380	Alle holye prophetes biddynge. Hou He is Fader, ye schullen iheren, And hou we alle of Him istreoned weren. Thorw Adam we sungeden furst uchon And eeten the appel with him anon,	<i>prayers</i> <i>descended</i> <i>sinned</i>
1385	And alle we of him istreoned weoren; The cors that he beer, alle we beeren. Thorw kuynde we hedden the curs alle; Thorw riht ne might hit elles bifalle: Adam, ur fader, the forme mon,	<i>evil (punishment); bore</i> <i>first</i>
1390	Fleschliche streoned us everichon. Ac thulke fleschliche streonynge Beere us bale and serwynge Neore the grace of swete Jhesu, That us strenede thorw gostliche vertu.	<i>Physically begot</i> <i>physical begetting</i> <i>misery; sorrow</i> <i>Were not (i.e., if it did not exist)</i> <i>begat</i>
1395	Thorw Adam we weore to dethe idemet, Thorw Jhesu uprered and al iquemed. He is ure Fader ariht, And so goodliche us hath idiht That with His blod He us waschede of sinne	<i>condemned</i> <i>raised from the dead; made pleasing</i> <i>pleasingly</i>
1400	And brought us out of wo to winne. Never fader for no childe Of fyn love nas so freo ne mylde, That from the Roode for ure neode	<i>joy</i> <i>perfect; gentle</i> <i>Cross</i>

1405	Riht into helle He eode; Fourti tymen ther He wes Othat He uprisen ches — That was on the thridde day, Erliche uppon a Sonenday, Tho the night fro the day tobrek,	<i>For forty hours Until; chose Early; Sunday</i>
1410	So seide Seynt Austin tho he spek. With Him He drough out alle Hise That diyeden in His servise, From the tyme that He Adam wroughte Othat He upros and us forboughte.	<i>taught; Augustine; wrote rose from the dead; redeemed</i>
1415	To His disciples He Him schewede ilome, And eet and dronk, eode and come. Fourti dawes He was heere fulliche And prechede hem Godes kineriche. Uppon Holy Thoresday, ther on His nome	<i>often kingdom</i>
1420	Heo weren igedered alle isome Uppon a stude, ther He among hem com And of misbileve hem undernom. In whonhope and doute heo weoren uchon; Yit heo seggen him alyve, a lyuesmon,	<i>They; together At; place doubt; refute lack of belief</i>
1425	Tho yit ne mihten heo for no wit Riht to sothe ileeven hit. Ac heore doute was ure biheve And fastnede ful wel ure bileeve, For mucche us dude sikernesne	<i>Although; living man still; reason Quite believe it to be true profit strengthened certainty</i>
1430	Of Thomas misbilevenesne, That nolde for no mon that was Bileeven that He ded and arisen was Ar he hedde hondlet the wounde so wyde That Longeus made in his syde	<i>Thomas's disbelief would not touched (handled) Longinus</i>
1435	And seon the woundes grene and weet Whuche that weoren on honden and feet. Tho schewed Jhesus him His wondes wyde In hondes and feet and thulke on His syde. “Thou art, ichot,” quath Thomas tho,	<i>unhealed; wet with blood (bloody)</i>
1440	“Mi God and my Lord also.” “Ye, Thomas,” quath Jhesu Crist, “Thou hit levest, for thou hit sixt. Alle heo moten iblessed ben That hit leeven, thaugh heo hit not sen.”	<i>I know see it May they all be blessed</i>
1445	Openliche He made thulke day Faste and siker ure fay. With his disciples He eet tho,	<i>faith</i>

	As He was er iwont to do,	<i>accustomed</i>
	And sette tweyne and tweyne to gon,	<i>assigned</i>
1450	Yond al the world to prechen uchon,	<i>Throughout; preach to</i>
	To alle schaft and to alle wihte,	<i>all creatures; people</i>
	That is, to mon thorw rihte,	
	That heo bileeven in Godes Sone, that is in Him,	
	And that uche mon folwede Him,	
1455	In the Fader and in the Sone also,	
	And in the Holygost, that glit of Hem bo.	<i>proceeds</i>
	For hose neore iboren eft, at the frome,	<i>born again, above all</i>
	Into hevene ne mighte he never come,	
	Ac thulke that beth ifulwed in riht bileeve	<i>baptized</i>
1460	Schulen beo brought in Godes biheve.	<i>God's benefit (i.e., salvation)</i>
	Wel openliche He scheweth us therfore	
	That uche mon mot eft ben ibore,	<i>must be born again</i>
	And yif we schulen eft iboren ben,	<i>in order that</i>
	We mote comen of sume streon,	<i>an act of begetting</i>
1465	That is, the water of vertu,	
	Ther us gostliche streneth swete Jhesu;	<i>Where; spiritually begets</i>
	And whon He us hath so streded, iwis,	
	Forsothe ure Fader thenne He is,	
	And thenne we alle His children beth.	
1470	Sikerliche unwrestliche he deeth	<i>Surely wickedly; does</i>
	That such Fader ne loveth with al his thought.	
	He ne eet of the appel riht nought;	<i>He (i.e., Jesus)</i>
	Baldeliche we mouwe thorw Him crave	<i>Confidently</i>
	Ure rihtes in hevene to have,	
1475	For He hath alle the lawen iwust,	<i>laws kept</i>
	Of o poynt ne hath He mist,	<i>failed</i>
	That nevere neore iwust ne iholde,	
	Er He Himself comen wolde.	
	The forme mon that of eorthe com	
1480	Brought us werre and pees binom;	<i>destroyed</i>
	That othur Mon from hevene com with meyn	<i>supernatural authority</i>
	And hath iyolden ure pees ageyn.	<i>restored</i>
	Fleschliche was the forme mon,	<i>Of the flesh</i>
	That mucche wo us broughte uppon,	
1485	That was out of paradys ipult —	<i>expelled</i>
	And al his offspring — for his gult;	
	Ac ure gostlych Fader, swete Jhesu,	
	Us bryngeth ageyn thorw His vertu;	<i>back</i>
	He that from hevene com,	

1490	From lough an heigh He us upnom. ⁶⁶ That from eorthe com, to eorthe he geth; That from hevene com, to hevene He steth, On Holy Thoresday ther al the folk iseigh, Whuche that stoden abouten him neih;	<i>ascends</i>
1495	The wey He made us to lede, Thorw the skewes ther He eode. With sothnesse and wey and lif, The feire cumpanye Him ladde with That He out of helle nom,	<i>clouds</i> <i>truth</i> <i>group; carried</i> <i>brought</i>
1500 fol. 296v	That to muche blisse com. To thulke blisse He made hem wende That ever lasteth withouten ende, Ther He woneth as He dude er, With His Fader, o God ther,	<i>dwells</i>
1505	Persones threo in Thrillihod And o God thaugh in onhod, That alle thing wrouhte, as thou, mon, most, Fader and Sone and Holygost. Thauh uche nome of thise thre	
1510	Be sinderliche seid, as He oughte to be, O God hit is, withouten care, Of alle schaftes Schuppare, To Whom joye and honour bicom, Withouten ende, the holy Gome.	<i>individually designated</i> <i>doubt</i> <i>creatures Creator</i> <i>praise; are fitting</i> <i>Man (i.e., God)</i>
fol. 37r (H) 1516	Lusteneth yet forther of Ysayes spelle, For now ye han herd me telle, How swete Jhesu oure Fadur wes; Herkenyth how He is now Prince of Pes.	<i>(see t-note)</i>
fol. 37v 1520	Beforen I tolde yow uchon How He is into hevyn igon; Ryght so, the sothe truly to syggen, He shall ageyn come this world to juggen, In bodi and soule and godhede, To deme bothe queke and dede.	<i>living (quick)</i> <i>Last Judgment</i> <i>portents</i> <i>sea</i> <i>rise up</i>
1525	But fyftene dayes before the Dome Fyftene tokyns ther shull come. The furst day the see upryse shall And stonden on hye as a wall, Fourti cupetys heire, iwys,	<i>cubits higher (see note)</i>
1530	Then eny hill in the world is.	

⁶⁶ From low [to] on high (i.e., into heaven) He lifted us

	That other day heo wole isonkyn byn,	<i>next; will subside</i>
	That eny mon unnethe may here isyn.	<i>hardly</i>
	The thrid day heo woll be notheles	<i>third</i>
	As full as heo furst wes,	
1535	And then woll whalles and grete fysshes with fynne,	<i>fishes; fin</i>
	And all other smale fysshes that byn therinne,	
	Gedryn hem on the watur uchone.	<i>Gather</i>
	But that wot no mon but God allone	
fol. 38r	What is the betokenyng	
1540	Of the loude cry and yeiying	<i>bellowing</i>
	Thet heo wolles with loude stevyn	<i>voice</i>
	Gevyn and crye up to hevyn.	<i>Utter</i>
	And on the fourthe day heo shall	
	With red fyre brennen all,	<i>fire</i>
1545	And all other watrys in every stede	<i>bodies of water</i>
	Shullen brenne as red as eny glede.	<i>coal</i>
	The fyfthe day the tren that don stonde	<i>trees</i>
	And floures and erbis in uche londe,	<i>flowers; herbs</i>
	Blod thei shullen blede,	<i>Blood</i>
1550	Instede of here dewe, withoute drede.	<i>their dew; doubt</i>
	The sixte day byth not bold,	
	Palyse ne pylere ne so strong hold,	<i>Palatial house; pillar</i>
	Castell, toure, boure, ne halle,	<i>bower</i>
	But thei shull toskatur and down falle.	<i>crumble</i>
1555	The sevynth day the stones uchon	
	Woll lepe togedre and fyght anon,	<i>smash together</i>
	That thorwgh the fyght that there woll byn	
	The stones woll breke and all toflyn.	<i>fly to pieces (shatter)</i>
fol. 38v	The eyghte day betokynth gret wrache:	<i>destruction</i>
1560	All yende the world the erthe shall quake,	<i>throughout</i>
	And men woll flyn into uche hurne.	<i>people; each refuge</i>
	The erthequake shall be so loude and sturne,	<i>frightening</i>
	And on thylke dredfull, byttur day	<i>bitter</i>
	The pepull woll crye, "Weloway!"	<i>people (i.e., humanity); "Alas!"</i>
1565	And sey to monteynes, "Falleth on us!	
	Erthe, tocluf and hyde us,	<i>split open</i>
	That we this fere and erthequake ne syn!"	<i>fire; do not see</i>
	How wroth oure Creature woll byn,	<i>angry; Creator</i>
	For in alle hye hevyn blys	<i>heaven's bliss</i>
1570	Non so holi ne so good is —	
	Patryarch, apostell, ne martire,	<i>martyr</i>
	Confessor ne virgine with so feyre attyre,	
	Prynce, potestate, ne angell,	<i>ruler</i>
	Ne non so bryght archangell —	

1575	That nold never synne done	would
	But he shall dredyn ageyne that Dome.	
	Full sore mowe heo then dreden	
	That byth all full of synfull deden.	
fol. 39r	The nynthe day alle the valeis that byth	valleys
1580	And the hylles that we so hye syth	see
	Shull be made smethe and playn,	level; flat
	And into here kynde shull they not turne ageyn. ⁶⁷	
	The tenthe day shull all manere men	
	Gon out of here holes and of here den	
1585	And renne abowte as they were wod,	run; crazy
	As they cowthen nowther evyll ne good,	knew neither evil nor
	Ne thawgh here hert shulde tobreke,	though; break
	On word myght not oon with other speke.	
	The elevyth day the mone and the sterres alle	moon; stars
1590	Shulle adown to erthe falle.	
	The twelfthe day the bones of uche ded mon	
	Shull come togedre uchon,	
	Thawgh they be dryvyn nere so wyde;	separated ever (lit., never) so far
	At here byrynes here soules they shull abyde.	graves; await
1595	The threttenyth day all maner men	thirteenth; [of] people
	Shull dyen anoon that lyven then,	immediately
	That heo mowe, togedre with other, aryse	rise up
	And takyn here dome of God ryghtwyse.	receive
fol. 39v	The fourteneth day ther may nothyng werne,	endure
1600	But all the world on fyre shall berne.	
	Hevyn and erthe shull byn aleyde,	destroyed
	And the foure elementis shull byn untayedede,	dispersed
	For thike fyre shall clansyn the eyre	cleanse; air
	And makyn all thyng bryght and feyre,	
1605	And all the world shan iclansed byn;	shall be cleansed
	But watur ther shall no mon eft isyn,	afterward see
	Ne never fyre in the world me syth	Nor; people see
	When that fyre shall ben aquenchith.	extinguished
	The fyftenethe day God wol taken	
1610	Hevyn and erthe and all hit newe maken,	
	Not otherweys then hem beforen wrowght.	than
	Loke thou, thenke, ne wylle hit nowght,	
	But He wole newen hem, iwys,	reconstitute
	In betur state then heo weryn, iwys.	better condition
1615	Theraftur Jhesu wole His dome demyn,	pass His judgment
	The angeles shull come and blowe the bemyn.	trumpets

⁶⁷ And to their natural state they shall not return

fol. 40r 1620	Furst shull in body and soule aryse All that dyedyn in His servise, And all that eke that shull to the blysse fonde Shul furst aryse and on the ryght syde stonde.	died come
	Then shall Jhesu come ryght thus, And His body tornen and showe to us Whad peyne He suffred for ur sake And how lodlyche He was for us itake, Wyth scorges ibetyn withoute gryth, That the blode barst oute on ich a lyth, ⁶⁸ And how vylensli He wes ladde yet With crowne of thornes on His hed set, And how He suffred that the nayles stode Thorgh fete and honden into the Rode, And how the spere that Him wonded smerte Browght blod and watur from his hert. And then Cryst woll clepe and calle And sey: "Thus myche I suffre for yow alle."	harshly; seized beaten without mercy disgracefully nails pierced
	And sey: "Thus myche I suffre for yow alle." Then helpeth us no pledyng there, Ne forsakyng, ny answe;e; Ne helpyth us ther castell, ne toure, Nowther palyse, halle, ne boure: All thyng then shall torne to nowght That is with monis hond iwrowght. Ther shull the synfull quake, And here tethe togedur hacke and shake, Ther may segge thenne no mon. But that uchon shull seyn here martyrdom, And beforyn hym his juggement, sycorly, Shall byn iwryten apertely, And also his synnes ther shull be knowe, Tofore all maner men, bothe hie and lowe. Then woll swete Jhesu to hem be syn That shull that day isaved byn, And sey with mylde stevyn and swete: "When I was hongry, ye geve me mete; When I was afurst, ye geve me dryng; When I was naked, ye geve me clothyng; When I was herberlasse, ye herberde me fayne, Bothe in heete, in cold, in wynde, and rayne; And ye comforted me in prison eke	severely speak denial human's teeth; chatter; grind see their [own] suffering indeed openly (publicly) Before appear to them voice food overcome with thirst; drink shelterless; sheltered; gladly rain

⁶⁸ [So] that the blood burst out on each limb (i.e., all over the body)

	And loked to me when I was seke.	<i>looked after (treated); sick</i>
fol. 41r	Comyth, my blessed children uchon,	
1660	And receyvyth the blysfull joy anon	
	That to yow byth rewarded withoutyn endenge	<i>bestowed; end</i>
	Fro this worldis begynnyng.”	
	Then shull the blessed byn receyved an hyghe,	
	In hevyn to walke Jhesu nygh.	<i> dwell near Jesus</i>
1665	And the cursede shull in erthe byn,	
	Of hevyn blys they shull nothyng isyn,	<i>experience (see)</i>
	But yet wyth the upreceyveng they shull agryse — ⁶⁹	
	When the saved shull upryse —	
	So wery, so wrecched, so lodlyche,	<i>weary; pained</i>
1670	Icharged with synne so hevyleche,	<i>oppressively</i>
	That all hevylly on the erthe they shull steke,	<i>heavily; be brought to a standstill</i>
	When thei heryn the Domesmonis speke	<i>hear; Magistrate</i>
	Wyth gret and grymfull wrathe full sone.	<i>terrible</i>
	Thei shull heryn a full hard dome:	<i>harsh</i>
1675	“Goth with the develys, ye acoursed bestes,	<i>devils; accursed beasts</i>
	For ye heled not my lawes and my hestes;	<i>obeyed (held)</i>
	Into the fire that shall last forevere,	
	For ye han discerved here non other!”	<i>deserved; no different</i>
fol. 41v	The blessed shull blysfull gon	
1680	In bodi and soule everichon,	
	As bryght as ys the sonne, withoute fayle.	
	Never hem nedeth to have travayle,	<i>They never need; suffering</i>
	But joy and blys that shall laste evermore.	
	In good tyme they were ibore	<i>born</i>
1685	That to that feste mowe takyn,	<i>may come</i>
	That God wole with hem in hevyn makyn.	
	So myche joy shall byn at theke feste	<i>that</i>
	That ever withouten ende shall leste —	<i>continue</i>
	Ye, more joy then hert may thenkyn,	<i>than</i>
1690	Or eye isyn, or yere iherkyn!	<i>ear hear</i>
	Seche joy God hath igrethed there	<i>prepared</i>
	To hem that han loved Him here.	
	And when they byth so endeles,	<i>eternal</i>
	Thenne He is aryght Prince of Pes.	<i>truly</i>
1695	But theke that byth into helle inome,	<i>those</i>
	Thei shull never out come,	

⁶⁹ But yet with the receiving of the dead into Heaven at the Last Judgment (lit., upreceiving) they shall shudder with dread

	And in theke stynkyng dethe-pytte	death-pit (i.e., hell)
	Thei shull byn ipyned and to peyne iknytte.	tortured; bound
fol. 42r	In gret sorewe and pyne thei byth full sore,	
1700	For thei lyvyn in wanhope evermore.	
	Thei wolde dyen yef thei myghte,	
	But yet here soule may not thorgh ryghte.	
	Uchon others peyne shall isyn,	others'
	That here peyne shall dowble byn.	
1705	Another peyne they shull have of derknes,	
	With gret fere and gret hevynes.	fear; woe (oppressiveness)
	And the foure is fyre that may not be queynte,	fourth; quenched
	And in stynkyng watur they shull be dreynthe,	drowned
	And pycche wallyng ever among. ⁷⁰	
1710	"Wayleway" ever shall byn here song,	"Alas"
	For hidor or thidur whersere heo turne	hither; thither wherever
	They syn the foule Fynde in uche horne;	corner
	That hem lothest were to syn,	they least would wish to see
	He shall ever toforyn hem byn.	before
1715	And the stencche is overall there so strong,	
	And byttur wormys there styketh among, ⁷¹	
	Neddris, snakys, and taddis there strykyth;	Adders; toads; strike
	No place shall he there isyn that him lyketh.	pleases him
fol. 42v	Evermore withoutyn ende they shull be wepyng	
1720	And wrynge here hondes with gret weylyng.	wailing
	Then shall the systere sey to the brother,	
	The fremed and the sybbe uchon to other:	stranger; relative
	"A, waryed wrecche, whad doost thou here?	accursed (damned)
	Acursed be the tyme thou iboryn were!	born
1725	I may not for nothyng suffre thee,	
	So foule thy synne stynketh on me!	foully; stinks
	For mi nowne gret synne I styke in pyne,	own; am entangled
	But a thousondefold more I suffre for thyne!"	thine
	"Ye, but thou waryed wrecche forlore,	Yes; cursed lost wretch
1730	Accursed be the tyme that thou were ibore!	
	I am forstyflyd among,	suffocated meanwhile
	Thi synne stynketh on me so strong!"	overpoweringly
	Thus shall uchon to other menyn his sorewe,	make known; distress
	Ever withowtyn ende, on evyn and morewe;	evening and morning (i.e., all day)
1735	Thawgh ther sete a mon for the nonys,	for a while
	And he myght leftyn in flesshe and bonys,	rise up [from the dead]
	Half the sorewe he myght not telle,	

⁷⁰ And pitch (wood tar) boiling in many places

⁷¹ And unpleasant (or bitter) worms are in place among them

	Ne the peynes that byth in helle.	
fol. 43r	Ther is nowther solace ne love, iwys;	
1740	Ther is wepyng, pyne, and sorewe withoute blys.	
	In theke foule, stynkyng pytte	
	They shull in sorowe forever be knytte.	<i>bound</i>
	Long is ever, and long is oo,	<i>forever; always (see note)</i>
	But thei shull never come out of wo.	
1745	The Fynde shall here prince byn, that they served er;	
	Sore withowten ende peyned they shull be ther.	
	Jhesu in hevyn, as I seyde before,	
	Is Pryns of Pes and shall byn evermore.	
	His pes shall falle never,	
1750	And His joy and His blys that is ever.	
	Love, swetnesse, and pley,	<i>joy</i>
	In hevyn hit neweth fro day to day.	<i>begin anew from</i>
	The furst joy that there shall byn,	
	The blessed shall hit isyn,	<i>blessed one</i>
1755	The swete face of his Lorde there,	
	His God and his Shapere.	<i>Creator</i>
fol. 43v	In His feyreship He may Him showen,	<i>beauty; reveal Himself</i>
	And all thyng in Him may knowen.	
	So full he shall byn of joy and skyle	<i>he (i.e., the blessed one); wisdom</i>
1760	That he shall have all that he wyle;	<i>desires</i>
	Whatsever he wylneth, withouten gabbe,	<i>without deception (i.e., truly)</i>
	Bese on Him and he may it habbe.	<i>Look at Him (i.e., God)</i>
	Of hevyn he may ise the wydnes,	<i>see; breadth</i>
	The feyreshepe, and the heynes,	<i>majesty</i>
1765	And he may ise the dereworth Quene,	
	Goddiss Modur so bryght and shene,	<i>fair</i>
	The swete Made Seynt Marye,	<i>Maid (i.e., Virgin)</i>
	And all the feyre company	
	Of angels so feyre and bryght.	
1770	They woll makyn him joye with here myght;	<i>receive him joyfully</i>
	The apostlys and the martiris,	
	The confessors and the virginis,	
	Alle wolle him joy makyn —	
	Well is him that thidur may takyn!	<i>go</i>
1775	And alle is fryndys he shall knowe there	<i>his friends</i>
	That he hede in this world here.	
fol. 44r	Fadur and moder, syster and brother,	
	Miche joy everichon shall make with other —	<i>Great rejoicing</i>
	Ye, more then eny hert may understonde.	
1780	When thei hem syn in theke londe,	
	So myghti thei shull byn everuchon	

	That whidur thei wolde thei may gon,	<i>where</i>
	And thei shull be so lyght and swyft	
	That whidursever they thenk they may be lyft,	<i>wherever; think [of]; transported</i>
1785	And so slye and crafty they shull byn alle	
	That thei shull do all thyng that in here hert doth falle.	
	And wheresere the toon the tother metyth,	<i>one; other meets</i>
	With lovely chere thus he him gretyth:	<i>friendly expression; greets</i>
	"Iblessed be the Lord That thee wrowght	<i>Who made you</i>
1790	And hidur to this blysse and joy thee browght.	
	Iblessed be the tyme that thou ibore were,	
	So myche joy I have that I se thee here.	
	So myche blys I see on thee	<i>in</i>
	That all my blisse neweth me."	<i>it renews all my bliss for me</i>
1795	Thet other answereth him anonryght:	<i>immediately</i>
	"Ever iblessed be God Allmyght,	
fol. 44v	That seche joy hath igeve to thee,	
	Therfore my joy doubleth me;	
	On thee I se mychell joy and blys	<i>much</i>
1800	That all my joy newed is.	<i>is renewed</i>
	And ever here is myrthe and gret song,	
	And ever I se oure Shapere among,	
	That ilike Himselvyn us hath wrowght	
	And sethyn to this joy us browght.	
1805	Mi joy is doubled an hondredfold,	
	For I have all that I wolde."	<i>would want</i>
	Meche is the murthe that is at that feste	
	That ever withoutyn ende shall leste.	
	He that is lest feyre there	
1810	Shall shyne as the sonne forere.	<i>forever</i>
	No nyd is thenne that sunne be there, iwys;	<i>There is no need; sun</i>
	They shull shyne seven sythe bryght then heo now is.	<i>times [as]</i>
	When all thei shull be so bryght,	
	Then, by all maner of ryght,	
1815	He most be feyre and bryght and more clere	
	That more deserved that joy here.	
	So mony wonyngis me may ther isyn,	<i>many dwellings people; see</i>
	And gret compani of angels that woll ther byn,	
fol. 45r	In the joy so mony and so ryche,	<i>abundant</i>
1820	In diverse joyes, never oon other ilyche;	<i>like</i>
	And ever beholde the bryght and the shene,	
	The swete Mayden, oure hevyn Quene,	
	The bryghtest and clennest of bodi and thowght	<i>purest</i>
	Of alle the creaturis that ever God wrowght.	
1825	That is swete Marie, as I seyde before.	

	Here feyrenesse is so mychell more	<i>beauty (splendor); much</i>
	Before all other in feyrenesse,	
	As heo is worthe in hyennesse.	<i>excellence</i>
	So worthi and so hie is this Mayden myld	<i>exalted</i>
1830	That Jhesu Cryst is here child.	
	And as myche as heo hath of feyrenesse,	<i>she</i>
	As myche heo hath of worship and godnesse,	<i>So</i>
	For heo wernyth here love to no mon —	<i>denies</i>
	Heo helpeth us and socoureth us ichon;	
1835	For, all that ever in hevyn is	<i>For [this reason], everyone</i>
	Maketh to here joy and blis.	<i>Brings; her</i>
	Here goodship ne here hienesse,	
	Here frenship ne here bucsonnes,	<i>mercy</i>
	Ther may no mon thenke ne suggen	
1840	Ne here feyreship never juggen.	
fol. 45v	For els myght hit not be therfore,	<i>otherwise</i>
	When He wolde of here be bore,	
	That all feyrenes hath idyght	<i>beauty created</i>
	And all thyng wrowght aryght,	
1845	That whoso were on there Hym bethowght	<i>whoever; meditated on Him</i>
	In myche blysse were his hert ibrowght.	
	But the moost joy that there woll byn	
	Tho we shull God, oure Savior, isyn;	<i>When</i>
	That overgeth alle other blyssis uchon.	<i>surpasses; joys</i>
1850	Togeyns thilk joy ther nys non,	<i>Against this; is none</i>
	For thawgh a mon, withoutyn gabbe,	<i>a [single] man, without deception</i>
	Myght all that wyt holde and habbe	<i>hold and have all the wisdom</i>
	That han all men that byth,	<i>all people living have</i>
	That now in the world me syth,	<i>Who; people see</i>
1855	And he sete and thowght bothe nyght and day, ⁷²	
	Ever whill the world leste may,	<i>while; last</i>
	Yet he shuld not for all his myght	
	Openli understonden aryght	
	Oon the lest joy that God hath idyght	<i>One [of]; least</i>
1860	To hem that han servid Him aryght.	<i>have</i>
	How myght he then for eny thowght	
	Of Goddis feyrenes thenkyn owght?	<i>understand anything</i>

⁷² And he (i.e., this hypothetical all-wise man) sat and thought both night and day



EXPLANATORY NOTES TO *THE CASTLE OF LOVE*

Although these notes include overviews of important theological and philosophical topics in the poem, more information about these concepts can be found in resources such as *The Oxford Companion to Christian Thought* (Hastings et al., eds.), the *Encyclopedia of Medieval Philosophy* (Lagerlund, ed.), or *The A to Z of Medieval Philosophy and Theology* (by S. Brown and Flores). An excellent general resource for the treatment of religious topics in English literature is *A Dictionary of Biblical Tradition in English Literature* (Jeffrey, ed.). All translations throughout the notes are mine, unless otherwise noted.

- Incipit *Her byginnet . . . mennes byhove*. The four-line incipit, though not part of the poem, is an adjunct to the poem's prologue section in that it identifies the source of the poem and gives it a title. The incipit is a quatrain rhyming *abab*, as distinct from the poem, which is in rhyming couplets. (For discussion of the poem's title, see the section Title of the Poem in the Introduction to this volume, pp. 3–4.) Dearnley's study *Translators and Their Prologues in Medieval England* offers a detailed analysis of prologues in English translations, including a chapter focused on the four ME adaptations of the AN *Chateau d'amour* to understand the development of prologues from French to English (pp. 63–96). Dearnley identifies eleven discrete tropes used in English prologues, including that of identifying sources, used here (p. 64). Prologues to English works in general (not just translators' prologues) molded perceptions of the vernacular (for more on this topic, see explanatory note to lines 35–38, below); for examples and analysis of prologues from numerous medieval English works dating from 1280 to 1520, see the anthology edited by Wogan-Browne and colleagues, *The Idea of the Vernacular*.
- 1–6 *That good thenketh . . . the beginnyng*. Compare Matthew 12:35: "A good man out of a good treasure bringeth forth good things: and an evil man out of an evil treasure bringeth forth evil things," and Luke 6:45: "A good man out of the good treasure of his heart bringeth forth that which is good: and an evil man out of the evil treasure bringeth forth that which is evil. For out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh." Thomas Aquinas expounds on these issues of intention in *Summa Theologica*, "Of the Goodness of the Interior Act of the Will" (trans. Shapcote, ed. and rev. The Aquinas Institute, I–II, q. 19). Although not mentioned in Whiting, the MED identifies proverbial language in lines 1 (*mouen* [v.3], sense 2b [b]) and 3–4 (*thought* [n.], sense 6a).
- 7–10 *God, Fader and Sone . . . in onhod*. This passage states the doctrine of the Trinity, the idea that God comprises the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. For an in-depth discussion of the Trinitarian doctrine as it developed at the Council of Nicaea (325 CE), see Ayres, *Nicaea and Its Legacy*. The poem's articulation of the doctrine of the Trinity in the phrases *o God art and Thrillihod / And threo Persones in onhod* (repeated in variations throughout the poem) may be a direct allusion to lines from the Athanasian Creed: "unum Deum in Trinitate, et Trinitatem in uni-

tate veneremur" [we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in unity] (ed. and trans. Schaff, *Greek and Latin Creeds*, p. 66, no. 3). Grosseteste's language in *Dictum 60* is similar, where he asserts that "the smallest and most insignificant object in the universe, a speck of dust" might be understood as "a mirror of the Creator in its unity and trinity" (trans. Southern, p. 216; see also Grosseteste, "Grosseteste's *Dicta*," ed. Westermann and Goering, *Ordered Universe*). Such Trinitarian statements stand against heresies that denied Christ's divinity (see explanatory note to lines 559–60, below), as well as against those that were concerned with the unity of God and explicitly denied the Trinity. These included Adoptionism or Dynamic Monarchianism (which also denied Christ's divinity) and Sabellianism, which held that God was not three Persons in one but rather "revealed himself in three ways, or modes" in succession (Boer, *Short History of the Early Church*, p. 112). Augustine's treatise on the topic, *De Trinitate*, was influential in the Middle Ages (see Augustine, *Trinity*, trans. McKenna; Augustine, *On the Trinity*, ed. Matthews, trans. McKenna; Ayres, *Augustine and the Trinity*). The doctrine of the Trinity was an important topic among medieval theologians; for example, Thomas Aquinas, writing some thirty or forty years after the probable composition date of *Le chateau d'amour* (but a century or more before the surviving ME adaptations), discusses the Trinity in *Summa Theologiae* I, questions 27–43 (trans. Shapcote, ed. and rev. The Aquinas Institute). For the development of medieval Christian thought on the Trinity in the century after Grosseteste's death, see Friedman, *Medieval Trinitarian Thought*.

- 12–16 *To Whom . . . we here iseoth.* A paraphrase from Romans 11:36: "For of him, and by him, and in him, are all things: to him be glory for ever." Compare the Eucharistic doxology (said by the celebrant when raising the Host): "Per ipsum, et cum ipso, et in ipso, est tibi Deo Patri omnipotenti, in unitate Spiritus Sancti, omnis honor, et gloria" [Through whom, and with whom, and in whom, be unto Thee O God the Father almighty, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, all honour and glory] (Botte and Morhmann, *L'Ordinaire*, quoted in Pickstock, *After Writing*, p. 243; trans. Pickstock, p. 243n52).
- 19 *Alle we habbeth to help neode.* I base my gloss, "We all need help," on MED, *ned(e)* (n.1), sense 1d: "haven ~ of (on, to, unto), haven ~, to need (sth.)." Unfortunately, staining obscures much of the line in H (*Alle we to h . . .*), but Halliwell records the line as *Alle we to have helpe we nede* (p. 2), which, if correct, would support this interpretation (although it is problematic to accept Halliwell's readings at face value; see explanatory note to lines 28–35, below). Sajavaara rejects the interpretation "we need help" (p. 374n20), glossing the phrase instead as "we must help," based on the corresponding line in the AN poem, where he interprets *mester* to mean Modern French *métier* [job; work] (p. 374n19). Sajavaara seems to have misinterpreted, however. The AN verse reads, "Tuz avums mester de Deu aye" [We all have need of God's help] (Appendix, line 15). The AN noun *mester* can mean "need," (see AND, *mester*¹ [n.], sense 3) and the phrase *aver mester* means "to need, to be in need" (AND, *mester*¹, *aver mester*).
- 20–27 *That we . . . derworthé Drihte.* The prologue's discussion of world peoples and languages sets up the later discussion of the purpose of translating the poem into English (lines 35–38) and the relatively low status of the English language (lines 71–82), topoi of anxiety about writing in the vernacular common in medieval literature (Wogan-Browne et al., *Idea of the Vernacular*,

p. 19). See also explanatory notes to lines 35–38 and 71–82, below. The AN poem mentions only Hebrew, Greek, and Latin (“De ebreu, de greu, e de latin,” Appendix, line 18).

28–35 *As uche mon . . . mi resun schowen.* The scribe for H appears to have had difficulty interpreting these lines, and the passage makes little sense in H. Below is the whole passage in H (brackets signify reconstructed portions, as some parts are illegible due to staining):

Uche mon awght with all is myȝt	<i>Each person ought; his might</i>
Loovyng to synge to good full ȝorne	<i>To sing love to God (or good); eagerly</i>
With syche speche a[s] he con lorne	<i>such; can learn</i>
Ne mones ay to [be]n adrede	<i>Nor people always; be fearful</i>
Ne his ledone shall not be hed	<i>speech; withheld (hid)</i>
To herien is god þat hym haþ wrowght	<i>praise his God; has made</i>
And made [þys] world of nowghte	<i>this; [out] of nothing</i>
On en[glysshe] I my reson showe.	<i>In English; argument explain</i>

Weymouth suggests the difficulty of the passage stems from the copyist’s lack of familiarity with *Loftsong* from line 29, referring to the lines as “absolute nonsense” (“Robert Grosseteste’s *Castle*,” p. 52). Halliwell’s text might not accurately reflect the MS readings, however, since the first few pages were so damaged that he resorted to guesswork to supply the gaps (Weymouth, “Robert Grosseteste’s *Castle*,” p. 52n1). Previous editors may have accepted at face value portions of Halliwell’s transcription where the manuscript is now illegible, but Weymouth’s assessment of the scribe’s difficulty remains valid.

The ME text in V and A is closer to the corresponding AN passage, though the translator elaborated and rearranged the material, as is typical:

De bouche de chauntur,	As regards the mouth of the singer,
Ke ne seit close pur Deu loer	Let it not be blocked from praising God
E sun seint nun pronuncier;	And His holy name proclaiming;
Ke chescun en sun langage	So that each one in his language
Le conusse, sanz folage,	May know, without foolishness,
Sun Deu e sa redempcion,	His God and his redemption,
En romance comence ma raysun.	In French I begin my narrative.

(Appendix, lines 20–26)

31–33 *No monnes mouth . . . To serven his God.* These lines, based on the AN poem (Appendix, lines 20–22), are an allusion to Esther 13:17: “shut not the mouths of them that sing to thee [i.e., God].”

35–38 *On Englisch . . . ischulle tellen him.* The narrator announces the intention to make the poem accessible by writing in English for an unlearned audience unfamiliar with French and Latin. For discussion of this topic, see the section on Date, Audiences, and Language in the Introduction (pp. 5–12). The narrator revisits the topic in lines 71–82. The last line, *On Englisch ischulle tellen him . . .*, illustrates how the prologue “moves between discussion of the poem’s use of English and its subject matter” (Dearnley, *Translators and Their Prologues*, p. 92) For

a detailed discussion of the prologues of the different English translations of the *Chateau d'amour*, see Dearnley (*Translators and Their Prologues*, pp. 91–94).

- 38–82 *On Englisch . . . to His monhede*. These lines loosely translate the Latin prologue included in some copies of the AN poem. The purpose is similar to a table of contents in that it gives an outline of the poem's story of salvation history, a popular theme in the Middle Ages (see the Synopsis in the Introduction to this volume for more details [pp. 4–5]). The topical overview mentions God's creation of the world (Genesis 1), which he gives to Adam (Genesis 2); the loss of the world through sin (Genesis 3); the debate over the "prisoner" (Adam) by the Four Daughters of God; Jesus's redemption of humanity through the Incarnation, with specific mention of Mary's body as a "castle"; Judgment Day; and what people will experience in heaven and hell.
- 39–40 *the world was iwrouht . . . he*. As Sajavaara points out, *he* in line 40 refers to *world*, which is grammatically masculine in French (p. 374n40).
- 47–82 *Thorw . . . to His monhede*. These lines are an interpolated passage added between lines 36–37 of the AN poem (see Appendix) and based on the Latin prologue included in most of the AN exemplars (Sajavaara, p. 374n47–82). For the Latin prologue, see the textual note to the AN rubric.
- 49 *His sustren*. The "sisters" referred to here are the four virtues, Mercy, Truth, Justice, and Peace, personified in the poem as the Four Daughters of the King (i.e., God). See explanatory note to line 289, below.
- 53–55 *to whuche a castel He alihte . . . That the Marie bodi wes*. The idea of Mary's body as a castle protecting Jesus is longstanding and originated in part from Jerome's use in Luke 10:38 of *castellum* [village] in the Latin Vulgate Bible (Cornelius, "Figurative Castle," pp. 37–38; Sajavaara, p. 91; Mann, "Allegorical Buildings," p. 198). There is a more general allegory where the five senses guard the soul (see Cornelius's chapter, "The Castle and the Wardens of the Soul," pp. 20–36). Sajavaara discusses the allegory of the Castle of Love at length (pp. 90–101). The castle motif in medieval literature has been explored in depth by Cornelius, "Figurative Castle"; Mann, "Allegorical Buildings"; Wheatley, *Idea of the Castle*; and Whitehead, "A Fortress and a Shield" and *Castles of the Mind*. Boklund-Lagopoulou discusses additional uses of the castle or fortress and other metaphors in early ME religious works in "Yate of Heven" (p. 142). See the Allegory of the Castle of Love section in the Introduction to this volume (pp. 15–18) for further discussion.
- 55 *That the Marie bodi wes*. The phrase *Marie bodi* is an *s*-less genitive meaning "Mary's body." This form of the genitive is common in the poem, occurring at lines 113, *hevene blisse*; 164, *hevene blis*; 225, *hevene Driht*; 366, *suster wilnyng*; 378, *Merci herte*; 961, *Merci bihove*; 1343, *Helle gates*; 1430, *Thomas misbilevenesse*; 1569, *hevyn blys*. Sajavaara follows Mustanoja's suggestion that this structure is due "to Latin influence" (Sajavaara, p. 375n55). Rosenbach, summarizing earlier research on this construction and offering examples from her own corpus,

however, explains that this type of genitive was a regular occurrence alongside the *s*-genitive in ME and persisted into the Early Modern period (*Genitive Variation in English*, pp. 205–07).

- 57–66 *And tellen . . . Alle theos nomen*. The paraphrase is from Isaias 9:6: “For a child is born to us, and a son is given to us, and the government is upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called, Wonderful, Counsellor, God the Mighty, the Father of the world to come, the Prince of Peace.” See also lines 606–14. A good portion of the poem is structured around an extended discussion of how Jesus fits each of the qualities named in the biblical passage and how their significance should be understood. Southern (p. 226); Mackie (“Scribal Intervention,” p. 64); and Jahner (*Literature and Law*, p. 167) each discuss this aspect of the *Chasteau*, but the same organization holds true for the ME poem, save that the section describing the Counselor is missing (see explanatory note to line 938, below).
- 63 *Mihtful*. Though the literal meaning is “mighty,” the sense here is “possessing supernatural powers.” See *MED*, *mightful* (adj.), sense 1a, where this line from the poem is cited.
- 71–82 *Thauh hit on Englisch . . . to His monhede*. The translator’s comments about English in this section of the prologue form one of the “English prologue motifs” identified by Dearnley (*Translators and Their Prologues*, p. 64). For discussion of the issues about language raised in this passage and in lines 35–38, see the section on Date, Audiences, and Language in the Introduction to this volume (pp. 5–12).
- 78 *hony of the harde ston souken*. An allusion to Deuteronomy 32:13: “[The Lord] set him upon high land: that he might eat the fruits of the fields, that he might suck honey out of the rock, and oil out of the hardest stone.” Rhodes argues that the translator uses the allusion to show confidence “that English is an excellent medium for poetry and adequate for him to be able to communicate what is essential for an understanding of the Christian faith,” suggesting, “For the narrator, reading this poem becomes another form of sucking honey from a stone” (*Poetry Does Theology*, p. 54).
- 83–90 *Ofte ye . . . reste and ro*. The narrator alludes to God’s creation of the world as detailed in Genesis 1.
- 97–100 *Lucifer . . . to helle*. The recounting of Lucifer’s fall due to pride is an allusion to Isaias 14:12–15; see also Luke 10:18. This does not have a counterpart in the AN poem, though the poem alludes slightly later to the fall of the angels (see explanatory note to lines 152–54, below, for details). Sajavaara notes the importance of the allusion in accounting for “the jealousy felt by the Devil (an addition by the translator)” (p. 376n97–100). The envy of the devils in hell is mentioned explicitly in lines 211–12; see explanatory note to lines 209–22, below.
- 99 *then eni tonge mai telle*. Proverbial, though not mentioned in Whiting, whose closest entry is “To be gladder than Tongue can tell” (T379). See explanatory note to lines 690–92, below.
- 101–09 *And yit . . . the world forles*. This passage paraphrases Isaias 30:26: “And the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun, and the light of the sun shall be sevenfold, as the light of seven

days: in the day when the Lord shall bind up the wound of his people, and shall heal the stroke of their wound."

- 123 *breer*. The dog rose (*rosa canina*) or sweet briar or bramble is "a chiefly European wild rose" (MW, dog rose [n.]). The OF translation for the dog rose is *eglantine*, and the flower (along with roses in general) conveyed erotic symbolism in OF romance, especially the desirability of an inaccessible or unapproachable love object (Kendrick, *Chaucerian Play*, p. 149; see also *Le roman de la Rose*). The AN word appears in the AND as *eglater* (n.). In Chaucer's sendup of medieval romance, Sir Thopas, the description of the eponymous hero Thopas as "chaast and no lechour / And sweete as is the brembul flour / That bereth the rede hepe" (CT VII[B²] 745–47) plays on the usual erotic implications (Gordon, "Sensory Satires," p. 196). See explanatory note to line 719, below.
- 126–27 *valey of Ebron; / Ther He made Adam*. The Valley of Hebron is about thirty kilometers (about nineteen miles) south of Jerusalem (Sajavaara, pp. 376–77n126). Adam was commonly held to have been buried in Hebron, but the poem follows a lesser-known medieval tradition that also locates Adam's creation there (Murdoch, *Apocryphal Adam and Eve*, p. 126).
- 127–54 *Ther He made Adam . . . to helle*. The poem discusses God's creation of Adam and Eve and describes their idyllic prelapsarian lives (compare Genesis 2). For discussion of medieval ideas about the creation of Adam and Eve, see Murdoch, *The Medieval Popular Bible* and *The Apocryphal Adam and Eve in Medieval Europe*. Boulton notes that "the purpose of the creation of mankind was to make up for the gap in heaven caused by the expulsion of the fallen angels" (p. 63n9).
- 152–54 *Othat of hem to . . . Lucifer adoun to helle*. The idea is that Adam and Eve have so many descendants that they equal the number of angels that fell down to hell with Lucifer (as a result of his pride). Compare the AN poem, which in the corresponding lines does not directly mention Lucifer and the angels but instead alludes to them; when speaking of the hypothetical number of Adam's descendants, the narrator explains that they would be as numerous "[c]ume furent kaun par folie / E par orguil del ciel cheirent / E en enfern descendirent" [as were those (i.e., angels) that through folly / And through pride fell from heaven / And descended into hell] (Appendix, lines 98–100). See also explanatory notes to lines 97–100, above, and 209–22, below.
- 169–70 *That on . . . lawe iset*. The dichotomy in these lines is between natural law (innate moral feeling, arrived at through reason) and positive law (a law, whether divine or human, that is created and imposed). Romans 2:14–16 offers support for the idea of natural law: "For when the Gentiles, who have not the law, do by nature those things that are of the law; these having not the law are a law to themselves: Who shew the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience bearing witness to them, and their thoughts between themselves accusing, or also defending one another, in the day when God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ, according to my gospel." Grosseteste discusses natural and positive laws in detail in *On the Cessation of the Laws* (trans. Hildebrand; see especially 1.4–1.6, pp. 45–49). Grosseteste defines natural law as "actions that are intrinsically just," where "every rational crea-

ture, when it is considered in the state of its first creation uncorrupted by sin . . . could, by a movement of right reason uncorrupted, know the whole natural law, inscribe it immediately on its own mind by reasoning without labor or delay, and retain it inscribed on the tables of the heart without forgetfulness"; in contrast, positive law, "the law of deeds," is one that must "be dictated to the rational creature from the outside, for it could not know in matters that are indifferent what its Creator wants it to do unless he tells it" (*Cessation of the Laws*, trans. Hildebrand, p. 45). Grosseteste sees positive laws commanded by God as necessary, since "the fullest and most humble obedience consists in observing the law of deeds, or the positive law" (p. 47). In fact, Grosseteste holds that it is possible to act with perfect obedience only through the addition of positive law precisely because it cannot be arrived at rationally: "the rationality of testing and achieving perfect obedience consists in the observance of indifferent mandates that of themselves lack rationality" (p. 48). One such mandate is that mentioned in lines 174–76 of *The Castle of Love*: "*Of the appel yow never ne et, / Of the tre that is forbode, / So He seide* (see explanatory note to lines 174–78, below). For an in-depth examination of the topic of natural law, see the edited collection by Jacobs, *Reason, Religion, and Natural Law*, particularly the sections on medieval Jewish philosophy (pp. 81–129) and medieval Christian philosophy (pp. 131–97). For contextualization of Grosseteste's *On the Cessation of the Laws*, including other related works, his probable audience, and an outline of the work, see Hildebrand's introduction to the translation (pp. 3–24). Hoskin discusses natural and positive law in relation to Grosseteste's theories about pastoral work (*Robert Grosseteste and the 13th-Century Diocese of Lincoln*, pp. 71–78).

- 174–78 *Of the appel . . . lyf forlete*. These lines paraphrase Genesis 2:16–17: "And he commanded him, saying: Of every tree of paradise thou shalt eat: But of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat. For in what day soever thou shalt eat of it, thou shalt die the death." Grosseteste explains, "the Lord gave him [i.e., man] a positive law . . . namely, that he not eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, which was in the middle of paradise" (*Cessation of the Laws*, trans. Hildebrand, p. 47). The *tre that is forbode* (line 175) thus refers to the tree of the knowledge of good and evil.

The biblical story in Genesis does not identify the fruit growing on the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. Some early traditions favored the fig as the forbidden fruit, on the assumption that the fruit came from the same tree as the one from which Adam and Eve took leaves to cover their nakedness (Jager, *Tempter's Voice*, p. 67). See Genesis 3:7: "And the eyes of them both were opened: and when they perceived themselves to be naked, they sewed together fig leaves, and made themselves aprons." Michelangelo, for example, depicted the fruit as a fig in the Sistine Chapel ceiling fresco. *Genesis Rabba*, a collection of rabbinic commentary on Genesis, reports a debate among rabbis who variously identify the fruit as grape, wheat, citron, and fig (Shoulson, "Embrace of the Fig Tree," p. 885). (*Genesis Rabba* is the oldest extant collection, dating from the late fourth to early fifth centuries [Menn, *Judah and Tamar*, pp. 287–88]).

In ME the word *appel* (line 174) can refer, as in Modern English, to an apple (see *MED*, *appel*, -il, -ul [n.], sense 2), but *appel* also meant "[a]ny kind of fruit growing on a tree, shrub, or vine, such as an apple, crab apple, pear, peach, citron, banana, haw, berry, cucumber; also, a nut, a tuber" (*MED*, *appel*, -il, -ul [n.], sense 1a). Nevertheless, by the medieval period, the apple was the standard fruit visually (Jager, *Tempter's Voice*, p. 67). Written narratives, whether

Latin or vernacular, including the vernacular Bible, likewise identified the apple (Murdoch, *Adam's Grace*, pp. 16–18). The overlap of the Latin words for “apple” (*mālum*) and “evil” (*mālum*) invited medieval wordplay on the two meanings (Jager, *Tempter's Voice*, p. 182; Murdoch, *Adam's Grace*, p. 16) and may have contributed to the long-term identification of the apple as the fruit in question.

- 179–80 *And al the kynde . . . thulke dom.* These lines have no equivalent in the AN poem.
- 188–208 *Awei to sone . . . his owne gult.* These lines describe the Fall of mankind (detailed in the Bible in Genesis 2–3) resulting from Adam's disobedience to God by eating the *appel* (line 191), the action that broke both God's laws, [*t*]he *kuyndeliche* and the *set ek* [the natural and the positive also] (line 193; see explanatory note to lines 169–70, above, for details about natural and positive laws). The Fall is framed in legal terms here as a loss of inheritance: Adam had the *seisyn* (line 185), or “seisin,” which refers to “possession in freehold, freq. indicated or established by actual or physical possession” (*MED*, *seisine*, sense 1a), and then *hit forles* [forfeited it] (line 188). Adam [*w*]as cast out of his *heritage* (line 198) and [*o*]ut of his *heritage* he is *pult* [exiled] / *For synne and for his owne gult* (lines 207–08). For detailed discussion of Grosseteste's use of property and English law in relation to salvation history in the poem, see Jahner (*Literature and Law*, particularly pp. 161–74). The ME poem *The Harrowing of Hell* (ca. 1250) uses similar feudal and legal structures, especially as related to the household, to inform the argument between the Devil and Christ over Adam and his descendants (i.e., all the souls in hell at the time of Christ's Crucifixion) (see Nelson, “Performance of Power,” pp. 60–64).
- 209–22 *Lucifer gon wel . . . no forward breke.* These lines in the ME poem are interpolated between lines 150–51 of the AN poem, which has no corresponding lines. Here, Lucifer, or the Devil, and his demon cohorts take pleasure that Adam has fallen *thorw pruide* (line 213), as they had been envious of Adam's place in *that blisful londe* (i.e., paradise or Eden, line 212). The Fall additionally caused their power to grow until *al the world moste after hem go* [all the world had to follow their ways] (line 216), with the consequence that people had to go to hell when they died, no matter what good deed they did (lines 217–20); that was the promise God made to Adam, and God would not break a promise (lines 221–22). This view of the whole world having fallen due to Adam's disobedience lays the foundation for Jesus's redemption of humanity detailed later in the poem. See explanatory notes to lines 97–100 and 152–54, above.
- 227–30 *God ne wrouhte . . . hard and strong.* The difficulty in interpreting these lines stems in part from the ambiguous pronouns *his* (line 228) and *him* (line 229), which Sajavaara interprets as referring to God but I infer (from readings in H and the AN text) must refer to Adam. Differences between ME and Modern English grammar complicate the matter as well. The lines in H and the corresponding passage in the AN text are helpful in interpreting the passage. The AN text reads “*Deu ne fist chose si haute / Ke ne abeschast par sa defaute*” [God did not make a thing so high / That it was not cast down by his (Adam's) default] (Appendix, lines 155–56). Compare the readings in V (original, unedited text) and H:

V:

God ne wrouhte neuer þat þing

H:

God whrowght neuer þat þyng

Pat out les þorw his wonyng
ffor nis no wone on him ilyn
3if synne nere so hard and strong

[God never made that thing
That lost something due to his failing
For it is not his fault
Save that sin is so harsh and powerful]

But hit peyred þowrgh his wonnyng
But for þe wonnyng of him hit was not long
Nere þat synne was so harde & strong

[God never made that thing
But it deteriorated due to his failing
Save for the failing it was not due to him
Were [it] not that sin was so harsh and
powerful]

My emendation in line 228 (from *That* to *But hit*) attempts to solve the same problem Saja-vaara addresses by replacing *out* with *mihte* (see textual note to this line for details); Saja-vaara acknowledges the change “improves the line but does not restore the original sense” of the AN (p. 378n228). But the improvement from Saja-vaara’s emendation is minimal, since *out* is a normal variant of the ME pronoun *ought*, with the phrase “out les” meaning “lost something.” See *MED*, *ought* (pron.), sense 1 (a), “Anything” and sense 3 (a), “Something.” The implication of the passage is that Adam’s failing causes the Fall of the whole world.

- 233–40 *For sunne . . . thulke selve lay*. In these lines, the poem connects Adam’s sin of disobeying God’s command and eating the forbidden fruit (lines 234–38) with a law enforced every day in the king’s court (lines 239–40). In line 233, which states that *sunne and wone, al is on*, the word *wone* is a “fault,” or “a lack of conformity to a law or legal requirement” (see *MED*, *wane* [n.1], sense 2b, which quotes this line). In the corresponding lines in the AN poem, the word used is *defaute* (Appendix, lines 160–64). See the sections Debate and Legal Language (pp. 20–22) and Relation between *Le chateau d’amour* and *The Castle of Love* (pp. 22–26) in the Introduction for discussion of the idea of *defaute* in the AN poem and the English translator’s treatment of it.
- 239 *kynges court*. The king’s court is “a court presided over by the king or by a judge appointed by him”; see *MED*, *king* (n.), sense 1b (d).
- 242 *Sunnes thral*. The idea of being sin’s slave comes from the Gospel of John 8:34: “Jesus answered them: Amen, amen I say unto you: that whosoever committeth sin, is the servant of sin.”
- 243 *freore*. The comparative of *MED*, *fre* (adj.), sense 1d: “out of the bondage of sin, not subject to the Devil.”
- 255–62 *Thenne . . . withouten synne*. Jesus Christ is the other whom Adam must seek to plead his case, as Jesus shares human nature but *ne eete of the tre* (line 260) and has kept [t]he *threo lawen withouten synne* (line 262).
- 262–67 *threo lawen . . . sunne*. The laws described as *Thulke two of paradys* refer to obedience to God (*Thorw kynde to holden Godes heste*, line 172) and abstaining from the apple (“*Of the appel yow never ne et, / Of the tre that is forbode,*” / *So He seide*, lines 174–76); the first is the natural law, the second the positive law (see explanatory note to lines 169–70, above). The third law,

thulke of the Mount Synays / That to Moyses igiven was (lines 264–65), refers to the Ten Commandments, described in Exodus 20.

- 281–84 *Of on wille . . . of on miht.* These lines refer to the notion that the Father and Son are one. Compare John 10:30, where Jesus says, “I and the Father are one”; and John 14:9, “Jesus saith to him: Have I been so long a time with you; and have you not known me? Philip, he that seeth me seeth the Father also.” See also John 1:1–2. The idea of the Father and Son having “one substance” (compare “une sustance” from line 212 of the AN poem) is expressed in the Nicene Creed: “Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the only-begotten of his Father, of the substance of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father” (Percival, ed. and trans., “The Nicene Creed”). In arriving at this statement, “the First Nicean Council borrowed Origen’s term *homoousios*, that is ‘of the same substance,’ to underscore the truly divine nature of the Son,” but dispute over the term continued even after the Council, because “some asked if ‘of the same substance’ or ‘one in being’ referred to a numerical sameness or oneness or a generic similarity” (S. Brown, “Trinity,” 2:1339). Compare the AN text:

Tut autre tel cum fu le Pere	Fully just the same as was the Father
E si est le Fiz en la manere:	Indeed so is the Son in nature:
De un saver e de une pussance,	Of one knowledge and of one power,
De un voler e de une sustance.	Of one will and of one substance.

(Appendix, lines 209–12)

- 283 *fulnesse.* A theological concept, equivalent to the modern senses of “substance” or “being.” The MED, *fulnes(se)* (n.), sense 3b, glosses this as “totality, completeness; ?perfection.” The AN text uses the word “sustance” in this passage (see Appendix, line 212) and elsewhere where the English text has *fulnesse*. The AN word means “substance (of an entity), that which makes a being what it is; being, entity (of the Trinity)” (AND, *substance* [n.], sense 3), implying that in the ME poem *fulnesse* means something similar. Below are the lines in the English poem that use *fulnesse* with the corresponding lines containing “sustance” in the AN:

ME:	AN:
He gaf a dole of His fulnesse (291)	Sun aferant de sustance (219)
For of Thi fulnesse icomen ich wes (376)	De ta sustance issui (296)
And of Thi fulnesse am I come (460)	Yssue de ta sustance (374)
For We beoth on in one fulnesse (533)	Un sumes nus en sustance (437)
In one fulnesse and in no mo (564)	Une sustance e plus nun (466)

The AN poem includes two additional uses of the word “sustance” (Appendix, lines 223 and 224) that have no correspondence in the ME translation. Similarly, the ME poem includes one mention of *folnesse* (line 294) that has no parallel in the AN (see explanatory note to lines 294–95, below).

- 285–88 *Thorw the Sone . . . to ende bringe.* These lines describe the Christian understanding of God’s process of creation. The idea that God the Father created everything through the Son (i.e., Jesus) is supported by numerous New Testament passages. See, for example, John 1:3, “All

things were made by [i.e., through] him [i.e., the Son]: and without him was made nothing that was made"; Hebrews 1:1–2, "God . . . [i]n these days hath spoken to us by his Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also he made the world"; and Colossians 1:15–16, "[the Son] is the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of every creature: For in him were all things created in heaven and on earth, visible and invisible, whether thrones, or dominations, or principalities, or powers: all things were created by him and in him." See also John 1:10, 1 Corinthians 8:6, and Romans 11:36. Compare lines 213–16 of the AN poem, which describes the process a little differently. For a more detailed discussion of the theological implications, see explanatory note to lines 559–60, below. The narrator also reiterates the idea in lines 531 and 650.

- 289 *Four douhtren*. These Four Daughters of God are the personified virtues Mercy (Merci), Truth (Soth), Justice (Riht), and Peace (Pees). The Four Daughters' dispute forms a significant section of the text (lines 275–520) and was a popular element. The idea of the Four Daughters is an elaboration of Psalm 84:11: "Mercy and truth have met each other: justice and peace have kissed" (see Sajavaara, p. 63; Boulton, p. 65n25). Traver examines the allegory at length in *The Four Daughters of God*, as does Sajavaara (pp. 62–90). Murphy's overview of the tradition includes a list of ME texts with specific locations of the allegory in each work ("Four Daughters of God," *DBTEL*). See the Allegory of the Four Daughters of God section in the Introduction to this volume (pp. 13–14) for discussion.
- 290–91 *to uchone sunderlyng / He gaf a dole of His fulnesse*. Line 290 is the only quotation attested for *MED*, *sonderling* (adv.). The idea of the Four Daughters inheriting from their Father (i.e., God) comes from English law, since "women in [Anglo-Norman] England could and did inherit estates that were often considerable" (Boulton, p. 65n26).
- 294–95 *yit was al the folnesse on / That to Himself bilay*. In other words, God's completeness is undiminished and still "one," or complete, even though he gives some of it to each of the Four Daughters. There is no corresponding passage in the AN text.
- 330–44 *I beseche . . . isold to me*. Mercy makes the case that the "*wrecche prisoun*" (i.e., Adam; line 331) only disobeyed God and ate the forbidden fruit because his enemies seduced him, causing him to sin; therefore, he should be delivered up to her. This rationale does not appear in sources or analogues to Grosseteste's allegory, but Mercy's speech follows Anselm's position, which "den[ie]d the Devil's right of possession: humanity's captivity was in itself just because of sin, while the Devil's possession of the human race was in itself unjust because he had gained power through deception" (Marx, *Devil's Rights and the Redemption*, p. 69).
- 360 *That Riht hedde him idemet*. The ME poem has Justice condemning the prisoner here, but in the AN poem, it is "Verité" [Truth] (Appendix, lines 294 and 298), even though the allegorical figure of Verité is speaking. In both poems the allegorical figures frequently speak of themselves in third person, making it sometimes difficult to distinguish allegorical uses from conceptual ones.

- 399 *Ther beth rihte domes mitte.* The word *mitte* is a contraction of *mid thee*, meaning “with you”; see *MED*, *mid* (prep.1), sense 7, where this line from the poem is cited as an example of *ben mid the*, “are in thee, come from thee, are characteristic of thee; etc.” Compare Apocalypse 16:7: “Yea, O Lord God Almighty, true and just are thy judgments.”
- 448–52 *But eighte soulen . . . nas beleved more.* The allusion is to the story of Noah’s Flood, detailed in Genesis 6–9, which God sent to punish the sins of mankind, though in this case the poem treats the Flood “as punishment for Adam’s sin” (Boulton, p. 67n32). The line *But eighte soulen that weren iyemed* (line 448) recalls 1 Peter 3:20: “a few, that is, eight souls, were saved by water.”
- 505 *nis not worth an hawe.* A proverbial expression meaning “worthless” (see Whiting H193). A haw is a hawthorn berry, signifying something of very little value; see *MED*, *haue* (n.2).
- 507 *withouten gabbe.* Literally: “without idle talk” or “without deception,” but the sense is “truly”; see *MED*, *gabbe* (n.), sense 1b.
- 529 *Thi wisdom me clepeth Me.* Compare 1 Corinthians 1:24: “Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God.”
- 531 *al the world for Me Thou wrouhtest.* The line reiterates the idea that God created everything through Jesus; see explanatory notes to lines 285–88, above, and 559–60, below.
- 547 *Nimen Ichulle the thralles weden.* This literal statement about putting on the slave’s clothes alludes to Christ’s birth as Mary’s son Jesus, where he “puts on” human flesh (and human nature). Compare Philippians 2:7: “[Jesus] taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men, and in habit found as a man.” See explanatory note to lines 575–80, below.
- 549 *alone Ichul holde the doom.* This refers to Christ’s willingness to redeem humanity by receiving the punishment for Adam’s sin.
- 552 *Pees and Riht cussen.* An allusion to Psalm 84:11: “justice and peace have kissed” (see also explanatory note to line 289, above).
- 559–60 *Withoute God . . . al thing wrouht.* The belief that God the Father created everything [*t*] *horw God the Sone* (line 560) is stated in the opening of the Gospel of John, where the Word refers to Jesus: “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him [i.e., the Word]: and without him was made nothing that was made” (John 1:1–3). John 1:14 explains that “the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us,” meaning that God’s spoken “Word,” which created everything, refers to Jesus Christ as God incarnate. The narrator restates this in line 650.

This idea became part of the Nicene Creed. Intended to combat early heresies that doubted Christ’s double nature as both fully man and fully God, the Nicene Creed was adopted in 325 CE at the First Council of Nicaea and revised in 381 at the Council of Con-

stantinople, though the principal concepts are significantly older (G. Evans, *Brief History of Heresy*, pp. 29–30). The Arian heresy (from Arius) was one that both denied the Trinity and held that Jesus “was the first and highest of all created beings” but nevertheless a creation, who was neither divine nor fully human because “Jesus had a human body but not a human soul” (Boer, *Short History of the Early Church*, p. 114). The Apollinarian heresy (from Apollinaris), which similarly denied Jesus’s human nature, nevertheless affirmed his divinity; Apollinarianism was condemned by the Council of Constantinople in 381 (Boer, *Short History of the Early Church*, pp. 167–68). For a detailed discussion of the Council of Nicaea, see Ayres, *Nicaea and Its Legacy*. See also explanatory note to lines 285–88, above.

562 *God the Holigostes miht.* The Holy Ghost or Holy Spirit is the third person of the Trinity. See explanatory note to lines 7–10, above.

563–64 The phrase *alle threo beth on* (line 563) refers to the Trinity; see explanatory note to lines 7–10, above. For discussion of the theological concept of *fulnesse*, or “substance,” “being” (line 564) in the poem, see explanatory note to line 283, above.

572 *covryng.* The meaning here is “deliverance from sin” or “redemption” (*MED*, *coveringe*, *cover* [ger.2], sense 1b), with a play on “covering” as “clothing” (*MED*, *coveringe* [ger.1], sense 2b), alluding to Genesis 3:7, “And the eyes of them both (i.e., Adam and Eve) were opened: and when they perceived themselves to be naked, they sewed together fig leaves, and made themselves aprons.” The wordplay here reminds readers that, although Adam and Eve can make clothing to cover their naked bodies, they cannot redeem themselves from sin through their own efforts.

575–80 *Thenne moste nede . . . the world ibrouht.* These lines emphasize the dual nature of Jesus as divine and human: God became man (line 576) and suffered death as a man before rising from the dead as God (lines 577–78) and redeeming humanity from the consequences of Adam and Eve’s disobedience (i.e., from the sin of eating the forbidden fruit). See Acts 5:30–31; Philip-
pians 2:5–8. Compare line 547.

585–88 *The ninti-nine . . . He is on.* These lines refer to Jesus’s Gospel parable of the lost sheep (or good shepherd), where the shepherd leaves the ninety-nine sheep who have not wandered off in order to find the one that is lost (see Matthew 18:12–14, Luke 15:3–7, and John 10:1–16). Lines 587–88 explain that there is no other such Shepherd, nor a more merciful Lord than God.

591 *lyk Himself wolde him make.* A reference to God creating humanity in his image: “And he said: Let us make man to our image and likeness” (Genesis 1:26).

597–604 *To Abraham . . . Godes comynge wel.* The poem lists a series of Old Testament prophets that Christian tradition interprets as having foretold various aspects of Jesus’s birth, life, death, and Resurrection: Abraham, Moses, Jonah, Habakkuk, Elijah, Daniel, Jeremiah, David, Isaiah, Elisha, and Samuel. Daniel was believed to have prophesied Christ’s birth, as well as the end times, including the Antichrist and Christ’s thousand-year reign on earth leading up to the

Last Judgment (Martin, "Daniel," *DBTEL*, p. 179; compare Apocalypse 20). Some of these figures were interpreted as "types" or "forerunners" of Christ, particularly Moses and Jonah. Beginning with the New Testament, Christian tradition sees Moses as prefiguring Christ (see Hebrews 3:1–6). Based on Matthew 12:38–41 (compare Luke 11:29–32), Jonah was likewise interpreted as a precursor to Christ, particularly in the Resurrection, as Jonah's experience in the whale was connected by some church fathers to Christ's Harrowing of Hell (Summerfield et al., "Jonah," *DBTEL*, p. 409). See explanatory note to lines 1339–48, below, for more on the Harrowing of Hell.

- 606a *Puer natus est nobis, filius datus est nobis*. A paraphrase of the Latin Vulgate, "parvulus enim natus est nobis, filius datus est nobis" (Isaias 9:6), which translates as "a little one (i.e., a child) indeed is born to us, a son is given to us."
- 606–14 *Ac herkeneth . . . schal Him sen*. A paraphrase of Isaias 9:6. See explanatory note to lines 57–66, above.
- 645–62 *And yit . . . monnes kynde bifalle*. These lines emphasize the theological position that Jesus was fully human. For details on this issue, see explanatory note to lines 559–60, above. The poem discusses Jesus's perfect human nature but is careful to stress that he was completely human: *Thulke schaft [nature] to underfonge withalle [take on completely] / That ouhte to monnes kynde bifalle* (lines 661–62). The narrator also explains that *withouten Him is synne evere, / For wone dude He nevere* (lines 651–52). This lack of sin should be understood in light of Jesus's fully human nature; the fact that he could sin but did not is the reason Jesus is able to redeem humanity from Adam's sin of disobedience.
- 646–47 *Of the Child . . . Wonderful*. See explanatory note to lines 57–66, above.
- 648 *soth God and soth mon*. This refers to Jesus's dual nature as "true God and true man." See explanatory notes to lines 559–60, above, and 928, below.
- 650 *And thorw Him is al thing iwrouht*. For discussion of the idea that God created everything through Jesus, see explanatory notes to lines 285–88 and 559–60, above.
- 651–53 *withouten Him is synne . . . wone . . . mighte lees*. These three lines in the English poem are an expansion of a single line in the AN: "Kar defaute n'est pas fet" [Indeed sin (default) is not created] (Appendix, line 555), an expansion that reveals the sophistication of the translator's insights into the AN poem. See the section Relation between *Le chateau d'amour* and *The Castle of Love* in the Introduction (pp. 22–26) for discussion.
- 686 *witen*. Here, the verb *witien*, meaning "to protect" or "to defend" (see *MED*, *witien* [v.1], sense 1a).
- 687 *thre bayles*. The description of the castle is highly symbolic, even as it makes use of specific and real architectural features. "Bailey" can refer either to the wall surrounding a castle or keep, or to the courtyard within the wall (see *MW*, *bailey* [n.]). The meaning in this case is "[t]he

wall surrounding a castle or fortified city” (*MED*, *baille* [n.2], sense 1a). Here there are three baileys, one inside the other, for added protection, which Whitehead explains symbolize “virginity, chastity, and matrimony” (*Castles of the Mind*, p. 94) and Wheatley likewise identifies as “the Virgin’s concentric virtues of maidenhood, chastity and holy marriage” (p. 95). For more on the general metaphor of Mary as a castle, see explanatory note to lines 53–55, above.

690–92 *Ne may . . . ne mouth spelle*. See also lines 99, 1158–60, and 1360–62. The idea that no tongue may tell nor heart think of something is a proverbial exaggeration occurring widely in both secular and religious writings. For example, in *The Merchant’s Tale*, Chaucer’s Merchant avows that he cannot speak of the “blisse” between husband and wife, for “[t]her may no tongue telle, or herte thynke” (*CT* IV[E]1340–41). Chaucer’s Parson uses almost the same phrase in his discussion of virginity: “she hath in hire that tonge may nat telle ne herte thynke” (*CT* X[I]949). Boulton identifies it as “an inexpressibility formula based on 1 Cor[inthians] 2:9” (p. 80n113). The passage in the AN text is “De biauté i ad plus asez / Ke lange ne put descrire, / Quer penser, ne bouche dire” [Of beauty it has much more / Than tongue can describe, / Heart conceive, or mouth tell] (Appendix, lines 592–94).

695–96 *the carnels so stondeth upriht / Wel iplaned and feir idiht*. The sense of crenels that *stondeth upriht* is that they “have the long axis perpendicular to” the ground (*MED*, *upright* [adv.], sense 1c); the next line describes them as “completely smoothed (or made even with the ground) and beautifully constructed.” Whereas the English poem describes the battlements with a sense of both function and beauty, the AN poem emphasizes the decorative aspects: “aurné de kerneyaus, / Bien poliz e bons et beaus” [adorned with crenels, / Well polished and fine and beautiful] (Appendix, lines 597–98); see *AND*, *aurner*¹ [v.]. As with the *thre bayles* in line 687, the poem’s description of the castle is at once symbolic and dependent on descriptions of architectural features. For more on the general metaphor of Mary’s body as a castle, see explanatory note to lines 53–55, above.

697 *Seve berbicans*. A barbican is “an outer fortification of a city or castle; a fortified gate or bridge” (*MED*, *barbican* [n.], sense 1). The poem circles back to the seven barbicans in lines 823–27, where they are described as representing the seven virtues (see explanatory notes to lines 823–27 and 799–800, below). The extended metaphor of the castle or fortress symbolizing Mary’s body protecting Jesus relies on real architectural features. For more on Mary’s body as a castle, see explanatory note to lines 53–55, above.

719 *raddore then evere eny rose schal*. The castle’s illumination, which makes it seem as if it is burning, is described as “redder than any rose.” In comparing Mary’s body (the castle) to a rose, the poem evokes both the erotic implications of the rose in the courtly love tradition (discussed in explanatory note to line 123, above) and the metaphor of Mary’s heart as a rose. In a sermon on the Assumption of Mary, early thirteenth-century troubadour-turned-Cistercian-monk Hélinand of Froidmont describes Mary’s heart as a rose, whose “delicate whiteness near the roots of the rose’s leaves is the perpetual purity of the Virgin Mary’s heart,” explaining that “from the roots of the leaves [her heart] shields and defends the five corporal senses, an unsailable fortification from without, as well as guarding it always perfectly whole” (Hélinand of Froidmont, quoted in Rubin, *Mother of God*, p. 155).

- 736 *a trone*. According to the *MED*, the “throne” here is “a symbol of a virtue” (see *MED*, *trone* [n.2], sense 2c).
- 761–96 *This is . . . hire above*. This section of the allegory of the Castle of Love explains the meaning of the colors in the castle’s description. Panti notes that “*The Castle of Love* connects the symbolic use of light and colour with the traditional numerical symbolism that Grosseteste had used since the *De Luce*” but adds that “in the *Castle* . . . and other theological writings, [Grosseteste] uses numbers to indicate the Trinity, theological virtues and cardinal virtues, and employs light itself and colors to denote the redemptive action of God on man” (“Robert Grosseteste’s Cosmology of Light,” p. 74).
- 761 *the Maydenes bodi*. Mary’s body was considered the source of Jesus’s human nature, and the Virgin Birth was thought to have kept Jesus from inheriting original sin (Izbicki, “Immaculate Conception,” p. 396). The reference to Mary as the *Mayden* (Virgin) alludes to the belief that she remained a virgin through “divine intervention [whereby] Jesus was conceived not by man but by the power of the Holy Spirit” (Logan, *History of the Church in the Middle Ages*, p. 136). The doctrine of the Virgin Birth is based on the story of Jesus’s conception in the Gospels of Matthew (1:18–21) and Luke (1:26–35). As the doctrine developed, theologians came to agree that Mary’s virginity remained intact even after childbirth, an idea supported by apocryphal stories about Mary’s life, including “the independent testimony of the midwife that after the birth of Christ Mary remained *virgo intacta*” (Collette, “Chaucer’s Discourse of Mariology,” p. 130). Some theologians, including Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory the Great, went even further, asserting “that Mary remained a virgin through the delivery of her son, which was effected ‘without opening the uterus,’ according to Gregory the Great” (Klapisch-Zuber, *History of Women in the West*, p. 26). Despite such definitive claims, the subject of Mary’s bodily integrity during the process of childbirth remained a subject of discussion and debate in the Middle Ages. For a detailed cultural history of Mary’s status as virgin, see Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex*. Boklund-Lagopoulou points out that religious lyrics conceptualize Mary’s body “in multiple metaphors, derived from centuries of patristic biblical hermeneutics,” and explains that whereas “many of the poems to the Virgin make use of the language of courtly love, they never catalogue the beauties of Mary’s body” (“*Yate of Heven*,” p. 139). For details on Mary’s body as a castle, see explanatory note to lines 53–55, above.
- The Virgin Mary was an extremely popular figure in the Middle Ages, including in vernacular literature. Although she is a frequent figure in OE works, literary interest in her rises in the thirteenth century (when Grosseteste was active); this popularity continues throughout the period in medieval English carols and lyrics, legendary literature (e.g., the *Gesta Romanorum* [*Deeds of the Romans*]), and the Corpus Christi cycle plays (D. Jeffrey, “Mary,” *DBTEL*, pp. 491–93). For a comprehensive history of the figure of Mary, see Rubin, *Mother of God* (especially parts 3–4, pp. 121–82).
- 789–96 *The thridde heuh . . . is hire above*. The passage interprets the meaning of lines 719–20, which describe the castle alight as if it were burning. Here, that burning is unpacked as signifying Mary’s *clere love and briht* / *That heo is al with iliht* / *And itent with the fur of love* (lines 793–95). Mary is ablaze with pure love and inflamed with the fire of love to serve God. The idea of

the heart being inspired by the Holy Spirit to burn with the fire of love (charity) was a commonplace in medieval Christianity. See explanatory note to line 719, above.

- 799–800 *Foure hed thewes . . . / Foure vertues cardinals*. The four cardinal virtues are “the four chief virtues necessary to earthly life” (*MED*, *cardinal* [adj.], sense 1c), namely, prudence or wisdom, justice, temperance or restraint, and fortitude or courage (see explanatory note to lines 801–02, below). Additionally, there are three theological virtues: faith, hope, and charity (love); all three of the latter are mentioned in 1 Corinthians 13, which focuses on the superiority of charity. The two groups of virtues are sometimes grouped together as the seven virtues or the seven moral virtues (not the same as the *seven vertues* identified in line 827 that specifically counter the seven deadly sins).
- 799 *me iseoth*. Sajavaara identifies *iseoth* as intransitive here, citing the *OED* (p. 386n799). The verb *isen* (v.1), however, does not appear to have such a usage (see the *MED* entry). An intransitive usage of the related verb *sen* (v.1), meaning “appear” or “seem,” may be possible in ME, but it is rare and questionable; the *MED* cites only fifteenth-century examples with the caveat that they may be errors for *semen* (v.2) (*MED*, *sen* [v.1], sense 26).
- 801–02 *Strengthe and Sleishchupe, / Rihtfulnesse and Worschupe*. The *MED* quotes these lines as an example for the word *warshipe* (n.), sense 1b, “the moral virtue of prudence, the faculty of discernment or discretion” but the same lines are quoted in the *MED* under *sleighshipe* (n.), where this is the only quotation attested, and the only meaning given is “wisdom, prudence” (probably based on the meanings of *sleighnesse* [n.]). One of the words likely means “temperance” rather than “prudence,” given that this is a list of the four cardinal virtues. The corresponding lines in the AN text read, “Ceo est, Force e Temperaunce / E Justize e Prudence” [That is, Fortitude and Temperance / And Justice and Prudence] (Appendix, lines 705–06). Sajavaara interprets *Sleishchupe* to mean “skill” in his glossary (p. 428). In the marginal note to line 802, Horstmann-Furnivall identifies *temperance* in the AN poem as the word corresponding to *Worschupe* in the ME translation.
- 820 *Mayden chast and weddet wes*. The line refers to the idea prominent in medieval Christianity that Mary was married but remained a virgin. See explanatory note to line 761, above, for details.
- 823–27 *seve berbicans . . . seven vertues*. Here the poem again mentions the seven barbicans (outer fortifications) from line 697 but now explains that they represent seven virtues, which in subsequent lines are identified as those that counter the seven deadly sins. Boulton points out the symbolic nature of the number of barbicans, given that “[m]id-thirteenth-century castles had one or two” (p. 71n57). Wheatley notes Grosseteste’s use of “architectural symbolism . . . echoing the treatment of Biblical buildings, such as Ezekiel’s vision of the temple, with particular emphasis . . . on the numerological correspondences found in such examples” (p. 95). See explanatory notes to lines 799–800 and 801–02, above.
- 828 *seven dedly sinne*. The seven deadly sins, in the order mentioned in the poem, are pride, envy, gluttony, lechery (lust), covetousness (greed or avarice), wrath (anger), and sloth. I capitalize

them in the poem to illustrate their allegorical nature. See explanatory note to lines 829–42, below, for more detail.

829–42 *That is Pruide . . . thorw alle thinge.* The concept that Pride is the root of all evil, expressed in the first two lines, is proverbial (see Whiting P389). To highlight the importance of this section on the seven deadly sins, the scribe of the Vernon MS placed pilcrows before the lines that mention each sin: *Pruide* (line 829), *Envye* (line 833), *Glotonye* (line 834), *Lecherye* (line 835), *Covetyse* (line 837), *Wraththe* (line 839); there is none at line 842 for *Sleuthe*. Though they became an important theological concept, the seven deadly sins are nevertheless not strictly biblical. For a wide-ranging look at these sins in medieval literature and culture, see the essay collection edited by Newhauser and Ridyard, *Sin in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*.

In these lines, the seven deadly sins are countered by seven opposing virtues, though normally sloth would be countered by diligence, not spiritual joy (Boulton, p. 73n72). Where the English poem has *Sleuthe* (line 842), the AN poem has *la male Tristesce* [wicked Melancholy (i.e., Sloth)] (Appendix, line 746). AND, *tristesce* (n.), defines the word in a theological context as “sadness, melancholy (as one of the seven deadly sins, traditionally referred to as ‘sloth’).” The idea of virtues opposing sins derives from Aurelius Clemens Prudentius’s allegorical Latin poem *Psychomachia* [*Battle for the Soul*] (ca. 410), which describes a battle between sins and virtues for the soul of the Christian; see Klausner’s Introduction to *The Castle of Perseverance* for more on the background of this theme (pp. 1–2).

860 *the neddre on the tre. A neddre* [serpent] (Modern English “adder”) is specifically associated with the Devil’s disguise as a serpent in order to tempt Eve to eat the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil in the Garden of Eden (see Genesis 3:1–5). See MED, *naddre* (n.), sense 1c. See explanatory note to lines 1716–17, below.

862 *al his hed todryve.* An allusion to Genesis 3:15, where God says to the serpent (i.e., the Devil) who tempts Eve: “I will put enmities between thee and the woman, and thy seed and her seed: she shall crush thy head, and thou shalt lie in wait for her heel.” Early Christians saw the passage as a foreshadowing of Christ; in medieval Christian exegesis, as in this poem, the woman crushing the serpent’s head was understood as an allusion to the Virgin Mary.

874–76 *the Rihtwys Sonne . . . schadewede on hire in wolde / And feirede hir.* The metaphor of the sun overshadowing Mary and exalting her refers to God’s power (through the Holy Spirit) overshadowing Mary at Christ’s conception and alludes to part of the Annunciation in Luke 1:35: “The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee. And therefore also the Holy which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God.” Compare the Wycliffite Bible’s translation of Luke 1:35: “The Hooly Goost schal come fro aboue in to thee, and the vertu of the Hiyeste schal ouerschadewe thee; and therfor that hooli thing that schal be borun of thee, schal be clepid the sone of God” (Wycliffe, “John Wycliffe Bible”). The Annunciation refers to the event where the archangel Gabriel comes to Mary and announces that she will bear the son of God, conceived through the Holy Spirit (see Luke 1:26–38).

- 877–78 *Thorw the faste gat . . . lette faste beo*. These lines emphasize the idea that Mary remains a virgin even after she has conceived and born Jesus (the *faste gat* is Mary's virginity). For more on the meanings of the *faste gat*, see the Allegory of the Castle of Love section in the Introduction (pp. 15–18). For more about Mary's body as a protective castle housing Jesus, see explanatory note to lines 53–55, above; for more about Mary's virginity, see explanatory note to line 761, above. Representing virginity as a gate was not only used in religious writings; for example, the idea appears in the thirteenth-century allegorical poem *Le roman de la Rose* [*The Romance of the Rose*] by Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, where the attempt on virginity is represented as an assault on a castle. Whitehead outlines the two competing versions of the besieged castle in medieval literature: "the courtly castle of the flesh [that] is built to await violation," and "the religious castle of unbroken virtue [that] only remains perfect to the extent that it remain[s] inviolate" (*Castles of the Mind*, p. 98; see also pp. 89–90 and 97–98). See also the section of the Introduction on Courtly Romance (pp. 19–20). For more contextualization of the representation of virginity in the Middle Ages, see Kelly and Leslie's edited collection *Menacing Virgins*.
- 890 *That gostliche beoth in herte povere*. Compare the first beatitude: "Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven" (Matthew 5:3).
- 893–94 *The Fend . . . / The World, my Flesch*. The reference to the World, the Flesh, and the Devil as the three conventional enemies of humanity or the soul is a commonplace in Christian tradition (see, e.g., *MED*, *fend* [n.], sense 5). For a detailed discussion, see Howard, *Three Temptations* (pp. 61–63). The theme was popular in medieval literature. Holy Church warns Piers against the three early in *Piers Plowman* (see Langland, *Piers the Plowman*, ed. Skeat, Passus 1, lines 39–40). (A version of the A-text of *Piers Plowman* appears in the Vernon MS, the base text of the first 1514 lines of this edition of *The Castle of Love*.) Chaucer-the-Pilgrim mentions "[t]he three enemys of mankynde — that is to seyn, the flessh, the feend, and the world" in his Tale of Melibee (CT VII[B³]1420[*2611]). A more prominent use of these traditional enemies is the personification of the three foes as characters in *The Castle of Perseverance*, a morality play that, like *The Castle of Love*, tells the story of salvation history.
- 898–903 *The Fend . . . And my Flesch*. These lines again mention the three traditional enemies of mankind: *The Fend* (line 898), *The Worlde* (line 901), and *my Flesch* (line 903). See explanatory note to lines 893–94, above.
- 912 *Charité*. As explained in the *MED*, *charité* (n.), sense 1a (a), refers to "[t]he supreme virtue of Love or Charity according to Christian doctrine, comprising affection, devotion, benevolence, kindness, mercy, gratitude as between God and man or man and man."
- 917–18 *Thorw this laddre, God . . . into eorthe alihte*. Literally, the ladder refers to the Virgin Mary's body. Theologically, the ladder symbolizes "communication between heaven and earth" (see *MED*, *ladder*[e] [n.], sense 2b). This idea most likely derives from the biblical Jacob's ladder, which he saw in a dream: "And he saw in his sleep a ladder standing upon the earth, and the top thereof touching heaven: the angels also of God ascending and descending by it" (Genesis 28:12).

- 919 *nom of hire His monhede*. Literally, “took of her (Mary) His human nature,” but the broader sense is that he became incarnate.
- 921 *the yard that bereth the flour*. An allusion to the flowering of Aaron’s rod in Numbers 17:8, which was taken by Christians as an analogy to Christ’s birth, as “the budding rod is seen to prefigure the miraculous fecundity of the virgin birth of Jesus” (D. Jeffrey, “Aaron,” *DBTEL*, p. 2).
- 923–25 *And thus . . . therefore*. See explanatory note to lines 57–66, above.
- 928 *two kuynden*. This refers to the two natures of Jesus: divine and human. Whereas in lines 635–62, Grosseteste focuses on Jesus’s fully human nature, in lines 927–44 he emphasizes Christ’s dual nature as fully God and fully man.
- 938 *That He is soth God and soth mon*. After this line the translator skips over lines 847–914 of the AN poem (see Appendix). The AN lines include an explanation of how there was peace on earth due to the rule of Caesar Augustus, who is identified in the Gospel of Luke as emperor when Jesus was born (see Luke 2:1–7; Augustus established the so-called Pax Romana or Pax Augusta). The AN verses also include a theological discussion involving the technical philosophical terms *natura naturans* [God as the creator] and *natura naturata* [nature as the creation], as well as an account of Jesus as a true Counselor, who found humanity lost and cast out of paradise, and who will show the way to heaven. For further discussion, see the section Relation between *Le chateau d’amour* and *The Castle of Love* in the Introduction (pp. 22–26).
In the section missing from the ME poem, the AN includes the lines “Loange e glorie al Tut Pussaunt!” / E pes en terre est crié / A gent de bone volunté” [“Praise and glory to the Almighty!” / And peace on earth is proclaimed / To people of good will] (Appendix, lines 852–54), a paraphrase of Luke 2:14: “Glory to God in the highest; and on earth peace to men of good will.”
- 941 *That thou aboute nouht fer se*. The AN verse, “Ou circumscription n’est mie” [In which is no limitation at all] (Appendix, line 917), apparently confused some scribes, as the stemma that includes MSS B, O, and L has *circumspection* in place of *circumscription* (see textual note to line 917 of the AN poem). The ME translator appears to have had a manuscript with the word *circumspection* and interpreted it to mean something like “the action of seeing on all sides.” Compare *OED*, *circumspection*, sense 1a, which includes the literal action of “scanning of surrounding objections or circumstances,” a meaning obsolete in Modern English and not included in *AND*, *circumspeccion* (n.), “care, attention,” or *MED*, *circumspeccioun* (n.), “Careful consideration, or the ability to exercise it; prudence, providence.”
- 959–60 *Mi yok . . . to beren*. A paraphrase of Matthew 11:30: “For my yoke is sweet and my burden light.”
- 976 *todreynen*. This line is the only quotation attested for *MED*, *todereinen* (v.), “To maintain (someone’s right) by battle, champion.”

- 1011–14 *Forthi Lucifer . . . aftur him wende*. This is the fourth mention of Lucifer’s fall into hell in the ME poem, and the only explicit mention of him in the AN poem (compare Appendix, lines 985–88). In both poems, the narrator expresses fear that worldly people who do not follow Jesus’s teachings will fall into hell like Lucifer. See explanatory notes to lines 97–100, 152–54, and 209–22, above, for discussion of the other references to Lucifer in the ME poem.
- 1024 *trewe love and cler*. The AN text uses *fin amur* [true love] to describe the love God desires from humanity (Appendix, line 998) and again to characterize God’s love for humanity (Appendix, line 1376). This phrase has a dual resonance as a term for courtly love in lyric poetry as well as the perfect love of God in religious contexts (Boulton, p. 78n99). The phrase *fyn amur* also appears in Thomas of Hales’s *Love Rune* (line 91). See the section on Courtly Romance in the Introduction (pp. 19–20).
- 1041–1132 *The Fend wondrede . . . itiyed fast*. The dialogue between Jesus and the Devil is full of legal argumentation. The encounter alludes to the biblical account of Christ’s temptation in the wilderness, detailed in the Gospels of Matthew (4:1–11) and Luke (4:1–13) and mentioned in Mark (1:12–13). Marx includes a detailed discussion of the scene and its theological complexity in relation to the idea of the Devil’s rights theory of Christ’s redemption of humanity, which argued that “God was under an obligation to respect the Devil’s right to possess humanity and that humanity could be freed and reconciled to God only if the Devil abused his power, which he did by killing the sinless Christ” (*Devil’s Rights and the Redemption*, p. 1; see pp. 69–71 for Marx’s full argument). See the discussion of this topic in the Introduction (pp. 21–22 and p. 38).
- 1058 *congraffet*. This line is the only quotation attested for *MED*, *congraffed* (ppl.), “Written down, registered.” Perhaps coined from the AN *cyrografez*, past participle of *AND*, *cirograffer* (v.trans.), “to make duplicate or triplicate copies of a formal document in the form of a chirograph.”
- 1070–72 *Lest he hedde the miht of Gode . . . he hedde igete*. These are subjunctive forms used to signify a counterfactual condition: literally, “For fear that he had the might of God”; “he had succeeded.” Modern English requires the modal “would” in these instances: “For fear that he would have the might of God”; “he would be successful.”
- 1090 *He ne oughte from wo disseysed be*. Sjavaara emends *He* to *I* based in part on the AN poem: “Ne voil a tort estre deseisi” [I do not intend to be wrongly dispossessed] (Appendix, line 1060). Weymouth glosses the word *disseysed* as “delivered,” noting the line’s “mistranslation” of AN (p. 79). The *MED* likewise suggests the meaning is “to deliver (sb. from suffering)” (*disseisen* [v.], sense 2c), although this line is the only attested example for this meaning; the usual significance is “to deprive (sb.) of seisin,” “to dispossess (sb.) unlawfully (of land, goods, etc.)” (sense 1a), “to deprive (sb.) of authority, dominion, or privileges” (sense 2a), as in the AN poem. Note that the word still survives in Modern English as “to disseise,” that is, “to deprive especially wrongfully of seisin: dispossess” (*MW*, *disseise* [v.]). It seems likely the ME text reflects a corruption of the AN line due to some difficulty in comprehending its meaning. The

reading in H (*I wot not with whom I shuld desseyssed be*) likewise highlights the trouble translators, scribes, and readers apparently had in interpreting the line.

1130–32 *As fisch that . . . hok itiyed fast*. Proverbial; Whiting cites as an example of the proverb “The Fish is taken by the bait” (F230).

1145–56 *Fore ure unwrestschupe . . . to the herte*. This passage details Jesus’s suffering, Crucifixion, and death, called the Passion in Christian tradition. The events are related in the Gospels of Matthew (26–27), Mark (14–16), Luke (22–23), and John (18–19). The Crucifixion and Passion were popular topics in literature throughout the medieval period, particularly in devotional literature in OE and early ME; medieval lyrics; Langland’s *Piers Plowman*; and the Corpus Christi cycle plays of York, Towneley, Coventry, and Chester (Quinn and Donahue, “Passion, Cross,” *DBTEL*, pp. 584–85). In *The Castle of Love*, the narrator ties each of Christ’s sufferings, leading up to and including his Crucifixion, to specific sins humanity has committed; compare, for example, the *Glossa Ordinaria* [*Ordinary Gloss*], a medieval collection of commentaries or glosses on the Bible, which attributes Jesus’s suffering from the crown of thorns to humanity’s sins (*PL* 114.420, cited in D. Jeffrey, “Crown of Thorns,” *DBTEL*, p. 173). The crown of thorns, *coroune of thornes on His hed* (line 1146), is not specifically mentioned in Luke but is described in the other three Gospels: (see Matthew 27:29, Mark 15:17, and John 19:2).

1152 *Atter heo Him dude to drinke, imeynt with eisil*. The vinegar was mixed with something bitter; though I gloss *atter* as “gall” based on the account in Matthew (27:34); Mark says it was myrrh (15:23), and John (19:29) and Luke have just vinegar (23:36). The *MED*, *atter* (n.) says the word refers to something poisonous (sense 1) or bitter (sense 2).

H adds the following lines after 1152: *The Iewes deden þis to him for gret vylny / Bote he suffred hit all pacyently*. This view, that Jews participated in or were outright responsible for Christ’s crucifixion, reflects a common component of antisemitism present as early as the Gospel of Matthew (J. Edwards, “The Church and the Jews,” p. 88). The Jews were expelled from England in 1290, thus when the *ME Castle of Love* was written, Jews were no longer an active presence in English communities. During Grosseteste’s lifetime, however, there were still Jews living in Britain, including in Leicester, where Grosseteste was archdeacon until 1232, the year the earl of Leicester Simon de Montfort had the Jews permanently expelled (Goering, “Grosseteste and the Jews of Leicester,” p. 182). Grosseteste’s views on Jews are outlined in his Letter 5, addressed to Margaret, countess of Winchester, Montfort’s great-aunt, who gave the Jews of Leicester sanctuary after Montfort expelled them (Watt, “Grosseteste and the Jews,” p. 201). Letter 5 denounced the countess’s actions, and Southern proposes that Grosseteste might have instigated the Leicester removal (p. 246). For further discussion, see Goering, “Robert Grosseteste and the Jews of Leicester,” and Watt, “Grosseteste and the Jews.” For an edition of Letter 5, see Grosseteste, “Epistola Quinta,” ed. Luard; for a translation, see Grosseteste, “Epistola Quinta: An English Translation,” trans. Mantello and Goering (also available in Grosseteste, *Letters*, trans. Mantello and Goering, pp. 65–70). In a similar context but later in the poem, the AN witness used for the text in the Appendix includes a line accusing the Jews of striking Jesus. See textual note to line 1500 of the AN text.

- 1153 *otewyse werkes*. The *MED* suggests *otewyse* is an error for *odious* (adj.) and quotes this line under sense 1d, “morally reprehensible, heinous,” but it seems that the word could equally be either a compound formed from *out* and *wise*, meaning something like “outward” or a version of *MED*, *outwith* (adj.), meaning “worldly.” The corresponding phrase in the AN poem reads, “E pur nos mauveys fez foreinz” [And for our wicked worldly deeds] (Appendix, line 1129); Boulton translates “mauveys fez foreinz” as “wicked outward deeds” (p. 80n112) and Mackie as “wicked, alien deeds” (p. 172). In the textual note, Weymouth offers an alternative translation for the AN: “And for our evil deeds which were *not his own*” (italics in original), further suggesting the original ME reading in V and A, *as there anonden*, “is evidently corrupt” and “ought to mean ‘as there imputed to him’, or ‘which were not his own’, or ‘which we were guilty of’” (line 1151).
- 1158–60 *No tongue . . . pyne and wo*. Proverbial; see explanatory note to lines 690–92, above. Compare the AN poem, which reads, “Launge ne put taunt retrere, / Ne quer de home taunt penser, / Cum il pur nus se fist pener” [Tongue cannot so relate, / Nor the heart of man so conceive, / How He made Himself suffer for us] (Appendix, lines 1132–34).
- 1176 *vertue*. The *MED* translates the word in this specific quotation as “the force or power which causes the functioning of the brain” (*vertu* [n.], sense 4a).
- 1179 *felynge*. The AN verse has “le taster” (line 1153), which is a substantive infinitive that can be translated as either the “(act of) touching, feeling” or the “(act of) tasting”; see *AND*, *taster*¹ (v.), (sbst. inf.), senses 1 and 2. I have translated the AN word as “touching,” following the ME translation.
- 1182 *tithelynge*. The *MED* quotes this line as the sole example of *tithelinge* (n.), sense 1, “?A tenth part; ?a division into ten, decimating.” The context suggests the sense is of the division of the soul from the body. For comparison, the AN poem has “Nature ne put souffrir / Le alme einz del cors partir” [Nature cannot allow / The soul to separate from the body before that] (Appendix, lines 1155–56).
- 1197–1200 *Ac the prophecye . . . ful bitter wounde*. This passage refers to Luke 2:34–35: “And Simeon blessed them and said to Mary his mother: Behold this child is set for the fall and for the resurrection of many in Israel and for a sign which shall be contradicted. And thy own soul a sword shall pierce, that, out of many hearts thoughts may be revealed.”
- 1232 *Adam*. Note that the AN poem reads “Eve” (Appendix, line 1205).
- 1265–74 *For atte neces . . . sothfast mon*. Turning the water into wine at the wedding in Cana is the first miracle that Jesus performs, mentioned only in the Gospel of John (2:1–10).
- 1267 *Architriclyn*. From the Latin *architriclinus*, this refers to the master of the feast or chief steward at the wedding, but the scribe capitalizes the word here as a name, since in ME the word is often used as a proper name as well as a common noun; see *MED*, *architriclin* (n.). Compare the Latin Vulgate: *architriclinus* (John 2:9).

- 1277–82 *That fyf thousand . . . ifulled ek.* The miracle of the five loaves and two fishes, also referred to as “the feeding of the five thousand,” is the only miracle Jesus performs before his death that appears in all four Gospels: Matthew 14:13–21, Mark 6:31–44, Luke 9:10–17, and John 6:5–15. This is a separate miracle from the feeding of the four thousand, attested in Matthew (15:32–39) and Mark (8:1–9).
- 1283–90 *Of Lazar . . . arerede him also.* John 11:41–44 attests the miracle of Jesus raising Lazarus from the dead.
- 1285–86 *That foure dawes he leigh along / In the buriles, that he stonk.* Compare John 11:39: “Jesus saith: Take away the stone. Martha, the sister of him that was dead, saith to him: Lord, by this time he stinketh, for he is now of four days.”
- 1297–98 *Persones threo in Thrillihod / And o God thaugh in onhod.* A statement affirming the idea of the Trinity, repeated in variations throughout the poem here and at lines 9–10, 1241–42, and 1505–06. The repetition of concept and rhyme give the couplet the flavor of a refrain. See explanatory note to lines 7–10, above.
- 1310 *But as a mon the rynde fleth.* The literal meaning of someone peeling away the bark can be understood metaphorically as going deeper than the superficial meaning or the literal sense. The AN text gives a different sense: “Mes cum en rimant l’escorce” [Except as if in coating the bark with hoarfrost], suggesting one can only tell of God’s power and strength superficially, like hoarfrost covering the bark of a tree (Appendix, line 1284). Although AND gives only one verb *rimer*, meaning “to put into rhyme, versify,” I base my translation on OF from Godefroy, *rimer*² (v.), meaning in Modern French *geler blanc* [to freeze white, to frost, to rime]. Boulton translates *rimant* (from Murray, line 1292) as “scratch” (p. 82 and p. 82n124), and Mackie’s edition has *rongant*, translated as “scratching” (Mackie-*Chasteu*, line 1296; Mackie, p. 174).
- 1339–48 *For thorw . . . with herte trewe.* This passage refers to the Harrowing of Hell, the idea that Jesus descended into hell for three days, rescued those who had served God faithfully before Christ’s coming, defeated the Devil, and broke the gates of hell. An influential view of the topic was that of Augustine, who described the Harrowing of Hell in *Sermo de symbolo* [*Sermon on the Creed*]: “He descended into hell to free Adam the first man and the patriarchs and prophets and all the righteous, who were held there through original sin, and to call them, now released from the bonds of sin and redeemed by his blood, out of that same imprisonment and hellish place back to their homeland above and to the joys of eternal life” (Tamburr, trans., *Harrowing of Hell*, p. 15). For detailed discussion, see Tamburr’s *The Harrowing of Hell in Medieval England*.
- 1345 *A gret bite He bot, of helle nom.* The ME translator’s metaphor of Jesus taking a bite out of hell comes from the AN, “A enfern fist un grant mors” [He took a great bite out of hell] (Appendix, line 1315) and is a reference to Osee (Hosea) 13:14: “O death, I will be thy death; O hell, I will be thy bite.” Based on this biblical allusion, the Sarum Use for Palm Sunday describes Jesus as “Mors mortis, inferni morsus” [Death of death, bite of hell] (Dickinson, *Missale*

Sarum, col. 259). (The *Sarum Use* was practiced in Salisbury Cathedral during the Middle Ages.) In *Sermo de symbolo* [*Sermon on the Creed*], Augustine describes Jesus taking a bite of hell: “Partim momordit infernum pro parte eorum quos liberavit: partim reliquit, pro parte eorum qui pro principalibus criminibus in tormentis remanserunt” [He bit off part of hell for the portion of those whom he freed: he left part for the portion of those who remained in torment because of original sin] (chap. 7).

- 1353–56 *He was enarmed . . . him binom.* Compare Luke 11:21–22: “When a strong man armed keepeth his court, those things are in peace which he possesseth. But if a stronger than he come upon him, and overcome him; he will take away all his armour wherein he trusted, and will distribute his spoils.” Weymouth’s note points out the connection to the verses in Luke but suggests that neither the English translator nor the AN scribe understood the intended allusion (line 1351).
- 1360–62 *His strengthe . . . His mihtful deden.* Proverbial. See explanatory note to lines 690–92, above.
- 1406–09 *Othat . . . tobrek.* The lines refer to Jesus’s Resurrection on the third day after death, on Easter Sunday, *Erliche uppon a Sonenday* (line 1408). The Resurrection specifically refers to Jesus’s bodily existence, not simply the spirit or soul returning from the dead. The Gospels and other books of the New Testament do not describe the Resurrection itself but rather the discovery of the empty tomb by Mary Magdalene and other women (except in the Gospel of John, where she is alone), and several subsequent appearances of Jesus to the disciples and other followers. See Matthew 28, Mark 16, Luke 24, and John 20.
- 1409–10 *Tho the niht fro the day tobrek, / So seide Seynt Austin tho he spek.* Augustine calculates from the Gospels that the Resurrection took place at dawn (*Trinity*, pp. 142–43). The word *spek* can be understood as “wrote” since it refers to written works by Augustine; see *MED*, *speken* (v.), sense 10a: “To write; state or declare in writing; write (in a book, gospel, letter, etc.).”
- 1415–16 *To His disciples . . . eode and come.* In Luke 24:36–43, Jesus appears among the disciples, who think they are seeing a spirit. In order to show that his body is real, Jesus shows them his wounds and eats in front of them.
- 1429 *For muche us dude sikernesse.* Where the ME text uses *sikernesse* [certainty], the AN has *avantance* [advantage] (line 1403), which is the only attested example in the *AND* for *avantance*² (n); the usual meaning is a pejorative one of “boasting, bragging,” or “arrogance” according to *AND*, *avantance*¹ (n.). Note that in OF, the word *avantance* conveys the Modern French meanings *avantage*, *profit* [advantage, profit] are typical meanings, as well as *vanité* [vanity] (see Godefroy, *avantance* [n.]).
- 1430–44 *Of Thomas . . . not sen.* This scene with “doubting Thomas” comes from the Gospel of John (20:24–29). The incident was popular enough to inspire a number of apocryphal works attributed to Thomas, and popularity remained strong throughout the Middle Ages, with doubting Thomas appearing in works such as the *Cursor Mundi* [*Runner of the World*] (a bib-

lical paraphrase) and various Corpus Christi cycle plays (D. Jeffrey, "Thomas," *DBTEL*, pp. 766–67).

- 1434 *Longeus*. Medieval tradition held that the name of the Roman soldier who pierced Jesus's side on the Cross was Longinus of Caesarea, though he is not named in the Gospel account (John 19:34). "Longinus" was also conflated with the centurion who avowed with others at the Crucifixion, "Indeed this was the Son of God" (Matthew 27:54), and on this basis was thought to have converted to Christianity. The first example of the soldier's name occurs in an illumination in a late-sixth-century manuscript (ca. 586), where the name is written above the soldier piercing Jesus's side (D. Jeffrey, "Longinus," *DBTEL*, p. 461). The name also appears in the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, referring to both the soldier with the spear and the centurion who testified (Peebles, *Legend of Longinus*, pp. 7–8). According to some medieval traditions, Longinus was the blind dupe of Christ's actual tormentors, as in the stage directions of a Corpus Christi play where, after piercing Jesus's side, Longinus rubs the blood on his eyes and his sight is restored, signifying his salvation (Kolve, *Play Called Corpus Christi*, p. 219).
- 1435 *woundes grene*. The meaning of *grene* as "unhealed" is given in *MED*, *grene* (adj.) 4b: "of a wound, pain, painful memory: recent, unhealed, bitter." A similar meaning remains in use in Modern English in medical contexts, where a green wound is one "recently incurred and unhealed" (see *MW*, medical definition, *green* [adj.] 2).
- 1456 *the Holygost, that glit of Hem bo*. That the Holy Spirit proceeds from both the Father and the Son is a doctrinal statement. The concept is referred to in shorthand as *filioque* [lit., "and the Son")] and was incorporated into the Nicene Creed beginning in 589 at the Third Synod of Toledo, causing a major rift between Eastern and Western Christianity (Oden, *Classic Christianity*, p. 521). Augustine, writing in the century before that, supported the idea, though he maintained a more significant role for the Father than the Son in describing the Holy Spirit's procession (Dunham, *Trinity and Creation in Augustine*, p. 35). By the late sixth century, the idea of *filioque* had become accepted in the West (Siecienski, *Filioque*, p. 65). For further discussion of the history of how this doctrine developed and its effects on the division between East and West in the church, see Siecienski, *Filioque*. For a nuanced discussion of Augustine's theology on the question of the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Son, see Ayres, *Augustine and the Trinity* (especially pp. 263–66).
- 1457–63 *iboren eft . . . eft ben ibore*. The idea of being "born again" refers to baptism. See the Gospel of John 3:3–8 and explanatory note to lines 1464–66, below.
- 1464–66 *sume streon . . . gostliche streneth*. The passage explains what is meant by being "born again." The idea is that one must be begotten and born as a human being first before being born again spiritually (i.e., baptized) by Jesus through *the water of vertu* (line 1465). In the Bible, Jesus explains the process of being "born again" in the Gospel of John 3:3–8.
- 1492–93 *to hevene He steth, / On Holy Thoresday*. The reference is to Jesus's bodily Ascension into heaven forty days after the Resurrection (celebrated at Easter), described at length in Acts 1:9–11. See also Luke 24:51. The ME poem's mention of Holy Thursday refers to Ascension

Day. In contrast to the more oblique reference in the ME poem, the AN poem refers directly to the Ascension: “a ciel munta; / Ceo fu a la Ascensiun” [to heaven ascended; / This was at the Ascension] (Appendix, lines 1462–63).

1496 *skewes*. The MED quotes this line for *skeu* (n.1), sense 1a, “The sky, heavens,” but sense 1b, “a cloud” (here, plural: “clouds”) more accurately translates the AN “nues” [clouds] (Appendix, line 1466).

1497 *With sothnesse and wey and lif*. Compare John 14:5–6: “Thomas saith to him: Lord, we know not whither thou goest. And how can we know the way? Jesus saith to him: I am the way, and the truth, and the life. No man cometh to the Father, but by me.”

1498–99 *feire cumpanye . . . out of helle nom*. The ME softens the AN poem’s almost violent description of Jesus’s action in carrying souls out of hell. Where the AN has “la bele proie . . . Ke de enfern avoit ravi” [the fair prey . . . whom He had carried off (lit., ravished) from hell] (Appendix, lines 1468 and 1470), the translation uses neutral language. Thus *proie* [prey] becomes *cumpanye* and the English word *nom* replaces *ravi*, despite the Romance cognate *ravishen*. Though AND, *preie*¹ (n.), sense 4, “flock, company, group” fits with the ME translation, the use of *ravir* to describe the action suggests “prey” or “quarry” is the more likely intended meaning (see AND, *ravir* [v.trans.], esp. senses 1 and 3). The changes in the ME suggest a deliberate choice to moderate the language of spiritual ravishment the original poem offers.

1515–18 *Ysayes spelle . . . Prince of Pes*. The poem again alludes to Isaiah 9:6, though without paraphrasing the whole verse as in lines 57–65 and 606–14.

1522–24 *He shall ageyn come this world to juggen . . . To deme bothe queke and dede*. These lines echo the Nicene Creed, an official profession of Christian faith first adopted in 325 (see explanatory note to lines 559–60, above, for more detail). Compare also 2 Timothy 4:1, “Jesus Christ, who shall judge the living and the dead.”

Christ’s judgment of the living and the dead is the central theme of the Last Judgment. Salvation history ends in a legal judgment, the same way it began, an idea that Shoemaker points out was particularly stressed in the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215; nevertheless, notably, this notion “elided an alternative possibility, contemplated but rejected by medieval theologians, in which the redemption of mankind from original sin and servitude to the devil might be accomplished through a simple exercise of divine power rather than judgment” (“Devil at Law,” p. 570).

Doomsday or the Last Judgment was a popular topic in the Middle Ages, favored in medieval works of all types, including poetry, drama, lyrics and carols, histories, as well as the more obvious sermons and other didactic and moral works (Emmerson, “Last Judgment,” DBTEL, p. 435).

1525–1620 *But fyftene dayes . . . ryght syde stonde*. As the opening two lines indicate (*fyftene dayes before the Dome / Fyftene tokyns ther shull come*), the passage includes a variant of *The Fifteen Signs Before Doomsday* (Sajavaara, p. 393n1525–1620), which listed all the terrible events that would take place in the fifteen days leading up to the Last Judgment, or Doomsday. The idea of the fifteen

signs was “a popular [theme] both in medieval prose and poetry, which may find its origin on the apocryphal Apocalypse of Thomas” (Olson, “‘Earth and Sky Will Be Ablaze,’” p. 359). Heist discusses in more detail the adaptation in *The Castle of Love* (*Fifteen Signs*, pp. 145–49). For more about the Last Judgment, see explanatory note to lines 1522–24, above.

This section of nearly a hundred lines in the ME poem is mostly an interpolated passage that fits between lines 1494 and 1496 in the AN text (line 1495 in the AN does not appear to have a parallel line in the ME). Nevertheless, the AN text includes a similar, much shorter passage (detailing only that fire will purify the world before Jesus comes), which comes slightly later in the poem, beginning “Apres ceo tel signes verrunt, / Par laqueles tute gent murrunt” [After this they will see such signs, / By which everyone will die] (Appendix, lines 1529–30). This passage in the ME poem does include a few lines transposed from that later section of the AN poem: ME lines 1565–68 match AN lines 1525–28; ME lines 1609–14 correspond to AN lines 1543–46; and ME lines 1616–20 align with AN lines 1547–52. Because this portion of the poem survives only in H, it is unknown whether the scribe added the material or whether it was present in the exemplar for H.

- 1529 *Fourti cupetys heire*. Forty cubits is equivalent to about sixty feet. The cubit is “A measure of length [orig., the distance from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger]; usu. eighteen inches” (*MED*, *cubite* [n.], sense 1a).
- 1565–67 *And sey . . . ne syn*. These lines detailing the appeal to the mountains and earth echo Luke 23:30: “Then shall they begin to say to the mountains: Fall upon us; and to the hills: Cover us” (see also Apocalypse 6:16). The lines occur in an earlier section of the poem in the ME translation than in the AN poem (lines 1525–28 in the AN poem). See explanatory note to lines 1525–1620, above.
- 1601 *Hevyn and erthe shull byn aleyde*. Perhaps an allusion to Apocalypse 21:1: “the first heaven and the first earth was gone.” The *MED* has noted in the Supplemental Materials section of *aleien* (v.) that a new sense is to be added based on this line.
- 1602 *unteyede*. This is the only quotation attested for *MED*, *unteien* (v.), sense 3.
- 1609–14 *The fyftenethe day . . . weryn, iwys*. These lines correspond to AN lines 1543–46.
- 1610 *Hevyn and erthe and all hit newe maken*. Compare Apocalypse 21:1: “And I saw a new heaven and a new earth.”
- 1616–20 *The anges . . . ryght syde stonde*. These lines correspond to AN lines 1547–52, whereas AN line 1553 (“A ceus dirra nostre Seignur” [To those our Lord will say]) matches ME line 1651 (*And sey with mylde stevyn and swete*).
- 1617 *shull in body and soule aryse*. The line refers to the resurrection of the faithful at the Last Judgment, a core Christian belief. It is of theological importance that both body and soul are resurrected at the Last Judgment, for the doctrine of resurrection “has primary reference to bodies” and “is literally a ‘rising again,’” through “to judgment and transformation,” distinct from rein-

- carnation, immortality, or simple raising of the dead (e.g., Lazarus) (Gooch, "Resurrection," *DBTEL*, p. 663).
- 1621–32 *Then shall . . . from his hert.* These lines reiterate Jesus's sufferings in the Passion. See explanatory note to lines 1145–56, above.
- 1621–22 *Then shall . . . showe to us.* The ME translation picks up at line 1496 of the AN poem at this point. See explanatory note to lines 1525–1620, above.
- 1632 *blod and watur.* This detail of Jesus's Crucifixion comes from the Gospel of John (19:34). Blood and water are not mentioned in the earlier passage that details Jesus's sufferings in the Passion; there, the narrator only explains that *me [people] His syde thurlede right to the herte* (line 1156). The blood would signify Christ's redemption of humanity, whereas water could refer to symbolic purification or perhaps baptism. Howes points out that medieval depictions of blood and water in Christ's Passion "present the intermingling of the two fluids as a passageway to the divine" (*Transformative Waters*, p. 139); Howes's chapter 5 of *Transformative Waters* is useful for its focus on the pairing of blood and water (pp. 137–68; of note is her contextualization of the cultural significance of these fluids in medieval medicine, pp. 142–48). See also explanatory note to line 1434, above.
- 1652–58 *When I was hongry . . . I was seke.* Compare Matthew 25:35–36: "For I was hungry, and you gave me to eat; I was thirsty, and you gave me to drink; I was a stranger, and you took me in: Naked, and you covered me: sick, and you visited me: I was in prison, and you came to me."
- 1663–83 *Then shull the blessed . . . laste evermore.* These lines explain the division of the saved or *blessed* (line 1663) and the damned or *cursede* (line 1665) into heaven and hell, respectively, at the Last Judgment.
- 1667 *upreceyveng.* This line is the only quotation attested for *MED*, *upreceiveng* (ger.), "The receiving of the dead into Heaven at the Last Judgment.
- 1689–92 *Ye, more joy . . . loved Him here.* The passage paraphrases 1 Corinthians 2:9: "But, as it is written: That eye hath not seen, nor ear heard: neither hath it entered into the heart of man, what things God hath prepared for them that love him." The poem includes somewhat looser and less complete paraphrases at lines 690–92, 1158–60, and 1360–62.
- 1699–1746 *In gret sorewe . . . shull be ther.* The narrator describes at great length the suffering sinners will experience in hell, a description that is slightly expanded from the corresponding section of the AN poem (Appendix, lines 1599–1638).
- 1707 *foure.* This is the fourth sorrow; the ME lists the same sorrows as in the AN poem but does not number the first three; the AN numbers them as follows: the first is sorrow, the second darkness, the third fear, the fourth inextinguishable fire (Appendix, lines 1606–11).

- 1716–17 *byttur wormys . . . Neddris, snakys, and taddis*. This menagerie is expanded from a single AN verse, “vermine de male plaist” [unpleasant worms (vermin)] (Appendix, line 1615). These slithering creatures can all be associated with the Devil or hell. Worms might refer to vermin or “any creature that slithers, creeps, or crawls” but might also be “any vile creature that torments souls in hell” (*MED*, *worm* [n.], senses 2a and 2b, respectively). Snakes in general, and *naddres* or adders in particular, were associated with the Devil, specifically with the temptation of Eve in the Garden of Eden (see Genesis 3:1–5). Toads could represent “a malevolent, loathsome creature of hell, a creature of torment” and “a symbol of the devil” (see *MED*, *tode* [n.], sense 1b). See also explanatory note to line 860, above.
- 1721–22 *sytere . . . brother . . . fremed . . . sybbe*. The AN poem does not specify that strangers and relatives curse each other, as here, but simply says, “Li un al autre donc dira” [The one to the other then will say] (Appendix, line 1619).
- 1731 *forstyflyd*. This line is the only quotation attested for *MED*, ?*forstifled* (ppl.). See the textual note to this line for further discussion.
- 1743 *Long is ever, and long is oo*. The phrase is idiomatic, meaning “forever is a long time”; see *MED*, *o* (adv.), sense 2a, *long is ai and long is ~*. Compare similar lines from the anonymous lyric “Ubi sount qui ante nos fuerunt?” [Where are those who were before us?]: “Long is ay, and long is ho, / Long is wy, and long is wo” (Furnivall, ed., p. 762, stanza 4). The poem is also known by its first line: “Uuere beþ þey biforen vs weren” (see *DIMEV* 5215; *IMEV/NIMEV* 3310).
- 1747–1862 *Jhesu in hevyn . . . thenkyn owght?* From this point to the end, the poem details all the joys that those who are saved will experience in heaven after the Last Judgment. The emphasis on joy coincides with a focus on brightness, light, clarity, and beauty.

It is no accident that the description of heaven in *The Castle of Love* emphasizes brightness, clarity, and light, since light was fundamentally connected to Grosseteste's understanding of the nature of God and key to his concept of the Trinity (McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste*, p. 93). Panti explains that for Grosseteste “light . . . is not at all something to be signified for its intrinsic physical ‘value,’ such as its being form, or energy or *species* or whatever else it is and does in the natural world, but something which *has* an intrinsic symbolic value, given that it is the best physical substance to represent God's essence and action” (“Robert Grosseteste's Cosmology of Light,” p. 74; italics in original). The vision of heaven in *The Castle of Love* does not focus solely on light, however, but also emphasizes beauty. Concepts of beauty in the medieval period relied on both proportion and light. Grosseteste's interest in beauty privileged “the aesthetics of light” over those of proportion (McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste*, p. 95). For more on medieval theories of beauty, see Umberto Eco, *Art and Beauty in the Middle Ages* (trans. Bredin), who includes chapters on “The Aesthetics of Proportion” and “The Aesthetics of Light” (pp. 28–42 and 43–51, respectively). See also explanatory note to line 1757, below.

Of interest in relation to the description of heaven in *The Castle of Love* is Grosseteste's Letter 6, where he describes to Richard Marshall, earl of Pembroke, what he imagines heaven will be like (*Letters*, trans. Mantello and Goering, pp. 71–72; Boulton suggests the connection [p. 88n156]). Grosseteste begins his description of “the heavenly abode” in his letter by explaining that “the most precious thing will be a light combined with no shadows, inter-

rupted by no changes, restricted by no boundaries, and defined by no limits” (*Letters*, p. 71). Light is also connected to good: “there will be the fullest possible possession of each and every good, as when several eyes look upon every part of the sun without its being divided up for them” (*Letters*, p. 72). In addition, light is linked to both God and truth: “In heaven our spirits will possess a knowledge of all truth without any ignorance, for in the light that is God we shall see the light of every creature of truth, just as the Psalmist says: *In your light we shall see light* [Ps 35:10]” (*Letters*, p. 72; italics and brackets in original).

Visions of heaven and hell, such as appear at the end of *The Castle of Love*, are common in medieval literature. The early *Poema Morale* (before 1200), for example, devotes more than half its lines to descriptions of hell and heaven (see Fein’s edition; for date, see ed. and trans. Fein, *Poema Morale*, p. 344). Although the narrator of *Poema Morale* is careful to note that he has not been to hell and therefore knows nothing about it firsthand (line 143), the genre encompasses not only descriptions based on imagination but also “an extraordinarily popular literary genre” of works that “purport to describe actual visions of the realm entered by souls after death” (Gardiner, *Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell*, p. xv). Although focused on these alleged actual visions, Gardiner’s introduction to *Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell* is nevertheless useful for an overview of the development, types, characteristics, and tropes of medieval descriptions of the afterlife, especially given the strong impact of this visionary literature on medieval literature of all kinds. For further analysis of medieval visions of heaven and hell, see Pollard’s edited volume, *Imagining the Medieval Afterlife*, which contains a useful section on theological views. For additional examination of medieval concepts of heaven, see Emerson and Feiss’s edited collection *Imagining Heaven in the Middle Ages*.

- 1748 *Pryns of Pes*. From Isaias 9:6. The poem explains how Jesus fulfills this role.
- 1751–52 *Love, swetnesse, and pley, . . . hit neweth fro day to day*. “Love, sweetness, and joy . . . begin anew from day to day.” An impersonal construction that cannot be translated literally into Modern English.
- 1754–55 *The blessed shall hit isyn, / The swete face of his Lorde*. An allusion to 1 Corinthians 13:12: “We see now through a glass in a dark manner; but then face to face.”
- 1757 *His feyreship*. Beauty is emphasized throughout the description of heaven, describing Jesus or God (lines 1757, 1843, 1862), heaven (line 1764), angels (lines 1768, 1769), those who have been saved (lines 1809, 1815), and the Virgin Mary (lines 1826, 1827, 1831, 1840). See explanatory note to lines 1747–1862, above, for more discussion of this theme.
- 1768–69 *all the feyre company / Of angels*. The AN poem more specifically mentions “[l]es neuf ordres des anges” [the nine orders of angels] (Appendix, line 1659). The study of angels was considered scientific in the medieval period, and the “nine orders” mentioned in the AN poem refer to the organization of angels, arranged in “three hierarchies in nine choirs,” according to the Neoplatonic Christian philosopher Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite (also termed Pseudo-Dionysius) (ca. 500 CE), who ranks the angels from highest to lowest as follows: “seraphim, cherubim, thrones, dominations, virtues, powers, principalities, archangels, and

angels"; the angels' purpose was "the transmission of the primal light by degrees to all the receptive parts of creation" (McColley, "Angel," *DBTEL*, p. 40).

- 1783–84 *And thei . . . may be lyft.* These lines reflect some of Grosseteste's ideas about the qualities of the resurrected body, which included clarity (light), agility (swiftness), subtlety (thinness), and impassibility (incorruptibility) (Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment*, pp. 37–38). The description of people in heaven being *so lyght and swyft* more specifically evokes the ideas of clarity and agility. These two lines in the ME text paraphrase four AN lines (Appendix, lines 1671–74), and the translator leaves out a line from the AN poem that refers to subtlety: "tuz si sutils ser-runt" [they all will be so insubstantial (lit., subtle)] (Appendix, line 1673).
- 1809–16 *He that . . . that joy here.* Compare Isaias 30:26: ". . . the light of the sun shall be sevenfold, as the light of seven days," although here it is those in heaven who *shull shyne seven sythe bryght then heo now is* (line 1812). For more on the importance of light in this vision of heaven, see explanatory note to lines 1747–1862, above.
- 1817 *mony wonyngis.* The allusion is to John 14:2: "In my Father's house there are many mansions" (but see 14:1–3 for the broader context). Compare the AN: "taunt de mansions" [so many mansions] (Appendix, line 1703).
- 1821–28 *And ever beholde . . . in hyenesse.* Here, "the joy of meditating on the Virgin is surpassed only by the beatific vision of God himself" (Boulton, p. 89n159).
- 1862 *Of Goddis feyrenes thenkyn owght?* The poem's end here is most likely due to a missing portion of the MS (see the textual note to this line), leaving out the ending that would correspond to the final twelve lines of the AN poem. In the AN poem, these lines explain:

Mes kant glorifié serrum,	But then we are glorified,
Dunc apertement verrum	Then we will see clearly
Cum il est treis en Trinité	How He is three in Trinity
E un soul Deu en unité,	And one single God in unity,
De ki, par ki, en ki sunt	Of Whom, by Whom, and in Whom are
Tutes les joies ke en ciel sunt.	All the joys that are in heaven.
Cil Prince de Pes les suens guiera,	This Prince of Peace will guide His own,
En joie e en pes tut tens serra.	In joy and in peace will dwell forever.
E Deu nus doint par sa merci	And may God grant us by His mercy
Nostre vie mener ici	To lead our lives here
E ses comandementz si tenir	And so uphold His commandments
Ke a cele pes pussums venir.	That we might come into this peace.
Amen.	Amen.

(Appendix, lines 1749–61)

The idea of seeing clearly in line 1750 may allude to 1 Corinthians 13:12, "We see now through a glass in a dark manner; but then face to face. Now I know in part; but then I shall know even as I am known." The final lines of the AN poem illustrate the literary convention of ending a devotional work with a prayer. The shortened version of the ME poem that appears in the V

and A MSS likewise ends with a prayer, which echoes the lines from the AN poem. In V and A, the lines begin with a fairly close paraphrase of lines 1757–60 of the AN poem and then move to a much looser and incomplete rendition of some of the ideas in lines 1749–56 (for example, in V and A the appended prayer does not mention the theological concept of the Trinity). For a transcription of the final lines in V and A, see the textual note to line 1514 of the ME poem.



TEXTUAL NOTES TO *THE CASTLE OF LOVE*

Because the same scribe copied both V and A at roughly the same time, these MSS have an unusually close relationship. Thus, where catchphrases in V and A match except for spelling in a few words, I note variants for A parenthetically. For the sake of clarity, however, in the case of single catchwords I list A's readings separately when the spelling differs. Where portions of H are obscured by staining or other damage in lines 8–112, I include Halliwell's readings of H parenthetically, since he saw the manuscript in the nineteenth century, when more of the writing may have been legible. Halliwell's readings, however, should be used with caution, as his edition is not up to modern standards and his goal was completeness rather than accuracy; Weymouth says that Halliwell conjectured readings (Weymouth, "Bishop Grosseteste's *Castle*," p. 52n1), and Sajavaara suggests V was Halliwell's source for the damaged sections (p. 129). Halliwell's edition is not lineated, and emendations are not noted. All translations throughout the notes are mine, unless otherwise indicated.

OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY MS ENG. POET. A. 1. (VERNON MS) BASE TEXT (V)

incipit *Her byginnet . . . lewede mennes byhove*. So V. These lines are written in red ink. A and H do not include this four-line introduction.

1 *That*. So V, A. H: *He þat*. V has a thirteen-line decorated initial *þ* in blue and faded red-brown on a gold ground. The letter, ground, and decorative elements are all outlined in black. The thorn is partially edged with white and has patterns of white dots and lines within it. A foliate design with crimson and blue vines and red-orange, faded red-brown, and blue leaves interspersed with gold extends from the decorated initial in both directions, continuing an additional eighteen lines below the end of the thorn and reaching to the top of the pages, where it spreads horizontally over columns *b* and *c*. The vine is interspersed with sprays of trefoil leaves and gold balls. White traces leaf veins and various patterns within the leaves and vines, including dots, lines, and designs resembling chain links.

3 *For nas*. So V, A. H: *For þer was*.

5 *was*. So V, A. H: *þer was*.

6 *That*. So V, A. H: *But*.

nas the. So V, A. H: *wes*.

8–112 *That alle thing . . . beoth ifounde*. Portions of H are obscured by staining or other damage throughout these lines.

- 8 *on eorthe sixt and wost*. So V, A. H: *auer syst and*, with the rest obscured (Halliwell: *ever syst and wost* [p. 1]).
- 9 *o*. So V, A. H: *oon*.

and Thrillihod. So V, A. H: *?in tr*; the remainder now illegible (Halliwell: *in trinité* [p. 1]).
- 10 *onhod*. So V, A. H: *vnite*.
- 12 *we oughten over alle thinge*. So V, A. H: obscured by staining (Halliwell: *we ought ovre all thyng* [p. 1]).
- 13 *Worschupe Him with trewe love*. So V, A (Worschiþe). H: *Worshyp . . . w . . .*, with the rest obscured (Halliwell: *Worshyp hym with trewe love* [p. 1]).
- 14 *kineworthé Kyng art us above*. So V, A. H: *crow . . .*, with the remainder of the line obscured (Halliwell: *crownynd kyng ys us above* [p. 1]). Weymouth emends *art* to *ys*.
- 15 *thorw Whom beoth*. So V, A. H: illegible due to staining (Halliwell: *through whom beth* [p. 1]).
- 16 *Al the*. So V, A (Alle). H: *Alle*. Sajavaara emends to *Alle*. Weymouth emends to *Alle þe*.

goodschipes that we here iseoth. So V, A. H: *goodnesses þ . . .*, with the rest obscured (Halliwell: *goodnesses that we here seth* [p. 1]).
- 17 *leve us thenche and worchen so*. So V, A (þenchen). H: *grante vs to þenk*, with the remainder obscured (Halliwell: *graunt us to thencke and worken so* [p. 2]); Sajavaara gives H's reading as *graunt vs to thencke* in the textual note to this line.
- 18 *from ure fo*. So V, A. H: obscured by staining (Halliwell: *fro oure fo* [p. 2]).
- 19 *habbeth to help neode*. So V, A. H: *to h . . .*. Staining in H obscures the remainder (Halliwell: *to have helpe we nede* [p. 2]). See explanatory note to this line.
- 20 *That we ne beth*. So V, A (beop). H: *þawgh we be now[ght] of . . . de*, with *we* written above the line (Halliwell: *Thawgh we be not of one thede* [p. 2]); what Halliwell reads as *t* in *not* looks more like the first part of *w* in this scribe's hand.)

alle of one theode. So V, A. H: obscured by staining (Halliwell: *of one thede* [p. 2]).
- 22 *Ne one*. So V, A. H: not visible due to damage to the MS (Halliwell: *Ne oon* [p. 2]).
- 23 *we*. So V, A. H: *not*.
- 24 *beth*. So V, A. H: *ofte beþ*.

- 25 *spechen*. So V. A: *speche*. H: *spechyn*.
- 26 *world*. So V, A. H: *þis world*.
sechen. So V. A: *seche*. H: *sechyn*.
- 28 *As*. So V, A. H omits. Horstmann-Furnivall and Sajavaara emend to *Ac*.
- 29 *Loftsong syngen*. So V, A: *Lof song syngen*, with an erasure after *Lof* where the *t* would have gone. H: *Loovyng to syngre*. Weymouth and Horstmann-Furnivall emend to *Lof-song syngen*.
God yerne. So V, A. H: *good full zorne*.
- 30 *as*. So V, A. H: *a[s]*, with the *s* illegible due to damage. (Halliwell: *als* [p. 2]).
- 31 *No monnes mouth ne be idut*. So V, A (*beo*). H: *Ne mones ay to [be]n adrede*, with some letters obscured by staining (Halliwell: *No mones ay ne be adrede* [p. 2]), which Weymouth and Horstmann-Furnivall [p. 394n31] each follow in their notes). Sajavaara emends *idut* to *idud*. See explanatory note to lines 28–35 for further discussion.
- 32 *ledene be ihud*. V: *ledene ihud*. A: *leodene ihud*. H: *ledone shall not be hed* (*be* added above line with caret to mark insertion point). I follow Sajavaara in emending to *ledene be ihud*, which Weymouth also suggests in the textual note to the line. Emended for sense.
- 33 *serven his*. So V, A. H: *herien is* (Halliwell: *herien* [p. 2]).
wroughte. So V. A: *wrouhte*. H: *hap wrowght*.
- 34 *al the*. So V, A. H: illegible due to damage (Halliwell: *þys* [p. 2]).
- 35 *On*. So V, H. A: *In*.
Englisch ichul. So V, A. H: *en . . . l* with the middle of the line obscured (Halliwell: *Englisch I wyl* [p. 2]).
- 36 *him that con not iknowen*. So V, A. H: *hem . . . iknowe* (Halliwell: *hem that can not i-knowe* [p. 2]).
- 38 *On*. So V. A, H: *In*. V has a two-line illuminated initial *O* of gold on a faded crimson ground edged in white with a blue center quartered with double white lines. The letter, ground, and decorative elements are all outlined in black. The ground is decorated with white dots in clusters of three throughout, and a white-dotted blue ball with a tail juts from its left side.
- 39 *Wherfore the world was iwrouht*. So V, A. H: *ffor why þ[e] . . . s furst wrowght*, with the middle of the line obscured by damage (Halliwell: *For-why the world was furst wrowght* [p. 2]).

- 40 *Theraftur*. So V, A: *And aftur*. H: *And þer aftur*.
- 41 *to ben*. So V, A, H: *hade to byn*.
- 42 *With al the merthe*. So V, A (*murþe*). H: *The ioy and myrþe*.
- 43 *To wonen and welden*. So V, A, H: . . . *wonen and it to welde*, with the opening of the line illegible due to damage (Halliwell: *It to wonen and it to welde* [p. 3]).
- ende*. So V, A, H: illegible due to damage (Halliwell: *ende* [p. 3]).
- 44 *Til that*. So V, A, H: illegible due to damage (Halliwell: *Til that* [p. 3]).
- scholde to hevene*. So V, A, H: *shulde þer . . . hevyn*, with the line partially obscured (Halliwell: *shulde ther to hevyn* [p. 3]). Sajavaara's textual note gives H's reading as *þer to*.
- 45 *And*. So V, A, H: *But*.
- hit*. So V, A, H: *hit all*.
- 46 *hou hit*. So V, A, H: *ʒe shal here how he*.
- 47 *Kynges Sone*. So V, A, H: *kyngessone sone*.
- 49–50 *For His sustren . . . was forloren*. Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests transposing these lines (line 50), but Sajavaara disagrees.
- 49 *For His sustren that were toboren*. So V, A (*weore*). H: *But þer weren fowre systren iboren*.
- 50 *And*. So V, A, H omits.
- prison*. So V, A, H: *prisoner*.
- 53 *castel He alihte*. So V, A, H: *cas . . . kyng sone lyht*. Staining obscures the middle of the line in H, but previous editions disagree on the reading: Halliwell construes *castel he sone lyght* (p. 3), which Horstmann-Furnivall follows (p. 394n53), whereas Sajavaara gives *castel þe kynges sone lyht* (possibly Sajavaara read an abbreviation for *es* after the *g*, but if so it is no longer legible); Weymouth does not note the variant.
- 54 *here for us fihte*. So V, A, H: *here fo . . .*, with the remainder obscured (Halliwell: *here for us fihte* [p. 3]).
- 55 *That the Marie bodi wes*. So V, A, H: *This castel . . . [w]es* (Halliwell: *This castel Marie bodi wes* [p. 3]). Staining obscures the middle of the line.

- 56 *That He alihte and His in ches.* So V, A. H: *Ther in . . . aly . . .*, with the remainder obscured (Halliwell: *Therin he alyght and his in ches* [p. 3]). Horstmann-Furnivall emends *That* to *Per*. In the textual note Weymouth suggests the same without making the emendation.
- 57 *And tellen we schulen of Ysay.* So V, A (*Ysaye*). H: *And telle ?for . . .*, with the remainder obscured (Halliwell: *And telle forthe we shul of Ysay* [p. 3]).
- 58 *us tolde trewely.* So V, A (*trewelye*). H: *to vs sayd . . . ?ly*, with part of the line obscured (Halliwell: *to us sayd wysly* [p. 3]).
- 59 *ther.* So V, A. H omits.
- 61 *inempned beon.* So V, A (*ben*). H: *byn*.
- 62 *me may iseon.* So V, A (*isen*). H: *men . . .*, with the end of the line obscured (Halliwell: *men may seon* [p. 3]).
- 63 *Mihtful and Rihtwys.* So V, A. H: *myzhti and . . .*, with the end of the line obscured (Halliwell: *myzhti and rihtwys* [p. 3]).
- 64 *Of.* So V, A. H: *And of*.
- that comen is.* So V, A. H: *þat . . . ?re . . . ?s*, with the second half of the line obscured (Halliwell: *that comen is* [p. 3]). Horstmann-Furnivall and Sajaavaara emend to *þat to comen is*.
- 65 *Lord the Fader and Prince of Pes.* So V (written as two lines), A. H: *ffadur and prince of . . .*, with the end of the line obscured (Halliwell: *Fadur and Prince of Pes* [p. 4]).
- 66 *Alle theos nomen.* So V, A. H: *. . . f all þer nomes*; the beginning of the line is no longer legible (Halliwell: *Off all the nomes* [p. 4], which Horstmann-Furnivall follows [p. 394n66]). Sajaavaara likewise construes the first word in H as *Off* and records *þe* for *þer*. Weymouth does not note the variant.
- 67 *Ye schulen iheren and iwiten.* So V, A (*schul*). H: *Whe shull 3ow telle þat 3e shul wyten*.
- 71 *Thauh.* V has an eight-line illuminated initial *P* of gold on an embellished ground of alternating crimson and blue edged with double and single white lines, with white dots in sets of three in some corners. White-dotted crimson and blue balls (one with a tail) jut from the outsides of the design in opposing colors to the ground. The letter, ground, and decorative elements are all outlined in black. White interweaves the thorn in a leaf vein design.
- on Englisch be.* So V, A. H: *be wryten in englysshe*.
- 72 *Ne nabbe.* So V, A. H: *And have*.

bifore clerk. So V, A. H: *aforen a clark.* Weymouth, Horstmann-Furnivall, and Sajavaara emend to *bifore a clerk.*

75 Ac. So V. A: Ak. H: *And.*

76 *biholdeth this ilke.* So V, A. H: ?*bihold* . . . ?*lke*; the middle of the line obscured (Halliwell: *biholdeth this ilke* [p. 4]).

77 *con that muchel of luitel unlouken.* So V, A. H: *co* . . . *l vnlowkyn*, with the middle of the line illegible (Halliwell: *con that michel of lintel unlouken* [p. 4]).

78 *hony of the harde ston souken.* So V, A. H: *ho* . . . , with the remainder illegible (Halliwell: *hony of the harde ston souken* [p. 4]).

79 *Alle poyntes he fynde may.* So V, A. H: *Al* . . . *he fynde* . . . , with parts of the line illegible (Halliwell: *Alle poyntes he fynden may* [p. 4]).

80 *Of ure beleeve and Godes lay.* So V, A. H: *Of* . . . *ve and goddys* . . . , with parts no longer legible due to staining (Halliwell: *oure byleve and Goddes fay* [p. 4]). Sajavaara likewise records *fay* in H and emends based on this reading, though the meanings are similar: “God’s law” (i.e., “Christian religion”) versus “God’s faith” (i.e., “Christian faith”).

81 *godhede.* So V, A. H: no longer legible (Halliwell: *Godhede* [p. 4]).

82 *monhede.* So V, A. H: *m* . . . , with the remainder obscured (Halliwell: *monhede* [p. 4]).

83 *Ofte.* So V, A. H: *3ef.* V has a two-line illuminated initial O of gold on a crimson ground edged with double and single white lines, with white dots in sets of three in some corners. The letter, ground, and decorative elements are all outlined in black ink. The center of the letter is a blue inlay featuring a spiraling white line that splits into three lines capped with white dots. A single white-dotted blue ball with a green tail juts from the ground’s left side.

habbeth iherd. So V, A. In A, *bbeþ* in *habbeþ* has faded or been erased. H: *h* . . . *d*, with the middle portion illegible (Halliwell: *habbeth i-herd* [p. 4]).

84 *the world imaked.* So V, A. H: . . . *made is*, with portions illegible (Halliwell: *the world made is* [p. 4]).

85 *Forthi.* So V, A. H: *The.* Halliwell (p. 4), Horstmann-Furnivall (p. 394n85), and Sajavaara all read *Tho*; Weymouth does not note H’s reading.

I. So V, A. H omits.

86 *that falleth to.* So V, A. H: *th* . . . *f* . . . , with the rest illegible (Halliwell: *that falleth to* [p. 4]).

87 *dayes and seve niht.* So V, A. H: . . . *ht* (Halliwell: *dayes and seve nyht* [p. 4]).

- 88 *hedde al the world idiht*. So V, A. H: *hap all . . . ht*, with the rest illegible (Halliwell: *hathe alle the world i-dyht* [p. 4]).
- 89 *tho al was derworthliche ido*. So V, A. In A, *iche in derworþliche* has faded or been erased. H: *þo werkys ?d. . . well ido*, with staining obscuring the middle of the line (Halliwell: *tho al was derworthliche y-do* [p. 5]).
- 91 *Lustneth*. V has a two-line illuminated initial *L* of gold on a ground of alternating crimson and blue edged in white, with white dots in sets of three in the left-hand corners. The letter, ground, and decorative elements are all outlined in black. White dots rim the left side of the *L*, and a white foliate design appears on the crimson ground in the center of the letter. White-dotted blue balls jut from the ground's left side.
- me, lordynges*. So V, A. H: *my talkyng*.
- 92 *begynnynges*. So V. A: *biginnynghes*. H: *begynnyng*.
- 93 *imaad*. So V. A: *imad*. H: *iwrowght*.
- ginne*. So V, A. H: *so mychel gynne*.
- 94 *so briht*. So V, A. H: *so feyre and bryght and feyre*. Sajavaara emends to *so briht and feir*.
- 95 *therafter*. So V, A. H: *aftur*.
- 96 *And*. So V, A. H: *[An]d* (illegible at first part of word).
- 97 *Lucifer*. So V, A. H: *[L]ucyfer* (illegible at first part of word).
- 98 *And*. So V, A. H: *Pat*. Weymouth and Horstmann-Furnivall emend based on H.
- anon*. So V, A. H: *anonryzht*.
- 99 *tonge mai*. So V, A. H: *ton[que ma]y*; portions of most missing letters are still visible.
- 100 *helle*. So V, A. H: *hel[le]*, with MS illegible at end of word.
- 101 *tho*. So V, A. H omits.
- seve sythe, iwis*. So V, A (*seuen siþe*). H: *sewyn s . . . wis*, with damage obscuring some letters (Halliwell: *sewyn sythe i-wis* [p. 5]).
- 102 *forsothe*. So V, A. H omits.
- 103 *Also schon the mone*. So V, A. H: *And allso þe mone shon*.

- 104 *So doth the sonne on.* So V, A. H: *As þe sonne dethe in.*
- 105 *not.* So V. A omits. H: *nowght.*
- 107 *Alle.* So V, A. H: *And alle.*
- tho.* So V, A. H: *shupte.*
- 110 *wes.* So V, A. H: *w . . .*, with end of word illegible (Halliwell: *wes* [p. 5]).
- 111 *Alle.* V has a two-line illuminated initial A of gold (with a left descender extending an additional two lines) on a ground of alternating crimson and blue edged with double and single white lines, with white dots in sets of three in some corners. The letter, ground, and decorative elements are all outlined in black ink. White dots run vertically along the right edge of the A, horizontally below its apex, and in an X-shape below the crossbar. White-dotted crimson and blue balls jut from the design's left side in colors opposing those of the ground.
- ibrouht.* So A. V: *ibrouh.* H: *browght.* I follow Weymouth, Horstmann-Furnivall, and Sajavaara in emending for sense.
- 112 *beoth ifounde.* So V, A. H: *beþ . . . wnde*, with some letters illegible (Halliwell: *beth i-fownde* [p. 5]).
- 116 *As ichulle ow telle.* So V, A. H: *And I chull telle yow.*
- 119 *Tho.* V has an eight-line illuminated initial Þ of gold on an alternating crimson and blue ground edged with double and single white lines, with white dots in sets of three in some corners. The letter, ground, and decorative elements are all outlined in black ink. A white leaf vein pattern embellishes the upper left side of the thorn, and a feathered design runs between the two upstrokes. White-centered crimson and blue balls, jut from the left side of the ground in opposing colors.
- 120 *That.* So V (*þat*), H. A: *At.*
- 122 *oughte to.* So V, A. H: *shulde.*
- 124 *And.* So V, A. H omits.
- 127 *made.* So V, A. H: *shope.*
- alast.* V, A: *and last.* H: *at þe last.* I follow Sajavaara's emendation for sense. Weymouth emends to *and-last.* Horstmann-Furnivall follows V and A's reading.
- 129 *His.* So V, A. H: *þe.* Sajavaara emends based on H.
- Thrillihod.* So V, A. H: *trynite.*

- 130 *feir and good.* So V, A. H: *so feyre and fre.*
- 132 *habben.* So V, A. H: *to have.*
- 133 *ladde him.* So V, A. H: *hym ladde.*
- 134 *also.* So V, A. H: *soo.*
- 137 *to wyve.* So V, A. H: *to byn is wyfe.*
- 138 *helpen.* So V, A. H: *helpen hym.*
- wittes.* So V, A. H: *is wytte.*
- 139 *that.* So V, A. H: *þe.* Sajavaara emends based on H.
- 140 *wel Him.* So V. A: *him wel.* H: *hem wel.* Sajavaara emends based on A.
- 143 *And₁.* So V, A. H: *That.*
- 144 *hond.* So V, A. H: *owne honde.*
- 145 *Feirlek.* So V, A. H: *And feyrelak.*
- 146 *And₁.* So V, A. H: *And all.* Sajavaara emends to *And al.*
- 148 *and₁.* So V, A. H omits.
- 152 *Othat.* So V, A. H: *And all þo þat.*
- weren and-sprong.* So V. A: *weren at sprong.* H: *spronge.* Weymouth and Sajavaara emend *and-sprong* to *at-sprong*, based on A, a reading Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests without emending. The *MED* entry for *an(d)springen* (v.) gives this line as its only supporting quotation and lists *at-sprong* and *spronge* as variants based on the readings in A and H. All are probably variants of *MED, springen* (v.), sense 4c. The *MED* also explains that the prefix *and-* "has no distinct meaning" (see *MED, and-* [pref.], etymology).
- 153 *noumbre.* So V, A. H: *tale.* The meaning of *tale* is "tally." See *MED, taille* (n.), meaning "[a] scored wooden stick used for financial recordkeeping, a tally stick" (sense 3a) and "the record kept by a tally stick" (sense 3e).
- 155–56 *And whon hit forth com al the stren, / So bright heo scholden iblessed ben.* So V, A (*streon; briht*). H: *Tho Adam and his ofprynge shull hevyn azeyn fulfyllen / So blessed and bryzht be þowrgh goddys wylle.*
- 157 *So was.* So V, A. H: *Ry3ht as.*

- I er.* H: *I* written above line.
- 158 *now is.* So V, A (*nou*). H: *is nowe by*.
- 160 *To the blisse.* So V, A. H: *To ioy and blysse*.
- 163 *ilke.* So V, A. H omits.
- 166 *the.* So V, A. H: *gret*.
- 167 *Two.* V has a three-line illuminated initial *T* of gold on an alternating crimson and blue ground edged with double and single white lines, with white dots in sets of three in some corners. The letter, ground, and decorative elements are all outlined in black ink. White foliate lines swirl in vine-like patterns within and beside the letter. White-dotted crimson and blue balls jut from the left side of the ground, two with tails, in opposing colors.
- 173 *that him.* So V, A. H: *was þat to hym*. Weymouth emends to *was þat him*.
- 174 *yow never ne et.* So V, A. H: *he shuld neuer ete*.
- 175 *the.* So V, A. H: *þat*.
- 176 *He seide; that highte Gode.* So V, A. H: *hym seyde and hyght gode*. Weymouth, Horstmann-Furnivall, and Sajavaara emend for sense to H's reading. Weymouth's textual note interprets the line in V and A to mean "So *he who was called God* said" (italics in original) and suggests it was the result of scribal misunderstanding. But I take *that highte Gode* to mean "thus (or then) God threatened," which makes sense of the line as written. See *MED*, *that* (adv.), sense 1a (a) "in such a way, thus, so" and (b) "then"; and *MED*, *hoten* (v.1), sense 4b (a), "To promise (sth.) as a threat, threaten."
- 177 *whon he of the appel ete.* So V, A. H: *whensoever þe appull he zete*.
- 178 *he scholde the lyf.* So V, A. H: *þat lyfe he shulde*.
- 180 *thole thulke.* So V, A. H: *haue þe same*.
- 181 *riht.* So V, A. H: *aryzht*.
- 182 *gaf him.* So V, A. H: *hym zef*. Sajavaara emends to *him zaf*.
- 185 *The seysin hedde Adam.* So V, A (*seysin*). H: *Seyson to Adam delyuered wes*.
- 188 *to.* So V, A. H: *full*.
- hit.* So V, A. H: *hit all*.

- 190 *And.* So H. V, A omit. I follow Weymouth and Sajavaara in emending for sense based on H.
- 192 *tobrek.* So V. A: *to breek.* H: *dede forlete.* Sajavaara emends to *forlet* for the sake of rhyme.
- 193–94 *The kuyndeliche and the set ek, / Bothe His lawen he tobrek.* So V, A (*eek; lawes; to breek*). Sajavaara's textual notes say that H adds a line after 192 and omits line 194, but it is more accurate to say that H both reorders and reworks lines 193–94: *And seþyn his lawes he breke / Þe lawe of kynde and þe lawe set eke.*
- 195 *he dude.* So V, A. H: *dede aftur.*
- 197 *Thus.* V has an eight-line illuminated initial *P* of gold on an alternating crimson and blue ground edged with double and single white lines, with white dots in sets of three in some corners. The letter, ground, and decorative elements are all outlined in black. A white leaf vein pattern rests near the top of the thorn's left upstroke, and white dots run along parts of the thorn's edges. Two white-dotted blue balls jut from the top left corner.
- Adam.* So V, A. H: *is Adam.*
- reuthful.* So V, A. H: *rufull* (Sajavaara's textual note recording H's reading has *rufoill*).
- 198 *Was.* So V, A. H omits.
- 200 *world.* So V, A. H: *þe world.*
- 202 *him.* So A. V omits. H: *himself.* I follow Weymouth and Sajavaara in emending for sense based on A.
- 203 *icoren.* So V, A. H: *hym boryn.*
- 204–05 *Now he thorw right hath iloren / The murthe that he mighte haven.* So V, A (*Nou; riht; mihte*). H: *Mirth wythryzht he haþ forloryn / That murthe he myzht well have.*
- 206 *mai he.* So V, A (*may*). H: *shall he now.*
- 207 *Out.* So V, A. H omits.
- 210 *Tho Adam was biswiken so.* So V, A. H: *That Adam had trespass so.*
- 211 *onde.* So V, A. H: *hocowre.*
- 212 *he scholde come to that blisful londe.* So V, A. H: *mon shuld wonyn in þe blessed honowre.*
- 213 *That.* So V, A. H: *Hit.*
- 214 *therefore.* V: there is a hole between *þer* and *fore*.

- 217 *ilived.* So V, A: *ilyued.* H: *ilyved here longe.*
- 218 *Atte.* So V, A, H: *At þe.*
- 219 *no.* So V, A, H: *here no.*
- 220 *moste.* So V, A, H: *ne most.*
- 221 *tho.* So V, A, H: *to.* Horstmann-Furnivall and Sajavaara emend for sense based on H, although *tho* is an early variant of *to*; see MED, *to* (prep.).
- 222 *noide no.* So V, A, H: *wold not.*
- 223 *For.* So V, A, H: *ffull.* Sajavaara emends to *Ful.* The AN poem reads *Trop* [Most] (Appendix, line 151).
- hit.* So V, A, H: *he.*
- 224 *thus the.* So V, A, H: *þis.*
- 228 *But hit out les.* V, A: *þat out les.* H: *But hit peyred.* Emended for sense. Sajavaara emends to *þat mihte les*, a reading Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests. *Out* is a normal variant of ME *ought* (pron.), with the phrase *out les* meaning "lost something." Compare *nout* [nothing] in line 445. See explanatory note to lines 227–30 for more detailed discussion.
- 229 *For nis no wone on him ilong.* So V, A, H: *But for þe wonnyng of him hit was not long.* See explanatory note to lines 227–30 for discussion.
- 230 *Yif synne nere.* So V, A (*neore*). H: *Nere þat synne was.* See explanatory note to lines 227–30.
- 232 *wonede heore alremiht.* So V, A, H: *woned here by all his myzht.* The scribe of H seems to have understood *woned here* to mean something like "resided here" (compare MED, *wonen* [v.1], sense 1a), rather than "lessened their" (compare MED, *wanen* [v.], sense 1d).
- 233 *al is.* So V, A, H: *is all.*
- 234 *wone dude Adam.* So V, A, H: *Adam dede wone.*
- 235 *atseet.* So V, A, H: *breke.*
- 236 *he the appel.* So V, A, H: *þe appul he.*
- 237 *lees.* So V, A: *les.* H: *lost.*
- 238 *in.* So V, A, H: *to.*

- 241 *Now*. V has a two-line illuminated initial *N* of gold on an alternating blue and crimson ground edged with double and single white lines, with white dots in sets of three in some corners. The letter, ground, and decorative elements are all outlined in black. White lines swirl inside the letter in a foliate pattern. White-dotted crimson balls jut from the left side of the ground.
- 243 *freore*. So V, A. H: *feyror*.
er. So V, A. H omits.
- 245 *He is*. So V, A. H: *Now is he*.
theuwe. So V, A. H: *is seruant*. Horstmann-Furnivall and Sajavaara emend to *his þeuwe*.
- 246 *understod*. So V, A. H: *vnderstondeth*.
- 247 *Whon*. So V, A. H: *And when*.
in thedome. So V, A. H: *þorgh thewdome*. Weymouth emends to *in þewdome*, Sajavaara emends to *in þeudom*, although the spelling *thedome* (*þedome*) is a normal variant that may have been preferred due to the rhyme with *fredome* in line 248. The spelling of the same word in line 434, *theuwedam*, does not rhyme as easily.
- 248 *dyede*. So V, A: *dyede*. H: *dede*. Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests the correct reading should be *dede*, but the range of variant spellings for *MED*, *dien* (v.) shows that the emendation is unnecessary.
- 249 *theuwe and thral may*. So V, A (*mai*). H: *seruise ne þrall þey mow*.
- 251 *is*. So V, A. H omits.
- 252 *His*. So V, A. H: *So sone his*.
- 253 *In₁*. So V, A. H: *Ne in*.
none. So V, A. H: *noo*.
- 254 *ne oughthe onswere him, ne undurstonde*. So V, A (*vndirstonde*). H: *owed not to answeere ne him vnderstonde*.
- 256 *For to schewe*. So V, A: *fforte schewe*. H: *That myzht swewe*.
- 258 *the*. So V, A. H: *þat*. Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests the correct reading should be *his*.
- 260 *ne eete*. So V, A (*ete*). H: *zete non*.
- 261 *That he habbe*. So V, A. H: *And þat haue*.

- withinne*. So V, A, H: *with wyne*. Sajavaara emends to *wip wyne*.
- 264 *thulke*. So V, A, H: *þe toþer*.
- Synays*. So V, A, H: *of Synays*.
- 267 *non*. So V, A, H: *mon*.
- 268 *such*. So V, A, H: *of syche*.
- 269 *thenchen or*. So V, A, H: *þenk oþer*.
- 270 *That*. So V, A, H: *Who*.
- schowe*. So V, A, H: *do or showe*.
- 272 *Therof that ich er*. So V, A, H: *As I before*.
- 273–74 *For nou ichul tellen of the stryf, / That among the foure sustren lith*. So V, A (*strif; lyþ*). H: *ffor now is tyme þat I hit telle / ffor it behovyþ to oure spelle*. Sajavaara emends: *For nou is tyme þat I hit telle, / For hit bihoueþ to vr spelle*. Sajavaara argues the changes are “justified on the evidence of the [AN poem]” (p. 379n273–74).
- 275 *Hit was*. So V, A, H: *Ther wes*. V has a three-line illuminated initial *H* with upper and lower extenders, all of gold on an alternating crimson and blue square ground edged with double and single white lines, with white dots in sets of three in some corners. The letter, extenders, ground, and decorative elements are all outlined in black. The extenders lengthen the design to a total of twenty-six lines. Inside the *H* white swirls in a foliate pattern. The upper extender has a white chain-link pattern along its left side, while the lower is rimmed with white dots on the right. White-dotted crimson and blue balls jut from the ground in opposing colors, the two center ones with tails. The lower extender merges into the illuminated initial *F* in line 289.
- 278 *such . . . such*. So V, A, H: *all seche . . . all syche*.
- 279 *Of such strengthe and of*. So V, A, H: *Of all*.
- 280 *in His manere*. So V, A (*maneere*). H: *dere*.
- 282 *studefastschipe*. So V, A, H: *studfastnes*.
- 283 *weoren outriht*. So V, A, H: *were ful ryzht*.
- 287 *Al that was of*. V, A: *Wip wit was*, which Horstmann-Furnivall follows. H: *All þat was of*. I emend for sense based on H. Weymouth and Sajavaara both emend to *What þat was of*.
- 288 *wolde*. So V, A, H: *hit wolde*.

- 289 *Foure.* So V, A. H: *And foure.* V has a two-line illuminated initial *F* of gold on an alternating crimson and blue ground connected to the lower extender from the illuminated *H* in line 275. The ground is edged with double and single white lines, with white dots in sets of three in some corners. The letter, ground, and decorative elements are all outlined in black. White dots rim parts of the *F*, while a chain link pattern follows its left edge. The top left ground has an embellished white foliate design, and two white-dotted blue balls jut from the ground's left side.
- the.* So V, A. H: *pis.*
- 290 *uchone sunderlyng.* So V, A. H: *vche he wes lovyng.*
- 291 *a.* So V, A. H: *one.*
- 292 *miht.* So V, A. H: *wit.*
- 294 *the.* So V, A. H: *pis.*
- 298 *hit.* So V, A. H omits.
- 299 *nempnen.* So V, A. H: *nomen.*
- 300 *hette.* So V, A. H: *is.*
- 301 *doughter.* So V, A. H omits.
- 303 *is cleped.* So V, A. H: *we clepon.*
- 304 *Pees.* So V, A. H: *And pes.*
- 306 *Mai.* So V. A: *May.* H: *Ther may.*
- 307 *This.* V has a four-line illuminated initial *P* of gold that extends into the bottom margin another approximately four lines. The *P* rests on an alternating crimson and blue ground edged with double and single white lines, with white dots in sets of three in some corners. The letter, ground, and decorative elements are all outlined in black. White dots run between the thorn's upstrokes. White-dotted crimson and blue balls jut from the top, left, and bottom in opposing colors to the ground, those below the text sporting green tails. The design is faded in several spots.
- 309 *strong.* So V, A. H: *bope strong.*
- 310 *ivet.* So V, A, H. Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests "*=i-fed, odiosus?*"
- 311 *besiht.* So V, A. H: *insyght.*

- 312 *was.* So V, A. H: *he wes.*
- 313 *bitaken.* So V, A. H: *delyuerd.*
- 314 *sore.* So V, A. H: *in sorewe.*
- everichon.* So V, A. H: *ichoon.*
- 315 *That.* So V, A. H: *And.*
- nedden onde.* So V, A. H: *hadyn dowte.*
- 316 *him to habben under honde.* So V, A. H: *hadde him in here rowte.*
- 317 *him duden.* So V, A. H: *deden him.*
- 318 *sore.* So V, A. H omits.
- 318a *De Misericordia.* So V (written in red). The left margin also has a note, *misericordia*, partially obscured by the decorated initial *M* in line 319. No rubric is included in A or H.
- 319 *Merci.* V has a four-line illuminated initial *M* with upper and lower extenders, all of gold on an alternating crimson and blue ground edged with double and single white lines, with white dots in sets of three in some corners. The letter, extenders, ground, and decorative elements are all outlined in black. White feathered patterns run between the strokes of the *M*. The extenders lengthen the design to a total of twenty lines. In the lower extender, white dots rim the left side, and a white chain-link pattern runs along the right. The upper extender reaches into the top margin and ends in a trefoil design comprising a white-dotted crimson ball sprouting three gold balls with green tails. Three gold balls jut from the left midpoint of the ground, two with tails, and white-dotted crimson and blue balls, two with green tails, jut from the left side of the ground in opposing colors.
- iseigh.* So V. A: *iseiz.* H: *she syzh.*
- 320 *Hit eode hire.* So V, A. H: *The prison hede here.*
- 321 *Ne mai hire nothing.* So V, A (may). H: *She myzht here no.*
- 322 *Byforen.* So V. A: *Biforen.* H: *Tofore.*
- 324 *And to.* So V, A. H: *ffor to.*
- 328 *milce.* So V, A. H: *grace.*
- swetnes.* So V, A. H: *goodnesse.*

- 329 *of*. So V, A, H: *þorgh*.
- 330 *beseche*. So A, H, V: *beo seche*. I follow Weymouth and Sajavaara in emending for sense based on A and H.
- 331 *wrecche*. So V, A, H: *sorfull wrecche*. Horstmann-Furnivall and Sajavaara emend to *sorful wrecche*.
- 333 *amidden*. So V, A, H: *among*.
- 334 *prison hast*. So V, A, H: *pyne þu hast him*. Weymouth and Horstmann-Furnivall emend to *prison þou hast*.
- 335 *him made*. So V, A, H: *maden him*.
- thulke unwreste*. So V, A, H: *in þeke gret synne*. Halliwell expands H's *þ^eke* to *theke* (p. 15), which Horstmann-Furnivall follows (p. 396n335), whereas Sajavaara's textual note expands to *þelke*. Although superscript letters can be contractions, both spellings *þelke* and *þeke* are normal variants (see *MED*, *thilk[e]* [pron.]), and scribes used suspensions to represent one or more letters.
- 336 *And biswikede him thorw heor feire beheste*. So V, A (*feir*). H: *Thorgh here feyre behest withoute blynne*.
- 337 *seiden him yif*. So V, A, H: *seyden and*. Sajavaara emends to *seiden ȝif*. In H *and* functions as a conjunction introducing a conditional statement and means "if" (see *MED*, *and* [conj. and adv.], sense 5a).
- 338 *That whon he hedde al iete*. So V, A, H: *And Goddis lawes forleten*.
- 339–40 *He scholde habbe . . . was forbode*. Sajavaara reorders the lines, saying all three MSS transpose them. The emendation is unnecessary, however, as the original order makes sense: after he has eaten the fruit, Adam will receive God's power from the forbidden tree.
- 340 *Of the treo that him was forbode*. So V, A (*tre*). H: *Therfore þey seyde þat tre wes him forbode*.
- 341 *begilede*. So A, V: *begylen*. H: *lyed to*. I follow Weymouth and Sajavaara in emending for sense based on A.
- heo*. So V, A, H omits.
- 343 *And falshede hem*. So V, A (*falsede*). H: *Therfore let falsnes*.
- 344 *wrecche prison isold*. So V, A, H: *the prisonere þou ȝeve* (Sajavaara reads *ȝoue*).
- 346 *milce*. So V, A, H: *grace*.

- 347 *I Thi douhter alre.* So V, A, H: *of all þi dowghtryn I am þe.*
- 348 *alle the othere.* So V, A, H: *hem alle I am.*
- 349 *Nevere I Thi douhter neore.* So V, A (Neuer; nere). H: *They dowghter I ne were.*
- 350 *milce.* So V, A, H: *my swetnesse.*
- 351 *Milce.* So V, A, H: *Grace.*
- 352 *milce.* So V, A, H: *swetnes.*
- 353 *For Thin owne swete.* So V, A, H: *And þorgh þy nowne.*
- 354 *I.* So V, A, H. Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests omitting *I*.
bringe to saveté. So V, A, H: *brynge sanite.*
- 355 *milce.* So V, A, H: *grace.*
- 356 *And have of him milce and ore.* So V, A, H: *Tyll he haue ifunde þyne ore.* Sajavaara emends to *Tyll he haue ifunde milce and ore*, based on H's reading, to better align with the AN (p. 380n356), which reads *Tant ke merci troverai* [Until mercy I find] (Appendix, line 282). Horstmann-Furnivall speculates that "And = until?" but suggests the reading should be *O þou*.
- 356a *De Veritate.* So V (written in red). No rubric is included in A or H.
- 357 *Anon whon Soth this iseigh.* So V, A (iseih). H: *So sone soþe þis werk syzth.* V has a four-line illuminated A (with a left descender extending an additional four lines) with upper and lower extenders, all of gold on a ground of alternating blue and crimson edged with double and single white lines, with white dots in sets of three in some corners. The letter, extenders, ground, and decorative elements are all outlined in black. The extenders lengthen the overall design to forty-three lines. A white foliate design rests to the left of the A and a similar one below the bottom extender. White dots rim the other three sides of the letter and form an X-shape below its apex, and a partially quartered white square decorates the area below its crossbar. At the midpoint of the ground's left side juts a crimson ball sprouting a trefoil pattern of three gold balls, two with green tails. White chain-link patterns run along the right side of the upper extender and both sides of the lower one. White-dotted crimson and blue balls jut from the ground's left in opposing colors, two with tails. A trefoil design with crimson and gold balls — some with tails — continues upward from the top, whereas a trefoil design ending in green, crimson, and blue leaves projects downward from the bottom.
- 358 *beigh.* So V, A: *beih.* H: *zyzth.*
- 360 *him.* So V, A, H omits. Sajavaara omits on metrical grounds (p. 380n360).

- endinge*. So V, A. H: *eynde*.
- 362 *heo stood*. So V, A (*stod*). H: *anon vpstode*.
- 363 *I Thee biseche, herkne to me*. So V, A. H: *I beseche þe to here me*.
- 364 *ne may*. So V, A. H: *may not*.
- hit*. So V, A. H omits.
- 365 *hit*. So V, A. H omits.
- a*. So V, A. H omits.
- 366 *Merci my suster wilnyng*. So V, A. H: *my systere me[r]cyes wylnyng*. The reading in H clarifies that *suster* in V and A is an *s*-less genitive. This form of the genitive is common in the poem (see, e.g., line 378, *Merci herte*, for “Mercy’s heart”). For further discussion of this type of construction and a comprehensive list of examples, see explanatory note to line 55.
- 367 *milsful*. So V, A. H: *wylsfull*.
- 368 *out*. So V, A. H omits.
- 369 *swithe*. So V, A. H: *suche*.
- ther*. So V, A. H: *þat*.
- 371 *Thee*. So V, A. H omits.
- 374 *Riht and Sooth thermide*. So V, A (*Sop*). H: *sothe and ryȝt þer with*.
- 375 *And Thow*. So V, A (*þou*). H: *Thow*. Sajavaara emends to *ȝow*.
- 378 *Merci*. So V, A. H: *mercies*. The reading in V and A is an example of the *s*-less form of the genitive; see explanatory note to line 55 for further discussion.
- 379 *save*. So V, A. H omits.
- 380 *Al*. So V, A. H: *Savyn alle*.
- 381 *Never schal be misdede*. So V, A (*beo*). H: *Then neuer mysdede shulde byn*.
- 382 *Kyng, schalt*. So V, A. H: *fadur shuldest*.
- douted*. So V, A. H: *dreded*.

- 383 *Thou art also so trewe a.* So V, A, H: *And þou art all sothefaste.*
- 385 *Forthi.* So V, A, H: *Therefore.*
- 386 *togeynes Right.* So V, A (*Riht*). H: *azeyns me.*
- 387 *con hym.* So V, A, H: *him con.*
- 388 *He oughte nevere milce to fynde.* So V, A (*ouhte neuer*). H: *That he neuer grace ifynde.*
- 389 *Milce and merci he hath forloren.* So V, A, H: *Grace he hap all forlore.*
- 391 *me.* So V, A, H: *we.*
- 392 *nedde of himself pité.* So V, A, H: *þat pyte of hym self hade.*
- 393 *habbe.* So V, A, H: *stonde to.*
- 394a *De Justicia.* So V (written in red). No rubric is included in A or H.
- 395 *Riht.* V has a four-line illuminated initial R with upper and lower extenders, all of gold on a ground of alternating blue and crimson edged with double and single white lines, with white dots in sets of three in some corners. The letter, extenders, ground, and decorative elements are all outlined in black. A line of white dots rims the right sides of both extenders, which lengthen the design to twenty-four lines. Inside the R white lines trace foliate patterns. From the upper extender and reaching above the top margin, a crimson ball sprouts three gold balls with green tails in a trefoil pattern. From the bottom of the lower extender juts a design comprising buds of half green, half crimson stitched together with small white lines. White-dotted crimson and blue balls, the center two with tails, jut from the ground in opposing colors.
- iherde.* So V, A, H: *iherēþ.*
- 396 *Anon heo.* So V, A, H: *And vp her.*
- 397 *heo seith, "I am."* So V, A, H: *I am heo seyth.*
- 398 *Kyng, riht.* So V, A, H: *kyng and ryzht.*
- 399 *Ther beth rihte domes mitte.* So V, A (*beop*). H: *Ryzht domes byth with the.* Horstmann-Furnivall and Sajavaara emend to *þe beþ rihte domes mitte*. The word *mitte* is a contraction of *mid the*, literally "with thee." In this context *beth . . . mitte* means "are in thee, come from thee, are characteristic of thee, etc."; see MED, *mid* (prep.1), sense 7, which quotes this line.
- 400 *Alle.* So V, A, H: *And alle.* Sajavaara emends based on H.

- 401 *mene*. V, A: *deep mene*. H: *menyn*. I emend for sense, following Sajavaara. Only one of the sisters who has spoken so far condemns the prisoner. The emendation is supported by the reading in H and is closer to the meaning in the AN: *Celui serf dunt parler oy* [This serf of whom I have heard tell] (Appendix, line 317).
- 402 *dome*. So H (see also Halliwell [p. 18]). V, A omit. I emend for sense based on H. Weymouth emends to *dom* (misreading H, as the textual note makes clear), and Sajavaara emends to *doom* (without noting the reading in H). Horstmann-Furnivall follows the reading in V and A.
- at ene*. So V, A. H: *ze zevyn*.
- 403 *that*. So V, A. H omits.
- 404 *hedde*. So V, A. H: *hem*.
- 407 *tyed*. So V. A: *tyzed*. H: *betoke*.
- 408 *To wreccheddam and serwe inough*. So V, A (*wrecchedam; inouh*). H: *And to synne and wrecchedome his fo*.
- 410 *evere*. So V, A. H: *for euer*.
- 411 *him the heste hightest*. So V, A. H: *to him þy hest hestyst*.
- 412 *Thou him the deth digtest*. V, A: *þou him þe deþ him diztest* (A: *dihdest*). H: *þen deth to him þou hettyst*. Weymouth emends to *þu þen þe deþ him diztest*. Sajavaara emends to *þo him þe deþ þou diztest*. I follow Horstmann-Furnivall in deleting *him*₂ rather than *him*₁, since the word order then echoes that in line 411: *Thow him the heste hightest*. H includes the following lines after 412: *And he dede þi hestes breke / And oon him þou woldest by ryght be wreke* (*him* added above line with caret to mark insertion point).
- 415 *For*. So V, A. H: *And*.
- 418 *The*. So V, A. H: *Then*.
- 419 *for*₂. So V, A. H: *not*.
- 422 *As wole to his gult bifalle*. So V, A. H: *Aftur here gult as hit heore doþ befalle*.
- his*. Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests the correct reading should be *heor*.
- 423 *Soth*. V has a one-line decorated initial S colored in a light tan or faded brown with a slightly darker outline.
- thus*. So V, A. H: *þis*.

- 424 *And.* So V, A. H: *And allso.*

 juggeth. So V, A. H: *þey iuggeþ.*
- 425 *ne.* So V, A. H omits.
- 426 *Ne.* Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests the correct reading should be *nes* (though with a question mark indicating uncertainty).

 that. So V, A. H: *of hem.* Weymouth emends based on H.
- 427 *Ac.* So V. A: *Ak.* H omits.

 mon. So V, A. H: *diswaryed mon.*
- 428 *is misbilad.* So V, A. H: *his myslad.*
- 429 *wherso.* So V, A. H: *whersere.*
- 430 *That.* So V, A. H: *And.*

 fo fetteth him. So V, A. H: *foon fy3htyþ with him.* Sajavaara emends to *fo him fetteþ.*
- 431 *istrupt him.* So V, A. H: *han stripte.*
- 432 *al.* So V, A. H: *him all.*
- 433 *Him₁.* So V, A. H: *And him.*
- 434 *He dude a theuwedam vyl and strong.* So V, A. H: *They thenkeþ he shall be in prison strong.*
- 435 *And made agult swithe ilome.* So V, A. H: *His foon maden him agultyn wondur sone.* Horstmann-Furnivall and Sajavaara emend *agult* to *agulten* based on H's reading.
- 436 *com.* So V, A. H: *comyth.*
- 437 *heo con jugge.* So V, A. H: *hym heo iuggeþ.*
- 438 *that Soth.* So V, A. H: *sothe þat.*
- 439 *Ne.* So V, A. H: *And.*

 mot not mid hem. So V, A. H: *with hem may not.*
- 441 *bileveth.* So V, A. H: *ne bydyth.*

- 442 *Wher ther is werre, nuth, and onde.* So V, A: *Wher þat is werre nuþ and onde.* H: *Ther as werre is nygh honde.* Weymouth and Sajavaara emend *ther* to *þat* on the basis of A.
- 443 *mot.* So V, A. H: *myzht.*
- 444 *Ac bothe heo beth of londe.* So V, A (Ak; *beoth*). H: *And so of londe þey byn.*
- 445 *Nis ther nout in world bileved.* So V, A. H: *Ther where not in þe world ileuyd.*
- 446 *That nis.* So V, A. H: *No þyng but it wes.*
- 448 *But.* So V, A. H: *Saue.*
- 449 *In the schup, and that weoren heo.* So V, A. H: *In Noe is flood in þe shippe were heo.*
- 452 *nas beleved more.* So V, A. H: *is þer leved no more.*
- 453 *come.* So V, A. H: *to come.*
- 454 *uppon the dredful.* So V, A. H: *on so drury.*
- the.* Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests the correct reading should be *þet* (though with a question mark indicating uncertainty).
- 456a *De Pace.* So V (written in red). No rubric is included in A or H.
- 457 *So.* So V, A. H: *So longe.* V has a four-line illuminated initial S with upper and lower extenders, all of gold on an alternating blue and crimson ground edged with double and single white lines, with white dots in sets of three in some corners. The letter, extenders, ground, and decorative elements are all outlined in black. Inside the letter swirl foliate designs. The extenders increase the length to a total of twenty-nine lines, including flourishes, plus an additional portion that dips into the bottom margin. The left ground includes a white chain-link design along the upper extender, from which jut white-dotted blue and crimson balls with tails. The lower extender has white dots rimming its right side. The bottom terminates in three trefoil designs, two of which extend horizontally to right and left, respectively, while one continues vertically. Each has blue, crimson, gold, and green balls with mostly green tails, and two have a leaf-shape. White-dotted blue and crimson balls jut from the ground's bottom in opposing colors.
- alast.* So V, A. H: *atte last.*
- 458 *speek.* So V, A. H: *she speke.*
- 459 *doughter saught and some.* So V, A. H: *dowghtur and of þe inome* (Sajavaara records H's spelling as *douzter* in the textual note, p. 275n459.).

- 460 *am I.* So V, A. H: *I am.*
- 464 *nought ne.* So V, A. H: *neuer.*
- 465 *For nothing that I mighte.* So V, A. H: *ffor thing that eny mon may* (Sajavaara records H's spelling as *any* in the textual note, p. 275n465).
- 466 *Ne moste Merci.* So V, A. H: *Mercy myzht not.*
- hem come to.* So V, H. A: *come hem to.*
- 467 *Ne.* So V, A. H: *And.*
- fey.* So V. A: *feiz.* H: *pyng.*
- 468 *Ne moste ich hem come neygh.* So V, A (*neiz*). H: *I myzht not come hem amying.*
- 469 *Ak that.* So V, A (*Ac*). H: *And þe.*
- 470 *Forthi.* So V, A. H: *Therefore.*
- of.* So V, A. H: *owt of.*
- 472 *othat.* V, A: *on þat.* H: *tyll.* I follow Horstmann-Furnivall (*o þat*) and Sajavaara (*oþat*) in emending for sense based on H's reading of *tyll*. Weymouth does not emend but suggests in the glossary that "[a]s *o* stands often for *on* (the numeral *one*), so here *on* seems to stand for an entirely different *o*, viz. *o* = [OE] *oð*" (p. 84).
- 474 *take.* So V, H. A: *make.*
- 475 *Ac.* So V, A. H: *And.*
- 476 *That.* So V, A. H: *Thawgh.*
- 477 *witen wel the pees.* So A. V: *wite wel þeos.* H: *wyten and knowe pes.* I emend for sense based on A, following Weymouth's emendation (*witē wel þe pees*), though Weymouth's textual note records *þeos* rather than *þeos* in V, interpreting it as a variant of *pees*. Horstmann-Furnivall emends to *wite wel pees*. Sajavaara emends to *witen wel þe nom Pees*.
- 478 *hit.* So V, A. H: *sheo.*
- 479 *In uche dom pees to.* So V, A. H: *In reste and pes I con.*
- 480 *Schal.* So V, A. H: *Whi shall.*
- 481 *everiche.* So V. A: *eueri.* H: *eny.* Sajavaara emends based on A.

- for me*. V, A: *fourme*. H: *dede*. I follow Horstmann-Furnivall and Sajavaara in emending for sense. Weymouth does not emend but explains in the textual note that *fourme* should be understood to mean “for me.”
- 482 *bithouht*. So V, A: *bipouzt*. H: *be in powght*.
- 483 *Ak he ne lovede me*. V: *And he ne louede*. A: *Ak he ne louede*. H: *But he louyd me*. I emend for sense following Weymouth and Sajavaara (who both have *Ak he ne louede me*). Horstmann-Furnivall emends to *And he me louede*.
- 485 *Of*. V has a one-line decorated initial O in light tan or faded brown with a slightly darker outline.
- 486 *oughte*. So V, A. H: *owep*.
- 487 *the*. So V, A. H omits. Horstmann-Furnivall emends following H.
- 491 *ne*. So V, A. H omits.
- 492 *the*. So V, A. H: *we*.
- 493 *atstonden*. So V, A. H: *stonden*.
- 495 *foure*. So V, A. H: *foure fadur*.
- 496 *beoth*. So V, A. H: *ne byth*.
- alle*. So V, A. H omits.
- 497 *Bothe*. So V, A. H: *But*.
- 498 *beclepeth*. So V, A. H: *clepyn azeyne*.
- 499 *al as Right and Soth wol*. So V, A (*Riht*). H: *as sope and ryght wold*.
- 500 *Merci ne me nis hit*. So V. A omits. H: *To Mercy and me hit doth*.
- 501 *Withouten us ther is bale to breme*. So V, H (*Withowtyn*). A omits.
- 502 *Forthi, Fader, Thow nime*. So V, A (*nyme*). H: *Therefore fadur myne pou hit*.
- 503 *goodschipe*. So V, A: *goodschupe*. H: *goodnesse*.
- 504 *Ne fayleth*. So V, A. H: *Ther wontep*.
- heo*. So V, A. H: *pes*.

- 505 *Ne wisdam nis.* So V, A (*wisdom*). H: *Wyt ne wysdam is.*
- 506 *Ther Pees fayleth to.* So V, A. H: *But pes þerwyth be* (Sajavaara misreads *þat wyth* for *þerwyth* in the textual note, p. 276n506).
- 509 *oughte ben of good.* So V, A. H: *oweth to byn of gret.*
- 510 *Prince.* So V, A. H: *lord.*
- 511 *Forthi Thou oughtest.* So V, A (*ouhtest*). H: *Therefore þou owest.*
- 512 *clepeth to.* So V, A. H: *prayeth.*
- 513–17 *That the thral . . . clepeth to Thee.* H omits these lines.
- 516 *here.* So V. A: *ffader here.*
- 518 *Til.* So V, A. H omits.
- be.* So V, A. H: *shuld be.*
- 520 *Bote.* So V. A: *But.* H: *Tyll.* Sajavaara emends to *Oþat* (both *Tyll* and *Oþat* can mean “until”).
- saught and some.* So V, A. H: *at oone.*
- 521 *The.* V has a nine-line illuminated initial *P* with upper and lower extenders, all of gold on an alternating blue and crimson ground edged with double and single white lines, with white dots in sets of three in some corners. The letter, extenders, ground, and decorative elements are all outlined in black. The extenders increase the length of the design to a total of forty-nine lines. White dots rim the right side of the lower extender and part of the left upstroke of the thorn, white leaf vein patterns sprout in several places, and a white line runs between the thorn's two upstrokes. White-dotted crimson and blue balls (the bottom center one with a tail) jut from the top, left, and bottom of the ground in opposing colors. At the midpoint of the design, three gold balls with tails jut from the ground's left side. The top of the upper extender ends with a vine with white-dotted leaves of crimson, blue, and green. The bottom of the extender terminates in a design comprising buds of half green, half crimson stitched together with small white lines.
- 522 *tobeeren.* So V, A. H: *þo beren* (Sajavaara records *þe beeren* for H in the textual notes, p. 277n522).
- 524 *al.* So V, A. H: *were.*
- 526 *Ne mihten heo.* So V. A: *Heo mihten.* H: *Thei myzht.* Sajavaara emends based on A.
- 528 *wone.* So V, A. H: *wysdome.*

- 529 *And.* So V, A. H omits.

 me. V, A omit. H: *men.* I follow Weymouth, Horstmann-Furnivall, and Sajavaara in emending for sense.
- 530 *lovedest.* So V, A. H: *louest.* Sajavaara emends based on H.
- 531 *for.* Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests the correct reading should be *por3*, "through," and notes the reading from the AN poem. Compare *par moy* [through Me] in the AN poem (Appendix, line 435).
- 532 *in.* So V, A. H: *in py.* I follow Sajavaara in emending based on H.

 broughtest. V: *bou3test.* A: *bouhtest.* H: *browghtest.* I emend for sense based on H's reading, following Weymouth and Sajavaara (who both have *brou3test*); Horstmann-Furnivall's textual note suggests *brou3test* is a form of *MED*, *brouken* (v.), sense 2a, "to use."
- 534 *in strengthe, and in.* So V, A. H: *and strengthe and.*
- 535 *Ichulle al.* So V, A. H: *All ichull.*
- 536 *Kyng rihtwis.* So V, A. H: *kyng more of ry3htwesnys* (of added above line).
- 537 *So.* So V, A. H: *In so.*

 nyme yeme. So V, A. H: *take more 3eme.*
- 539 *That for the.* So V, A. H: *Þat furste.*
- 540 *the.* So V, A. H: *of þe.*
- 541 *Forthi he reweth Me.* So V, A. H: *And therefore me rueth.*
- 543 *Thou art, Fader.* So V, A. H: *ffadur þou art.*

 milsful. So V. A: *mihtifol.* H: *mekefull.*
- 544 *of alle.* So V, A. H: *ouer all.*
- 545 *hire wille Ichulle.* V, A: *3e schulen hire wille.* H: *here wyll ichull.* I follow Weymouth (*hire wille I chulle*) and Sajavaara (*hire wille ichulle*) in emending for sense based on the reading in H. Horstmann-Furnivall makes a similar emendation to *i-chul hire wille*. The Son is addressing the Father throughout the passage, not the other Daughters of God, as *3e schulen* would imply. Weymouth's textual note points out that H more closely retains the sense of the AN poem: *Trestut sun voler ore en fray* [All her bidding I will now carry out] (Appendix, line 447).

- 546 *sauhten*. So V, A. H: *make at oon*.
- 547 *Nimen*. So V, A. H: *Taken*.
- 548 *hit wolden*. So V, A. H: *wollen it*.
- 549 *alone Ichul holde*. So V, A. H: *I all one woll dome*.
- 550 *As*. So V, A. H: *As a*.
- 552 *cussen*. So V, A. H: *to cusse*.
- saught and some*. So V, A. H: *sawght sone*.
- 553 *druyven*. So V. A: *driuen*. H: *dryvyn*. Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests the correct reading should be *dryuen*.
- werre, nuth, and onde*. So V, A (*oonde*). H: *werre with myn honde*.
- 554 *the*. So V, A. H: *thi*.
- 555 *Hose*. V has a two-line illuminated initial *H* of gold on an alternating blue and crimson ground edged with double and single white lines, with white dots in sets of three in some corners. The letter, ground, and decorative elements are all outlined in black. White dots rim the left side of the *H*, and a white spiral appears in its center. Four white-dotted crimson balls jut from the ground's left side.
- forbysene*. So V. A: *fforbisene*. H: *afore bese*.
- 557 *tokenyng*. So V, A. H: *betokenyng*.
- 558 *Godes insiht*. So V, A. H: *þe insyght of god*.
- 559 *Withoute God the Fader nis*. V, A: *Wiþ God the ffader nis*. H: *ffadur withoute god is*. I follow Horstmann-Furnivall and Sajavaara in emending for sense.
- nouht*. So V. A: *ouȝt*. In A, there is space where the letter *n* may have been erased. H: *nowght*.
- 560 *is*. So V, A. H: *hap*.
- 561 *is folfuld*. So V, A (*fulfild*). H: *hap fulled*.
- 565 *giveth*. So V, A. H: *ȝeue*. Horstmann-Furnivall emends to *ȝiue*.
- 567 *Ye*. V has a two-line illuminated initial *Ȝ* (with the tail extending another three lines) of gold on a ground of alternating blue and crimson edged with double and single white lines, with

white dots in sets of three in some corners. The letter, ground, and decorative elements are all outlined in black and comprise a total of six lines. The upper left of the design appears damaged or faded. White-dotted crimson and faded blue balls jut from the ground's left side in opposing colors.

- 569 *Adam forles.* So V, A. H: *forlest hit was* (*t hit was* added above line).
- 570 *World.* So V, A. H: *The world.*
- 572 *No mon nedde of himself a.* So V, A. H: *Mon myzht not himself do.*
- 573 *mighte mon.* So V, A (*mihte*). H: *ne myzht him.*
- 574 *Ne mon mighte.* So V, A (*mihte*). H: *And mon myzht not.*
- 575 *moste.* So V, A. H: *most it.*
- 576 *God of hevene.* So V, A. H: *goddys sone shuld.*
- 577 *Mon the.* So V, A. H: *And mon shuld.*
- thorw.* So V, A. H: *with.*
- 578 *uprysen from.* So V, A. H: *shuld vp rysen azeyn fro.*
- 579 *Elles.* So V, A. H: *ffor ells.* Sajavaara emends to *For elles.*
- 580 *ibrouht.* So V, A. H: *iwrowght.*
- 581 *whuche.* V, A: *vchone.* H: *wheche.* I follow Weymouth (*whuch*), Horstmann-Furnivall (*whuch*), and Sajavaara in emending for sense based on the reading in H.
- and.* So V, A. H: *wych.*
- 582 *milce and eke.* So V, A. H: *grace and whiche.*
- 583 *alihten.* V, A: *alihte and.* H: *to alyzht.* I follow Horstmann-Furnivall and Weymouth in emending for sense. Sajavaara emends to *alihte.*
- 584 *o sele shepe.* V, A: *o mon.* H: *oon sele shepe.* I emend based on the reading in H, as do Weymouth, Horstmann-Furnivall (*O seli shep*), and Sajavaara (*on sele shepe*).
- 585 *The ninti-nine He levede and.* V, A: *Britti zeer he liuede and.* H: *His fadur blysse he leuede and þerfro.* I emend for sense, following Weymouth (*þe niti nine he leuede and*), and Sajavaara (*þe ninti nine he leuede and*). Horstmann-Furnivall has a similar emendation (*Ninti nine he leuede and*). Weymouth, who first proposed the emendation, suggests the parable of the lost sheep was

unfamiliar to the scribes of the English translation (Weymouth, "Bishop Grosseteste's Castle," p. 63). The line in the AN poem reads, *Nonaunte nef il lessa* [Ninety-nine He left] (Appendix, line 487).

- 586 *sechen on.* So V, A. H: *seche þeke shepe.*
- 587 *Thenne nis ther such Herdemon non.* So V, A. H: *Ther is not seche an.*
- 588 *milsful.* V: *miȝtful.* A: *mihtful.* H: *mercyfull.* I follow Horstmann-Furnivall and Sajavaara in emending for sense based on H, since *milsful* [merciful] fits better in the context of the lost sheep parable.
- 589 *such.* So V, A. H: *syche a.*
- 590 *him.* So V, A. H: *on him.*
- 591 *wolde him.* So V, A. H: *him wolde.*
- 592 *And sithen deth tholyen.* So V, A. H: *And sothen suffre deþ.*
- 593 *Er him ouhte the herte tospringe.* So V, A (*ouȝte*). H: *Sore he awght his handys to wrynge.*
- 594 *Then he scholde him wraththe.* So V, A. H: *That þis lord wold greue.*
- 595 *Herkeneth.* V has a four-line illuminated initial *H* with upper and lower extenders, all of gold on a ground of alternating blue and crimson edged with double and single white lines, with white dots in sets of three in some corners. The letter, extenders, ground, and decorative elements are all outlined in black. The extenders increase the overall size of the design to forty-two lines. White dots rim the upper right portion of the lower extender. The center of the *H* features a white foliate design. The lower extender contains a white chain-link pattern on the left side of the ground. Throughout the design, white-dotted blue and crimson balls jut from the left side of the ground in opposing colors, three with green tails. The top ends in a trefoil design consisting of red, blue, and gold balls with green tails, whereas the bottom terminates in a design of green and crimson buds stitched together with white ink.
- atte.* So V, A. H: *at þis.*
- 596 *ur Saveor.* So V, A (*sauour*). H: *this sheperd.*
- 601 *Daniel.* So V, A. H: *Ant Danyell.*
- 602 *David.* So V, A. H: *And Davyd.*
- 603 *Eliseu.* Both Weymouth and Horstmann-Furnivall record V's reading as *Elisen* and emend to *Eliseu*, whereas Sajavaara reads *Eliseu*, with no need for emendation. The letters *u* and *n* are not

- always distinguishable from one another; in this case the minims resemble *n* more than *u* in V but not in A.
- 604 *Siggeth*. So V, A. H: *Thei seyn*.
wel. So V, A. H: *ryzht well*.
- 605 *Wonder*. So V, A. H: *Long*. Sajavaara emends based on H.
hem. So V, A. H: *of hem*.
- 606 *Ac*. So V. A: *Ak*. H: *But*.
- 606a *Puer natus est nobis, filius datus est nobis*. So V (written in red). No rubric is included in A or H.
- 610 *thus*. So V, A. H: *þis*.
- 612 *Redeful*. So V, A. H: *rewfull*.
- 613 *al*. So V, A. H omits.
- 614 *Prince*. So V, A. H: *And prince*.
- 616 *Him*. So V, A. H: *to him*.
- 619 *nas*. So V, A. H: *wes*.
in sawe. So V, A. H: *ny saye*.
- 620 *schal bi none dawe*. So V, A. H: *weryn by nomon is day*. Sajavaara transcribes H: *weryn by nomen is day*; Horstmann-Furnivall's note (based on Halliwell's edition of H) reads *weryn by no monis day* (p. 397n620).
- 621 *For no tyme that ever*. So V, A. H: *Ne neuer*.
tyme. Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests the correct reading should be *þinge*.
- 622 *God of hevene*. So V, A. H: *was when God*.
- 623 *Exemplum* abbreviated in the left margin in V and A.
- 627 *foot or hond*. So V, A. H: *his fote or his hond*.
- 628 *bothe so*. So V, A. H: *so bothe*.
- 630 *forsothe, neoren heo no*. So V, A. H: *sotheli þei nere not soo*.

- 631 *the on.* So V, A. H: *þawgh þe toon.*
kuynde overmeth. So V, A. H: *of kynde to myche.*
- 632 *so hit geth.* So V, A. H: *beþ of diuerse lyche.*
- 633 *Ac.* So V. A: *Ak.* H: *3et.*
nede. So V, A. H omits.
- 634 *forschipte streon.* So V, A. H: *forshapon lym* (Sajavaara records *hym* in the textual notes).
- 635 *Exemplum* abbreviated in the left margin in V and A.
Ak. So V, A. H: *And.*
- 636 *eny.* So V, A. H: *seche a mon* (with *a* added above line; Sajavaara records simply *seche mon*). Horstmann-Furnivall emends to *eny mon*.
- 637 *monnes kuynde hedde al ariht.* So V, A. H: *monkynde hade vwtryzht.*
- 638 *him neore to luite ne to muche wiht.* So V, A. H: *he nere to mychill ne to lytyll in syzht.*
- 640 *forschippyng.* So V, A. H: *forshapon thyng.*
- 641 *a.* So H, with *a* added above line with a caret to indicate the addition. V, A omit. Emended for sense.
- 643 *a such gederyng.* So V, A. H: *seche a shapyng.*
- 644 *wonder.* So V, A. H: *wonderfull.*
- 645 *is.* So V, A. H: *is hit.*
- 648 *soth God and soth mon.* So V, A. H: *sothefast god and monne.*
- 649 *ne.* So V, A. H omits.
- 650 *And.* So V, A. H: *And eke.*
is al thing. So V, A (*alle*). H: *all þyng is.*
- 651 *Him is synne.* So V, A. H: *synne he is.* Weymouth and Sajavaara emend based on H. See explanatory note to lines 651–53 for discussion.
- 652 *wone.* So V, A. H: *wone þerof.* Weymouth emends based on H.

- 653 *no schaft thorw Him mighte lees.* So V, A (*mihte*). H: *shap þerto non nes.*
- 655 *then He that hevene dihte.* So V, A. H: *non þen he þat is of so gret myzht.* Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests the correct reading for *dihte* should be *drihte*.
- 656 *hevene dude.* So V, A. H: *hevyn to erthe.* Sajavaara emends to *heuene to erþe.*
- 658 *al.* So V, A. H omits.
- mon.* So V, A. H: *mon wes.*
- 659 *wolde alles.* So V, A. H: *als wolde.*
- 661 *Thulke schaft.* So V, A. H: *That same shap.*
- 663 *God nolde alihte.* So V, A. H: *And god myzht not.* V has a two-line illuminated initial G of gold on a crimson ground with a blue center edged with single white lines, with white dots in sets of three in some corners. The letter, ground, and decorative elements are all outlined in black. A white dotted line spirals inside the G. A white-dotted blue ball with a tail juts from the left side.
- 664 *But.* So V, A. H: *Alyzht bote.*
- in₂.* So V. A and H omit.
- 665 *siker hit.* So V, A. H: *he.*
- 666 *almihti His in.* So V, A. H: *inne to alyzhte.*
- 667 *wel.* So V, A. H: *þat is.*
- 668 *Muche and feir and loveliche.* So V, A. H: *Mychell and louelych* (Sajavaara records *lonelych*, p. 282n668). The meaning of *feir* here is "strong" or "sound" (see *MED*, *fere* [adj.]; compare Horstmann-Furnivall's note to this line); Sajavaara's emendation to *fere* may be intended to clarify the sense, but the spelling is the same in line 703, where the word again means "strong" or "sound" (*siker and feir abouten*). The AN reads *Bien ferm* [Very strong] (Appendix, line 572); see *AND*, *ferm* (adj.), sense 1, "steadfast, strong, constant (of object)." Both Boulton (p. 71) and Mackie (p. 166) translate as "well fortified," perhaps because Murray's published edition has *fermé* (line 572), the past participle of *AND*, *fermer*² (v.) sense 2, "to fortify; to strengthen, make strong"; see *fermer*² (p.p. as adj.), sense 1, "fortified, made solid."
- 669 *That.* So V, A. H: *This.*
- of alle.* So V, A. H: *mychell of þe.*

- 671 *mere*. So V, A, H: *meere*. Horstmann-Furnivall emends to *Merc*, which is defined as “border” in the textual note, but *mere* also means “border” (see *MED*, *mere* [n.3], sense 1.a).
- 672 *Ne hath he*. So V, A, H: *He haþ no*.
for. So V, H, A: *of*.
- 673 *tour*. So V, A, H: *toure*. Horstmann-Furnivall’s note suggests *tour* is equivalent to *Castel*.
- 674 *So*. So V, A, H: *And so*.
- 675 *That none kunnes*. So V, A, H: *That us maner* (*us* added above line with caret to mark insertion point).
- 676 *derven*. So V, A, H: *harme*.
- 678 *And*. So V, A, H. Horstmann-Furnivall emends to *þat*.
into the. So V, A, H: *from rofe to*.
- 679 *That ther ne mai wone*. So V, A (*may*). H: *Ther may*.
- 680 *Ne derve no gynnes castyng*. So V, A (*ginnes*). H: *Ther to do eny grevyng*.
- 681 *thauh he be*. So V, A (*beo*). H: *eke hit is*.
- 682 *He is*. So V, A, H omits.
hateliche. So V, A, H: *comlyche*.
- 683 *thulke*. So V, A, H: *tho*.
- 685 *Foure*. So H, V, A: *ffor*. I emend based on H, as do Weymouth, Horstmann-Furnivall (*ffour*), and Sajavaara (*Four*).
toures. So V, A, H: *toure*.
ther. So H (*þer*). V, A: *þat*. I emend for sense based on H, following Weymouth, Horstmann-Furnivall, and Sajavaara (who all emend to *þer*).
- 686 *heihe*. So V, A: *heize*. H: *hole*.
- 687 *Seththe*. So V, A, H: *And allso þer*.
- 688 *So*. So V, A, H omits.

- 690 *Ne may no mon the.* So V, A (*mai*). H: *Ther may no man here.*
- 691 *ne₂.* So V, A. H omits.
- 692 *thenche.* So V, A. H: *it þenk.*
spelle. So V, A. H: *it spelle.*
- 694 *beth bicaste.* So V, A (*beoþ*). H: *all becast.*
- 695 *so.* So V, A. H omits.
- 701 *Never schal fo him stonde.* So V, A. H: *Ther shall neuer fo stonde him.*
- 704 *is al depeynted withouten.* So V, A. H: *all peynted is abowte.*
- 705 *heowes.* So V, A. H: *colours.*
- 706 *So is the foundement.* So V, A. H: *þe furst þe fondement is.*
- 708 *that ther.* So V, A. H: *him þat þis.*
- 710 *heuh ne leoseth.* So V, A (*heuȝ*). H: *colur lesseth.*
- 711 *Seththen.* So V, A. H: *And sethyn.*
abouten. So V, A: *aboute*. H omits. Sajavaara emends to *aboue*, a reading Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests.
- 712 *So is inde and eke.* So V, A. H: *Is bothe ynde and.*
- 714 *schyneth so feire and so.* So V, A. H: *hit shyneth ouer all feyre and.*
- 719 *evere.* So V, A: *euer*. H omits.
- 720 *That thuncheth as.* So V, A. H: *Hit semyth.*
- 722 *So.* So V, A, H: *As*. Sajavaara emends to *As* based on A.
the snowh that is sneuwyng. So V, A (*sneuzwyng*). H: *is the swan when heo is swymbyng.*
- 723 *that.* So V, A. H: *þe.*
- 724 *Afterlong.* So V, A: *Afturlong*. H: *Enlong on*. Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests the correct reading should be *Andelong*.

- 725 *That.* So V, A, H: *Ther.*
cometh ther. So V, A, H: *there comyth.*
- 726 *Ac.* So V, A, H: *But.*
- 727–28 *heighe tour is springynge / A welle that evere is eornynge.* So V, A (*springinge*). H: *toure a walle dede sprynge / That neuer is drye but ernynge.*
- 730 *uppon.* So V, A, H: *on.*
- 733 *Ne dar he seche.* So V, A: *Ne þar him seche.* H: *That man nedeth.* Only Weymouth notes A's reading.
- 734 *riht.* So V, A, H: *aryzht.*
- 737 *Of whit ivori.* So V, A (*yuori*). H: *As white as yvory.*
- 738 *hee.* V: *heo* corrected to *hee*. A: *he*. H: *heo*.
- 741 *so.* So V, A, H. Horstmann-Furnivall emends to *oo* based on misreading *oo* in H.
with ordre itiyed. So V, A (*ityzed*). H: *in ordine i ioyned.*
- 742 *Feiror thing in world.* So V, A, H: *So feyre þyng in erthe.*
- 743 *abouten.* So V, A, H: *abowte it.*
- 744 *him.* So V, A, H: *to him.*
- 745 *Nevere.* So V, A, H: *Ther nes neuer.*
chayyere. So V, A, H: *a chayere.*
- 746 *Nedde kyng ne.* So V, A, H: *To kyng ne to.*
- 747 *Muche.* So V, A, H: *But meche.*
feirschupe inough. So V, A (*feirschipe*). H: *worschip.*
- 748 *almighten His in.* So V, A, H: *to alyzht.*
- 749 *Thenne nis ther such castel.* So V, A: *Penne nis þer such a castel.* H: *Suche a casstell is þer.* Weymouth emends to follow A.
- 750 *nas.* So V, A, H: *wes.*

- on. So V. A: *al on*. H: *oon*.
- 751 *after*. So V. A (*aftur*). H: *here aftur*.
- ne₂*. So V, A. H omits.
- 753 *hit himself and*. So V, A. H: *himself and hit*.
- 754 *in*. So V, A. H: *himself in*.
- feyre*. So V. A: *feire*. H omits.
- 755 *kindam*. So V. A: *kyngdom*. H: *kyndam*. Horstmann-Furnivall emends to *kinedam*.
- 757 *This*. So V, A. H: *That*.
- 759 *of hele, of*. So V, A. H: *and hele and*.
- 761 *This*. V has an eleven-line illuminated initial *P* with upper and lower extenders, all of gold on an alternating blue and crimson ground edged with double and single white lines, with white dots in sets of three in some corners. The letter, extenders, ground, and decorative elements are all outlined in black. Complex white patterns of dots, lines, and branches trace the ground around the thorn. White-dotted blue and crimson balls jut from the left side of the ground in opposing colors. The extenders increase the overall size of the design to forty-one lines. White dots run along the left edge of the lower extender, and a foliate patterns inhabits the ground between the thorn and the extender. The top has a trefoil design of a white-dotted blue ball sprouting three gold balls with green tails, and the bottom has a trefoil design with two white-dotted red leaves and a single red and green leaf stitched with white ink.
- Maydenes bodi*. V, A: *mayden*. H: *maydons body*. Weymouth emends to *Mayden bodi*. I follow Horstmann-Furnivall and Sajavaara in emending for sense. Although the genitive ending is frequently omitted in the poem (see, for example, line 55: *That the Marie bodi wes*), I use it here because it is included elsewhere in this passage on Mary (line 770: *Maydenes herte*; line 777: *Maydenes bileeve*).
- 762 *Ther*. So H. V, A: *Pat*. I emend for sense based on H, following Weymouth, Horstmann-Furnivall, and Sajavaara (who all emend to *Per*).
- nas*. So V, A. H omits.
- 763 *wes*. So V, A. H: *was*. Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests the correct reading should be *nes*.
- 765 *mere*. So V, H. A: *mes* written above *mere*. As in line 671, Horstmann-Furnivall emends to *Merc* (see the textual note to line 671, above).

- 766 *Heo schilde us alle.* So V, A. H: *That hoe shuld vs shyld.* Weymouth emends to *Pat heo schilde vs alle.*
- 767 *us.* So V, A. H omits.
- 768 *Heo us helpeth with al hire miht.* H adds the following lines after 768: *ffor hoe may aller best / and hoe woll aller blyvest.*
- 770 *herte.* So V, A. H: *body.*
forthi. So V, A. H omits.
- 771 *never synne ther-withinne.* So V, A. H: *þerin neuer synne.*
- 772 *Ac heo.* So V, A (Ak). H: *And.*
hire. So V, A. H: *here hert shoe.*
- 773 *hire.* So V, A. H: *here.* Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests omitting.
with muche boxumnesse. So V, A. H: *maydenhode with bucsonnesse.*
- 774 *Hire maidenhod.* So V, A. H: *With grace and.*
- 775 *faste to the roche.* So V, A. H: *to þe roche fast.*
- 777 *Is the.* V, A: *Þe.* H: *That is the.* I follow Horstmann-Furnivall's emendation (*is þe*) for sense. Weymouth and Sajavaara emend to *Pat is þe.*
- 779 *that.* So V, A. H omits.
- 780 *is.* So V, A. H: *hit is.*
evere newe. So V. A: *euere is newe.* H: *newe.*
- 781 *bileeve.* V, A: *hire bileeue.* H: *beleue.* I follow Weymouth (*bi-leeue*) and Sajavaara (*bileeue*) in emending for sense based on H's reading, since this is a general statement about belief rather than a specific one about Mary's belief. (Compare the AN, Appendix, line 685).
- 782 *Of.* So V, A. H: *To.*
foundement. So V, A. H: *and fundement.*
- 786 *In.* So V, A. H: *That in.* Weymouth emends to *Pat in.*
as so yong thing. So V, A. H: *wes her lyvyng.*

- 787 *Was so.* So V, A. H: *Hoe wes so.* Weymouth emends to *Heo was so.* Horstmann-Furnivall emends to *Heo was oo.*
- 788 *in.* So V, A. H: *with.*
- 789 A blue pilcrow appears in the left margin in V.
and the on ovemast. So V. A: *and þe ouemast.* H: *on ovemast.*
- 792 *Nis.* So V, A. H: *Ther is.*
- 795 *And.* So V, A. H: *And shoe is.*
- 796 *God that is hire above.* So V, A. H: *here god aboue.*
- 797 *The.* V has a six-line illuminated initial *P* of gold on a ground of alternating crimson and blue edged with double and single white lines, with white dots in sets of three in some corners. The letter, ground, and decorative elements are all outlined in faded black. White dots run between the thorn's upstrokes, and white feathered lines appear to its lower right. White-dotted crimson and blue ink balls jut from the ground's left side in opposing colors. The *P* connects to the decorated initial *A* in line 805.
- 798 *witeth.* V, A: *wiþ.* H: *kepyn.* I emend for sense, following Weymouth, Horstmann-Furnivall, and Sajavaara (who all emend to *witeþ*).
- 799 *that.* So V, A. H omits.
me. So H. V, A: omit. I follow Horstmann-Furnivall's emendation for sense based on H. See explanatory note to line 799 for discussion.
- 800 *ther.* So V, A. H: *thei.* Weymouth and Sajavaara emend to *þat.* Horstmann-Furnivall emends to *þei.*
- 802 *Rihtfulnesse.* So V, A. H: *Ryzhtwesnes.*
Worschupe. So V. A: *Worschiþe.* H: *warship.* Horstmann-Furnivall emends to *Warschupe* and Sajavaara to *warschupe*, an unnecessary change, since spellings with *o* are listed as standard variations of *MED*, *warshiþe* (n). See also explanatory note to lines 801–02.
- 803 *with.* So V, A. H: *hap.* Sajavaara emends based on H.
- 804 *may non uel.* So V, A (*euel*). H: *non evyll þer may.*
therinne. So V, A. H: *withinne.*

- 805 *And*. V has a four-line illuminated initial *A* of gold on a ground of alternating crimson and blue, edged with double and single white lines, with white dots in sets of three in some corners. The letter, ground, and decorative elements are all outlined in faded black. White dots run horizontally just below the apex of the *A*, form an X-shape below its crossbar, and trace its right side. White-dotted crimson and blue ink balls jut from the ground's left side in opposing colors. The *A* connects to the decorated initial *B* in line 797 above.
- the*. So H (*þe*). V, A: omit. I emend for sense based on H, following Weymouth, Horstmann-Furnivall, and Sajavaara (who all emend to *þe*).
- 806 *wel*. So V, A. H: *feyre*.
- 807 *icast*. So V, A. H: *þrowen*.
- 808 *heihe*. So V. A: *heize*. H: *hoole*.
- 809 *Bote*. So A, H. V has space marked out for a decorated initial *B* that was never filled in. I follow Weymouth, Horstmann-Furnivall, and Sajavaara in emending for sense.
- 810 *Bitokneth*. So V, A. H: *That betokynth*.
- 813 *The*. V has a five-line illuminated initial *B* of gold set on a ground of alternating crimson and blue edged with double and single white lines, with white dots in sets of three in some corners. The letter, ground, and decorative elements are all outlined in faded black. White dots rim the thorn's right side. White-dotted crimson and blue ink balls jut from the ground's left side in opposing colors.
- 815 *outemaste*. V, A: *ouemaste* [uppermost]. H: *otmast*. I follow Weymouth, Horstmann-Furnivall, and Sajavaara in emending for sense. MED, *ovemest* (adj. and n.), sense 1c, cites this line as an error for *outmost* (adj.), meaning "outermost."
- 816 *holy*. So V, A. H: *hoole*.
- 817 *Riht*. So V, A. H: *ffull ryzht*.
- clepeth hem*. So V, A. H: *hem clepeþ*.
- forthi*. So V, A. H: *thre*.
- 818 *heo*. So V, A. H omits.
- here*. So V. A: *hire*. H omits.
- 819 *That hireself, one*. So V, A. H: *ffor hoe hereself is*.
- 820 *Is*. So V, A. H: *ffor shoe is*.

- 821 *Thorw.* So V, A. H: *Thorwgh*, with *r* written above word with caret to mark insertion point.
teon. So V, A. H: *in*.
- 822 *on ende.* So V, A. H: *to an ende* (*to* written above line with caret to mark insertion point).
- 823 *The.* So V, A (both written *Pe*). H: *And þe*. Sajavaara emends based on H. V has a five-line illuminated initial *P* of gold on a ground of alternating crimson and blue edged with double and single white lines, with white dots in sets of three in some corners. The letter, ground, and decorative elements are all outlined in faded black. White dots run between the thorn's upstrokes. White-dotted crimson and blue ink balls with tails jut from the ground's left side in opposing colors. The design has suffered some damage.
- berbicans.* V, A: *carnels*. H: *barbacanes*. I follow Weymouth, Horstmann-Furnivall, and Sajavaara in emending for sense. The words refer to different structures: the "outer fortification of a city or castle" (*MED*, *barbican* [n.], sense 1) versus "battlements" (*MED*, *carnel* [n.1], sense 1b.). Note also the previous mention in line 697 was to "[s]eve berbicans."
- 824 *gret.* So V, A. H: *so gret*.
- 825 *witeth this.* So V, A. H: *kepyn þese*.
- 826 *With₁.* So V, A (both as *wip*), H. Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests the meaning is "against."
- 827 *the.* So V, A. H omits.
with. So V, A. H: *þat han wyth*.
- 828 *To.* So V, A. H omits.
- 829 A blue pilcrow appears in the left margin in V.
- 831 *Al maat.* So V, A. H: *The whiche al matyd*. Sajavaara emends to *þat al maat*.
- 833 A blue pilcrow appears in the left margin in V.
- 834 A red pilcrow appears in the left margin in V.
- 835 A blue pilcrow appears in the left margin in V.
fle. So V, A. H: *to fle*.
- 836 *Thorw.* So A. V: *pouȝ*. H: *Thorgh*. I emend based on A, following Weymouth and Sajavaara (who both emend to *þorw*). Horstmann-Furnivall emends to *þoruz*.
- 837 A red pilcrow appears in the left margin in V.

- al was*. So A. V: *was was*. H: *all so she*. I follow Weymouth and Sajavaara in emending for sense based on A. Horstmann-Furnivall emends to *was*.
- 838 A blue pilcrow appears in the left margin in V.
hire. So V, A. H omits.
- 839 A red pilcrow appears in the left margin in V.
evere. So A. V: *eueri*. H: *euer more*. I emend based on A, following Weymouth, Horstmann-Furnivall, and Sajavaara (who all emend to *euer*).
- 840 *Mekenesse*. So V, A. H: *pacyens*. Sajavaara emends to *pacience*.
- 842 *thorw*. So V, A. H: *in*.
- 843 *The*. V has a six-line illuminated initial *P* of gold on a ground of alternating crimson and blue edged with double and single white lines, with white dots in sets of three in some corners. The letter, ground, and decorative elements are all outlined in faded black. White dots run between the thorn's upstrokes and along its lower right side. White-dotted crimson and blue ink balls jut from the ground's left side in opposing colors. The design has suffered some damage.
of alle. So V, A. H: *all of*.
- 844 *a*. So V, A. H omits.
- 845 *todeleth this*. So V, A. H: *so deled is*.
- 846 *meth with al*. So V, A. H: *goodnes as*.
- 847 *Ac*. So V. A: *Ak*. H: *And*.
- 848 *The folle of grace He hire gaf*. So V, A (*fulle*). H: *That he heere zeue full grace*.
- 849 *the grace that overfleoat*. So V, A. H: *grace withoute let*.
- 850 *Socoureth*. So V, A. H: *Socur*.
- 851 *Forthi*. So V, A. H: *Therefore*.
- 852 *O blessed Ladi*. So V, A. H: *One iblessed*. Sajavaara emends to *O blessed*, noting, "Weymouth and Horstmann take the line as an exclamation, which it hardly is on the evidence of H and the [AN poem]" (p. 387n852). The AN corresponding to lines 851–52 reads *Pur ceo est a dreit clamee / Sur tutes autres benuree* [For this reason is she justly called / Blessed above all others] (Appendix, lines 755–56).

- 853 A blue pilcrow appears in the left margin in V.
what. So V, A. H: *whiche.*
- 854 *tholemode poverté.* So V, A. H: *pouerte þat heo wes inne.*
- 855 *That nones kunnes assaylyng.* So V, A. In A the *nes* of *nones* has faded or been erased. H: *Ther was no mon kynnes assaylyng.* Sajavaara emends to *þer was nones kunnes assaylyng.* Note that line 855 is the same as line 675: *That none kunnes asaylyng.* Horstmann-Furnivall's textual note suggests *kunnes* should perhaps be *ginnes* based on the lines in the AN poem: *Dunt nul engin ne put geter / Ke le chastel pusse grever* [Because of which no siege engine could hurl / [Anything] that could harm the castle] (Appendix, lines 759–60).
- 856 *Ne may derve the tour for.* So V, A (*mai*). H: *That myzht dere þe castell of.* Sajavaara emends to *þat mizt derue þe castel.*
- 857 *whom.* So V, A, H. Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests the word should perhaps be *whon.*
is overcomen. So V, A. H: *was overcome.*
- 858 *al.* So V, A. H: *him all.*
- 859 *For.* V has a three-line illuminated initial *F* of gold on a ground of alternating crimson and blue edged with double and single white lines, with white dots in sets of three in some corners. The letter, ground, and decorative elements are all outlined in faded black. Inside the upper part of the *F* is a white partly quartered square, and a white feather design appears directly below the cross stroke. White-dotted crimson and blue ink balls jut from the ground's left side in opposing colors.
so. So V, A. H omits.
- 860 *seide.* So V, A. H: *spak.*
- 861 *blyve.* So H. V: *blyþe.* A: *bliþe.* I emend for rhyme based on H, following Weymouth and Sajavaara (who both emend to *blyue*).
- 862 *hed.* So H. V, A: *pouste.* I follow Sajavaara in emending for sense based on H. Although *pousté* [power] could make sense, the allusion to Genesis 3:15 would be lost. The AN poem has *chef* [head] (Appendix, line 770). See explanatory note to this line.
- 863 *this.* So V, A. H: *heo þis.*
- 866 *That.* So V, A. H: *Therefore.*
bodi. So V, A. H: *soule.* Sajavaara in emends based on H. The AN poem likewise reads *alme* [soul] (Appendix, line 774).

- 867 To. So V, A. H: *And to.*
- 868–69 *hire to bringe / His folk.* So V, A. H: *hire so z yng / To brynge him.*
- 871 *and₁.* So V, A. H omits.
and fre. So V, H. A omits.
- 872 *Whon heo.* So V. A: *Whon he.* H: *Whill heo.*
- 873 *eny schaft that.* So V, A. H: *oper þat euer made.*
- 874 *Forthi.* So V, A. H: *And þo.*
- Rihtwys Sonne.* V, A: *Rihtwys sone.* H: *sonne of ryzhtwesnes.* Sajavaara emends to *sonne of rihtwysnesse.* Weymouth and Horstmann-Furnivall do not emend but note H's reading. The AN poem reads *le Solail de Dreiture* [the Sun of Righteousness] (Appendix, line 782). Since the spelling *sone* in V and A normally refers to Jesus rather than to the sun, the line does not make sense as written; Jesus does not overshadow and "inflamm" Mary at his own conception. See explanatory note to lines 874–76 for discussion of the metaphor.
- 875 *schadewede on hire in wolde.* So V, A. H: *on heere when he shadowe wolde.* Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests that *wolde* either should be interpreted to mean "virtue" or that the correct reading should be *holde*, with the meaning "flesh," although MED, *hold* (n.3), sense 1, gives the meaning "corpse." I take *wolde* to mean "might" or "strength" (see MED, *weld* [n.], sense 1c, which quotes this line).
- 876 *And.* So V, A. H: *He.*
- 877 *Thorw.* So A. V: *þouȝ* with *r* added above the line and a caret to indicate its placement. Horstmann-Furnivall and Sajavaara accept this correction and emend to *þoruȝ*. I follow Weymouth's emendation for sense based on A, as *þorw* is the usual spelling of this word in V.
- 878 *And at.* So V, A. H: *At.* Sajavaara emends based on H.
lette faste. So V, A. H: *lette hit fast.* Horstmann-Furnivall and Sajavaara emend to *lette hit faste*, but eliding the pronoun is not an unusual construction.
beo. So V, A. H: *be.* Sajavaara has *be*, which appears to be a misreading of V and A rather than an emendation, since it ruins the rhyme with *inteo*, no emendation is noted, and no variant is recorded for H's spelling.
- 879 *beo we.* So V, A. H: *let we be.*
- 881 A. V has a three-line illuminated initial A of gold (with a left descender extending an additional two lines) on a ground of alternating crimson and blue edged with double and single

white lines, with white dots in sets of three in some corners. The letter, ground, and decorative elements are all outlined in faded black. A white chain link pattern runs along the A's right side, and a white foliate pattern appears in below its apex with another below the crossbar. White-dotted crimson and blue ink balls jut from the ground's left side in opposing colors.

- 882 *helpeth*. So V, A. H: *helpest*. Horstmann-Furnivall emends based on H.
- 884 *bat and loude doth*. So V, A. H: *knocked and loude con*.
- 885 *Bat*. So V, A. H: *He knockeþ*.
- gon*. So V, A. H: *con*.
- 886 *Helpe me*. So V, with *me* added above line with caret to mark insertion point. A: *Help me*. H: *Help*. Sajavaara emends based on A. Weymouth and Horstmann-Furnivall include *me* without note.
- 887 *Undo, Ladi*. So V, A. H: *Thi welle ondo*.
- 888 *Thou*. So V, A. H: *And þerof þou*.
- a luitel cleche*. So V, A. H: *cleche*.
- 889 *grace*. So H. V, A omit. I follow Weymouth, Horstmann-Furnivall, and Sajavaara in emending for sense based on H.
- alle frovere*. So V, A. H: *alle is thoore*. Horstmann-Furnivall emends to *alle con frouere*.
- 890 *That gostliche beoth in herte povere*. So V, A. H: *To hem þat in herte gostly byth poore*.
- 891 *Lo*. So V, A. H: *Bese*.
- 892 *With*. So V, A. H: *Of*.
- 893 *The*. So V, A. H: *That is þe*.
- 894 *The*. So V, A. H: *And the*.
- my*. So V, A. H: *and my*.
- ne*. H omits.
- 895 *Withouten eny meth*. So V, A. H: *Withoute ene mystre* [Without any need] (see *MED*, *mister* [n.], sense 5a). Sajavaara emends to *Wiþoute eny meþ*.
- 897–98 *Gret parlement . . . is forth icome*. A transposes these lines.

- 898 A red pilcrow appears in the left margin in V.
furst is. So V, A (as line 897). H: *is formest*. Sajavaara emends to *is furst*.
- 901 A blue pilcrow appears in the left margin in V.
me hath with two hostes. So V, A. H: *with too ostys haþ me*.
- 902 *and Onde*. So V, A. H: *and hate he wold me fonde*.
- 903 A red pilcrow appears in the left margin in V.
- 904 *Glottenye*. So A. V: *gotenye*. H: *glotenie*. I follow Sajavaara in emending for sense based on A. (Weymouth and Horstmann-Furnivall do not note the missing letter *l* in V.)
uvel. So V. A: *euel*. H: *foule*.
- 905 *wraththe*. So V. A: *wapþe*. H: *fy3ht*.
- 906 *as*. So V, A. H: *as a*.
- 907 *Mayde*. So V, A. H: *swete mayde*.
- 908 *the*. So V, A. H: *all þe*.
- 909–10 *Thow . . . dyches cleche*. V and A omit; these lines supplied from H. Sajavaara adds the lines but slightly emends the spelling (*Pou; diches*). Weymouth adds the lines into the text in brackets but skips them in the lineation; Horstmann-Furnivall includes the lines in a marginal note to line 908 rather than as part of the poem. The line numbers in Weymouth and Horstmann-Furnivall thus do not match those in this edition after line 908.
- 911 *Ther*. So V. A: *þer þer*. H: *Ther as*.
faste and. So V, A. H: *so*.
- 912 *And*. So V, A. H omits.
is. So V, A. H: *is there*.
- 913 *Of*. V has a three-line illuminated initial *O* of gold on a ground of alternating crimson and blue edged with single white lines, with white dots in sets of three in some corners. The letter, ground, and decorative elements are all outlined in faded black. In the center of the *O* appears a finely decorated white cross with dots in sets of three in the quarters. A white-dotted blue ball with a tail juts from the ground's left side. The design has suffered some damage.
- 914 *Ac*. So V, A. H: *And*.

- a. So V, A. H: *by a*.
- 915 *godschupes*. So V, A. H: *goodnes*.
- 916 *Out*. So V, A. H omits.
- 917 *God, hevene Drihte*. V, A: *God heuene dihte*. H: *godallmyzht*. I follow Weymouth (line 915), Horstmann-Furnivall (line 915), and Sajavaara in emending *dihte* to *drihte* for sense.
- 919 *nom of hire*. So V, A. H: *hyre he nome*.
- 920 *whom*. So V, A, H. Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests the word should perhaps be *whon* (line 918).
- wrey*. So V. A: *wreyh*. H: *keuerd*.
- 921 *bereth*. So V, A. H: *bar*. Sajavaara emends based on H.
- 922 *That*₁. So V, A. H: *The*.
- 923 *the*. So V, A. H: *þat*.
- 924 *And*. So V, A. H: *A*.
- 925 *And nis He*. So V, A. H: *I trowe þis be*.
- 926 *Whon He is thus for us*. So V, A. H: *That he for he for vs was þus*.
- 927 *wonder nis*. So V, A. H: *wondur iknowe*.
- 928 *togeder*. So V, A. H: *in oon to*.
- 930 *Habbe that wole to heom bifalle*. So V, A (*hem*). H: *Hap þat þat shulde to him falle*.
- 931 *That*. So V, A. H: *And*.
- ne wonte no wiht*. So V, A. H: *wonteth here myzht*.
- 932 *Ac that either habbe al his*. So V, A (the *bbe* in *habbe* is faded in A). H: *But eþer of hem han here*.
- 933 *That*. So V, A. H: *This*.
- 935 *sauhten*. So V. A: *sauhten*. H: *make at oon*.
- toboren*. So V, A. H: *at woore*.

- 936 *And dilyveren.* So V, A (*deliueren*). H: *ffor*.
- 937 *we witen.* So V, A. H: *I wotte*.
- 938 *That.* So V, A. H: *for*.
- soth . . . soth.* So V, A. H: *sothefast . . . suthfast*.
- 939 *Bihold.* V has a three-line illuminated initial *B* of gold on a ground of alternating blue and crimson edged with double and single white lines, with white dots in sets of three in some corners. The letter, ground, and decorative elements are all outlined in faded black. Inside the *B* swirl two white foliate designs. White-dotted crimson and blue ink balls jut from the ground's left side in opposing colors. The design has suffered some damage.
- 940 *His deden hou heo beoth.* So V, A; A may read *dedes* instead of *deden* (the final two letters have faded or been erased). H: *the ende of his dedyn*.
- diht.* So V, A. H: *idyght*. Sajavaara emends to *idiht*.
- 941 *That thou aboute nouht fer se.* So V, A. H: *And þis all abowte þou well bese*.
- 942 *Ac.* So V. A: *Ak*. H: *And*.
- 943 *of.* So V, A. H: *of a*.
- 946 *saveté.* So V, A. H: *heele euer*.
- 948 *seith thus to us.* So V, A. H: *calleþ mon his*.
- 949 *mislyken and al foryemed.* So V, A (*forzemet*). H: *myslyche igon and vnzemed*.
- 952 *hast of thiself no.* So V, A. H: *mayst not of þiself ha*.
- 953 *Ne beo.* So V, A. H: *Be*.
- 954 *Ac ful.* So V, A (*Ak*). H: *And*.
- thou beo theton.* So V, A. H: *be þou hereoon*.
- 955 *Yif thou.* So V, A. H: *That he þat*.
- loven.* So V, A. H: *leve*. Sajavaara emends to *leuen*, which Horstmann-Furnivall's note (line 953) suggests is the correct reading based on H and the AN poem. Compare the AN verse, *si crere moy volez* [if you are willing to believe in Me] (Appendix, line 931).
- 956 *thee bringe into thin.* So V, A. H: *him brynge and lede to is*.

- 957 *Ententyfliche thou herken.* So V, A (*Ententifliche; herkne*). H: *And soone herkyn þou.*
- 959 *Mi.* So V, A. H: *ffor my.*
- 960 *light.* So V. A: *liht.* H: *is lyȝht.*
- 961 *Merci bihove.* So V, A. H: *Mercies bone.*
- 962 *I am for thee.* So V, A. H: *for þe I am.*
- 963 *Ich thee.* So V, A. H: *I.*
- 964 *Ichulle.* So V. A: *Ichul.* H: *And ichull.*
nyme. So V, A. H: *take.*
- 967 *For.* So V, A. H: *ffor now.*
Icham. So V. A, H: *I am.* A has an erasure where the *ch* of *Icham* would be.
- 968 *I may.* So V, A. H: *Therfore ichull.*
- 969 *Icham of freo nacion.* So V. A: *I am of freo nacion.* In A there is an erasure where the *ch* of *icham* would be. H: *am fre of byrth in euery towne.*
- 970 *oughte.* So A. V: *oute*, which Horstmann-Furnivall follows (line 968). H: *owghton.* I follow Weymouth and Sajavaara in emending for sense based on A.
ihere. So V, A. H: *to here.*
- 971 *iwust.* So V, A. H: *kept.*
- 974 *And.* So H. V, A: *ffor.* I follow Weymouth (line 972) and Sajavaara in emending for sense based on H. Horstmann-Furnivall instead omits *ffor* without adding *And* in its place (line 972).
beo thou of ful. So V, A. H: *make þe of.*
- 975 *an ende overcome.* So V, A (*ouurcome*). H: *ouer alle.*
- 976 *todreynen al thi.* So V, A. H: *þe maystry haue all with.* Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests *dereynen* [prove] is meant (line 974).
- 977 *darstou on erthe.* So V, A (*eorþe*). H: *on erthe þow nedest to.*
- 979 *Lord.* V has a three-line illuminated initial *L* of gold on a ground of alternating blue and crimson edged with double and single white lines, with white dots in sets of three in some corners.

The letter, ground, and decorative elements are all outlined in faded black. The *L*'s center features two white cross patterns atop one another, and a line of white dots traces its right edge. Two white-dotted blue balls jut from the top left corner of the ground. The design has suffered some damage.

freschipe. V: *frenschipe*. A: *frendschip*. H: *fresship*. I follow Horstmann-Furnivall (line 977) in emending to *freschipe* based on H and the AN verse; Sajavaara emends to *freschip* on the same basis (p. 388n979). The AN verse reads *franchise* [generosity] (Appendix, line 953); see AND, *franchise* (n.), sense 3, "nobility (of character), distinction, excellence; considerateness, kindness, generosity."

nome. So V, A. H: *takeþ*.

980 *He that welde al thing and al mai*. So V, A (*walde*). H: *God all þys world shall*.

981 *Us*. So V, A. H: *That vs*.

such frendschip and. So V, A (*frendschip*). H: *so meche*.

982 *a forbysne*. So V, A. H: *so gret vertu*.

983 *Ac*. So V, A. H: *And*.

forbisne. So V. A: *forbysne*. H: *bysenes*.

984 *iseghen, ne yore hath*. So V, A. H: *þis vertu is*. Horstmann-Furnivall emends to *is I-sezen, ne zore hap* (line 982). Sajavaara emends to *isezen ne*.

987 *Ac*. So V, A. H: *And*.

of tholemodnesse. So V, A (*þolmodnes*). H: *and pacyens*.

988 *goodschipe*. So V. A: *godschipe*. H: *mekenesse*.

989 *to the world him geveth the mon*. So V, A (*ziueþ*). H: *a mon zevyth him to þe worldys weele*.

990 *the worldes good him waxeth on*. So V, A. H: *goodys fall yn to him mony and fele*.

991 *ne thenketh on God ne non other thyng*. So V, A (*oþur þinge*). H: *þenkeþ on good in maner þyng*. Horstmann-Furnivall reads *no* in place of *on* in H (p. 399n989).

992 *bringe*. So V, A. H: *to bryng*.

993 *the catel hath*. So V, A. H: *worldly godys han*.

alast. So V, A. H omits.

- 994 *Hit.* So H. V, A: *Pat hit.* I follow Weymouth (line 992), Horstmann-Furnivall (line 992), and Sajavaara in emending for sense based on H.
is in his cofre biloke so fast. So V, A. H: *maketh mon so rebell and hye* (Sajavaara reads *hys* for *hye*).
- 995 *al he bicometh overgart.* So V, A. H: *he waxeth wonder.*
- 996 *bothe.* So V, A. H omits.
- 997 *Nothing ne wilneth he.* So V, A. H: *He wylneþ no þyng of.*
- 999 *forbysne.* So V, A. H: *vertu of.*
- 1001 *Theose ne mowen Jhesu suwen with.* So V, A. H: *Thes synnes mow not crist sue.*
- 1002 *heore dede al tolyth.* So V, A. H: *thei beþ of evyll vertue.*
- 1003 *Ne His red ne leeveth heo.* So V, A. H: *And whos his vertu levyth.*
- 1004 *thenne wolden heo wilnen.* So V, A. H: *schuld he wyllen.*
- 1005 *heritage.* So V, A. H: *his eritage.*
- 1006 *Thaugh He in batayle the ple biwon.* So V, A. H: *That he þorgh plee and bataylle wonne.*
- 1007 *Whon heo doth al that He forbat.* So V, A (*forbad*). H: *And euer azeyns his byddyng woll do.* Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests the correct reading for *forbat* should be *forbet* (line 1005).
- 1008 *nothing doth of that He hat.* So V, A. H: *azeyns here soulys allso.* Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests the correct reading for *hat* should be *het* (line 1006).
- 1009 *Ac.* So V, A. H: *And.*
- 1010 *Ne biddeth.* So V. A: *Ne kepeþ.* H: *And loueþ.*
heo nought of. So V, A. H: *no þyng.*
- 1011 A red pilcrow appears in the left margin in V.
Forthi. So V. A: *þerfore.* H: *Therefore.*
- 1012 *Fel from hevene adoun to helle.* H adds the following lines after 1012: *And all so I dowl for hem þat aftur hym don / Lest þey shullen þe way aftur hym gon.*
- 1013 *And also I drede heo scholden an ende.* So V, A. H: *But 3ef thei hem amende.* Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests the correct reading for *scholden* should be *schullen* (line 1011).

- 1014 *Thulke that such werkes doth, aftur him wende.* So V, A (*suche*). H: *Of þat that þey dude god afende.*
- 1015 *Ac I ne sigge hit, not for thon.* So V, A (*Ak*). H: *But to þis I graunte well þon.*
- 1016 *mai ful wel everiche goode.* So V, A (*may; god*). H: *hit may befall to a.*
- 1017 *Habbe.* So V, A. H: *To haue.*
- heighnesse.* So V, A. H: *gret hyenesse.*
- 1018 *toures.* So V, A. H: *townes.* Sajavaara emends to *tounes*, presumably based on H, and also notes, “Most [AN] manuscripts have *burks* [towns], a few *bois* [woods]. The VA reading is corrupt” (p. 389n1018); note that, although Sajavaara claims the reading is more common, Mackie-Chasteu’s textual note to line 996 lists just six MSS with “towns” out of eighteen collated. The AN for this line reads *Chasteaus e boys de grant largesce* [Castles and forests of great breadth] (Appendix, line 992).
- 1019 *wel don and Godes wille holde.* V, A: *welden and godes wille holde.* H: *zet goddis wylle don and holde.* I follow Weymouth (line 1017), Horstmann-Furnivall (line 1017), and Sajavaara in emending for sense.
- 1020 *God to queme wel, yif.* So V, A. H: *well God to plese and.*
- 1021 *Yif he lyveth.* So V, A (*liueþ*). H: *And byn.*
- love.* V, A: *londe.* H: *charyte.* I follow Weymouth (line 1019), Horstmann-Furnivall (line 1019), and Sajavaara (who all emend to *loue*) in emending for sense based on the reading in H.
- 1022 *sothschupe.* So V, A. H: *sothenesse.*
- 1023 *wilneth nothing.* So V, A. H: *wyllyt not els.*
- 1024 *al.* So V, A. H omits.
- with trewe love and.* So V, A. H: *and his love so.*
- 1025 *Nou.* V has a three-line illuminated initial N of gold on a ground of alternating blue and crimson edged with double and single white lines, with white dots in sets of three in some corners. The letter, ground, and decorative elements are all outlined in faded black. A white foliate design curls in on itself in the N’s center. White-dotted crimson and blue ink balls jut from the ground’s left side in opposing colors.
- 1026 *wolde God.* So V, A. H: *that wolde.*

- 1027 *Hou.* So V, A, H: *And how.* Sajavaara emends to *And hou.*
- 1028 *won.* So V, A, H: *by whom.*
- and the Fend overcom.* V, A: *and a fend ourcom.* H: *azeyn come.* I emend, following Horstmann-Furnivall (*þe*, line 1026).
- 1031 *Tho.* So V, A, H: *Tho þat.*
- 1033 *riht nought.* So V, A, H: *nopyng.*
- 1034 *Ac.* V, A: *As.* H: *But.* I follow Weymouth (line 1032), Horstmann-Furnivall (line 1032), and Sajavaara in emending for sense based on the reading in H.
- beo.* So V, A, H: *ha be.*
- yit evere he.* So V, A, H: *was his.* Sajavaara leaves out *yit evere* for the sake of meter (p. 389n1034). Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests the correct reading for *evere* should perhaps be *eiwher* (line 1032).
- 1035 *hedde ben, ac.* So V, A, H: *ere was but.*
- 1036 *that.* So V, A, H omits.
- into.* So V, A, H: *in.*
- icome.* So V, A, H: *was come.*
- 1037 *Him seigh in.* So V, A (*seih*). H: *sey hym mon and in.*
- weeden.* So V, A, H: *wede.*
- 1038 *Ac he nust.* So V, A (*nuste*). H: *But he wüst not.*
- whuch weren His deden.* So V, A (*were*). H: *of what dede.*
- 1039 *Him seigh wel.* So V, A: *seiz him wel.* H: *sey him.* Sajavaara emends based on A.
- and.* So V, H, A omits.
- icomen.* So V, A, H: *knewe þat he was.*
- 1040 *evere in the world He livede withoute sinne.* So V, A (*synne*). H: *neuer to synne cryst had myende.*
- 1041 *Fend.* So V, A, H: *deuyll.*

- swithe*. So V, A. H omits.
- 1042 *Wher*. So V, A. H: *Wheper*.
- art icomen*. So V, A. H: *comyn art*. Sajavaara emends to *icomen art*.
- 1043 *wyde*. So V, A. H omits. Sajavaara also omits, following H.
- 1044 *So that*. So V, A. H: *And*. Sajavaara emends to *zif*.
- bouwe*. So V A: *bowe*. H: *wolle abowe*. Sajavaara reads *abouwe* for *abowe*.
- honoure*. So V, A. H: *worship*. Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests the correct reading should be *adore* (line 1042).
- 1044a *Respondit Jesus*. So V. Not included in A or H. Weymouth (line 1042a) and Horstmann-Furnivall (line 1042a) include all dialogue rubrics in their respective presentations of the poem's text; Sajavaara notes this rubric and others in the textual apparatus only.
- 1046 *Thi kuynde Lord*. So V, A. H: *I am þy lord*. Sajavaara emends to omit *kuynde*.
- ne schalt thou fonde so*. So V. A: *ne schaltou fonde so*. H: *þou shalt fynde me so*.
- 1046a *Diabolus dicit*. So V. A, H omit. Weymouth (line 1044a) and Horstmann-Furnivall (line 1044a) include in poem; Sajavaara has in textual notes.
- 1047 *wenestou*. So V, A. H: *þenketh þe*.
- I ne mowe*. So V, A. H: *mayst þou not*. Sajavaara emends to *Maizt þou not*.
- 1048 *That icham*. So V. A: *þ I am*. H: *Seyde þe fynde I am*.
- prince and lord of*. So V, A. H: *lord of alle*.
- 1049 *in the*. So V, A. H: *therof in*.
- habbe longe ibe*. So V, A. H: *longe I ha be*.
- 1050 *grant*. So V. A: *graunt*. H: *zeve*.
- 1051 *seo*. So V, A. H: *knowe*.
- 1052 *of Thi*. V, A: *one þi*. H: *of þe ny of þy*.
- 1053 *Thou*. So V, A. H: *Sykur þou*.

- 1055 *nabbe miht.* So V, A. H: *na no pouer.*
- 1057 *thorw.* So V, A. H omits.
- 1058 *Faste.* So V, A. H: *ffull fast.*
is congraffet, apliht. So V, A. H: *pei con it dyzht.*
- 1059 *hose passede Godes heste.* V repeats this portion of line 1059 on the next line.
passede. So V, A. H: *breke.*
- 1060 *be.* So V. A: *beo.* H: *euer be.* Sajavaara emends to *euere be.*
leste. So V, A. H: *lest,* but Sajavaara reads *left.*
- 1061 *An ende dyen thorw hard deth inouh.* So V, A. H: *And on endeles dethe he shuld dye.*
- 1062 *nul do no wouh.* So V, A (*nil*). H: *of ryzht nyl not wrye.*
- 1063 *wenestou.* So V, A. H: *woldest pou.*
- 1064 *ispeke.* So V, A. H: *bespeke.*
- 1064a *Respondit Jhesus.* So V. A, H omit. Weymouth (line 1062a) and Horstmann-Furnivall (line 1062a) include in poem; Sajavaara has in textual notes.
- 1066 *That foreward on ende.* So V, A (*forward*). H: *And seyde þat foreward.*
wel was iholde. V: *god wel was iholde.* A: *god wol wel holde.* H: *myzht not be holde.* I follow Weymouth (line 1064) and Horstmann-Furnivall (line 1064) in emending for sense. Sajavaara records *holde wel* for *wel holde* in A.
- 1067 *Ac thou hit bigonne formast to.* So V, A. H: *Thow þi self formest dedest hit.*
- 1069 *that treo him was.* So V, A. H: *þe tre was him.*
- 1071 *Ac.* So V. A: *Ak.* H: *And zef.*
- 1072 *Thenne, thou seidest, he hedde igete.* So V, A. H: *And wolde goddys beheste lete.*
- 1073 *For.* So V, A. H omits. Sajavaara emends following H.
- 1074 *And.* So V, A. H omits.
never die forthon. So V, A (*dye*). H: *deþ suffre neuer non.*

- 1075 *and elles he wer skere.* So V, A (*were*). H: *or ells he hede be sker.*
- 1076 *Understond My reson: yif hit skile were.* So V, A (*Vndurstond; resun*). H: *I trowe reson hit nere.*
- 1077 *That.* So H. V: *pauz.* A: *pauh.* I follow Weymouth (line 1075), Horstmann-Furnivall (line 1075), and Sajavaara in emending for sense based on H.
- 1078 *thou noldest holden hem, as anont thee.* So V, A. H: *woldest not holde anont the.* Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests omitting *hem* (line 1076).
- H adds the following lines after 1078: *The covenant þat þou shuldest ha do / Þou foule fynde monis fo.*
- 1078a *Diabolus dicit.* So V. A, H omit. Weymouth (line 1076a) and Horstmann-Furnivall (line 1076a) include in poem; Sajavaara has in textual notes.
- 1083 *baldeliche darst nyemen Thee.* So V, A. H: *bold darst be.*
- 1084 *Forte.* So V, A. H: *To.*
- 1085 *iloren al.* So V, A. H: *all iloren.*
- 1086 *Ac.* V, A: *And.* H: *But.* I follow Weymouth (line 1084), Horstmann-Furnivall (line 1084), and Sajavaara in emending for sense based on the reading in H.
- ne may hit.* So V, A (*mai*). H: *hit may.*
- 1088 *Thorw whom he.* So V, A (*Þor*). H: *That.* Horstmann-Furnivall emends to *Þorw whon he* (line 1086).
- 1090 *He ne oughte from wo.* So V, A (*ouhte*). H: *I wot not with whom I shuld.* Sajavaara emends *He* to *I*, citing the AN poem (p. 389n1090). See explanatory note to this line for discussion.
- 1090a *Respondit Jesus.* So V. A, H omit. Weymouth (line 1088a) and Horstmann-Furnivall (line 1088a) include in poem; Sajavaara has in textual notes.
- 1091 *Tho swete Jhesu to him.* So V, A. H: *Swete ihesu tho.*
- 1093 *bugge to his feore.* So V, A. H: *buggen here.* Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests *feore* should be glossed as "price" (line 1091).
- 1096 *As.* So V, A. H: *Bote as.*
- er thenne.* So V, A. H: *heere þat.*
- 1098 *skile.* So V, A. H: *ryzht.*

- good*. So V, A. H omits.
- 1099 *Ne kep I nought*. So V, A (*nouht*). H: *I keþe no þyng*.
- 1100 *Thorw*. So V, A. H: *Ne thorgh*.
- no wiht*. So V, A. H: *hit*.
- 1100a *Diabolus dicit*. So V. A, H omit. Weymouth (line 1098a) and Horstmann-Furnivall (line 1098a) include in poem; Sajavaara has in textual notes.
- 1101 *No, ac*. So V, A. H: *Quod þe fynde and*.
- 1102 *also muche*. So V. A: *as muche*. H: *as myche worþ*. Horstmann-Furnivall (line 1100), Sajavaara emend to *also muche worþ*.
- 1103 *nou*. So V, A. H omits. Weymouth (line 1101) emends following H.
- worth*. So H. V, A omit. I emend based on H, following Weymouth (line 1101), Horstmann-Furnivall (line 1101), and Sajavaara (who all emend to *worþ*).
- atte*. So V, A. H: *at þys*.
- 1104a A red pilcrow appears in the left margin in V.
- Jhesus dixit*. So V. A, H omit. Weymouth (line 1102a) and Horstmann-Furnivall (line 1102a) include in poem; Sajavaara has in textual notes.
- 1105 *al*. So V, A. H omits.
- 1106 *luttel*. So V. A: *leste*. H: *lytill*. Sajavaara does not note A's reading. Sajavaara mistakenly indicates that H reads *to Jhesu þo* in his textual note to this line, but the reading comes from line 1109.
- 1108a *Diabolus dicit*. So V. A, H omit. Weymouth (line 1106a) and Horstmann-Furnivall (line 1106a) include in poem; Sajavaara omits from textual notes.
- 1109 *tho to Jhesu*. So V, A. H: *to ihesu þo*.
- 1110 *seo*. So V, A. H: *wot*.
- 1111 *Thou maight al the world demen and dihte*. So V, A. H: *all þe world deme þou myzht*.
- 1112 *For*. So V, A, H. Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests the correct reading should be *But* (line 1110).
- nou over Thee nabbe I no mihte*. So V, A. H: *of the my pouere is lost by ryzht*.

- 1113 A blue pilcrow appears in the left margin in V.
Thi fynger geve. So V, A (*ziue*). H: *zeve þi fyngur.*
- 1114 *unworth and so vyl.* So V, A (*vil*). H: *fowle and vnworþy.*
- 1114a *Respondit Jesus.* So V, A, H omit. Weymouth (line 1112a) and Horstmann-Furnivall (line 1112a) include in poem; Sajavaara records *Respondi Jesus* in textual notes.
- 1115 A red pilcrow appears in the left margin in V.
Ye. So V, A, H: *O quod ihesu.* Sajavaara emends to “*3e*,” *quod Jhesus.*
for. So V, A, H: *to.*
- 1116 *him habbe.* So V, A, H: *han him.*
- 1117 A blue pilcrow appears in the left margin in V.
yit. So V, A, H omits, which Sajavaara follows.
him habbe. So V, A, H: *haue him.* Sajavaara emends to *habbe him.*
- 1118 *Tholen.* So V, A, H: *Thow most suffre.*
wandrethe. So V, A, H: *wondur.*
- 1120 *deth tholen.* So V, A, H: *suffre dep.*
strong. So V, A, H omits.
- 1121 A red pilcrow appears in the left margin in V.
tho₂. So V, A, H: *to.* Horstmann-Furnivall (line 1119), Sajavaara emend based on H.
- 1122 *that.* So A, H, V: *þat þat.* I emend for sense, following Weymouth (line 1120) and Sajavaara (both emend to *þat*).
al₂. So V, A, H: *hit.*
- 1123 *ben.* So V, A, H: *to be.*
- 1124 *and gef.* So H, V, A omit. I emend for sense, following Weymouth (line 1122), Horstmann-Furnivall (line 1122), and Sajavaara (who all emend to *and zef*).
- 1125 *don.* So V, A, H: *zet don.*

- 1126 *the thral.* So V, A. H: *þat thrall* (Sajavaara records *thral* for *thrall*).
- 1127 *Tho was the Fend siker and wende wel ethe.* So V, A. H: *Tho þe fynde wyst well þis.*
- 1128 *Fortē have biyeten thorw His dethe.* So V, A. H: *þat thorwgh is deþ mon shulld ha blys.*
- 1129 *Ac he was caught and overcomen.* So V, A (Ak). H: *And so þe fynde wes ouercome.*
- 1131 *That, whon.* So V, A. H: *And.*
- he.* So V, A. H omits.
- alast.* So V, A. H: *at þe last.*
- 1132 *He.* So V, A. H: *Then he.*
- 1133 A. So V, A. H: O. V has a three-line illuminated initial A (with a left descender extending an additional two lines) with upper and lower extenders, all of gold on a blue and crimson ground edged with double and single white lines, with white dots in sets of three in some corners. The letter, extenders, ground, and decorative elements are all outlined in faded black. A white wavy line punctuated by sets of three dots in each dip borders the upper extender's left side, whereas a white chain-link pattern runs along the ground on its right, as well as on the left side of the lower extender. A white foliate pattern decorates the A's apex with another resting next to its left descender, and below the crossbar lies a partly quartered white square. The extenders lengthen the overall design to twenty-seven lines. White-dotted crimson and blue ink balls jut from the ground's left side in opposing colors.
- nim yeme.* So V, A (nym). H: *take hede.*
- thee.* So V, A. H: *me.*
- 1134 *fynliche.* So V, A. H: *truly.*
- 1135 *deth tholen thorw.* So V, A (þoru3). H: *thole deth and.*
- 1136 *of.* So V, A. H: *and.*
- 1137 *gult.* So V, A. H: *misdede.*
- 1138 *lodliche.* So V, A. H: *euyll.*
- 1140 *Ne never nas with fulthe.* So V, A. H: *Ne with fylth was.*
- 1141 *In.* So V, A. H: *ffor.*
- hath the.* So V, A. H: *euer hade.*

- 1142 *formest sunne bigon*. So V, A. H: *to syenge furst* (e_1 in *syenge* added above word with caret to mark insertion point).
- 1143 *Wolde*. So V, A. H: *He wolde*.
alle. So V, A. H omits. Sajavaara reads *all* in V and A.
- 1144 *al*. So V, A. H omits.
- 1145 *unwrestschupe*. So V. A: *vnwresteschi*. H: *gret gult*.
- 1146 *The*. So V, A. H: *A*.
thornes. So V, A. H: *þorne*.
- 1147 *ure fol eye*. V, A: *vre folye*, which Weymouth follows. H: *oure syzht mysspende allso*. I follow Sajavaara (*vre fol eze*) in emending to preserve the symbolic relation to the following line, where Jesus is blindfolded; Horstmann-Furnivall also suggests the corrected reading (line 1145).
- 1149 *was*. So V, A. H omits.
bifoulet. So V, A. H: *defouled*.
- 1150 *eke*. So V, A. H: *allso with*.
among me. So V, A. H: *they*. Sajavaara emends to *me*.
- 1151 *unwreste and*. So V, A. H: *so*.
- 1152 *Atter heo Him dude to drinke, imeynt with*. So V, A (*imeyn*). H: *They zevyn him galle to dryng and*. Sajavaara emends to omit *imeynt*.
H adds the following lines after 1152: *The Iewes deden þis to him for gret vylny / Bote he suffred hit all pacyently*. See explanatory note to this line for discussion.
- 1153 *For*. So H. V, A omit. I follow Sajavaara in emending for sense based on H. Weymouth likewise suggests the emendation in a note (pp. 55–56n16).
the otewyse werkes as there. So V, A (*þer*). H: *vnlawfull werk vs*.
abonden. V, A: *anonden*. H: *anonde*. I follow Sajavaara's emendation, which the *MED* likewise suggests (see *odious* [adj.], where this line is quoted under sense 1d). Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests the correct reading should be *anonde* (line 1151), though without clarifying what this would mean. Weymouth (line 1151) and Horstmann-Furnivall (line 1151) each record H's reading as *avonde*. See the explanatory note to this line for further discussion.

- 1154 *lette bothe thurlen His feet and honden.* So V, A (*fet*). H: *was peersed þorgh foot and honde* (was added above line with caret to mark insertion). Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests the correct reading for *honden* should be *honde* (line 1151).
- 1155 *woke.* So V, A. H: *evyll*.

smerte. So V, A. H: *ful smert*.
- 1156 *That me His syde thurlede right to the herte.* So V, A (*riht*). H: *A speere was smyte þorgh is syde to is hert*. Sajavaara emends to omit *right*.
- 1157 *do for us.* So V, A. H: *for vs do*.
- 1158 *that fore.* So V, A. H: *his soore*. Sajavaara emends to *þat sore*. The *MED* cites the line under *fore* (n.), sense 1a, "The act of going, departure, expedition, journey; fig. death." This line in the AN poem reads, *Launge ne put taunt retrere* [Tongue cannot so relate] (Appendix, line 1132). See also explanatory note to lines 1158–60 for discussion.
- 1159 *ne mihte thenche.* So V, A (*mizte þenchen*). H: *may thenk hit*.
- 1160 *As He tholedede for us pyne.* So V, A. H: *Syche peyne he þoled*.
- 1161 *is that ne.* So V, A. H: *is hit but he*.
- 1162 *frendschupe and.* So V, A (*frendschipe*). H: *a frynde þat hade so gre*.
- 1164 *tholedede.* So V, A. H: *suffred*.
- 1165 *Ac He.* So V, A (*Ak*). H: *And he*. Horstmann-Furnivall emends to *Ac þo he* (line 1163).

ben. So V, A. H: *to be*.
- 1167 *tholedede He.* So V, A. H: *he suffred*. Sajavaara emends to *he þoledede*.
- 1168 *Serwe.* So V, A. H: *Of sorewe*.

tho. So V, A. H: *when*.
- 1169 *the.* So V, A. H: *eny*.
- 1170 *hond.* So V, A. H omits.
- 1171 *loveth.* So V, A. H: *lovyd*.
- 1172 *That nevere heo nule him wende fro.* So V, A. H: *That he on neþe wold weynde hit fro*.

- 1173 *sore*. So V, A. H: *no soore*. Sajavaara emends to *no sore*.
- 1174 *Thauh me hit tohewe*. So V, A (*paug*). H: *That he wes hurt and peyned with*.
- 1175 *Er the*. So V, A. H: *Tyll his*.
- ben*. So V, A. H: *were*. Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests the correct reading should perhaps be *han* (line 1173).
- 1176 *vertue*. So V, A. H: *strength*.
- 1177 *the . . . the*. So V, A. H: *his . . . his*.
- 1178 *The . . . the*. So V, A. H: *His . . . his*.
- 1179 *the felynge he schal leosen*. So V, A. H: *his felyng wes browght to*.
- an*. So V, H. A: *and*.
- 1180 *he wole*. So V, A. H: *þe soule*.
- wende*. So V. A: *weende*. H: *wolde wynde*.
- 1181 *ne may*. So V, A. H: *myzht*.
- nothinge*. So V, A. H: *no maner þyng*.
- 1182 *Tholen her the tithelynge*. So V, A. H: *Han suffred þe halfondele of þat peynyng* [Have suffered the half portion of that torment]. Sajavaara records *þe þeynyng* for *þat peynyng* in H. Sajavaara emends *tithelynge* to *todelyng* for sense (p. 390n1182); Horstmann-Furnivall's note similarly suggests the correct reading should perhaps be *to-delyng* (line 1180). Weymouth (line 1180) does not emend or add a note on the text but defines the word as "tithe, tenth part" in the glossary (p. 88). See the explanatory note to this line for more details.
- 1183 *Ac*. So V. A: *Ak*. H: *But*.
- 1185 *pynde*. So V, A. H: *honged*. Sajavaara emends following H. The AN poem reads *pendi* [hung] (Appendix, line 1159).
- 1186 *He gaf His soule with loud*. So V, A. H: *To þe fadur his soule he zyf with mylde*.
- 1188 *dude*. So V, A. H: *payed*.
- 1189 *bodi yit*. So V. A: these words have faded to illegibility and may have been erased. H: *body zet*.
- 1191–92 *Kuynde ne mihte . . . never legen on*. H omits.

- 1193 *A. V, A: And. H: And euer.* I follow Horstmann-Furnivall (line 1191) and Sajavaara in emending for sense, as the following section is a direct address in V, A (although not in H). V has a three-line illuminated initial *A* (with a left descender extending an additional two lines) with upper and lower extenders, all of gold on a ground of alternating crimson and blue edged with double and single white lines, with white dots in sets of three in some corners. The letter, extenders, ground, and decorative elements are all outlined in faded black. A white foliate pattern appears below the *A*'s crossbar, with a leaf design below the apex, and white dots edge the right sides of the letter and upper extender. Including the extenders, the design takes up twenty-eight lines. White-dotted crimson and blue ink balls jut from the ground's left side in opposing colors, the top one sporting a tail. The design has suffered some damage.
- 1194 *Mihtful.* So V, A. H: *Mercyfull.*
- 1195 *mungen I ne may.* So V, A. H: *I may not hit say.*
- 1196 *thou tholedest.* So V, A. H: *hoe poled.*
- 1197 *Ac.* So V, A. H: *But.*
- 1198 *tho bi.* So V, A. H omits.
- 1199 *with.* So V, A. H: *hit were with a.*
- 1200 *Thi soule heddest tho ful bitter.* V, A: *þou heddest þo ful bitter.* H: *Thorgh here sowle she hade gret.* Sajavaara emends to *þorw þe soule þou heddest ful bitter.* Emended for sense, as the allusion to Luke 2:34–35 specifies Mary's soul being pierced (see explanatory note to lines 1197–1200).
- 1201 *Ac thi.* So V, A (*Ak*). H: *But here.*
- 1202 *He.* So V, A. H: *here sone.*
uprysen. So V, A. H: *aryse.*
- 1203 *worth weore His.* So V, A (*were*). H: *nere þe.*
- 1205 *Thou.* So V. A: *þow.* H: *She.*
in. So V, A. H omits.
- 1206 *the.* So V, A. H: *and þe.*
- 1207 *Whom.* So V, A. H: *þe whiche.* Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests the correct reading should perhaps be *whon* (line 1205).
- 1209 *The trouthe of us and the.* So V, A. H: *Oure trowth and oure.*

- 1210 *Forsothe bileuede al in thee.* So A. V: *Bileuede al in þe.* H: *Stode all in oure lady.* Weymouth (line 1208) and Horstmann-Furnivall (line 1208) follow V. I follow Sajavaara (*Forsoþe bileuede al in þe*) in emending for sense based on A.
- 1211 *weore His disciples.* So V, A. H: *þe dysciþlys were.*
- 1212 *thou weore.* So V, A. H: *oure lady wes.*
- studefast.* So V, A. H omits (but this is due to the reworking of the following two lines; see textual note to lines 1213–14, below).
- 1213–14 *Ne mighte thee nothing tornen out; / In trewe bileve evere thou weore, stille and loud.* So V, A (*turnen; mihte; were*). H inverts and reworks these lines: *In fast beleve boþe styлле and lowde / Ther myȝht no þyng brynge here owte.*
- 1215 *of.* So V, A. H: *full of.*
- 1216 *ful of alle bounté.* So V, A. H: *clene full of bewte.*
- 1217 *bileeve was tho in thee, iwis.* So V, A. H: *belove in heere þo wis.*
- 1219 *thou biseche thi.* So V, A (*þow*). H: *sheo beseche heere.*
- 1220 *so on Rode forbought us.* So V, A (*forbought*). H: *vs forbowght of þrall þus.*
- 1221 Ye. V has a three-line illuminated initial Ȝ (with the tail extending an additional line) with upper and lower extenders, all of gold on a ground of alternating blue and crimson edged with double and single white lines, with white dots in sets of three in some corners. The letter, extenders, ground, and decorative elements are all outlined in faded black. The extenders increase the size of the design to twenty-two lines. White foliate designs swirl around inside both upper and lower parts of the yogh. A white-dotted crimson ball juts from left ground of the upper extender.
- of.* So V, A. H: *now of.*
- 1223 *redeth.* So V, A. H: *conselth.*
- 1224 *wolde.* So V, A. H: *dede.*
- 1226 *hit overcom.* So V, A. H: *ouercome hit to.*
- 1227 *Nas this a good Redesmon.* So V, A. H: *Ther nes neuer nomon.*
- 1228 *That.* So A (*þat*), H. V: *þas.* I follow Weymouth (line 1226), Horstmann-Furnivall (line 1226), and Sajavaara in emending for sense based on A.

- 1229 *hath*. So V, A. H: *he hap*.
- irud*. So V, A, H. Horstmann-Furnivall glosses as “prepare” (line 1227).
- 1230 *uchone of us that wole, he may*. So V, A. H: *we ichon come may*.
- 1231 *come*. So V, A. H: *abovone*.
- 1233 *nou*. So V, A. H omits.
- 1235–74 *And ye mouwe . . . sothfast mon*. H omits these lines. Halliwell reconstructed these lines and those in damaged sections based on V for his edition of the H-text (Sajavaara, pp. 102, 129).
- 1243 A blue pilcrow appears in the left margin in V.
- that*. So V, A. Horstmann-Furnivall’s note suggests omitting (line 1241).
- 1246 *were*. V, A omit. I follow Sajavaara’s emendation for sense. Weymouth adds *weore after monhede* (line 1244); Horstmann-Furnivall adds *Were* at the beginning of the line (line 1244).
- 1247 *Exemplum*. Abbreviated in the left margin in V and A.
- 1260 *brenneth*. So A. V: *brande*. I emend for sense, following Weymouth (line 1258) and Sajavaara (both emend to *brennep*).
- 1265 *of*. So V, A. Weymouth emends to *he schewede* (line 1263).
- this*. So V, A. Sajavaara emends to *his*.
- privee*. V: *princee* or *priuCEE*. A: *priute*. I emend for sense, taking into consideration the readings in A and the AN poem. Sajavaara reads *priuTEE* in V. Weymouth (line 1263) emends to *priuete* based on A and adds *he schewede* to make sense of the line. The AN poem reads *As nukes de un sun privé* [At the wedding of an intimate friend of his] (Appendix, line 1239). The *MED* quotes solely this line for *privete* (n.), sense 4, “a relative.” I read the word as an error for *MED*, *prive* (n.), sense 3a, “an intimate, a friend, confidant.” In Horstmann-Furnivall (line 1263) the word is *princee*, meaning “governor” or “official,” which is possible, depending on how one interprets the minims, but less likely (see *MED*, *prince* [n.], sense 2a). The word “privacy” is not attested in ME; the earliest known instances are from the sixteenth century (see *OED*, *privacy* [n.], senses 1 and 2).
- 1271 *As mon*. V, A: *Anon*. I emend for sense, following Weymouth (line 1269), Horstmann-Furnivall (line 1269), and Sajavaara. The change is necessary to preserve the contrast with *as God* in the next line.
- 1275 *elleswher ther*. So V, A. H: *owhere pat*.

- 1276 *Muche.* So V, A. H omits.
of feole theode. So V, A (*fele*). H: *bope euyll and goode.*
- 1277 *That.* So V, A. H omits.
men. So V, A. H: *folk.*
hath iset. So V, A. H: *fed.* Sajavaara: emends to *hap fed.*
- 1278 *And with fyve loves and twey fisses hem fed.* So V. A: *And fiue loues and twei fisses hem fed.* H: *Wyþ tweye fysshes and fyve loovys of bred.* Sajavaara emends to *Wiþ tweie fisses and fiue loues of bred.* The word order in V and A follows that in the AN poem (p. 390n1277–78), which reads *De cinc pains e de pessuns deus* [From five loaves and two fish] (Appendix, line 1252).
- 1279 *levede.* So V, A. H: *left.*
- 1280 *weoren.* So V. A: *weren.* H: *þer were.*
- 1281 *the.* So V, A. H: *þat.*
- 1282 *hath.* So V, A. H omits.
- 1283 A red pilcrow appears in the left margin in V.
- 1285 *he leigh along.* So V, A. H: *long.*
- 1286 *In the buriles.* So V, A (*Buriels*). H: *Lay in is towmb.*
- 1289 *Riht.* So V, A. H omits.
him to. So V, A. H: *to him.* Horstmann-Furnivall has *to him* without noting the original reading in V or the variant reading in H (line 1287).
- 1290 *arerede.* So V, A. H: *areysed.*
also. So A. V, H omit. I follow Weymouth's emendation (line 1288) for sense. Sajavaara emends to *so.*
- 1292 *is God.* So V, H. A: *was god and is.*
- 1293 *Thulke.* So V, A. H: *That.*
dihte. So V, A. H: *made and dyzht.*
- 1296 *treuthe and ure hope.* So V, A (*troupe*). H: *hope and oure trowþe.*

- 1297 *Persones threo.* So V, A. H: *He is þre persons.*
- 1298 *onhod.* So V, A. H: *vnite.*
- 1299 *Nou.* V has a three-line illuminated initial *N* with upper and lower extenders, all of gold on a ground of alternating blue and crimson edged with single white lines, with white dots in sets of three in some corners. The letter, extenders, ground, and decorative elements are all outlined in black. The full design takes up twelve lines. Inside the *N* swirl white foliate designs, and white dots trace its left edge and the left edges of both upper and lower extenders. Three white-dotted blue balls jut from the ground's left side. The design has suffered some damage.
- 1301 *Ac.* So V, A. H: *And.*
- ne may non.* So V. A: *may non.* H: *no man may.*
- 1302 *Herte.* So V, A. H: *Ne thowght.*
- 1303 *the.* So V, A. H: *þis.*
- 1306 *In erthe.* So H. V, A: *Abouen.* I emend for sense. Sajavaara's emendation (*eorþe*) is likewise based on the reading in H. Compare the AN poem: *Ou en tere, ou en abime* [Or on earth, or in the abyss] (Appendix, line 1280).
- 1308 *ther ne may hit telle non.* So V, A. H: *þis vertu no mon telle con.*
- 1309 *His miht and.* So V, A. H: *Of his myzht ne of.*
- 1310 *a mon the.* So V, A. H: *mon þat a.*
- 1311 A blue pilcrow appears in the left margin in V.
- 1312 *that.* So V, A. H: *that þat.*
- 1314 *Hevene and eorthe and paradyses winne.* So V, A (*paradys*). H: *The blys of paradys and hevynne.*
- 1317 *For whom.* V, A: *ffor whon.* H: *But for monkynde.* I follow Weymouth (line 1315), Horstmann-Furnivall (line 1315), and Sajavaara in emending for sense.
- furst.* So V, A. H omits.
- 1318 *He.* So V, A. H: *And þe fynde.*
- 1321 *nas non.* So V, A. H: *was no mon.*
- 1324 *That the Fend ne.* So V, A. H: *But zet þe fynde.*

- 1325 *Ac. V, A: And. H: But.* I follow Weymouth (line 1323), Horstmann-Furnivall (line 1323), and Sajavaara in emending for sense based on the readings in H and the AN poem, which has *Mes* [But] (Appendix, line 1299).
- 1327 *imat. So V, A. H: shent.*

he was. So V, H. A: was he.
- 1328 *of Him to. So V, A. H: with him to ha.*
- 1329 *hedde don. So V, A. H: dede.*
- 1331 *herbifore. So V, A. H omits, which Sajavaara follows.*
- 1332 *And into. So V, A. H: In.*

con. V, A: com. H: þat he myzht. I follow Weymouth (line 1330), Horstmann-Furnivall (line 1330), and Sajavaara in emending for sense.
- 1333 A red pilcrow appears in the left margin in V.

as Cryst honged. So H. V, A omit. I follow Sajavaara in emending for sense.
- 1334 *habben His soule. So V, A. H: his soule ha.*
- 1335 *Ac. So V, A. H: But zet.*
- 1336 *tour. So V, A. H: anowre.*
- 1337 *Godes. So V, A. H: the.*
- 1338 *ibounden. So V, A. H: there ibonden him.*
- 1340 *Thidere for Hise. So V, A. H: To helle for hem.*
- 1341 *yore. So V, A. H: longe.*
- 1342 *Him mide. So V, A (myde). H: out of that styde.*
- 1345 *A gret bite He bot, of helle nom.* So V, A. H: *The maystri of helle he hede anon.* Sajavaara emends *nom* to *anon*, which Weymouth's note (line 1343) suggests is the correct reading.
- 1346 *alle Hise out. So V, A. H: out all hisen.*
- 1347 *leeveden. So V, A. H: beleved.*

- nome*. So V, A. H: *comyng*. Horstmann-Furnivall (line 1345) and Sajavaara emend to *come*.
- 1348 *trewe*. So V, A. H: *trysti and true*.
- 1349 *nas*. So V, A. H: *wes*.
- 1350 *schal*. So V, A. H: *shall be*.
- 1352 *the₂*. So V, A. H: *þis*.
- 1353 *He was enarmed*. So V, A. H: *The fynde was armed*. Sajavaara emends to *þe fend was armed*.
- 1354 *That his gat*. So V, A. H: *And*.
- 1355 *Ac tho the strengore*. So V, A (Ak). H: *Bote cryst with his strengthe*.
- him*. Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests perhaps omitting (line 1353).
- 1356 *Gret*. So V, A. H: *And his gret*.
- He*. So V, H. A omits.
- 1357 A red pilcrow appears in the left margin in V.
- him seith wel*. So V, A. H: *þus seyth*.
- 1358 *seith*. So V, A. H: *prophecyþ*.
- 1359 *Mihtfol*. V: *myldefol*. A: *myldeful*. H: *myzhtfull*. The V and A readings mean "merciful." I follow Weymouth (line 1357), Horstmann-Furnivall (line 1357), and Sajavaara in emending based on the reading in H to preserve the allusion to Isaiah 9:6 (see explanatory note to lines 57–66).
- 1360 *may no mon iseon*. So V, A. H: *no mon may thenke ny syn*.
- 1361 *ne₂*. So V, A. H omits.
- 1362 *thought*. So V, A. H: *hert*. Sajavaara emends to *herte*. Although the narrator does use *herte* at line 1159 in a similar passage, he also uses *thought* in lines 691–92. See explanatory note to lines 690–92 for discussion of the proverbial nature of these lines.
- 1363 A blue pilcrow appears in the left margin in V.
- drede*. So V, A. H: *to drede*.
- 1364 *love ful*. So V, A. H: *to love*.

- 1365 *This.* So V, A, H: *He.*
- child.* So V, A, H: *shild.* Horstmann-Furnivall (line 1363) and Sajavaara emend to *schild*, but *child* is a variant spelling for “shield” (see MED, *sheld* [n.]).
- 1366 *ure*₂. So V, A, H: *all oure.*
- 1370 *He.* So V, A, H: *That he.*
- 1373 *Sumdel.* V has a three-line illuminated S with upper and lower extenders, all of gold on a ground of alternating blue and crimson edged with double and single white lines, with white dots in sets of three in some corners. The letter, extenders, ground, and decorative elements are all outlined in black. The extenders lengthen the design to nineteen lines. A white feathered design appears in the upper part of the S, and a foliate pattern in the lower. White-dotted crimson and blue ink balls jut from the ground's left side in opposing colors. The design has suffered some damage.
- 1375 *Ac.* So V, A: *Ak.* H: *But.*
- 1376 *cleped.* So V, A: *clepeþ.* H: *clepud.*
- 1377 *scholde.* So V, A, H: *is to.*
- 1378 *For while He walkede her, atte frome.* So V, A, H: *Whill he on erthe here to walk nome.*
- 1380 *biddyng.* V, A: *bigynnyng.* H: *byddyng.* I follow Weymouth (*byddyng*, line 1378), Horstmann-Furnivall (line 1378), and Sajavaara in emending for sense based on the reading in H.
- 1381 *Hou.* So V, A, H: *Now.*
- 1382 *istreoned.* So V, A: *istrened.* H: *iholpe.*
- 1383 *furst.* So V, A, H omits.
- 1385 *we.* So V, A, H: *þat.* Sajavaara emends based on H.
- of him istreoned.* So V, A (*istrened*). H: *þorgh Adam is kynde gete.*
- 1386 *we.* So V, A, H omits. Sajavaara emends based on H.
- 1387 *we.* So V, A, H: *þey.* Sajavaara emends to *heo.*
- the curs.* So V, A, H: *his cors.*
- 1388 *ne might hit.* So V, A, H: *hit myzht not.*

- bifalle*. So V, A. H: *falle*.
- 1389 A blue pilcrow appears in the left margin in V.
forme. So V, A. H: *furst*.
- 1390 *streoned us*. So V, A. H: *of him we comy*.
- 1391 *Ac thulke fleschliche streonyng*. So V (*fleschliche*), A (*Ak*). H: *And for þe synne þat Adam in paradys dede*. I emend *fleschliche* to *fleschliche* based on A for sense.
- 1392 *Beere us bale and serwyng*. So V, A (*Beer*). H: *All we þat of him come shuld ha byn in sory stede* (the word *in* is added above the line).
- 1394 *us strenede*. So V, A: *vs streone*. H: *vs zeynbowght*.
thorw. V, A omit. H: *þorgh*. I emend for sense based on H, following Weymouth (line 1392), Horstmann-Furnivall (line 1392), and Sajavaara (who all emend to *þorw*).
- 1395 A red pilcrow appears in the left margin in V.
- 1397 *ariht*. So V, A. H: *by all ryȝht*.
- 1398 *And so goodliche us*. So V, A. H: *That vs so helpeth and vs so*.
- 1399 *He*. So V, A. H omits.
waschede. V, A: *waked*. H: *wassheth*. I follow Weymouth (line 1397), Horstmann-Furnivall (*washed*, line 1397), and Sajavaara in emending based on the reading in H. Although it is possible to make sense of being *waked* (i.e., “awakened”) from sin, the usual metaphor involves being washed of sin with Christ’s blood. Compare the AN text (Appendix, line 1373).
- 1400 *brought*. So V, A. H: *forbowght*. Sajavaara emends to *forbouzt*.
out of wo to winne. So V, A. H: *hevyn to wynde*.
- 1401 *Never*. So V, A. H: *Ther was neuer*.
for no. So V, A. H: *to his*.
- 1402 *nas so freo ne*. So V, A. In A the *o* in *freo* has faded or been erased. H: *so meke and*.
- 1403 *That*. So V, A. H: *For*. Weymouth emends to *Wan* on the notion that A and V were copied from a manuscript containing the OE letter *wynn* (*p*) in place of *w*, which the scribe who copied both V and A then mistook for thorn (*þ*), resulting in *þan*, which then was changed to *þat*, “a conjunction more fitly corresponding to the *so* in the preceding line” (line 1401). Horst-

mann-Furnivall does not emend but proposes the correct reading should perhaps be *þan* (line 1401). Sajavaara emends to *For* based on H.

- 1406 *Othat*. V, A: *þo þat*. H: *Er that*. I emend for sense, following Weymouth (*O þat*, line 1404), Horstmann-Furnivall (*O þat*, line 1404), and Sajavaara (*Oþat*).

uprisen. So V, A. H: *to aryse*.

- 1407 *That was*. So V, A. H: *Ȝet he rose vp*.

- 1408 *uppon*. So V, A. H: *in þe marnyng on*.

- 1409 *Tho*. So V, A. H: *When*.

- 1410 *So seide*. So V, A. H: *This beryȝth*.

tho he. So V, A. H: *wytnes and þus doþ*. Sajavaara expands H's reading to *þer* rather than *þus*, but the abbreviation appears to support *thus*, which Halliwell (p. 62) and Horstmann-Furnivall (p. 401n1408) likewise have. Weymouth does not note the variant.

- 1411 *With Him He*. So V, A. H: *And Cryst with him*.

- 1412 *That*. So V (*þat*), H. A: *þo þat*.

diyeden. So V. A: *dyeden*. H: *levedyn*.

- 1414 *Othat*. V, A: *þat*. H: *And þen*. I emend for sense, following Horstmann-Furnivall (*O þat*, line 1412) and Sajavaara (*Oþat*).

upros. So V, H. A: *aros*.

- 1415 *ilome*. So V, A. H: *sone*.

- 1416 *eode*. So V, A. H: *and ȝode*.

- 1418 *Godes kineriche*. So V, A. H: *his lawes sycurli*.

- 1419 *Uppon Holy Thoresday, ther on His nome*. So V, A (*þorsday*). H: *Opon a day þe dysciplis were*. Sajavaara emends *Uppon* to *Oþpon* on metrical grounds (p. 391n1419), based on Horstmann-Furnivall's suggestion to emend to *O þon*, defined as "Till the" (line 1417).

- 1420 *Heo weren igedered alle isome*. So V, A. H: *Igedred togedre all in fere*.

- 1421 *Uppon a stude*. So V, A. H: *In a certeyn place*.

He among hem. So V, A. H: *hem among he*.

- 1422 *And of.* So V, A. H: *Of.*

misbileve hem. So V. A: *misbileue he hem.* H: *here mysbeleve hem he.*
- 1424 *Yit heo.* So V, A. H: *And zet þey.* Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests the correct reading should be *Pet hed* (line 1422).

alyve, a. So V, A. H omits (Sajavaara does not note the omission of *a* here). Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests the correct reading for *alyve* should be *aryse* (line 1422). Sajavaara accepts this suggestion and emends to *aryse a* on metrical grounds and consideration of the reading in the AN poem (p. 391n1424). The AN reads *resuscité* [resurrected or raised from the dead] (Appendix, line 1399).
- 1425 *Tho.* So V, A. H omits. Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests the correct reading should be *De* (line 1423).

ne. So V, A. H omits.
- 1426 *Riht to sothe.* So V, A. H: *Verely.*
- 1427 *Ac.* So V, A. H: *But zet.*

was ure biheve. So V, A (*biheeue*). H: *to vs doþ beheve.*
- 1428 *And.* So V, A. H: *ffor hit.*
- 1429 *muche us dude sikernesse.* So V, A. H: *to vs þis dowte is sicurnesse as I fynde.*
- 1430 *Thomas misbilevenesse.* So V, A. H: *the misbeleve of Thomas of Iynde* (Sajavaara records *Thomas Iynde*).
- 1432 *He ded and arisen.* So V, A. H: *cryst azeyn rysen.* Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests deleting *ded and* (line 1430). Sajavaara emends to *he arisen* because the reading in the AN poem "indicates that *ded and* must be omitted" (p. 391n1432), presumably because it only mentions *la Resurrection* (Appendix, line 1406).
- 1433 *Ar.* So V, A. H: *Tyll.*

the wounde so. So V, A. H: *is wondes* (Sajavaara records *his*).
- 1435–36 *And seon . . . honden and feet.* A omits these lines.
- 1435 *the.* So V. H: *his.*
- 1436 *Whuche that weoren on honden and.* So V. H: *That he hade with nayles þorgh þe.*

- 1437–38 *Tho schewed . . . on His syde*. H omits.
- 1437 *Tho*. V has a nine-line illuminated *P* of gold on a ground of alternating blue and crimson edged with double and single white lines, with white dots in sets of three in some corners. A white wavy line punctuated by sets of three dots in each dip runs between the thorn's two upstrokes. White-dotted crimson and blue ink balls jut from the ground's left side in opposing colors. The design has suffered some damage.
- 1440 *God and my Lord*. So V, A. H: *lord and my god*.
- 1442 *hit levest*. So V, A. H: *levyst þis*.
- 1443 *Alle heo moten iblessed*. So V, A. H: *Iblessed mote all þo*.
- 1444 *hit leeven, though heo hit*. So V, A (*þauh*). H: *þis belevyþ and don hit*. Sajavaara emends to *hit leeuē and doth hit*.
- 1445 *He made thulke day*. So V, A. H: *þyke same day*.
- 1446 *siker*. So V, A. H: *sycor he made*.

fay. So H. V, A: *lay*. I follow Weymouth (line 1444) and Sajavaara in emending for sense.
- 1447 A blue pilcrow appears in the left margin in V.
- 1449 *to gon*. So V, A. H: *togedur to gon*.
- 1450 *Yond al*. So V, A. H: *Thorgh*.

uchon. So V, A. H: *vche mon*.
- 1451–54 *To alle schaft . . . folwede Him*. Sajavaara asserts in the textual note that H omits lines 1453–54, but I suggest rather that lines 1451–54 have been combined and distilled into two lines in H: *That þey shuld belevyn in god allmyzht / And his lawes folewyn as hit is ryzht*. H follows the rhyme scheme of lines 1451–52 (*wihte; rihte*), but the meaning echoes more closely lines 1453–54 in V and A: *That heo bileeven in Godes Sone, that is in Him, / And that uche mon folwede Him* (A: *byleeuen*).
- 1453 *in Him*. So V, A. Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests the correct reading should be *he* (line 1451).
- 1454 *folwede Him*. So V, A. Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests the correct reading should be *fulwed be* (line 1452).
- 1455 *Fader and in*. So V, A. H: *Fadur nome and*. Horstmann-Furnivall emends to *ffader nome and in* (line 1453). Sajavaara emends to *Fader nome and*.

- 1456 *Holygost.* So V, A: *holigost*. H: *holigostys*. Sajavaara emends to *Holygostes*.
glit of Hem bo. So V, A, H: *procedit hem fro*.
- 1457 *For hose neore iboren eft, at the frome.* So V, A (*atte frome*). H: *Thawgh a mon were now iboren*.
- 1458 *ne mighte he never.* So V, A: *mihte he neuer*. H: *he myzht not*.
- 1459 *Ac thulke that beth ifulwed in riht bileeve.* So V, A (*Ak; beop; bileue*). H: *But he beleve in God ryzht welle*.
- 1460 A red pilcrow appears in the left margin in V.
Schulen beo brought in Godes biheve. So V, A, H: *And þat shall him save fro helle*. Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests the correct reading for *Godes* should be *gode* (line 1458).
H adds the following lines after 1460: *3ef he ifolewed be and be in good lyfe / Thawgh he dye his soule shall be in no stryfe*.
- 1461 *Wel.* So V, A, H: *ffull*.
therfore. So V, A, H: *beforen*.
- 1462 *eft.* So V, A, H: *twyes be*.
- 1463 *we schulen eft.* So V, A, H: *he shull twyes*.
- 1464 *We mote comen of sume streon.* V, A: *We mote comen of sunne streon*. H: *Ones of oure modur furst we mot be boryn* (Sajavaara records *Ony* for *Ones* [p. 309n1464], and Horstmann-Furnivall expands the abbreviation as *us: Onus* [p. 402n1462]). I follow Horstmann-Furnivall (line 1462) and Sajavaara in emending *sunne* to *sume* for sense.
- 1465 *That is.* So V, A, H: *And efte of*.
- 1466 *us gostliche streneth.* So V, A, H: *to vs ordeyned*.
- 1467 *And whon He us hath so streded.* So V, A (*streoned*). H: *When we þis crystendā han*.
- 1468 *Forsothe ure.* So V, A, H: *Vr sotheli*.
thenne. So A, V omits. H: *þen*. I emend for sense, following Weymouth (line 1466) and Sajavaara (who both emend to *þenne*).
- 1469 *thenne we alle.* So V, A, H: *we alle þen*.
- 1470 *Sikerliche unwrestliche.* So V, A (*vnwrestlyche*). H: *Sykor vnkyndely*.

- 1471 *Fader ne loveth.* So V, A. H: *a fadur loveþ not.*
- 1472 *ne eet of the appel.* So V, A. H: *of þe appull zete neuer.*
- 1474 *rihtes.* So V, A. H: *herytage.*
- 1476 *ne hath He.* So V, A. H: *þerof he haþ not.*
- 1477 *That.* So V, A. H: *Ther.*
- 1478 *Er.* So V, A. H: *Hent* [until; before].
- 1479 A blue pilcrow appears in the left margin in V.
forme. So V, A. H: *furst.*
that. So V, A. H: *þat euer.*
- 1480 *Brought.* So V. A: *Brouht.* H: *He browght.*
binom. So V, A. H: *vs benome.*
- 1481 A red pilcrow appears in the left margin in V.
That othur Mon from hevene com with meyn. So V, A. H: *But anoþer þat come fro hevyn without feyn.* Sajavaara emends to omit *Mon.*
- 1482 *And hath iyolden.* So V, A. H: *He haþ vs get.*
- 1483 A blue pilcrow appears in the left margin in V.
forme. So V, A. H: *furst.*
- 1485 *out.* So V, A. H omits.
- 1487 A blue pilcrow appears in the left margin in V.
Ac. So V. A: *Ak.* H: *But.* Sajavaara's textual note identifies the line as 1478.
- 1488 *Us bryngeth.* So V, A. H: *Browght vs.*
- 1489 *He that.* So V, A. H: *When he downe.*
- 1490 *an.* So V, A. H: *to.*
- 1491 *That.* So V, A. H: *He þat.*

- eorthē he geth.* So V, A, H: *þe erthe him beyȝh.*
- 1492 *That.* So V, A, H: *He þat.*
- 1493 *ther al the folk.* So V, A, H: *þat all folk him.*
- 1494 *Whuche that stoden abouten him.* So V, A, H: *That by him stode full.*
- 1495 *He made us to lede.* So V, A, H: *to vs he made iwys.*
- 1496 *Thorw the skewes ther He eode.* So V, A, H: *When he steȝh to hevyn þat holi blysse.*
- 1497 *With sothnesse and wey.* So V, A (*wei*). H: *A soþefast way and.*
- and lif.* V, A: *of liþ.* H: *to euer duryng lyfe.* I follow Sajavaara in emending for sense. Weymouth's note suggests the passage is either corrupt or misunderstood by the translator and points out the allusion to John 14:6 (line 1495). See explanatory note to this line.
- 1498 *The.* So V, A, H: *His.* Sajavaara emends based on H.
- cumpanye.* So V, A, H: *prey* [spiritual captives]. Sajavaara reads H as *þery*, whereas Halliwell expands to *pray* (p. 66), which Horstmann-Furnivall follows (p. 402n1496). The word is abbreviated in H, and thorn (*þ*) and *p* in that MS are sometimes difficult to distinguish.
- Him ladde.* So V, A, H: *he ladde him.* Halliwell reads *he hadde him* (p. 66), which Horstmann-Furnivall follows (p. 402n1496).
- 1499 *nom.* So V, A, H: *with him nome.*
- 1500 *That to muche blisse.* So V, A, H: *To meche ioy and blys he made hem.*
- 1501 *thulke blisse.* So V, A, H: *þat ioy and blysse.* Sajavaara reads *þe* in place of *þat* in H.
- 1502 *That ever lasteth.* So V, A, H: *Ther to lyvyn.*
- 1504 *o God.* So V, A, H: *and byth oon god.* Sajavaara reads *con* instead of *oon* in H; Halliwell (p. 66) and Horstmann-Furnivall (p. 402n1502) both read *oon*. Weymouth does not note the variant.
- 1505 *Persones threo.* So V, A, H: *Thre persons.*
- Thrillihod.* So V, A: *þillyhod.* H: *trinite.*
- 1506 *thaugh in onhod.* So V, A, H: *in vnite.*
- 1507 *mon.* So V, A, H: *well.*

- 1509 *Thauh.* So V, A: *þauz*. H: *And þawgh*.
- 1510 *Be sinderliche seid.* V: *Sinderliche*. A: *Synderliche*. H: *Byn syndry seyð*. I follow Weymouth's emendation (*Be sinderliche seyð*, line 1508) for sense. Horstmann-Furnivall emends to *Sinderliche be seid* (line 1508). Sajavaara emends to *Be sinderliche*.
- He.* So V, A, H: *þey*.
- 1511 *care.* So V, A, H: *dowte*.
- 1512 *Of alle schaftes Schuppare.* So V, A, H: *Maker of all þis world withinne and without*.
- 1513 *To Whom joye and honour bicomme.* So V, A, H: *Ioy honoure worship and lovyng*.
- 1514 *Withouten ende, the holy Gome.* So V, A (*eende*). H: *Be to þat God oure hevyn kyng*.

V and A supply the following conclusion after line 1514 (spelling as in V; variants noted parenthetically for A):

*Now biseche we God for his merci
 Such lyf her leden (A: leden her) and so trusti
 Þat we his heste holden so long
 Þulke pes vs wonye among
 Þat he sende from heuene to monkinne (A: monkyne)
 And þat he wone with vs withinne
 And aftur (A: after) þis lyf to ioye wende (A: weende)
 Þis writ in god nimeþ (A: nymeþ) nou ende (A: eende)
 Per is ende and byginnynge (A: biginnynge)
 So holy writ seyþ (A: seiþ) of alle þinge
 God leue (A: leue) vs here so ende
 Þat we ben worþi to heuene wende (A: weende) Amen*

There are echoes in these lines with the final twelve lines of the AN poem (Appendix, lines 1749–61). See explanatory note to line 1862 of the ME poem.

OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY MS ADDITIONAL B. 107 BASE TEXT (H)

- 1515 ff. H supplies the remaining text for this edition. Since I did not have direct access to the manuscript, descriptions of colors for the decorated initials and pilcrows in H comes from the description of the manuscript online at the Bodleian ("Oxford, Bodleian Library, Add. B. 107," *Manuscripts of the West Midlands*), save for those on folio 39r, since that folio is available to view digitally from the Bodleian Library (see Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Additional B. 107). Sajavaara likewise includes the lines from H in the poem, but Weymouth and Horstmann-Furnivall do not. Horstmann-Furnivall, however, records variant readings from H (pp. 394–402) and prints a portion of the missing lines (lines 1515–1820, pp. 403–406) in the chapter "Various Readings to XXXVIII from Halliwell's MS," but these appear to have come

from Halliwell's edition of H rather than directly from the manuscript. Since Horstmann-Furnivall sometimes emends or offers suggested readings, I continue to record these where relevant.

1515 *Lusteneth*. H has a two-line decorated blue initial *L* with a foliate design embellishing the center. Red penwork flourishes extend into the margin above and below. The initial appears smudged or damaged.

1518 *how He is*. So H. Sajavaara reads *how is*.

1527–1609 Blue pilcrows appear in the left margin outlined and surrounded by red penwork flourishes at lines 1527, 1531, 1533, 1543, 1547, 1551, 1555, 1559, 1579, 1583, 1589, 1591, 1595, 1599, and 1609.

1540 *and*. H: *and and*. I follow Sajavaara's emendation for sense.

1541 *Thet*. H: *t* added above line with caret to indicate the addition.

1594 *byrynes*. So H. Sajavaara emends to *byryles*, but both words mean "tomb" or "grave," so the emendation seems unnecessary.

here soules they shull abyde. So H. Sajavaara emends to *her soules shull abyde*, but *they* is crucial to the sense of the line, since the souls do not wait at the grave, but rather *the bones of uche ded mon* (line 1591) await the souls there.

1602 *elementis*. So H. Halliwell has *elementes* (p. 70), which Horstmann-Furnivall follows (line 1600), and Sajavaara has *elements*, both of which are also valid expansions of the abbreviation.

byn. H omits. I emend for sense.

1621 *thus*. H: *pis*. I follow Sajavaara's emendation for sense and to restore the rhyme.

1634 *suffre*. So H. Horstmann-Furnivall (line 1632) and Sajavaara emend to *suffred*, but the present tense works.

1635 *us no*. H: *per no*. Emended for sense. Sajavaara emends to *pe no*. Since line 1637 refers to *us*, it does not make sense to emend *ther* to *thee* in this line.

1655 *fayne*. So H. Sajavaara reads *sayne*.

1663 *receyved*. So H. Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests the correct reading should be *reysed* (line 1661).

1667 *upreceyveng*. So H. Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests the correct reading should be *reysyng* (line 1665n1).

- 1672 *When*. So H. Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests the correct reading should be *O þat* (line 1670).
- 1678 *discerved*. So H. Halliwell has *diserved* (p. 73), which Horstmann-Furnivall follows (line 1676); Sajavaara reads *diserued*.
- 1684 *they*. H: *þe*. I emend for sense based on Horstmann-Furnivall, who emends to *thei* (line 1682) and Sajavaara, who emends to *þey*.
- 1689 *Ye, more*. So H. Sajavaara emends to *Mor*.
- 1693 *they byth*. So H. Sajavaara emends to *hit is*, referring to *Seche joy God hath igrethed there* (line 1691), but the reading makes perfectly good sense as is — *they* refers rather to *hem that han loved Him here* (line 1692) and anticipates the contrast with *theke that byth into helle inome* in line 1695.
- 1697 *dethe-pytte*. So H. Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests the correct reading should be *dep pytte* (line 1695).
- 1707 *fourre*. So H. Horstmann-Furnivall emends to *fourthe* (line 1705).
- 1723 *whad*. So H. Horstmann-Furnivall emends to *what* (line 1721).
- 1727 *mi nowne*. H: *nowne*. Emended for sense. Horstmann-Furnivall emends to *mi-nowne* (line 1725). Sajavaara emends to *min owne*.
- 1729 *Ye, but*. So H. Sajavaara emends to *But*.
- 1731 *forstyflyd*. H: *for styfyd*. Emended for sense. Sajavaara reads *sor* and emends to *sor stykyd*. Although the *MED* lists *?forstifled* (ppl.) as a separate entry, meaning "Stifled, choked," this line from H is the only example cited. Horstmann-Furnivall likewise suggests the meaning is "stifled" (line 1729). It is probably a variant or late development of ME *stuflen* (see *MED*, *stuflen* [v.], "In phrase: *ben stuflēd*, to have difficulty breathing because of heat, stifle; also, suffocate by drowning, drown"), with the prefix added to intensify the meaning as well as lengthen the line.
- 1735 *ther sete*. So H. Horstmann-Furnivall reads *the fete* and emends to *ther sete* (line 1733).
- 1736 *leftyn*. So H. Horstmann-Furnivall emends to *lestyn*.
- 1747 *Jhesu*. H has a four-line enlarged and rubricated *I* in blue. Red penwork flourishes extend into the margin above and below. The initial appears damaged or smudged.
- 1748 *Is*. So H. Horstmann-Furnivall reads *As* and emends to *Is*.
- 1749 *falle*. Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests the correct reading should be *faile* (line 1747).

- 1767 *Made*. So H. Horstmann-Furnivall emends to *maide*.
- 1779 *Ye, more*. So H. Sajavaara emends to *Mor*.
- 1810 *forere*. So H. Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests the correct reading should be *so clere* (line 1808).
- 1811 *sunne*. So H. Horstmann-Furnivall reads *sinne* and emends to *sonne* (line 1809).
- 1812 *They shull*. So H. Horstmann-Furnivall's note suggests the reading should be *That shall* (line 1810), which Sajavaara follows. Emending *They* to *That* is not necessary to make sense of the line, however, as line 1811 says there is no need for the sun, because they (i.e., the saved) shall shine seven times brighter than the sun currently does; the narrator refers again to *all thei* that *shull be so bryght* in line 1813, making clear that *They* is not a mistake here. See explanatory note to lines 1809–16.
- 1820–62 *In diverse joyes . . . thenkyn owght?* Following Halliwell's 1849 printing of H, Horstmann-Furnivall does not include these lines, instead ending with Halliwell's substituted lines, *In which ioyes God, of his hiz grace, / In hevyn zeve zow alle a place. Amen / Here endyth the Castel of Love, / Made i-wys for lewde mennis behove* (Horstmann-Furnivall, lines 1819–22; compare Halliwell, p. 80).
- 1823 *bryghtest*. H: *bryzhtes*. I follow Sajavaara's emendation (*bryzhtest*) for sense.
- 1831 *heo*. H: *he*. The pronoun refers to the Virgin Mary, as is clear from the reference back to Mary's *feyrenesse* from line 1827. Compare the AN (Appendix, line 1717). Although *he* can mean "she," as *MED*, *he* (pron.2) makes clear, I emend for clarity.
- 1857 *Yet*. H: *3e*. I follow Sajavaara's emendation (*3et*) for sense.
- 1861 *thought*. H: *powgh*. I follow Sajavaara's emendation (*powght*) for sense.
- 1862 *Of Goddis feyrenes thenkyn owght?* The poem ends abruptly here due to a missing leaf (which was "cut out," according to the description of the MS, "Oxford, Bodleian Library, Add. B. 107," *Manuscripts of the West Midlands*). The missing lines would have corresponded to the final twelve lines of the AN poem (Appendix, lines 1749–60).



APPENDIX: *LE CHASTEAU D'AMOUR*

- fol. 104v Mestre Robert Le Groscesteste
- Ky bien pense bien put dire;
Sanz penser ne put suffire
De nul bien fet comencer;
Deu nus doint de li penser,
5 De ky, par ki, en ki sunt
Trestuz les biens ki al mund sunt.
Deu le Pere e Deu le Fiz
E Deu le Seinz Esperiz,
Persones treis en Trinité
10 E un sul Deu en unité,
Sanz fin e sanz commencement,
A ki honur e glorie apent.
Il nus doint ses evres fere
E nus defende de contrere.
- 15 Tuz avums mester de Deu aïe,
E trestuz ne purrunt mye
Saver le langage, en fin,
De ebreu, de greu, e de latin
Pur loer sun Creatur.
- 20 De bouche de chauntur,
Ke ne seit close pur Deu loer
E sun seint nun pronuncier;
Ke chescun en sun langage
Le conusse, sanz folage,
- 25 Sun Deu e sa redempcion,
En romance comence ma reysun
Pur ceus ke ne seyvent mie
Ne lettrure ne cleregie.
Del mund dirrai pur quey fu fet,
- 30 E pus coment il doné est
A Adam, nostre premer pere,
E paraÿs, en tiel manere,
O tant de joie, o taunt douçour,
E pus li ciel, a chef de tour;



APPENDIX: *THE CASTLE OF LOVE*

- fol. 104v Master Robert Grosseteste
- Who thinks well can speak well;
Without thinking, one cannot be in a position
To begin any good work;
May God grant us to think of Him,
5 Of Whom, by Whom, in Whom are
All the good things that are in the world.
God the Father and God the Son
And God the Holy Spirit,
Persons three in Trinity
10 And one single God in unity,
Without end and without beginning,
To Whom honor and glory belong.
May He allow us to do His works
And defend us from harm.
- 15 We all have need of God's help,
And not everyone will have the opportunity
To know the languages, in short,
Of Hebrew, of Greek, and of Latin
In order to praise his Creator.
- 20 As regards the mouth of the singer,
Let it not be blocked from praising God
And His holy name proclaiming;
So that each one in his language
May know, without foolishness,
- 25 His God and his redemption,
In French I begin my narrative
For the benefit of those who do not at all know
Either Latin writing or scholarship.
Of the world I will recount why it was made,
- 30 And after that how it was given
To Adam, our first father,
And paradise, in this manner,
With so much joy, with so much sweetness,
And then heaven, at the last;

- 35 E coment fu pus perdu,
 Pus restorez, e pus rendu.
 Aseez sovent oÿ avez
- fol. 105r Coment le mund fu criez;
 Pur ceo ne voyl jeo pas descrire,
- 40 For ceo ke apent a matire:
 Ke en sis jors Deus tout crea,
 Al setime si reposa.
- Oÿez, seingnurs, communement:
 Kant Deu al commencement
- 45 Ceil e terre fet avoyt
 (Ke tut bien seit e tut bien veyt),
 O tut lur attornemens,
 Le solail fu en cel tens
 Set fez plus cler ke est ores,
- 50 E la lune esteit lores
 Come le solail ore lut,
 Luseyt dunke de la nut.
 Ne le tenez pas a folie,
 Kar ceo est le dit Ysaÿe.
- 55 Tutes les choses del mund —
 En terre, en mer, a val, e a munt —
 De greingnure vertue furent
 Avant ke forfet urent
 Eve e Adam par folage.
- 60 Deu! Quel dolur e quel damage!
 A la mort sunt tuz livré
 Ke del lignage sunt trové,
 E ceo est par bone reysun.
 Aprés vus dirray la cheisun,
- 65 Kar bon est le remembrer
 Pur Deu le plus doucement amer.
- Kant Deu le mund fet avoyt,
 Si ke nule rien ne faillot —
 Bestes, arbres, herbes, e frut,
- 70 Chescun sulum ceo ke il fut:
 Pessuns en le ewe, oyseaus en le er,
 Ceo devums trebyen saver —
 Kant iceo trestut fet a,
 Tut au derein Adam crea
- 75 En le val de Ebron, sanz dotance.
 Le fist de terre a sa semblance;
 Aprés la Seinte Trinité

35 And how it was lost,
 Then restored, and after that returned.
 Often enough you have heard
fol. 105r How the world was created;
 For this reason I will not recount it,
40 Except that which pertains to my subject matter:
 That in six days God created everything,
 On the seventh He rested.

 Listen, lords, all together:
 When God at the beginning
45 Had made heaven and earth
 (Who knows all good and sees all good),
 With all their contents,
 The sun was at that time
 Seven times brighter than it is now,
50 And the moon was then
 As the sun now shines,
 Was bright at that time in the night.
 Do not take this for foolishness,
 For this is what Isaiah says.
55 All the things of the world —
 On land, in sea, in valley, and on hill —
 Were of greater virtue
 Before they transgressed,
 Eve and Adam, through folly.
60 God! What sorrow and what loss!
 To death are all those delivered
 Who are found to be of this lineage,
 And this is for good reason.
 Afterward I will tell you the cause,
65 For it is good to remember it
 In order to love God the more sweetly.

 When God had made the world,
 So that nothing was missing —
 Animals, trees, plants, and fruit,
70 Each one in accordance with what it was:
 Fish in the water, birds in the air,
 This we are supposed to know very well —
 When He had made all this,
 All at the last He created Adam
75 In the valley of Hebron, without doubt.
 He made him of clay in His likeness;
 Afterward the Holy Trinity

80 Cria sa alme en verité.
 Amur ne li pout plus moustrer
 Ke après sa maïmes former.
 En paraïs le ad mené,
 Somoil en lui ad getté,
 Une coste de lui prist,
 Dunt sa compaignie a lui fist;
 85 E pus devant lui la mena
 E en ayde pus lui dona.
 Sens lui dona, e saver,
 Biauté, poer, e franc voler,
 De tut le monde la seingnerie,
 90 E tuz jurs sanz morir la vie,
 E paraïs en heritage,
 E vivre, deskes icel estage,
 E saunz peine e sanz dolur,
 Deske venist icel jour
 95 Ke de eus issuz fussent
 Tant ke acomplir pussent
 Par nombre tant de compainnie
 Cume furent kaun par folie
 E par orguil del ciel cheïrent
 100 E en enfer descendirent.
 Pus fussent glorifiez
 Tut sanz morir, ne le dotez,
 Si biaux, si clers, e sanz travail,
 Come fust lores ly solail,
 105 Si cum avant vus ai cunté,
 E pus au ciel fussent munté.
 Dunke ne ad ici grant leesce,
 Grant seingnerie, e grant hautesce
 Pur aver ciel en heritage,
 110 E li e trestut sun lygnage?
 Mes deus leys furent asis
 A Adam en paraïs,
 E si vus dirrai byen queles.
 La une fu la natureles,
 fol. 105v Ke fere dust naturelement
 116 Trestut le commandement,
 Kant ke Deu out comandé.
 La positive fu nomé,
 Ceo ke il defent al homme:
 120 “Ne mangez pas de la pomme
 Del arbre ke vus est deveez,

Created his soul in truth.
He could not show him greater love
80 Than to fashion him after Himself.
In paradise He put him,
Made him fall sleep,
Took from him a rib,
From which He made him his companion;
85 And then brought her before him
And as a helpmate then gave her to him.
Intellect He gave him, and knowledge,
Beauty, power, and free will,
Lordship of all the world,
90 And life forever without dying,
And paradise with the right of inheritance,
And to live, until that time,
Both without pain and without sorrow,
Until that day should come
95 When from them would have descended
So many that they would have made up
In number such a company
As were those (i.e., angels) that through folly
And through pride fell from heaven
100 And descended into hell.
After that they would have been glorified
Fully without dying, do not doubt it,
So lovely, so bright, and without suffering,
As was the sun at that time,
105 As earlier I told you,
And then to heaven they would have ascended.
Is it not the case that there is here great joy,
Great lordship, and great glory
To have heaven as an inheritance,
110 Both for him and all his lineage?
But two laws were established
For Adam in paradise,
And thus I will well tell you which ones.
The first was natural [law],
fol. 105v That he must carry out naturally
116 Each and every commandment,
Whatever God had commanded.
The [law] was called positive,
That which He forbids humanity:
120 "Do not eat of the apple
Of the tree that is forbidden to you,

- Kar sachez si la mangez
Tost murrez en fin de mort
Sanz solas e sauns confort.
125 E si vus le comandement ne passez,
La seignorie tute averez
Ke en paraïs est e en terre,
Tut sanz anui e sanz contrere.”
Des joyes de paradis —
130 Asez plus ke ne devis —
Avoit Adam la seysine.
Alas! Come tost ele decline,
Sa bunté, e sa valur.
Mis nus ad en grant dolur
135 Kant il la pomme mangea.
Ambedeus les leys trespasa —
E naturele e positive —
Par sa femme, la cheitive,
A ki obeir plus desirout
140 Ke a Deu mames ne fesout.
Ore est Adam enjeté,
De paraïs desherité;
De joye mis est a dolur
En travail e en sywor.
145 Par morir perdra la vie.
Ou querra il mes aïe
Quant perdu ad par jugement
Trestut sun heritement?
Par peché e par outrage
150 Perdu ad sun heretage.
Trop fu gref icel pecché
Quant trestut fu entuché.
Kant ke desuz le ciel fu
En perdi de sa vertu.
155 Deu ne fist chose si haute
Ke ne abeschast par sa defaute.
Ke terriene chose fust,
Chescune chose sun dreit eüst,
Ne fust pecché ke tant greyve.
160 Pecché, ad parole breve,
Est defaute apertement;
Defaute e pecché en un se entent.
Par defaute out tant de perte,
Kar defaute fust aperte.
165 Defaute après defaute a fine

For know that if you eat it
At once you will finally die a death
Without solace and without comfort.
125 And if you do not transgress this commandment,
You will have the entire lordship
That is in paradise and on earth,
All without suffering and without harm.”
Of the joys of paradise —
130 Many more than I described —
Adam had the legal possession.
Alas! How quickly it declines,
His goodness, and his worth.
He placed us in great sorrow
135 When he ate the apple.
He transgressed both laws —
Both the natural and the positive —
Because of his wife, the wretch,
Whom he desired to obey more
140 Than he did God Himself.
Now is Adam cast out,
Disinherited from paradise;
From joy is brought to sorrow
In labor and in sweat.
145 By dying he will lose his life.
Where will he seek out more help
When he has lost through judgment
All his inheritance?
Through sin and through evil deed
150 He lost his inheritance.
Most greivous was this sin
When everyone was poisoned.
Whatever existed beneath heaven
Therefore lost some of its virtue.
155 God did not make a thing so high
That it was not cast down by his (Adam's) default.
Whatever earthly thing there was,
Each thing would have its rightful nature,
If there were no sin that does so much harm.
160 Sin, in a brief word,
Is clearly default;
Default and sin are considered as one.
Through default he suffered such a loss,
For the default was exposed.
165 Default after default in the end

- Fet par dreit perdre seysine.
Encore en la curt le rey
Use l'um icele ley.
Ore sunt de mal entecchez,
170 Serfs devenunt de pecchez,
Ke plus francs furent avant
Ke rien en terre seyt vivant.
Ore est sun serf apertement,
A ki servise il atent,
175 Pus ke il le sert en servage,
E sanz franchise a en estage.
Mes serf ne put clamer mie
Herité ne seingnorie.
Pus ke serf est devenu,
180 Sun heritage est retenu,
Ne il n'iert riens entendu
Ne en nule curt respundu.
Dunke li coveint autre quere,
Si il vuet sun dreit conquere,
185 Ke seit de franche naciun,
Ke pur li mustre sa reysun
Pur clamer sun heritage,
E ke il seit de sun lignage,
Issint ke il seit verrai homme,
190 E ke il ne mangeast de la pomme.
fol. 106r Sanz pecché le estust venir
E tutes les treis leys tenir:
Celes deus de paraïs
E cele al Munt Synaïs,
195 Ke a Moÿsen doné fu,
Ke unkes tenue ne fu
De nul ke pecché feÿst.
E ki est dunke ke si cler veïst;
Ki de cel homme put penser
200 E cel miracle nuncier?
Ici reposera mun dit;
Si vus dirrai un respit
Ke bien acord a ma matire;
Pur ceo le voil ici escrire.

205 Uns Reis estoit de grant poer,
De bon voler, e de grant saver,
E cist Reis un Fiz avoit
Ke trestut ses sens savoit.
Tut autre tel cum fu le Pere

- Rightfully causes one to lose lawful possession.
Even now in the court of the king
One practices the aforesaid law.
Now they are tainted by evil,
170 Have become serfs belonging to sin,
Who were previously more free
Than any who were living on earth.
Now he is his serf clearly,
To whom he provides service,
175 Since he serves him in bondage,
And without freedom in a period of service.
But a serf cannot at all claim
Inheritance or lordship.
Because he has become a serf,
180 His inheritance is withheld,
Nor will he be given a legal hearing about anything
Or answered in any court.
Then it is necessary to seek another,
If he wishes to regain his rights,
185 Who would be of free birth,
Who might present the argument for him
To claim his inheritance,
And that he be of his lineage,
So that he be true man,
190 And that he did not eat of the apple.
fol. 106r It was necessary for him to come without sin
And all three laws to keep:
Those two of paradis
And that of Mount Sinai,
195 Which to Moses was given,
Which never was kept
By any who committed sin.
And who is it then who could see so clearly;
Who could think of such a man
200 And such a miracle announce?
Here I will bring my account to an end;
Next I will tell you an exemplum
That agrees well with my topic;
For this reason I intend to write it here.
- 205 A King there was of great power,
Of good will, and of great knowledge,
And this King had a Son
Who knew all His mind.
Fully just the same as was the Father

210 E si est le Fiz en la manere:
 De un saver e de une pussance,
 De un voler e de une sustance.
 Par ki il trestut fesoit
 Ke a sun reaume pendoit;
215 Kant ke il vout comencer,
 Par sun Fiz le vout chever.

 Quatre filles out cel Rey,
 E chescune dona par sey
 Sun aferant de sustance,
220 De sun sen, e de sa pussance,
 E a chescune deversement,
 Solum ceo ke a lui apent.
 De sa sustance ad chescune,
 E trestut est sustance une,
225 K'a sun Pere avenoit.
 Ne saunz ceo il ne poit
 Sun reigne en pes gouverner,
 Ne ové dreiture justizer.

 Bien est ke lor nuns recorde:
230 La premere est Misericorde,
 La fille al Reys eynné;
 La autre si est Verité,
 E Justize la tierce après;
 La quarte seur ad a nun Pes.

235 Sanz ces quatre ne put mie
 Reis gouverner grant seignurie.
 Icest Reis dun jeo vus di

 Un serf out ki ert mauballi,
 Ki par un tres graunt forfet
240 Ki vers sun seignur out fet,
 Par esgard de jugement
 Fu mis a mut gref turment
 E livré a ses enemis,

 Ki en prisun le unt mis,
245 Kar de rien ne urent envie
 For de aver lui en lur baillie.
 Mut le unt mis en prisun dure,
 De lui penir ne unt mesure.

 Misericorde ad ceo veüe,
250 Tantost est de pité esmüe,
 Ke mes ne se put tenir.
 Devaunt le Rei vodra venir

210 Indeed so is the Son in nature:
 Of one knowledge and of one power,
 Of one will and of one substance.
 Through Him He made everything
 That pertained to His realm;
215 Whatever He wished to begin,
 Through his Son He desired to complete it.

 Four daughters had this King,
 And to each one He gave individually
 Her proper amount of His substance,
220 Of His mind, and of His power,
 And to each one in different ways,
 According to that which was appropriate to her.
 Each one has some of His substance,
 Yet the whole of it is one substance,
225 Which belonged to their Father.
 Nor without them could He
 Govern His kingdom in peace,
 Nor rule with righteousness.
 It is good that I record their names:
230 The first is Mercy,
 The eldest daughter of the King;
 The second then is Truth,
 And Justice the third after that;
 The fourth sister was called Peace.
235 Without these four cannot any
 King govern a great kingdom.
 This King of Whom I tell you
 Had a serf who was harmed,
 Who because of a very great offense
240 That against his Lord he had committed,
 By judgment of the verdict
 Was very severely tortured
 And delivered to his enemies,
 Who put him in prison,
245 For they were desirous for nothing
 Except to have him in their control.
 They put him in a very harsh prison;
 They had no restraint about torturing him.

 Mercy had seen this,
250 Immediately was moved by pity,
 So that she could no longer restrain herself.
 Before the King she will have to come

- Pur demustrer sa reysun
 E pur deliverer le prisun.
 255 “Biau Pere,” fet ele, “Entendez:
 Ta fille sui, bien le savez,
 Pleine sui de humilité,
 De douçour, e de pité.
 De tun dun le ay, biau duz Pere;
 260 Kar oyez dunke ma preere
 Pur cel dolent, chetaf prisun,
 Ke venir put a raunçon,
 Ki en mi ses enemis
 Avez en greve prisun mis,
 265 Ki par promesse le traherunt,
 Par unt trespasser le firunt.
 fol. 106v La promesse li fauserent,
 Kar fausetté tut tens querent.
 E rendu lur seit fauseté,
 270 E le prisun a moy bayllé.
 Kar tu es Reis de humilité,
 De merci, e de piti,
 E jeo ta fille sui ensnee,
 Sur tuz tes eovres nomee.
 275 Ne dirray ke ta fille fusse
 Si de lui pité ne usse.
 Merci par dreit deit aver;
 Ta merci le deit sauver,
 E ta tre douce pité
 280 Le deit mettre a saveté.
 Pur lui ‘merci’ crïerai
 Tant ke merci troverai.”

 285 Istes vu Verité ad ceo oÿe,
 Ke Misericorde se plie
 E vuet en fin le serf sauver
 E de prisun deliverer.
 Devant le Rei ci est aresté:
 “Biau Pere,” ceo dist Verité,
 “Tel merveil ay oÿe —
 290 Ne pus tenir ke ne le die —
 De Misericorde ma sorur!
 Ke voderà par sa douçsour
 Cest prisun en fin sauver,
 Ke Verité veut dampner.
 295 Beau Pere, ta fille sui,
 De ta sustance issui;

- 255 To prove her argument
And liberate the prisoner.
“Noble Father,” said she, “Take heed:
I am Your daughter, You know it well,
I am full of humility,
Of kindness, and of pity.
By Your gift I have these, noble sweet Father;
260 Thus hear now my prayer
For this sorrowful, wretched prisoner,
So that he might be released from captivity,
Whom in the midst of his enemies
You have placed in a harsh prison,
265 [Enemies] who betrayed him using a promise,
Through which they made him sin.
fol. 106v They broke their promise
Because they always seek out dishonesty.
And may dishonesty be handed back to them,
270 And the prisoner delivered to me.
For You are the King of humility,
Of mercy, and of pity,
And I am Your eldest daughter,
Over all Your works appointed.
275 I would not say that I was Your daughter
If I did not have pity on him.
Mercy rightfully he should receive;
Your mercy should redeem him,
And Your very sweet pity
280 Should place him in safety.
For him ‘mercy’ I will cry
Until mercy I find.”
- 285 This vow Truth understood here,
That Mercy bowed down
And intended in the end to save the serf
And set [him] free from prison.
Before the King thus she took her stand:
“Noble Father,” said Truth here,
“What a marvel I have heard —
290 I cannot hold back from speaking it —
From Mercy my sister!
That she will desire through her kindness
Finally to redeem this prisoner,
Whom Truth intends to convict.
295 Noble Father, I am your daughter,
Born of Your substance;

Ne deit Misericorde estre oïe
Si Verité ne la guie.
Si ma suur pust sauver
300 Tuz pur queus vodra prier,
Tu ne serroys pas duté,
Ne nul meffet comparé.
Mes tu es reis si veritables,
De corage si estables,
305 Ke riens ne quers si verité,
E cil demaunde pité
Ke pité de sey ne out mie;
Ne put aver autre aïe.
Jugement le estut souffrir
310 E tut sun meffet punir.”

E Justize amunt se leve
Si ad idit parole breve:
“Ta fille sui, biau duz Peres,
E tu es Reys, Droit Justizeres.
315 Tut tes fes sunt pleins de sens,
E dreitureles ta jugemens.
Celui serf dunt parler oy
Jugement ad deservi,
Kar taunt cum il franc esteit
320 Misericorde od sei avoyt,
E Verité, e Justise,
E Pes, trestut a divise;
Pus s'en parti a sun gré;
Tut de lui memes ad surté
325 E couplé est a descord.
Pur ceo deit souffrir la mort,
Kar eynces le premis.
Ore seit en prisun mis,
Kar Justise le destine
330 Deske Verité le determine,
Ke tu le voilles relever
E devan ta curt juger.
Kar Justize ne esparnie
Riens ke Verité li die.
335 A chescun dune par saver
Kant ke deit par dreit aver.”

Ore est Verité de mal atisce,
E dampner le veut Justice;
Ne i ad nul ki bien li die,

300 Mercy should not be heard
 If Truth does not guide her.
 If my sister could save
 Everybody for whom she wished to pray,
 You would not be feared,
 Nor any wrongdoing punished.
 But You are a king so trustworthy,
 Of heart so steadfast,
305 That You seek nothing except truth,
 And this one asks for pity
 Who had no pity for himself at all;
 He can have no other help.
 Judgment he is to suffer
310 And all his wrongdoing is to be punished.”

 And Justice stood up
 And then said a brief word:
 “I am Your daughter, noble sweet Father,
 And You are King, True Judge.
315 All Your deeds are full of wisdom,
 And Your judgments just.
 This serf of whom I have heard tell
 Deserved judgment,
 For while he was free
320 He had Mercy with him,
 And Truth, and Justice,
 And Peace, all at will;
 Then he left willingly;
 Fully he stands surety for himself
325 And is leashed to discord.
 For this he should suffer death,
 As formerly You promised this.
 Now let him be put in prison,
 For Justice commands it
330 Since Truth determines it,
 Until You wish to raise him up
 And judge him before Your court.
 For Justice does not spare
 Anything that Truth tells her.
335 To each one she gives through wisdom
 Whatever he should have by law.”

 Now Truth is provoked by sin,
 And Justice intends to condemn him;
 There is no one who speaks well of him,

- 340 Pus ke pité ne est oÿe.
A, dolenz e malurez,
De tute parz en est grevez!
- fol. 107r Ne put garir ou ke il iaut,
Ke le enemi ne le asaut,
- 345 Trestut le despoille nu
De sun sen e de sa vertu.
E lui e trestut sun lignage
Ad mis en si vil servage
E trespasser li fet adés.
- 350 E Justize, vient après,
Tuz les juge en verité,
Saunz merci e sanz pité.
Ne Pes ne put demurer.
Del paÿs le estuit torner,
- 355 Kar Pes ne demurt mie
En guerre ne en atye,
Ne Misericorde ne est nommé.
Tut unt le paÿs issilé.
Ni ad rien ke seit remis,
- 360 Ke a destructiun ne seit mis.
Tuz les unt undes neez;
Ni ad ke uit almes sauvez:
Ceo est, Noé e ses treis fiz —
Iceus en le arche sunt gariz —
- 365 E lur femmes ke od eus sunt;
Plus ni ad remis del mund.
Hidur est de penser ent
De si crüel jugement!
E tut est dreit e verité,
- 370 Mes saunz pes e sanz pité.
- Adunke dit Pes al Rei,
“Biau Pere, entendez ore a mei.
Ta fille sui sanz dutance,
Yssue de ta sustance;
- 375 Devaunt te dei estre oÿe.
Mes deus seurs me unt guerpie.
Sanz moy funt lur jugement,
Ne Misericorde ensement
Unkes apelé ne fu;
- 380 Pur iceo ne put aver refu
Nul homme ke seit en vie;
Pur iceo sui d'eluc fuïe.
O tey fray demorance

340 Since pity is not given consideration.
 Ah, sorrowful and unfortunate one,
 On all sides he is attacked!
fol. 107r Nor could he be safe anywhere he went,
 So that the enemy would not assail him,
345 Completely strip him naked
 Of his intellect and his virtue.
 Both him and all his lineage
 He placed in such low servitude
 And made them sin all the time.
350 And Justice pursues,
 Judges them all in truth,
 Without mercy and without pity.
 Peace could not remain.
 She left the country,
355 For Peace does not live
 In war or in hostility,
 And Mercy is not mentioned.
 All went into exile.
 There is nothing that was left,
360 [Nothing] that was not put to destruction.
 The waves drowned them all;
 There were but eight souls saved:
 That is, Noah and his three sons —
 They are protected in the ark —
365 And their wives who are with them.
 There is no more left of the world.
 It is a horror to think
 Of so cruel a judgment!
 And all is justice and truth,
370 But without peace and without pity.

 Then Peace said to the King,
 “Noble Father, listen now to me.
 Your daughter I am without doubt,
 Born of Your substance;
375 I should be heard before You.
 My two sisters have abandoned me.
 Without me they make their judgment,
 And Mercy likewise
 Never was called upon;
380 For this reason [he] cannot be safe,
 Any person who is alive;
 Therefore I flee from that place.
 I will stay with You

- 385 Deske icele destance
Ke entre mes surs est hastie
Par Pes seit a fin chevie.
Mes purquei serreit asise
Ne Verité ne Justise,
Si pur la pes nun garder?
390 Justise ne ad autre mester
Mes ke la pes seyt sauvee.
Serrai jeo dunke refusee,
Kant tuz biens sunt par mey fez,
E pur aver moy retrez?
395 Mes sauvé ne sui jeo mie
Si Misericorde ne est oïe.
Mun dit deit porter grant fes,
Kar tu es Prince de Pes.
Pes est la fin de tuz biens;
400 Ke Pes ad, ne lui faut riens,
Ne sanz Pes ne vaut aver
Ne richesce ne saver.
Ki pur Pes aver se travaille
En Pes avera defynaylle.
405 E pur ceo Pes deit estre oïe
Pur icel serf ke merci crie.
- De nus quatre vus dirray
Une resun ke est verray.
Pus ke quatre sunt assises
410 De fere dreitureles justises,
E deivent tutes communement
Fere un sul jugement;
Jugement ne avera record
Deske il seent de un acord.
415 En un les covyent consentir
E pus le jugement formir.
Cest jugement ert repelez,
Kar sanz nus ne ert pas jugez.
fol. 107v Saunz nus est trop flaelé;
420 Pur ceo deit trover pité.
Sire, lur voil avez fet,
Ore seit le nostre retreit,
Ke Misericorde tuz jurs crie
Pur le serf, ke il eit aïe,
425 E jeo le païs fuïr voil
Deskes il seent de un aquoyl.”

385 Until this discord
 That has advanced between my sisters
 By Peace may be settled in the end.
 But why should they be appointed,
 Either Truth or Justice,
 If not to keep the peace?
390 Justice has no other duty
 But that the peace be protected.
 Shall I then be rejected,
 When all good things are made for me,
 And recounted for me to have?
395 But I am not protected at all
 If Mercy is not heard.
 My opinion should carry great weight,
 For You are the Prince of Peace.
 Peace is the endpoint of all virtues;
400 Who has Peace, to him nothing is lacking,
 And without Peace it does not profit to have
 Either riches or wisdom.
 Who toils to have Peace
 Will have Peace in death.
405 And for this reason Peace should be heard
 For the sake of this serf who cries out for mercy.

 Of us four I will tell You
 An account that is true.
 Since four are appointed
410 To make just judgments,
 And they should all together
 Make a single judgment;
 A judgment will not have a record
 Until they are in agreement.
415 As one they need to agree
 And then form the judgment.
 This judgment [of the serf] will be repealed,
 For without us he will not be judged.
fol. 107v Without us he is punished too much;
420 For this reason he should find pity.
 Lord, their will You have done,
 Now let ours be discussed,
 For Mercy forever cries
 For the serf, that he might have help,
425 And I intend to flee the country
 Until they be of one accord.”

- Le Fiz al Rei ad ceo veü,
Le contec ke est asmu
Ke ne ert sanz lui eschevé
430 Ne entre ses suurs pes levé,
E dit, "Biau Pere, tun Fiz sui,
De tun sen e de ta vertu.
Ta sapience sui clamé,
E de tei sui taunt amé
435 Ke par moy feïstis le mund,
Dunt tes fez tutes mes evres sunt.
Un sumes nus en sustance,
En dignité, e en pussance.
Tun voler tut tens fray,
440 Justizeres, Rei verray.
Del contec, ke tant descorde,
Tant me ad es mu Misericorde
Par reisun ke ele ad musturé
Ke del serf ai grant pité.
445 Misericorde merci crie;
Premerement serra oÿe.
Trestut sun voler ore en fray;
A Verité la acorderay.
Del serf prenderay la vesture
450 En verité e en dreiture;
Sustendray le jugement,
Kaunt ke a Justize apent;
E Pes en terre fray crier
E Justize e Pes entre bayser.
455 E issint fineray la guere
E sauveray ta gent en terre."
- Cil ke cest ensample entent
Put bien ver apertement
Ke iceste signefiance
460 Est en Deu une pussance:
De Deu le Pere est tute riens;
Par Deu le Fiz sunt fet tuz biens;
En Deu le Seint Esperiz
Est tute rien escompliz.
465 Un Deu saunz divisiun,
Une sustance e plus nun.
Sa beneiscun a trestuz doint
Ky cest escrit entendrunt.

The Son of the King had seen this —
The quarrel that arose,
Which would not be ended without Him,
430 Nor peace established between His sisters —
And said, “Noble Father, I am Your Son,
Of Your mind and of Your virtue.
Your wisdom I am called,
And by You I am so much loved
435 That through Me You made the world;
Therefore Your deeds are all My works.
One We are in substance,
In dignity, and in power.
Your will I will always do,
440 Judge, true King.
As regards the quarrel, which greatly causes discord,
Mercy has moved Me so much
By the argument that she has expounded
That I feel great pity for the serf.
445 Mercy cries for mercy;
She will be heard first.
All her bidding I will now carry out;
To Truth I will reconcile her.
I will assume the clothing of the serf
450 In truth and in righteousness;
I will endure the judgment,
Whatever belongs to Justice;
And I will have Peace on earth proclaimed
And make Justice and Peace kiss each other.
455 And thus I will end the war
And save Your people on earth.”

Those who understand this exemplum
May well see clearly
That its significance
460 Is one power in God:
Everything is of God the Father;
Through God the Son are made all good things;
In God the Holy Spirit
Is everything accomplished.
465 One God without division,
One substance and no more.
May He give His blessing to all those
Who hear this text.

470 Seignurs, bien oï avez
 Pur quei le mund fu criez,
 Pur quei, a quei tut fu fet;
 Pus coment Adam le ad forfet,
 Coment par nule pussaunce
 De sei ne avereit recoverance;
 475 Ne angele nel put rechater,
 Ne homme de mort relever.
 En tute fin dunke covenist
 Ke Deus homme devenist:
 Homme pur la mort souffrir,
 480 E Deu de mort revenir;
 Kar autrement peri eüst
 Tut kant ke al secle fust.
 Oyez ici de si grant amur,
 Si grant pitié, si grant dousçur,
 485 Ke Deu de ciel descendi
 Pur sa owaille ke il perdi.
 Nonaunte nef il lessa
 Pur une quere s'en ala;
 Dunke ni ad ci bon Pastur
 490 E merçiable Seignur.
 Ki du cel Seignur pensast,
 Ki tant amur li demustrast
 Ke après sei le veut furmer
 E pus pur li sey vout doner,
 fol. 108r Eynz li dust li quer crever
 496 Ke sun comand trespasser.

Ore oyez haute dousçur
 De la venue al Creatur.
 A Abraham est le don fet.
 500 Les prophetes le unt retret —
 Ceo est, Moÿses e Jonas,
 Abacuc e Elyas,
 Jeremie e Daniël,
 Ysaïe e Samuël,
 505 E David e Eliseu —
 Ke dient de la venue Deu.
 Tuz recorder ne pus mie,
 Mes oyez le dit Ysaïe:

510 “Un Enfant nus est nez,
 Un Fiz nus est dunez.
 Sun empire sustendra,

470 Lords, you have heard truly
Why the world was created,
Why, for what reason everything was made;
Then how Adam forfeited it,
How through no power
Of his own would he obtain restoration;
475 No angel might redeem him,
Nor raise any person from the dead.
At all cost therefore it was necessary
That God become man:
Man to suffer by way of death,
480 And God to return from death;
For otherwise [all] would have perished,
Everything that was in the world.
Listen here of such great love,
Such great pity, such great sweetness,
485 That God came down from heaven
For His ewe (sheep) that He lost.
Ninety-nine He left
To seek one who wandered away;
Therefore there is no better Shepherd
490 Or merciful Lord.
Whoever might think of this Lord,
Who showed him such great love
That He was willing to fashion him after Himself
And subsequently desired to give Himself for him,
fol. 108r Sooner should his heart have burst
496 Than transgress His commandment.

Now listen to the great sweetness
Of the coming of the Creator.
To Abraham is the gift given.
500 The prophets recounted it —
That is, Moses and Jonah,
Habakkuk and Elijah,
Jeremiah and Daniel,
Isaiah and Samuel,
505 And David and Elisha —
Who tell of the coming of God.
I cannot record everything,
But listen to the message of Isaiah:

510 “A Child is born to us,
A Son is given to us.
He will uphold His empire,

- 515 E soun nun nomé serra
 Merveillus e Conseillere,
 Deu le Fort e Deu le Pere
 Del secle ke vient après;
 Sun dreit nun est Prince de Pes.”
 Ceos sunt les nouns, en verité,
 Ke les prophetes l’unt nomé.
- 520 Ore entendez a moy tus:
 Sun premer non est Merveillus.
 Merveille ne est taunt oÿe,
 Ne ja n’iert nul jour de vie,
 Pur tens ke put avenir
 Cum Deus homme devenir.
- 525 Kar ki ke veit un enfaunt
 Ke de sorfet eüst taunt,
 Ke il eüst treis pes e treis mains,
 E un autre ke eüst meins,
 Ke li fausit poyn ou pé,
 530 E ke il fussent issi né,
 Fussent il dunke merveillus?
 Nanil! Mes ke a estrus
 Le un ad defaute de nature,
 E le autre surkark a demesure.
- 535 Merveillus n’iert nomé,
 Mes mustres sunt apelé.
 Mes cil merveillus serreit:
 Si un homme issi aveit,
 Ke de homme eüst tute la nature,
 540 Saunz defaute, e a mesure,
 Si ke verrais homme fust,
 Ke nule defaute en se ne eüst,
 E pus fust verrai cheval.
 Impossible est de estre tel!
- 545 Mes ki teus le pust trover
 Merveillus le put clamer.
 Plus merveille est — e mil itant —
 La merveille del Enfaunt
 Ke Ysaÿe ad nuncié,
 550 Ke est verray homme e verray Dé.
 De humanité ne li faut rien,
 E ke il est plein Deu, ceo veum ben.
 Par lui tute rien est fet,
 E sanz lui nule rien n’est.
 555 Kar defaute n’est pas fet,

515 And His name will be called
 Wonderful and Counselor,
 God the Mighty and God the Father
 Of the world that comes afterward;
 His rightful name is Prince of Peace.”
 These are the names, in truth,
 That the prophets have called Him.

520 Now listen to me, everyone:
 His first name is Wonderful.
 Such a wonder is not heard of,
 Nor ever will be on any day,
 Until the time that might occur
 When God becomes man.

525 Indeed whoever saw a child
 Who had so much excess
 That he had three feet and three hands,
 And a second who had less,
 Who lacked fist or foot,

530 And when they were born like that,
 Would they therefore be wonderful?
 No! On the contrary for a fact
 The one has a defect of nature,
 And the other excess beyond compare.

535 It will not be referred to as wonderful;
 Rather they are called monstrous.
 But this would be wonderful:
 If there were a man thus,
 Who had all the nature of humanity,

540 Without defect, and in moderation,
 So that he were a true man,
 Who had no defect in himself,
 And at the same time were a genuine horse.
 It is impossible for such a thing to exist!

545 But whoever might find such a thing
 Could call it wonderful.
 More a wonder is — and a thousand times [more] —
 The wonder of the Child
 Whom Isaiah foretold,

550 Who is true man and true God.
 Of humanity He lacks nothing,
 And that He is fully God, this we easily see.
 Through Him everything is created,
 And without Him nothing is [created].

555 Indeed sin (default) is not created,

- Come avaunt vus ay retret.
 Autre Deu ne ad for li,
 Ke en terre descendi,
 Ki, desouz autre vesture,
 560 Pleinement prist la nature
 De la nostre humanité
 E devient homme en verité.
 E pus ke homme voleit estre,
 De femme le covient nestre
 565 Pur recevre la nature
 De humeine creature.
 Mes Deu ne pust herberger,
 Fors en biau lu e en cler;
 En beau lu fu il verraiment,
 570 La ou il del ciel descent.
- fol. 108v En un chastel bel e graunt,
 Bien ferm e avenaunt,
 Kar ceo est le chastel de amur,
 De solaz, e de dousçur.
 575 En la marche est asis,
 Ne ad regard des enemis,
 E si vus dirrai pur quele chose.
 La tour est si ben enclose
 De fossez parfund e haut;
 580 Ne ad regarde nul esaut,
 Kar ele est si haut assise
 Sur une roche, dure e bise
 E bien polie de ci ke aval,
 Ou habiter ne pout nul mal,
 585 Ne engin ne put geter
 Ke rien le pusse grever.
- Envirun ad quatre tureles;
 En tut le mund ni ad plus beles.
 Pus i ad treis bailles en tur,
 590 De fort mur e de bel atur.
 Cum vus deviser le orrez,
 De biauté i ad plus asez
 Ke lange ne put descrire,
 Quer penser, ne bouche dire.
 595 Sur roche neyve sunt fermez,
 Enclos de parfund fossez,
 E aurné de kerneyaus,
 Bien poliz e bons et beaus;

- As I told you before.
There is no other God except Him,
Who descended to earth,
Who, under another garment,
560 Fully took on the nature
Of our humanity
And became man in truth.
And since He wished to be man,
It was necessary for Him to be born of a woman
565 In order to take on the nature
Of a human creature.
But God could not take up quarters,
Except in a virtuous and pure place;
In a worthy place He dwelled truly,
570 There where he descended from heaven.
- fol. 108v In a castle beautiful and grand,
Very strong and pleasing,
For this is the castle of love,
Of solace, and of sweetness.
575 In the border region it is located,
It takes no notice of enemies,
And indeed I will tell you why.
The tower is so well enclosed
By a moat deep and high;
580 It is not concerned about any attack,
For it is situated so high
Upon a rock, solid and gray
And well polished from here downward,
Where no evil could dwell,
585 Nor seige engine hurl
Anything that might damage it.
- Round about there are four turrets;
In all the world there are none more beautiful.
Then there are three baileys around it,
590 With strong walls and of fine appearance.
As you will hear it related,
Of beauty it has much more
Than tongue can describe,
Heart conceive, or mouth tell.
595 They (the baileys) are constructed on natural rock,
Surrounded by a deep moat,
And adorned with crenels,
Well polished and fine and beautiful;

- 600 Barbecanes i ad seet
 Ke par bon egin sunt fet.
 Chescune ad porte e tour,
 Ou ja ne faudra succur,
 Ne ja ni averad annuy
 Ki la vient quere refuy.
- 605 Li chastel est bel e bon,
 Dehors depeynt e environ
 De treis colours deversement.
 E si est vert le fundement,
 Ke a la roche se joynt.
- 610 De grant dousçur ne faut poynt,
 Kar bien di ke douce verdur
 Ne pert jamés sa culur.
 La colur ke est en mylu
 Si est ynde e si est blu,
- 615 Ke meine colur est nommé;
 De beauté est enluminé.
 La tierce colur par ensun
 Les kernieus covre environ
 Ke tut covre le doynjon,
- 620 Taunt reflambé environ,
 E plus est vermail ke ne est rose
 E piert une ardonte chose.
 Jamés ne vient male horee,
 Mes de dousçur i ad plentee.
- 625 Dedeynz est le chastel blauns,
 Plus ke neyf ke seit negiauns,
 Ke gette si grant clarté
 De long la tur e de lé.
 En mi la tur plus hauteyne
- 630 Est surdaunt une funteyne,
 Dunt issent quatre russelles
 Ke bruient par les graveles
 Ke les fossez ount empliz;
 Mout i ad joie e deliz.
- 635 Saunté purreit recovrer
 Ki en cel ewe pust plunger.
 En cele bele tur e bone
 I ad de yvuirre une trone
 Ke plus ad en se blanchur
- 640 Ke en mi le esté le beau joer.
 Par engin est compassez;
 Al munter i ad seet degrez,

600 There are seven barbicans
 That through skilled craftsmanship are made.
 Each one has gate and tower,
 Where deliverance will never fail,
 And never will he have trouble
 Who comes to seek refuge there.

605 The castle is beautiful and sound,
 Painted on the outside and all around
 Various with three colors.
 And thus the foundation is green,
 Which adjoins the rock.

610 Great sweetness is not lacking at all,
 For well I say that sweet verdure
 Never loses its color.
 The color that is in the middle
 Is thus indigo and also blue,

615 Which the middle color is called;
 It is illuminated by beauty.
 The third color above
 Covers the crenels all around
 So that it completely covers the keep,

620 Shining so much round about,
 And is more vermilion than it is rose
 And has the appearance of a blazing thing.
 No tempestuous wind ever comes,
 Rather there is an abundance of mildness there.

625 Inside the castle is white,
 More [white] than snow that is falling (lit., snowing),
 So that it casts such a great light
 Far and wide from the tower.
 In the middle of the highest tower

630 A fountain is welling up,
 From which pours four streams
 That rush over the pebbles
 Until they have filled the moats;
 There is much joy and delight there.

635 One could regain health
 Who could plunge into this water.
 In this beautiful and fine tower
 There is a throne of ivory
 That has more in its brilliance

640 Than a beautiful day in the middle of summer.
 Through ingenuity it is fashioned;
 There are seven steps to ascend,

645 Ke par ordre cochez sunt;
 Ni ad si bele ryen el mund.
 Le arc du ciel en tur s'estend
 O ses colurs que li apend.
 Unkes si bele cherre
 Ne out rei ne emperere.
fol. 109r Asez plus beauté aveyt
650 Ou Deu reposer voleyt;
 Dunke ni ad si beau chastel:
 Unke mes ne fu nul tel,
 Ne jamés autre tel ne serra,
 Kar Dompnedeu le devisa
655 A sun eus pur herberger;
 Mut eime le lu e le tient cher.
 Ceo est le chastel de delit,
 De solaz e de respit,
 De esperance e de amur,
660 De refui e de dousçur:
 Ceo est le cors de la Puscele.
 Unkes autre ni out for cele
 (Ne jamés autre ne serra,
 Taunt come le monde durra),
665 Ke de taunz vertuz fust garnie
 Come la douce Virgine Marie.
 Assise est en la marche,
 Si nus est escu e tarche
 En contre nos enemis,
670 Ke nus agaytuent tut dis.
 La roche ke est bien polie,
 Ceo est le quer Marie,
 Ke unkes en mal ne molist
 Mes a Deu servier se prist
675 E sa seinte virginité
 Garda en humilité.
 Le fundement ke est nommé,
 Ke a la roche est fermé,
 Ke est depeint od colour
680 De si tres bele verdour,
 Ceo est la fey de la Virgine,
 Ke sun seint quer enlumine.
 La verdour ke tant est bele
 Sa fey tut tens renovele,
685 Kar fey est apertement
 De tutes vertuz fundement.

Which are placed in order;
There is nothing in the world as beautiful.
645 The rainbow stretches out around the tower
With its colors that belong to it.
Never such a beautiful throne
Had king or emperor.
fol. 109r There was much more beauty
650 Where God intended to rest;
Therefore there is never so lovely a castle:
Never before was there any such thing,
And never another like that will there be,
For the Lord God selected it
655 For His use to lodge in;
Much He loves this place and holds it dear.
This is the castle of delight,
Of solace and of respite,
Of hope and of love,
660 Of refuge and of sweetness:
This is the body of the Maiden.
Never was there another except that one
(And never another will there be,
As long as the world shall endure),
665 Who was fortified with as many virtues
As the sweet Virgin Mary.
She is situated in the borderlands,
And consequently is shield and targe for us
Against our enemies,
670 Who continually lie in wait for us.
The rock that is well polished,
That is Mary's heart,
Which never softened toward evil
But kept itself to serve God
675 And her holy virginity
Guarded with humility.
The foundation that is mentioned,
Which is attached to the rock,
Which is painted with color
680 Of such a very beautiful green,
That is the faith of the Virgin,
Which illuminates her holy heart.
The greenness that is so beautiful
Her faith continuously renews,
685 For faith is clearly
The foundation of all virtues.

- E pus est la meine colour
De beauté e de dousçour.
Ceo est la signifiance:
690 Ke en tendrour e en esperance
Servi tut tens sun Seignur
En humilité e en douçur.
E la colour par ensun,
Ke tut kevre par envyrun,
695 Ceo est cele ke est vermaylle —
Ni ad nule ke tant vaylle —
Ceo est la seinte Charité,
Dunt ele est tute enluminé
E esprise del fu de amur
700 De servir sun Creatur.
Les quatre tureles en haut
Ke gardent la tour de essaut,
Dunt habiter ne pount nuls mals,
Sunt quatre vertuz cardinals:
705 Ceo est, Force e Temperaunce
E Justize e Prudence.
A quatre portes sunt porters;
Ne put rien si bien nun entrers.
Les treis bailles del chastel,
710 Ke overz sunt a kernel,
En compas sunt enviroun
E defendunt le doynjoun.
Cele al plus haut estage
Signefie sun puscelage,
715 Ke unkes de rien ne fu blemie,
Tant esteit de grace replenie.
Le bail ke est en mie fermé
Signefie sa chasteté.
Pus est la foreine baille,
720 La sue seinte espusalle.
Bailles a dreit nommé sunt,
Kant en baillie la Dame unt,
Ke, sanz per, est singulere:
Virge chaste, Espuse e Mere.
fol. 109v Par un de eus estut passer
726 Ki en le mund se vuet sauver.

Les barbecanes seet
Ke hors des bailles sunt fet
Ke bien gardent le chastel —
730 E de sete e de quarel —

- And then the middle color is
Of beauty and of kindness.
This is the significance:
690 That in tenderness and in hope
She always served her Lord
With humility and with kindness.
And the color above,
Which covers everything all around,
695 That is the one that is vermillion —
There is none that is of such value —
That is holy Charity (Love),
With which she is fully ablaze
And inflamed with the fire of love
700 To serve her Creator.
The four turrets above
That guard the tower from assault,
Where nothing evil can live,
Are the four cardinal virtues:
705 That is, Fortitude and Temperance
And Justice and Prudence.
At the four gates are porters;
Nothing except good can enter.
The three bailey walls of the castle,
710 Which are constructed with crenels,
Go all around in a circle
And defend the keep.
The one at the highest level
Signifies her virginity,
715 That never was blemished in any way,
So filled with grace was she.
The bailey that is enclosed in the middle
Signifies her chastity.
After that is the outermost bailey,
720 Her holy marriage.
Baileys they are rightly called,
Since in their care (lit., in bailey) they hold the Lady,
Who, without peer, is unique:
Chaste Virgin, Wife and Mother.
fol. 109v Through one of these [baileys] must pass
726 Whoever in the world wishes to save himself.
- The seven barbicans
That are built outside the baileys
That guard well the castle —
730 Both from arrow and from quarrel —

Ceo sunt celes seth vertuz,
Dunt seth vices sunt confus:
Ceo est Orguil, apertement
De tuz maus le comencement,
735 Ke vencu est e maté
Par sa seinte Humilité;
E Charité confunde Envie,
E Abstinence Gloutenie;
E par sa seinte Chasteté
740 Lecherie est maté;
E Avarisce, ke mout blesce,
Est vencu par sa Largesce;
E Paciënce, ke veint Ire,
Cele ke sey meïmes decyre;
745 E espiritale Leesce
Confunde la male Tristesce.
La funtaine i surt de grace
Ke tut le chastel enbrasce.
Dé sa grace ad doné
750 E par mesure devisé,
Mes tant la Pucele ama
Ke pleine grace li dona,
Dunt la grace ke surunde
Fet socur a tut le monde.
755 Pur ceo est a dreit clamee
Sur tutes autres benuree.
E queles sunt les fessez
Fors volentrive povertéz,
Dunt nul engin ne put geter
760 Ke le chastel pusse grever,
Dunt li Diables est vencu
E sun poer ad perdu?
Kar einz out poer si grant
Ke unkes nul homme vivaunt
765 Ne pout en contre lui ester,
Ke en enferne ne le fet geter.
Mes ceo est la Dame gente
Dunt Deu dist a la serpente
Ke une femme vendreit
770 Ke tut chef quassereit.

Beneite seit la benuree,
Sur tutes autres honuree,
Ke est bele e bone,
De ki alme fist Deu throne

These are those seven virtues,
With which the seven vices are defeated:
Here is Pride, clearly
The beginning of all evils,
735 Which is vanquished and overcome
By her holy Humility;
And Charity defeats Envy,
And Abstinence Gluttony;
And through her holy Chastity
740 Lechery (i.e., Lust) is overcome;
And Avarice, which wounds many,
Is vanquished by her Generosity;
And Patience, which overpowers Anger,
That which tears itself to pieces;
745 And spiritual Joy
Defeats wicked Melancholy (i.e., Sloth).
The fountain of grace wells up here
That encompasses the castle.
God gave His grace
750 And distributed it with restraint,
But He so loved the Maiden
That He gave her complete grace,
From which the grace that overflows
Gives deliverance to all the world.
755 For this reason is she justly called
Blessed above all others.
And what are the moats
Except voluntary poverty,
Because of which no siege engine could hurl
760 [Anything] that could harm the castle,
By which the Devil is vanquished
And has lost his power?
For formerly he had power so great
That no living person ever
765 Could stand against him,
Whom he did not cause to be thrown into hell.
But this is the noble Lady
Of whom God said to the serpent
That a woman would come
770 Who would crush his head completely.

Blessed be the blessed one,
Honored above all others,
Who is beautiful and good,
Of whose soul God made a throne

775 A sun eus pur herberger;
 Char prist de lui pur sauver
 Sun puple de la prisun:
 Ce est la nostre garisun.
 Ceste Dame est bele asez,
 780 Kant ele ad tant de buntez,
 Plus ke autre creature,
 Mes kant le Solail de Dreiture
 Denz sun seint cors enumbra,
 Mil itaunt enbelie la ha.
 785 Par la porte close entra;
 Al issir close la lessa.
 De ceo ni est contac ne plait,
 Kar kant ke Deu vout, si est fait.

790 Franche Pucele, Reïne,
 De refui forte fermine,
 A tey est ma alme venue,
 Ke a ta porte huche e hue,
 Huche e hue, huche e crie,
 "Douce Dame, aïe, aïe!
 795 Reïne Dame, overez, overez!
 Un poy poser me lessez
 De cele grace ke garist
 Les povres en esperist.
 De hors tun chastel sui asis
 800 De treis de mes enemis:
 Ceo est, le Diable e le Mund
 E ma Char, ke me somund
 fol. 110r Tut adés de mesfere;
 Mut funt a ma alme contrere.
 805 Grant parlement unt tenu:
 Li Diables est primes venu,
 Ke treis oyz en moy se dresce,
 Ceo est, Orguil, Ire, e Peresce;
 Le Mund ad deus oiz asise,
 810 Ceo est, Envie e Coveitise;
 E la Char, ke taunt se plie
 A fol Delit e Glutonie.
 De damage me unt esmu:
 Champion su rescru.
 815 Si ta grace ne me aïe
 Tute ay perdu la mestrie.
 Vus, ke febles redrassez,
 Fa moy poser a fossez

- 775 For His use to dwell in;
 He took flesh of her to save
 His people from prison:
 This is our salvation.
 This Lady is very beautiful,
780 Since she has so much virtue,
 More than any other creature,
 But when the Sun of Righteousness
 Was conceived within her holy body,
 He enhanced her a thousand times.
785 Through the closed door He entered;
 On leaving He left it closed.
 There is no dispute or plea about this,
 For whatever God desires, so it is done.
- 790 Noble Virgin, Queen,
 Strong fortress of refuge,
 To you my soul is come,
 That knocks and shouts at your gate,
 Knocks and shouts, knocks and cries out,
 “Sweet Lady, help, help!”
795 Lady Queen, open, open!
 Let me draw a little
 Of that grace that heals
 The poor in spirit.
 Outside your castle I am beset
800 By three of my enemies:
 That is, the Devil and the World
 And my Flesh, which incites me
fol. 110r Forever to do evil;
 They do great harm to my soul.
805 They held a great conference:
 The Devil came first,
 Who stands up three armies against me,
 That is, Pride, Anger, and Sloth;
 The World has equipped two armies,
810 That is, Envy and Covetousness;
 And the Flesh, which so inclines
 To wicked Lust and Gluttony.
 They troubled me with harm:
 I am a vanquished champion.
815 If your grace does not help me
 I have completely lost power.
 You, who lift up the weak,
 Have me draw water from the moat

- 820 Ou le chastel est estable,
 E Charité est conestable.”
- Del chastel un poy ay dit;
 De plus dire en ay delit,
 Kar tuz les biens ke sunt el mund
 Del chastel venuz sunt.
- 825 Ceo est la eschele, bien le di,
 Ou Deu du cel descendi;
 De lui prist humanité,
 Dunt covri sa deité.
- 830 La verge porta la flur,
 La Virge sun Creatur,
 E si est le Enfaunt nez,
 E cil Fiz nus est donez.
- Icest Enfant est Mervillus,
 Ke issi est nez pur nus.
- 835 Merveille n'est tant, ceo me semble,
 Cum deus natures joindre ensemble,
 E ke chescune apertement
 Eit tut ceo ke a lui apent,
- 840 Ke nul amenusé ne seit,
 Mes ke chescun eit sun dreit.
- Ceo est Jhesu le beneit,
 Ke de ciel descendeit
 Pur ses seurs acorder
 E sun prisun delivrer.
- 845 Natures deus i ad, ceo est la summe:
 Verrey Deu est, e verrey homme.
- Beneyt seyt la Pucele,
 Par ki savum la novele
 De Jhesu Crist, le fruit de vie;
- 850 Lors est Misericorde oïe.
 En ciel des angeles est le chaunt
 “Loange e glorie al Tut Pussaunt!”
 E pes en terre est crié
 A gent de bone volonté.
- 855 Lors si fu pes en terre —
 En tut le mund ni out guerre,
 Ni out contec, ne descord,
 Mes tuz furent de un acord
- 860 E sous un prinzce gouverné
 Kaunt nostre Sire fu né.
 Augustus Cesar se noma

820 Where the castle is steadfast,
 And Charity is constable.”

 I have recounted a little about the castle;
 I am pleased to tell more about it,
 For all the good things that are in the world
 Have come out of the castle.

825 This is the ladder, I say it truly,
 Where God came down from heaven;
 From her He took humanity,
 With which He concealed His divinity.
 The rod bore the flower,

830 The Virgin her Creator,
 And thus the Child was born,
 And this Son was given to us.
 This Child is Wonderful,
 Who thus was born for us.

835 There is not so great a wonder, it seems to me,
 As two natures joined together,
 And that each clearly
 Has all that which belongs to it,
 So that nothing is diminished,

840 But that each has its rightful nature.
 This is Jesus the blessed,
 Who came down from heaven
 To reconcile His sisters
 And deliver His prisoner.

845 He has two natures, this is the conclusion:
 True God He is, and true man.

 Blessed be the Virgin,
 Through whom we know the news
 Of Jesus Christ, the fruit of life;

850 Now is Mercy heard.
 In heaven the song of the angels is
 “Praise and glory to the Almighty!”
 And peace on earth is proclaimed
 To people of good will.

855 At that time indeed there was peace on earth —
 In all the world there was not war,
 There was not conflict, nor discord,
 But all were of one accord
 And governed under one prince

860 When our Lord was born.
 He was named Augustus Caesar,

- Ki comaund par tut ala.
 Bien deit pes estre tenue
 A cuntre sa haute venue,
 865 Ki pes sustient e pes guie.
 Mout est nature enbelie
 Kaunt Nature naturaunce
 A nature est ignoraunce
 Kaunt nature est naturee;
 870 Lors est nature puree
 Cent taunt plus ke einz n'estoit
 Einz ke Adam forfet avoit.
 Icesti est de grant pussance
 Si est de fraunche nesaunce;
 875 Cist pout bien pur nus pleider
 E nos dreitures dereynner.
 Ore avez oÿ trestuz
 Cum cist Enfaunt est Merveillus.
 fol. 110v E veez, pur Deu le Pere,
 880 Cum il est bon Conseyllere.

 Ki vest ici un homme
 Ke emperour fust de Rome,
 De sun paÿs engetez,
 E desça lé munz fust demorez;
 885 E pus fussent les munz si haut
 Ke par engin ne par ensaut
 Ne put hom les monz passer,
 Ne nule autre veie aler;
 Ke a meiseise le veïst
 890 E a consayl lui deïst,
 "A quei vas tu si mendifs?
 Returnez en tun paÿs.
 Va par tut tes amis querre
 Si deraignes vostre terre."
 895 Icest consail bon fust,
 Si achever le pust,
 Mes verray consail n'est ceo mie
 Pus ke il ne ad prou ne aÿe.
 Mes li douz Jhesu beneit,
 900 Il est Conseiler adreit.
 Cum il vient oÿ avez:
 Homme il trova esgarez,
 De paraÿs engeté jus;
 Ne jamés n'ust venu sus
 905 Par lui ne par sa pussance,

- Whose rule proceeded everywhere.
Indeed peace should be held
In preparation for His exalted coming,
865 Who sustains peace and establishes peace.
Nature is greatly embellished
When God the Creator
Is without knowledge of nature
When nature is created;
870 Then is nature purified
A hundred times more than formerly it was
Before Adam had sinned.
This man (Jesus) is of great power
And moreover is of free birth;
875 This one can truly plead for us
And our rights recover.
Now you have heard fully
How this Child is Wonderful.
fol. 110v Then behold, in the name of God the Father,
880 How He is a good Counselor.
- Whoever might consider here a man
Who was emperor of Rome,
Cast out of his country,
But yet stayed on this side of the mountains;
885 And then the mountains were so high
That through ingenuity or through attack
One could not cross the mountains,
Nor go any other way;
Whoever should see him in distress
890 Then might say to him by way of advice,
“Why do you roam about so needy?
Return to your country.
Go everywhere to seek your friends
And then recover your land.”
895 This advice would be good,
If he could carry it out,
But this is not genuine advice at all,
Since it possesses neither benefit nor help.
But the sweet blessed Jesus,
900 He is a true Counselor.
You have heard how it happened:
He found man lost,
Cast down out of paradise;
Never would he arise
905 By himself nor through his [own] power,

- Ne fust de Deu la redressaunce,
Ke sun Fiz vout enveër
En le mund pur sa gent sauver.
Trestuz nus vient conseiller
910 E la voie al ciel mustrer.
Mes Deus est plein de verité,
Ne vout riens for equité,
Ne vout sauver ne garir
For ceus ke lui voleint servir.
- 915 Regardez, homme, en sa pussance,
E au grandur de sa finance,
Ou circumscription n'est mie,
E veez cum il se humilie,
Ki de femme deigna nestre
920 E verray homme pur nus estre.
Et pus sun consayl regardez,
Cum il nus meine a sauvez
En si tre douce manere,
E si nus dist, "Beau duz Frere,
925 Jeo te vei issi, esgarez
E de tun paÿs exillez,
E si veez apertement
Ke de te n'as recoverement.
Ne seez en desperaunce,
930 Ne de ceo ne eiez dotance,
Ke si crere moy volez,
Tun heritage tost averez.
Oyez moy tant solement
E fetes mun comandement.
935 Mun jug est suef a sentir,
Mun fes leger a sustenir.
Pité pur tei me ad esmu;
Pur tei sui ici venu.
Jeo te consail, suez me,
940 E jeo ta bataille enprendray.
Primes, pur tey voyl enpleider
E tun dreit voil chalanger,
Kar jeo sui de tun lignage,
Si pus clamer tun heritage.
945 E sui de franche naciun,
Si ert oÿe ma reisun.
Pur tei prenderay la bataille,
Si averez bone definaille,
Kar jeo en fin le venkeray

910 If there were not a restoration by God,
 Who was willing to send His Son
 Into the world in order to save His people.
 He came to counsel us all
 And to show the way to heaven.
 But God is full of truth,
 Desires nothing but justice,
 Is not willing to save and heal
 Except those who are willing to serve him.

915 Look, man, at His power,
 And at the magnitude of His ransom,
 In which is no limitation at all,
 And see how He humbles Himself,
 Who deigned to be born of a woman

920 And to be true man for us.
 And then consider His counsel,
 How he leads us to salvation
 In such a very gentle manner,
 And thus says to us, "Noble sweet Brother,

925 I see you here, lost
 And from your country exiled,
 And also you see clearly
 That of yourself you do not have restoration.
 Do not be in despair,

930 And do not be afraid of this,
 For if you are willing to believe in Me,
 You will soon receive your inheritance.
 Listen solely to Me
 And follow My comandment.

935 My yoke is pleasant to feel,
 My burden light to bear.
 Pity for you has moved Me;
 For you I have come here.
 I advise you, follow Me,

940 And I will take on your battle.
 First, I intend to plead for you
 And will lay claim to your right,
 For I am of your lineage,
 Thus I can claim your inheritance.

945 And I am of free birth,
 So my petition will be heard.
 I will take on the battle for you,
 So you will have a good end,
 For in the end I will vanquish him

- 950 E tun dreit recoveray.
De rien ne tei estut penser
Furs Deu e tun prume amer.”
- Deu! Quel douçur e quele franchise,
Kant cil ke tute rien justise
- 955 Tant nus mustra amisté
E ensample de humilité.
- fol. 111r Mes cel ensample est poy tenue
E relement en monde veüwe,
Kar le monde tut dis eyne
- 960 La chose ke est mundeyne,
Mes li esperit de charité
Tut tens eyne humilité.
Kant le mundain se done al monde,
E sun aver li surunde,
- 965 Ne pense fors de sun aver,
E plus aver ensemble aver.
Kant aver ad la mestrie,
Si ferm en se laz le lie
Ke il devient fiers e orgoillus,
- 970 A tuz ses veisins surfetus.
Riens ne coveite largesse,
Mes seignorie e hautesse.
Par orgoil ad oblié
Le ensample de humilité.
- 975 Iceus Jhesum ne siwent mie,
Kar lur fet lur contrarie;
Sun consail ne velunt crere.
E coment dunke, e par quel afere,
Veolunt il rien demaunder
- 980 Del heritage Deu aver,
Kant il funt kant ke il defent
E rien ne funt de ceo ke il aprent,
Kar il querent la pussaunce
Ne veoleint rien de humiliance?
- 985 Pur iceo cheÿ Lucifer
Hors du ciel deskes en enfer.
Pur ceo me dout ke cil cherrunt,
Tuz ceus ke teus evres funt.
Mes pur ceo ne di jeo mie
- 990 Ke homme ne put aver grant manancie,
Grant seignorie e grant hautesce,
Chasteaus e boys de grant largesce,
E si put Deu bien servir

- 950 And recover your right.
 It is not necessary for you to think of anything
 Except to love God and your neighbor.”
- God! What kindness and what generosity,
 When the one Who governs everything
- 955 Showed us such friendship
 And an example of humility.
- fol. 111r But this example is little valued
 And rarely seen in the world,
 For the world always loves
- 960 The things that are worldly,
 But the spirit of charity
 Always loves humility.
 When the worldly person devotes himself to the world,
 And his wealth surrounds him,
- 965 He thinks of nothing except his wealth,
 And to have more wealth brought together.
 When the wealth has dominion,
 It binds him so tightly in its snares
 That he becomes cruel and proud,
- 970 Arrogant to all his neighbors.
 He does not in any way desire generosity,
 But authority and rank.
 Through pride he has forgotten
 The example of humility.
- 975 These do not at all follow Jesus,
 For their behavior contradicts them;
 They are unwilling to believe His counsel.
 And how then, and in what way,
 Do they intend to demand anything
- 980 Of God’s inheritance to hold,
 When they do whatever He forbids
 And do nothing of that which He teaches,
 Because they seek power
 And desire nothing of humility?
- 985 For this reason Lucifer fell
 Out of heaven into hell.
 For this reason, I fear that these will fall,
 All those who do such works.
 But I do not at all say
- 990 That one cannot have great wealth,
 Great authority and great rank,
 Castles and forests of great breadth,
 And also be able to serve God truly

- 995 E sun voler acomplir,
 Pus ke il vith en humilité,
 En dreiture, e en charité,
 Kar Dompne deu n'ad rien tant cher
 Cum fin amur de quer entier.
- 1000 Ore put acun demaunder,
 "Coment vient il pur nus pleider?
 E coment la bataille enprist
 E nostre dreit coment conquist?"
 Oyez debonerement
 E jeo vus dirray bien coment.
- 1005 Kant Jhesus el mund fu né,
 Del Diable fu taunt celé
 Ke il ne sout de sun venir,
 Mes quidout par tut seignurer,
 Cum il einz fet aveit,
- 1010 Mes sun poier li est tolet.
 Mut bien le vit home en terre,
 Mes il ne saveit par quel afere
 Homme vint en terre nestre
 E tuz jors sanz pecché estre.
- 1015 E, merveillaunt, dist, "Ki es tu?
 Es tu dunke le Fiz Deu?
 Tut cest mund te voil doner
 Si tu me veus aorer."
 E Jhesu dist, "Va, Satanas!
- 1020 Tun Seignur ne tempteras."
 E cil dist dunke, "Ke veus tu fere?
 Prince sui de ceste tere.
 Lunge tens ay eü la seisine
 Par le grant du Rey Hautime.
- 1025 For sul ke tun consayl ne vey
 Ne ne conuz tun secrey,
 Mut i averez a fere
 Si de moy veus rien conquere.
 E si de te pussance ne eye,
- 1030 Quides tu toler ma preye?
 Nay! Le covenant est fermez,
 En la curt Deu cyrografez,
 Ke si il le comaund Deu passast
 Od moy tut tens demorast
- fol. 111v E morreit en fin de mort,
 1036 E Deu ne veut fere nul tort,

- 995 And accomplish His will,
Provided that he live in humility,
In righteousness, and in charity,
For the Lord God holds nothing so dear
Than true love of the whole heart.
- 1000 Now might someone ask,
“How did He come to plead for us?
And how did He take on the battle
And how did He win our rights?”
Listen kindly,
And I will indeed tell you how.
- 1005 When Jesus was born into the world,
He was so hidden from the Devil
That he did not know of His coming,
But he expected to rule everywhere,
As he formerly had done,
- 1010 But his power was taken away from him.
He very truly saw Him as man on earth,
But he did not know in what way
A man came to be born on earth
And to be always without sin.
- 1015 And, marveling, he said, “Who are You?
Are You then the Son of God?
The entirety of this world I am willing to give you
If you are willing to adore me.”
And Jesus said, “Go, Satan!
- 1020 You shall not tempt your Lord.”
And that one said then, “What do You intend to do?
I am prince of this world.
For a long time I have had legal possession
By the grant of the Highest King.
- 1025 Unless I see Your counsel
Or know Your secret,
You will have much to do
If You intend to win anything from me.
And even though I do not have power over You,
- 1030 Do You think to take away my prey?
No! The covenant is set down in writing,
Copied in triplicate in the court of God,
That if he (Adam) disobeyed God’s commandment
With me he would remain eternally
- fol. 111v And would die in the end through death,
1036 And God does not wish to do any wrong,

- Mes tendra le covenant
Ke en sa curt fu fet avaunt.”
- 1040 A ceo respondi Jhesu,
“Le covenant fu bien tenu,
Mes tu primes le frensistes
Kant en traÿsun diseistes,
‘Tu ne morras pas pur taunt,
Ainz serrez cum Deu sachaunt.’
- 1045 Del fet fustes encheysun.
Ore agardez dunke raysun:
Veus tu de covenant joyer
Kant covenant ne veus tener?”
“O!” dist le Diable, “Traÿ su,
1050 Kant en pleidant su vencu.
Dunt tey vient tel poyer,
Tel vertu, e tel saver
Ke od moy osiez enprendre
De desputer e reisun rendre?
- 1055 Tut ay perdu en pleidaunt,
Mes ne demurra mie entant;
Tute vers il ad forfeit,
Si ke il en ma prisun est,
Ne sanz redempcion pur lui
1060 Ne voil a tort estre deseisi.”
E dist Jhesu, le Rey verray,
“Pur lui la redempcion fray.”
“Si tu le veus achater,
Il te coustra mout cher.”
- 1065 “Cum cher?” “Mes tant cum il vaut,
Enz ke il de ma prisun aut.”
E dist li duz Jhesu beneit,
“Ceo est bien reisun e dreit.
Encuntre dreit, ne voil jeo mie
1070 Toler tei rien par mestrie.”
“Fai le moy dunc.” “Volenters:
Ke est ceo dist ke tu quers?”
“Jeo te dirray bien sanz faille:
Rendez moy dunc ke tant vaille
1075 Cum fet ore tut le mund,
E kant ke après tuz jurs vendrunt.”
“Volenters tut ceo fray,
Kar meuz vaut mun petit dey
Ke teus cent mile monde ne funt,
1080 Od tute la gent ke i sunt.”

But will uphold the covenant
That in His court was previously made.”

1040 To this Jesus responded,
“The covenant has been fully upheld,
But you broke it first
When in treason you said,
‘You will not die on that account,
Rather you will be wise like God.’

1045 You were the cause of the deed.
Now consider therefore the argument:
Do you intend to profit from the covenant
When you are not willing to uphold the covenant?”
“Oh!” said the Devil, “I am betrayed!

1050 While pleading [my case] I am vanquished.
From where comes to you such power,
Such virtue, and such knowledge
That against me you dare to undertake
To dispute and present a rational argument?

1055 I have lost everything in pleading,
But it will not at all stay that way meanwhile;
Truly he has done wrong,
With the result that he is in my prison,
And without payment for him

1060 I do not intend to be wrongly dispossessed.”
And said Jesus, the true King,
“I will pay the ransom for him.”
“If You wish to buy him,
It will cost You very dear.”

1065 “How dear?” “Only as much as he is worth,
Before he may go free from my prison.”
And sweet, blessed Jesus said to him,
“This is truly wisdom and justice.
I do not at all intend, in opposition to what is lawful,

1070 To take anything from you by force.”
“Give it (the ransom) to me then.” “Willingly:
What is this judgment that you seek?”
“I will tell You truly without doubt:
Give me that which is worth as much

1075 As all the world is now,
And all that forever after shall come.”
“Willingly I will do all this,
For My little finger is worth more
Than a hundred thousand such worlds are,

1080 With all the people who are there.”

- Le Diable respund par fierté,
 “Bien say ke ceo est verité,
 Kar le mund pus justiser
 Mes tey ne pus aprucher.
 1085 E veus tu tun dey doner
 Pur si vil merz achater?”
 “Nay,” fet il, “mes tut mun cors.”
 “Einz ki eyes cel prisun hors,
 1090 Il te covient mout plus fere,
 Soffrir tant de maus e contrere.
 Si amender veus sun tort,
 Il te estuit souffrir la mort,
 Ou taunt de peine, o tant dolurs,
 Si cum il freit tuz jors
 1095 Si il fust od moy menaunt
 E en enfer demoraunt.”
 A donc respondi li duz Jhesu,
 “Kaunt ke as dit iert bien tenu,
 Kar Verité le divise,
 1100 E pus le ad jugé Justise.
 Plus ifray ke dit n’avez,
 Si iert li serf deliverez.”
 Adunc quide li Adverser
 Par sa mort trestut gaigner.
 1105 Mes il fu pris, li glutun,
 Cum est al heym le pessun
 Kaunt le verm ad engolee,
 Par le fer est ataché.
- Ore esgardez la dousçour
 1110 Le consayl al Sauveour,
 fol. 112r Ke est leger a souffrir,
 Dunt gareysun pust venir.
 Tuz nos meffez sur sei prent;
 Pur nus est treité vilement,
 1115 Cil ke unkes ne out pecché,
 Ne vilenie en lui trové.
 En tuz les menbres ke homme a
 Dunt Adam primes peccha,
 Vout les seuns menbres pener
 1120 Pur nos pecchez aquiter:
 Pur la nostre iniquité
 Sun chef des espines coroné;
 E pur les nos fous regarz
 Ses oyez bendez de ambe parz.

- The Devil responded in anger,
"I well see that this is true,
As I can rule the world
But cannot approach You.
1085 And are You willing to give Your finger
In order to buy such cheap merchandise?"
"No," said He, "but My whole body."
"Before You have this prisoner free,
It is necessary to do much more,
1090 To suffer so much torment and hurt.
If You wish to set right his wrong,
It is necessary for You to suffer death,
With as much pain, as much suffering,
As would be appropriate forever
1095 If he were remaining with me
And living in hell."
And then sweet Jesus replied,
"Whatever you have said will indeed be upheld,
For Truth determines it,
1100 And then Justice has judged it.
I will do more than you have said,
Thus the serf will be set free."
Thereupon the Adversary thought
To gain by His death.
1105 But he was caught, the glutton,
As is the fish on the hook
When it has swallowed up the worm,
Is held fast by the iron.
- Now observe the kindness
1110 Of the Savior's grace,
fol. 112r Which is easy to endure,
From which recovery may come.
All our misdeeds He takes upon Himself;
For us He is treated shamefully,
1115 This One who has never sinned,
Nor had any evil discovered in Him.
In all the limbs that a person has,
By means of which Adam first sinned,
He wanted His own limbs to suffer
1120 In order to pay for our sins:
For our iniquity,
His head crowned with thorns;
And for our wanton looks,
His eyes blindfolded on both sides;

- 1125 En la face le escoperent,
 E des paumes le ferirent.
 E pur nostre fol parler
 Bust eysil e vin amer;
 E pur nos mauveys fez foreinz
1130 Se fist percer peiz e mayns.
 Quei pout il plus pur nus fere?
 Launge ne put taunt retrere,
 Ne quer de homme taunt penser,
 Cum il pur nus se fist pener.
1135 Ki est cil ke n'eüst pité
 De si tres graunt amisté?
 Teus sunt les cops de bataille
 Ke il pur nus suffri sanz faille.
 Mes kant a la mort se livra,
1140 Mort par sa mort rechata,
 Kar plus suffri cent itaunt
 Peines e maus en moriaunt
 Ke diables eürent poyer
 De humeine nature charger.
1145 Kar taunt eyne le alme le cors
 Ke jamés ne istrait fors
 Pur nule peine endurer —
 Si l'om le vousist detrencher —
 Eynz ke le cors eit perdu
1150 De tuz cink sens la vertu:
 Ceo est, le oÿe e le ver
 E le odur e le parler
 E le taster perdera
 Einz ke le alme del cors passera.
1155 Nature ne put souffrir
 Le alme einz del cors partir.
 Mes cil ke tut poier ad
 Cent feiz ses peines dublad,
 Kar kant en la Croiz pendi
1160 Od haute voiz le alme rendi.
 La mustra ke il Deus estoit,
 Nostre raunsçun dunke fesoit.
 Vivant le cors fist ceo, sanz faille,
 E issint venqui la bataille.
1165 Taunt ne put le Diable charger,
 Ne nature endurer.
 A, tres gloriose Reÿne,
 Marie, Mere e Virgine,

- 1125 They spat upon His face,
 And struck Him with their palms;
 And for our wicked speech,
 He drank vinegar and sour wine;
 And for our wicked worldly deeds,
1130 Had His feet and hands pierced.
 What more could He do for us?
 Tongue cannot so relate,
 Nor the heart of man so conceive,
 How He made Himself suffer for us.
1135 Who is the one who would not feel compassion
 For such very great friendship?
 Such are the blows of battle
 That He suffered for us without fail.
 But when He handed Himself over to death,
1140 He redeemed death through His death,
 For He suffered a hundred times more
 Pains and torments in dying
 Than devils had the power
 To burden human nature with.
1145 For the soul so loves the body
 That it never will come out
 Because of suffering any pain —
 Even if one intended to cut it into pieces —
 Before the body has lost
1150 The power of all five senses:
 That is, hearing and sight,
 And smelling and speech,
 And touching it (i.e., the soul) will lose
 Before the soul will pass out of the body.
1155 Nature cannot allow
 The soul to separate from the body before that.
 But the One who has all power
 Increased His pains a hundred times,
 For when He hung on the Cross
1160 He gave up His soul with a loud voice.
 There He showed that he was God,
 Then brought about our ransom.
 He did this in His living body, without doubt,
 And in this way He won the battle.
1165 The Devil cannot charge so much,
 Nor nature endure [it].
 Ah, very glorious Queen,
 Mary, Mother and Virgin,

- 1170 Pur pité ne puis nomer
Tes dolurs, ne rementiver!
Mes lors fu tut acomplie
De Symeon la prophecie:
Kar, plus ke al cors, fus naufree
Parmi l'alme de un espee.
- 1175 Mes cent fez ta joie dubla
Kant il de mort resuscita.
Rienz n'eüst valu la Passion
Ne fust la Resurrection.
Tu veïs ore apertement
De la bataille l'echevement
- 1180 Dunt le Diable est vencuz
E le siecle sucuruz;
Nostre creance e nostre fey
Adunc demurra, Dame, en tey.
- 1185 Trestuz furent en dotance,
Mes vus en ferme creaunce
fol. 112v Demoraistes saunz doter;
Ta fei ne pout rien changer.
Marie, Mere de pité,
- 1190 Pucele pleine de bunté,
En vus dunc fu nostre creance,
Mes ore est nostre esperance
Ke pur nus le depriez
Par ki sumes rechatez.
- 1195 Oÿez del duz Jhesu,
Cum il par sa grant vertu
En bien nus ad consaillé,
E cum il pur nus ad plaidé,
E cum il pur nus combati,
- 1200 E coment sa bataille eschevi.
N'est cestui bon Consailler,
Ke issi nus achata cher,
E ke nus ad fet la voie
Dunt venir purrums a la joie
- 1205 Ke, par Eve, fu grant pose
A tuz estopé e enclose?
- Ore agardez en avaunt
Cum il est Deu Tut Pussaunt.
Si orrez apertement
Ke estre ne put autrement.
- 1210 Un Deu tute rien cria;

- 1170 Because of pity I cannot speak about
Your sorrows, nor think about [them].
But then was all fulfilled
Of the prophecy of Simeon:
Indeed, more than in the body, you were wounded
Through the soul by a sword.
- 1175 But He increased your joy a hundred times
When He rose from the dead.
The Passion would be worth nothing
If the Resurrection had not happened.
You see now clearly
- 1180 The completion of the battle
In which the Devil is vanquished
And the world helped;
Our belief and our faith
At that time remained, Lady, in you.
- 1185 Everyone was in doubt,
But you in steadfast belief
fol. 112v Remained without doubting;
Nothing could change your faith.
Mary, Mother of pity,
- 1190 Maiden full of goodness,
In you then was our belief,
But now our hope is
That for us you will beseech Him
Through Whom we are redeemed.
- 1195 Hear about sweet Jesus,
How He through His great virtue
Has counseled us in goodness,
And how He has pleaded for us,
And how He fought for us,
- 1200 And how He ended His battle.
Is not this One a good Counselor,
Who thus bought us dearly,
And Who prepared for us the way
Where we might come to the joy
- 1205 That, because of Eve, was for a long time
Completely blocked and locked up?
- Now consider in the first place
How He is God Almighty.
Now you will hear clearly
1210 That it could not be otherwise.
One God created all things;

- Icel Deu nus rechata.
Autre Deu ni ad for li.
Ce est le Deu dunt jeo vus di:
1215 Persones treis sunt nomé,
Mes un Deu est en unité.
En ses fez put homme saver
E la pussance Deu veër,
Kar tuz ses fez furent mellé
1220 De homesce e de divinité.
Ki de ses fez garde prent
Veër le put apertement.
Ki eüst ici une espeie
Bien trenchant e aceree,
1225 E homme en le fu le meist
Tant ke ardaunte le feïst,
Taunt cum ardante fust
Nul ne serreit ke pust
Le fu partier de l'acer,
1230 Ne le acer de le fu severer.
E ki de la espeie ferreit
Deus natures i trovereit:
Le acer trenche par nature,
E le fu ard; ceo est dreiture,
1235 E tut de une espeie ist.
Ausi est de Jhesu Crist.
Deus natures ad pleinement,
De Deu e de homme vereiment.
- As nuces de un sun privé,
1240 En la Kane de Galilee,
Un convivie fist Architriclin,
Kant le ewe chaungea en vin.
Sis ydres i sunt posé,
Empler les de ewe ad comaundé.
1245 Cum homme empler les noma,
Cum Deu le ewe en vin chaungea,
E tuit iceo une hovre fu
De homesce e de verray Deu.
E aillurs ou il ala,
1250 Ou taunt de puple sui le a
Ke cinc mil hommes ad puz
De cinc pains e de pessuns deus;
E de relef ke est remis
Duze cophins sunt empliz.
1255 Cum homme le pain departi,

- This God redeemed us.
There is no other God except Him.
This is the God of Whom I told you:
1215 Three persons are named,
But He is one God in unity.
Through His deeds one can know
And see the power of God,
For all His deeds were blended
1220 Of humanity and of divinity.
Whoever pays attention to His deeds
Can see it clearly.
Whoever had here a sword
Very keen and made of steel,
1225 And one put it in the fire
Until he made it red-hot,
While it was hot
No one would be able
To separate the fire from the steel,
1230 Nor sever the steel from the fire.
And whoever would act with the sword
Would find two natures there:
The steel cuts by nature,
And the fire burns; this is right,
1235 And all comes out of one sword.
So it is with Jesus Christ:
He fully has two natures,
Truly of God and of man.
- At the wedding of an intimate friend of his,
1240 In Cana of Galilee,
Architriclin held a feast,
When He (i.e., Jesus) changed the water to wine.
Six water jugs were positioned there,
He commanded [them] to fill them with water.
1245 As man He appointed them to be filled,
As God He changed the water into wine,
And all this was a single work
Of humanity and of true God.
And elsewhere where He went,
1250 So many people followed Him
That He fed five thousand people
From five loaves and two fish;
And of the leftovers that remained
Twelve baskets were filled.
1255 As man He broke the bread,

- Cum Deus les ad tuz saci.
 E de Lazere, regardez,
 Kaunt il le ad resuscitez
 Ke, quatre jors al monument,
 1260 Fu de mort tut pullent;
 Od haute voyz est escriez,
 "Lazere, kar ça hors venez."
 fol. 113r Cum homme a lui cria,
 Cum Deu le resuscita.
 1265 En tuz ses fez peut hom ver
 Ke il est Deu, saunz doter.
 Cel Deu tute rien cria,
 Ki en la Virge se enumbra.
 En lui est nostre creance,
 1270 Nostre fei, e nostre esperance,
 Persones treis en Trinité
 E un sul Deu en unité.

 Oï avez apertement
 Cum il est Deu omnipotent,
 1275 Mes sa force ne put nul dire,
 Quer penser, ne clerc escrire.
 Kar icest haut noun Jhesu
 Ad en sei tant de vertu
 Ke quant ke est en cel hautisme,
 1280 Ou en tere, ou en abime
 Se enclinent a cel seint nun;
 Pur ceo ne put dire nul hom
 Sun grant poer, ne sa force,
 Mes cum en rimant l'escorce.
 1285 Tucher le voil apertement,
 Solum ceo ke jeo atenc.
 Kaunt le monde fu crié,
 E Adam primes out pecché,
 Dunc out le Maufé tant poër
 1290 Ke del monde fist sun voler,
 Kar lui pur ke le monde fu fet
 En sun poër out atret.
 Taunt de poër dunc aveit
 Ke prince del monde esteit;
 1295 Ne pur nule seintité,
 Pur penaunce, ne pur bunté
 Ne se pout nul tant pener
 Ke en enfer ne le fist vener.

- As God He has sated them all.
And concerning Lazarus, observe,
When He resuscitated him
Who, four days in the tomb,
1260 Was all stinking of death;
With a loud voice He cried out,
“Lazarus, now come out here.”
fol. 113r As man He cried out to him,
As God He resurrected him.
1265 In all His deeds one can see
That He is God, without doubt.
This God created all things,
Who in the Virgin was engendered.
In Him is our belief,
1270 Our faith, and our hope,
Three persons in Trinity,
And one single God in unity.
- You have heard clearly
How He is God omnipotent,
1275 But of His strength no one can tell,
Heart think, nor cleric write.
For this heavenly name Jesus
Has in itself so much virtue
That whatever is in highest heaven,
1280 Or on earth, or in the abyss
Bows down to this holy name;
For this reason no one can tell of
His great power, nor His strength,
Except as if in coating the bark with hoarfrost.
1285 I wish to touch upon it plainly,
In proportion to what I understand.
When the world was created,
And Adam first had sinned,
Then had the Devil so much power
1290 That he did his will in the world,
For he (Adam) for whom the world was made
He (the Devil) had enticed into his power.
He had so much power then
That he was prince of the world;
1295 Not through any saintliness,
Through penance, or through goodness
Could anyone make so great an effort
That he would not be brought to hell.

- 1300 Mes la force Jhesu Crist
Le ad maté e desconfist.
Desconfist est apertement,
Kant il quidout, cum de autre gent,
De lui fere sun voler
E atrere a sun poër.
- 1305 Kant le vit en la Croyz pendre,
La alme de lui quidout prendre,
Mes il menti, li traitur.
Enz est abatu a sun tur,
Kar la seinte deité
- 1310 Dekes en enfer le ad geté,
Ou il meïmes est alé
Od sa alme e sa deité.
Les portes de enfern brusa,
Le poër al Diable esquassa.
- 1315 A enfern fist un grant mors
Kant tuz les suns estret hors,
Ke en sa venu crurent
E de bon quer servi le urent.
Tel poiër ne fu oÿ —
- 1320 Ne ja, ne serra, fors de lui,
Kar tut le greingnur poër
Ke fu en le monde fist quasser.
Le Maufé fuist le fort armé
Ke sa porte ad bien gardé,
- 1325 Mes kant plus fort survenoit,
Ses espoilles li ad tolet
E del reaume engeté;
En enfern le ad trebuché.
Pur iceo dit bien Ysaÿe,
- 1330 Ke dist en sa prophecie
Ke il Fort nommé serreit.
Sa force nul ne pensereit:
Ne launge nel purreit dire,
Ne quer penser ne descrire.
- 1335 Sa force fet a redoter,
E sa dousçur a amer.
Icesti est nostre refui,
Nostre creance, e nostre salu,
- fol. 113v Nostre fey, nostre amur,
1340 Nostre aïe, e nostre honur,
Ke tant se vout humilier
E sei doner pur nus sauver.

- 1300 But the strength of Jesus Christ
Has overcome and defeated him.
He is clearly defeated,
Seeing as he thought, as with other people,
To make Him do his will
And give Himself over to his power.
- 1305 When he saw Him hanging on the Cross,
He thought to take His soul,
But he failed, the traitor.
Rather, he was struck down in his turn,
For the holy divinity
- 1310 Has cast him into hell,
Where He Himself has gone
With His soul and His divinity.
The doors of hell He broke,
The power of the Devil smashed.
- 1315 He took a great bite out of Hell
When He drew out all His own,
Who believed in His coming
And had served Him with sincere heart.
Such power was not heard of —
- 1320 Neither [was] in the past, nor will be, apart from Him,
For all the greatest power
That was in the world He crushed.
The Devil was the armed strong man
Who had guarded well his door,
- 1325 But when the stronger One (Jesus) arrived,
He took his spoils away from him
And drove him out of the kingdom;
He cast him down into hell.
For this reason Isaiah spoke truly,
- 1330 Who said in his prophecy
That He would be named Mighty.
No one would imagine His strength:
No tongue could explain it,
Nor heart imagine nor describe [it].
- 1335 His strength causes fear,
And His sweetness love.
This One is our refuge,
Our belief, and our salvation,
- fol. 113v
1340 Our faith, our love,
Our help, and our glory,
Who was so willing to humble Himself
And give Himself to save us.

- E un soul Deu tout ceo fist:
Pere e Fiz e Saint Esperist.
- 1345 Cum il est Fort oï avez,
Mes, pur Deu, ore escotez,
Entendez avaunt le cunte
Cum Ysaïe nus recunte,
Ke sun nun nomé serreit
- 1350 Pere al puple ke vendreit
Al secle ke fust avenir.
Pur ceo voleit al mund venir,
Ke tutes seintes prophecies
En lui fussent accomplies.
- 1355 Cum il fu Pere bien l'orez,
E cum il nus ad engendrez.
En Adam trestuz peccherent,
E tuz od lui la pome mangerent,
E tuz ke de lui engendré furent
- 1360 La malisçon ke il out eürent,
Kar il urent naturelement;
Ne purreit estre autrement:
Adam nostre pere estoit,
Charnelement nus engendroit.
- 1365 Mes icele engendrure
Fu a nus pesant e dure
Ne fust la grace Jhesu Crist,
Ke nus engendra en esperist.
Pur Adam furent tuz dampnez
- 1370 E par Jhesu resuscitez.
Il est a dreit nostre Pere;
Il nus engendra en la manere
Ke de sun saunc nus lava
E nostre fraunchise rechata.
- 1375 Unkes pere pur enfaunt
De fin amur ne mustra tant,
Kar kant il nus out rechaté
E morz par sa mort delivré,
Dreit en enfer s'en ala.
- 1380 Treis jors i demora
(Ceo nus dit Saint Augustin),
Dekes al tierz jur le matin.
Un dimaine resuscita
Kaunt la aube primes escreva.
- 1385 Od sei treit hors tuz les suns
Ke unkes furent a nul tens,

- And one single God did all this:
Father and Son and Holy Spirit.
- 1345 How He is Mighty you have heard,
 But, in God's name, now listen,
 Hear further the story
 As Isaiah tells us,
 That His name would be called
- 1350 Father by the people who would come
 In the world that was to come.
 For this reason He wished to come into the world,
 So that all the holy prophecies
 Might be fulfilled in Him.
- 1355 How He was the Father you will indeed hear,
 And how He has begotten us.
 In Adam everyone sinned,
 And all ate the apple with him,
 And all who were begotten of him
- 1360 Inherited the curse that he had,
 For they possessed it naturally;
 Nor could it be otherwise:
 Adam was our father,
 He begot us carnally.
- 1365 But this begetting
 Would be grievous and severe for us
 If the grace of Jesus Christ did not exist,
 Who begot us in the spirit.
 All were condemned because of Adam
- 1370 And through Jesus resurrected.
 He is rightfully our Father;
 He begot us in the manner
 That he washed us in His blood
 And redeemed our freedom.
- 1375 Never father for child
 Showed so much true love,
 For when He redeemed us
 And delivered us from death by His death,
 Straight into hell He went.
- 1380 Three days He stayed there
 (This Saint Augustine tells us),
 Until the morning of the third day.
 One Sunday He rose from the dead
 When the dawn first broke.
- 1385 With Him He carried off all His own
 Who ever lived at any time,

- Pus ke Adam fu crié
 Deske il fust resuscité.
 A ces deciples se mostra,
 1390 Od eus but e mangia,
 Quarante jours i demora,
 A eus le reigne Deu precha,
 Deskes al Ascension.
 Ou soens estoient a sun noun
 1395 Tuz ensemblé en un lu,
 Dunke aparut a eus Jhesu
 Pur esprover lur mescreance,
 Kar tuz furent en dotance
 Ke resuscité le virent
 1400 E nepurkant nel crurent.
 Mes sachez vus lur duter
 Fet nostre fei afermer,
 Kar mut nus fist avantance
 De Thomas la mescreance,
 1405 Ke ne voleit pur nus hom
 Crere la Resurrection,
 Deske en ses plaies ses mains mist,
 Ke Longes de la lance fist,
 E dunc dist il, "Tu es mun Deu."
 1410 "Veire, Thomas," ceo dist Jhesu,
 "Tu le creis kar veü le as;
 E ki le creit e ne le veit pas,
 Eient tuz la beneisçun
 Ke par ta creance te dun."
 fol. 114r A cel jour vout apertement
 1416 La fei fermer a tute gent.
 Od ses disciples ad mangé,
 Cum enceis fu acustimé,
 E devisa lur aler,
 1420 Ke il alassent al mund precher
 A universe creature —
 Ceo est sul a homme, par dreiture —
 E ke il en le Fiz Deu crussent
 E tuz baptizez fussent
 1425 En noun del Pere e del Fiz
 E del Seintisme Esperiz,
 Kar ki baptizé ne serra
 Jamés en ciel ne entra,
 Mes li creaunz e li baptizez
 1430 Serrunt mis en sauvetez.

From the moment that Adam was created
Until He (Jesus) was resurrected.
He showed Himself to His disciples,
1390 Drank and ate with them,
Stayed there forty days,
Preached the kingdom of God to them,
Until the Ascension.
When His own (i.e., disciples) in His name were
1395 All assembled in one place,
Then Jesus appeared to them
To test their lack of faith,
For all were in doubt
Who saw Him resurrected
1400 And nevertheless did not believe it.
But know [that] their doubt
Caused our faith to grow strong,
For much to our advantage was
The unbelief of Thomas,
1405 Who would not for anyone
Believe the Resurrection,
Until he put his hands into His wounds,
Which Longinus made with the spear,
And then he said, "You are My God."
1410 "In truth, Thomas," said Jesus here,
"You believe it because you have seen it;
And whoever believes it and does not see it,
May they all have the blessing
That I give you for your belief."
fol. 114r On that day He clearly wished
1416 To strengthen the faith of all people.
He ate with His disciples,
As formerly He was accustomed,
And discussed their travels,
1420 That they should go throughout the world preaching
To every creature —
That is, only to humanity, rightly —
Both that they should believe in the Son of God
And all should be baptized
1425 In the name of the Father and of the Son
And of the most Holy Spirit,
For whoever will not be baptized
Will never enter into heaven,
But the believers and the baptized
1430 Will be saved.

- Apertement nus ad mustré
 Ke nus kevendra estre resné.
 Mes pus ke resné serrum,
 Engendrure averum,
 1435 Ceo est, le ewe del espirist,
 Ou nus engendra Jhesu Crist;
 E pus ke il nus ad engendré,
 Nostre Pere est en verité,
 E dunc sumus nus ses fiz.
 1440 Certes mut fet ke cheitifs
 Ke a cel Pere ne se done.
 Il ne mangea pas de la pome;
 Par li poüm bien clamer
 Dreiture en ciel pur aver,
 1445 Kar il ad la ley gardé —
 Unkes un point ne ad fausé —
 Ke unke mes ne fu tenue
 Deske a sa seinte venue.
 Le premer hom vient de tere,
 1450 Par ki avium la guere.
 Le autre du ciel est venu,
 Ke nus ad la pes rendu.
 Le premer hom fu charnal,
 Ke a tut le mund fist grant mal;
 1455 De paraïs fu engeté,
 E li e trestut sun ligné,
 Mes Jhesu Crist, nostre Pere,
 Nos heritez nus rend arere,
 Ki de ciel est venuz;
 1460 De bas en haut nus leva sus.
 Ki de tere est, a tere ala;
 Ki de ciel est, a ciel munta;
 Ceo fu a la Ascensiun,
 Veant le puple environ.
 1465 La voye a ses seinz ad fet
 Par les nues, ou il s'en veit.
 Vie e verité e voie,
 Od sei mena la bele proie;
 Tuz les suens mena od lui,
 1470 Ke de enfern avoit ravi.
 A la joie les mena
 Ke nul jour ne faudera,
 Ou il meint ou il avant fu,
 Od le Pere, un sul Deu,

Clearly He has shown us
That it will be necessary to be born again.
But since we will be born again,
We must undergo an act of begetting,
1435 That is, the water of the spirit,
Where Jesus Christ begot us;
And since He has begotten us,
Our Father He is in truth,
And therefore we are His children (lit., sons).
1440 Certainly one behaves very much as a wretch,
Who does not give himself to this Father.
He (Jesus) did not eat of the apple;
Through Him we can truly claim
To have a just claim in heaven,
1445 For He has kept the law —
Has never disregarded one provision —
That never before was upheld
Until at His holy coming.
The first man came from earth,
1450 Through whom we have war.
The second (Jesus) came from heaven,
Who restored peace to us.
The first man was of the flesh,
Who did great harm to all the world;
1455 He was cast out of paradise,
Both him and all his lineage,
But Jesus Christ, our Father,
Gave us back our inheritance,
Who is descended from heaven;
1460 He has lifted us up from low to high.
Who is descended from earth, to earth went;
Who is descended from heaven, to heaven ascended;
This was at the Ascension,
The people witnessing all around.
1465 For His saints He made the way
Through the clouds, where He departs.
The life and the truth and the way,
With Him He carried the fair prey;
All His own He brought with Him,
1470 Whom He had carried off from hell.
He transported them to the joy
That will never fail,
Where He dwells where He was before,
With the Father, one single God,

- 1475 Persones treis en Trinité
 E un sul Deu en unité.
 Un Deu tutes choses fist,
 Pere e Fiz e Seint Esperit,
 E si ad il distinctiun
- 1480 De treis persones par nun,
 Nepurkant un sul Deu dure,
 Creatur de creature,
 A ki honur e glorie apent,
 Sanz fin e sanz comensement.
- 1485 Cum il est Pere oï avez,
 E si escoter le volez,
 Bien orrez un poy après
 Cum il est Prince de Pes.
 En avant vus ai cunté
- 1490 Cum il est a ciel munté.
 Tut autresi de loec vendra
 Kant il le mund juger vodra —
 En deité, en alme, e en cors —
 Pur tuz juger, vifs e mors,
- 1495 Cum il soleit al mund aler.
 Ses plaies vodra demustrer,
 Ke il pur le monde suffri,
- fol. 114v E cum pur nus fu ledi,
 Des escurges fu rumpi sun quir;
- 1500 Cum les Gius alerent ferir;
 E cum vilement fu mené,
 Sun chief des espines coroné;
 E cum il en la Croiz fu posé,
 Ses peez, ses mains trespercé;
- 1505 E cum il fu al quer feru,
 Dunt sanc e ewe est issu.
 E dirra dunc a trestuz,
 “Taunt en ay suffert pur vus!”
 Ne vaudra riens le playder,
- 1510 Le respundre, ne le aposer.
 Ne vaudra chastel, ne tour,
 Ne paleys, ne bel atour;
 Tutes choses perirunt
 Ke des mains de hommes evre sunt.
- 1515 La tremblerunt les peccheurs,
 Croulanz lur denz de pohurs,
 Ke nus homme ne purra dire.
 Chescun verra sun martyre,

- 1475 Persons three in Trinity
 And one single God in unity.
 One God made all things,
 Father and Son and Holy Spirit,
 And if there is a distinction
- 1480 Among three persons by name,
 Nevertheless one single God remains,
 Creator of creatures,
 To Whom honor and glory belong,
 Without end and without beginning.
- 1485 How He is Father you have heard,
 And if you are willing to listen,
 Truly you will hear a little about
 How He is Prince of Peace.
 Previously I recounted to you
- 1490 How He ascended to heaven.
 Fully in the same way He will come from there
 When He intends to judge the world —
 In divinity, in soul, and in body —
 To judge everyone, living and dead,
- 1495 As He was wont to walk in the world.
 He will show His wounds,
- fol. 114v Which He suffered for the world,
 And how for us He was injured,
 His skin was torn by scourges;
- 1500 How the Jews proceeded to strike [Him];
 And how shamefully He was treated,
 His head crowned with thorns;
 And how He was hung on the Cross,
 His feet, His hands pierced;
- 1505 And how He was stricken through the heart,
 From which blood and water poured forth.
 And He will say then to everyone,
 “So much I have suffered for you!”
 It will be no use to plead with Him,
- 1510 Respond to Him, or oppose Him.
 Neither castle nor tower will be of any worth,
 Neither palace, nor beautiful ornamentation;
 All things will perish
 That are the work of human hands.
- 1515 There the sinners will tremble,
 Their teeth chattering from fear,
 So that no one will be able to speak.
 Each one will see his own suffering,

- 1520 E devant lui sun jugement
Escrit serra apertement:
Tuz sez fez en mi sun frunt,
E les verrunt tuz ceus del mund.
E le jour amer e perilus
Orrunt cil a cri hydus,
1525 “Montaines, sur nus chaiez!
A, terres, kar nus coverez,
Ke nus ne veoms la hydur
Del yre al Creatur!”
Aprés ceo tel signes verrunt,
1530 Par laqueles tute gent murrunt.
Devant Jhesu dunke vendra
Fu ke tut le mund ardra;
E ardera tutes les pleines
E les desrupes e les montaines.
1535 Ciel e tere enflamberunt;
Les elemenz desouderunt.
Par le fu ert le ir puré
E tutes ewes degausté;
Tut le mund purefiera.
1540 Ne ja plus ewe ne serra,
Ne fu en le mund jamés ne avera
Kant cel fu esteint i serra.
Pus si veut Dompnedeu fere
Novel ciel e novele tere,
1545 Ne mie autres ke einz fet ad,
Mes ceus en meillur estat tendrat.
Les angeles du ciel dunc vendrunt
E les busines sonerunt.
Primes leverunt, en alme e en cors,
1550 Tuz ke en Jhesu sunt mors;
Iceus ke sauvé serrunt
A deprimés leverunt.
A ceus dirra nostre Seignur,
A grant joie e a grant dousçur,
1555 “Feim avoie, vus me pustes;
A herberge vus me resustes;
Nu fu, vus me fublastes,
Malades, e vus me visitastes;
Seif avoy, e vus me enbeverastes;
1560 E en chartre me confortastes.
Venez, mes fiz benurez,
Les joies de ciel recevez,

1520 And before him his judgment
Will be written openly:
All his deeds in the middle of his forehead,
And all those in the world will see them.
On that day, bitter and perilous,
They will pray with hideous cry,
1525 “Mountains, fall on us!
Ah, lands, pray cover us,
So that we may not see the horror
Of the wrath of the Creator!”
After this they will see such signs,
1530 By which everyone will die.
Before Jesus, then, will come
A fire that will burn all the world;
And it will burn all the plains
And the cliffs and the mountains.
1535 Heaven and earth will catch fire;
The elements will dissolve.
By the fire the air will be purified
And all waters destroyed;
All the world will be purified.
1540 Nevermore will there be water,
Nor will there ever be fire in the world
When this fire is extinguished there.
Then thus the Lord God will create
A new heaven and a new earth,
1545 Not at all the others that He has made before,
Rather these He will set up in a better state.
The angels of heaven then will come
And sound the trumpets.
First will rise, in soul and in body,
1550 All those who died in Jesus;
Those who will be saved
Will rise at the beginning.
To those our Lord will say,
With great joy and with great sweetness,
1555 “I was hungry, you fed Me;
You received Me into your dwellings;
I was naked, you clothed Me,
Sick, and you visited Me;
I was thirsty, and you gave Me drink;
1560 And in prison you comforted Me.
Come, My blessed children (lit., sons),
Receive the joys of heaven,

- 1565 Ke a vos us agraïé sunt
 Del comencement del mund.”
 Adunc serrunt les bons ravi
 A munt en le eir acontre lui.
- 1570 Les mauveis en tere serrunt,
 La glorie Deu pas ne verrunt;
 Mes a cel ravissement
 Releverunt communement,
 Cil les cheitifs malurez,
 Ke de pecché sunt chargez.
- fol. 115r Pesaunz, en tere demorrunt
 Deske la voiz del Juge orrunt,
1575 Od grant ire, hidousement.
 Orrunt lur dure jugement:
 “Alez, mauves, oveke li Diable
 Al feu ke est nient esteingnable,
 Kar el ne avez deservi
- 1580 De tuz les evres de merci.”
 En enfern trebucherunt,
 Od diables sanz fin serrunt.
- 1585 Li bons serrunt glorifiez
 En cors, en alme, en veritez,
 Kar clers serrunt cume le solail.
 Ne jamés plus ne averunt travail
 Mes joie averunt ke sanz fin dure.
 Mut furent nez a bon oure,
 Ke a la feste purrunt venir
- 1590 Ki Deu vodra od suens tenir.
 Taunt de joie dunc serra,
 Ke tuz jours sanz fin durra,
 Plus ke en quer ne put descendre,
 Ou oil veër, ou oraille entendre,
- 1595 Ke Deus ad aparillé
 A ceus ke de quer le unt amé.
 La joie ne faudra jamés,
 Adunc est il Prince de Pes.
- 1600 Ore oyez des mauveis,
 Cum il serrunt a mal baillez,
 Kar ceus ke en enfern serrunt
 Jamés hors ne isterunt,
 Mes la tormentez serrunt
 En le put, puant e parfund.

- 1565 Which for your use are prepared
From the beginning of the world.”
Then the good will be carried off
High up into the air to meet him.
- 1570 The wicked will be on earth,
Will not see the glory of God;
Yet at this rapture
They will rise together,
Those unfortunate wretches,
Who are weighed down with sin.
- fol. 115r Sorrowful, they will stay on earth
Until they hear the Judge’s voice,
1575 With great wrath, dreadfully.
They will hear their judgment:
“Go, you wicked ones, with the Devil
Into the fire that is inextinguishable,
For nothing else have you deserved
1580 From all the acts of mercy.”
They will fall down into hell,
Will be with the devils forever.
- 1585 The good will be glorified
In body, in soul, in truth,
For they will be bright like the sun.
They will nevermore have suffering
But will have joy that lasts forever.
Many were born at an auspicious hour,
Who will be able to come to the feast
1590 That God will hold for His own.
There will be so much joy then,
Which will last forever without end,
More than could sink into heart,
Or eye [could] see, or ear hear,
1595 Which God has prepared
For those who have loved Him sincerely.
The joy will never fail,
And thus is He Prince of Peace.
- 1600 Now hear of the wicked ones,
How they will be delivered to evil,
For those who will be in hell
Will never come out,
Rather there they will be tormented
In the pit, stinking and deep.

- 1605 Ne i avera riens ke ne blesce;
La premere peine est tristesse;
Chescun seur autre esterra,
Ke lur dolur doublera;
Le autre si ert tenebrur,
- 1610 La tierce si ert puür,
La quarte, fu nient esteignable,
E pus hidur de ver le Deable.
La rien del mund ke il plus harrunt
Devant eus tuz jours verrunt,
- 1615 E vermine de male plaist;
Ne verrunt rien ke lur plest.
Trestuz jours sanz fin plorunt,
Crossanz de denz rechinerunt.
Li un al autre donc dira,
- 1620 “Cheitifs, que fetes vus de cea?
Mal eit le oure ke fustes nez!
Sur moy puünt tes pecchez!
Mun fait me fait ci pener,
Mes tu faz ma dolur dubler!”
- 1625 “Mes tu mauves cheitifs,
Mal eit l'oure ke tu fus vifs!
Tes maveis pecchez puillanz
Me funt rechiner de denz!”
Issi lur doyl demenerunt,
- 1630 Ke chescun jour dublé serrunt.
La faudra trestut amur,
Joie, solaz, e dousçur.
En cel put enclos serrunt,
Ne jamés hors ne isterunt.
- 1635 Les deables lur princes serrunt,
Ke jamés de pener ne cesserunt;
Le Deable lur prince serra,
Ke sanz fin les penera.
- 1640 Jhesu est Prince de Pes;
Sa pes ne faudera jamés,
Mes joie, solaz, e amor
Ke renovele de jour en jour.
La premere joie serra
Ke li seint homme verra
- 1645 Face a face sun Seignur,
Sun Deu e sun Creatur.
En sa beauté se enmirra,
En lui tute rien verra.

- 1605 There will be nothing there that does not wound;
 The first torment is sadness;
 Each one will stand on top of the next,
 So that their suffering will double;
 The second then will be darkness,
1610 The third then will be fear,
 The fourth, fire inextinguishable,
 And also the horror of seeing the Devil.
 The thing in the world that they most hate
 They will see continuously before them,
1615 And unpleasant worms;
 They will see nothing that pleases them.
 They will cry every day endlessly,
 Gnashing their teeth, they will snarl.
 The one to the other then will say,
1620 “Wretch, what are you doing here?
 Evil was the hour that you were born!
 Your sins stink on me!
 My own behavior makes me suffer here,
 But your deeds double my suffering!”
1625 “But you wicked wretch,
 Evil was the hour that you were alive!
 Your wicked, stinking sins
 Make me gnash my teeth!”
 Thus they will express their sorrows,
1630 Which each day will be doubled.
 Love will be completely lacking there,
 Joy, solace, and sweetness.
 In this pit they will be shut up,
 Nor will they ever come out.
1635 The devils will be their princes,
 Who will never cease to torment [them];
 The Devil will be their prince,
 Who will torture them endlessly.
- Jesus is the Prince of Peace;
1640 His peace will never fail,
 Rather joy, solace, and love
 Begin anew from day to day.
 The first joy will be
 That the blessed person will see
1645 His Lord face to face,
 His God and his Creator.
 He will mirror himself in His beauty,
 In Him he will see everything.

- 1650 Tant serra de joie refet
 Ke il avera kant ke lui plest;
 Kaunt ke il veut desirer
 Avera en lui regarder.
- fol. 115v Del ciel verra la largesce,
 La beauté, e la hautesce;
- 1655 Si verra la gloriose,
 La Mere Deu, la preciose,
 La tré douce Virge Marie
 O tute la bele compaignie.
 Les nuef ordres des angeles verra,
- 1660 E chescun joie li fra.
 Les apostles e les martyrs
 Joie menerunt saunz fins.
 Pus verra les confessurs,
 Les virgines od beaus aturs,
- 1665 Si conustra ses amis,
 Queus al secle vit jadis,
 Si tres grant joie mener
 Ke quer ne pust penser.
 Chescun si pussant serra
- 1670 Ke kant ke lui plest fra,
 E si serra si leger
 Ke il ert la ou il vuet penser,
 E tuz si sutils serrunt
 Ke la ou il voelunt passerunt.
- 1675 E li un al autre dirra,
 “Beneït seit ke vus cria,
 E la oure ke fustes né
 Seit devant Deu honuré;
 En tei vei joie si bele
- 1680 Ke ma joie renovele.”
 Li autre respund ataunt,
 “Beneït seit li Tut Pussaunt
 Ke tele joie te ad donee,
 Dunt ma joie est doublee.
- 1685 En tei vei si graunt leesce
 Ke tute ma joie redresce.
 E la joie e le amour
 De regarder mun Creatour,
 Ke après sei me vout former
- 1690 E pus me deingna resceter.
 Cent feyz est ma joie doublé,
 Tut ai kant ke ai désiré.”

- 1650 He will be so satisfied by joy
That he will have whatever pleases him;
Whatever he will desire
He will have in looking at Him.
- fol. 115v He will see the breadth of heaven,
The beauty, and the glory;
- 1655 Then he will see the glorious one,
The Mother of God, the precious one,
The very sweet Virgin Mary
With all the fair company.
The nine orders of angels he will see,
And each one will welcome him joyfully.
- 1660 The apostles and the martyrs
Will display joy endlessly.
Then he will see the confessors,
The virgins with fair attire,
- 1665 Then he will recognize his friends,
Whom he once saw in the world,
Showing such very great joy
That heart could not imagine.
Each one will be so powerful,
- 1670 That he will do whatever pleases him,
And also he will be so light
That he will go to the place he wants to think of,
And they all will be so insubstantial
That they will go to wherever they wish.
- 1675 And the one will say to the other,
“Blessed be [He] Who created you,
And may the hour that you were born
Be honored before God;
In you I see joy so lovely
- 1680 That it renews my joy.”
With that the other responds,
“Blessed be the Almighty
Who has given you such joy,
By which my joy is doubled.
- 1685 In you I see such great gladness
That all my joy is restored,
Both the joy and the love
Of looking at my Creator,
Who was willing to fashion me after Himself
- 1690 And then deigned to shelter me.
A hundred times is my joy doubled,
I have everything that I have desired.”

- Tele joie entre eus menerunt,
En joie tut tens serrunt.
- 1695 Ki iloec meins serra beaus
Iert si clers cum le soleals,
Ke set fez plus cler serra
Ke ore n'est e plus lurra.
Solail ne avera dunc mester
- 1700 Kaunt trestuz serrunt si cler.
E pus plus beaus serra celui
Ke plus avera deservi.
E verra taunt de mansions,
Des angeles les legiuns
- 1705 Tuz deverse joie aver;
Mut avera joie del ver.
E pus si verra la plus bele,
La Reïne e la Pucele,
La plus clere e la plus pure
- 1710 De tutes autres creature;
Ceo est, la Virge Marie.
Sa beauté tant multeplie
Devant tutes autre beautez,
Cum ele ad plus de dignetez.
- 1715 Dignité ad ele taunt
Ke Dompnedeu est sun enfant;
A tant cum a de beauté,
A de franchise e de bunté.
A nul ne escundit ses amurs,
- 1720 Ses solaz, ne ses socurs.
Pur ceo joie a lui frunt
Trestuz ke en ciel serrunt.
Sa bunté ne sa hautesce,
Sa franchise ne sa simplesce
- 1725 Ne put nul charnel penser,
Ne sa beauté deviser.
Ne autre ne purreit estre
Kant deigna de lui nestre,
Ki ad tuz beautez destine
- 1730 E tutes beautez enlumine;
fol. 116r Ki de lui bien penseroit
En joie tut tens serroit.
Mes la joie e la dousçur
De regarder sun Creatur
- 1735 Tutes joies surmunte,
E vers cel n'ad nule acunte.

- Such joy they will display among them,
In joy they will always be.
- 1695 Whoever is the least beautiful there
Will be as bright as the sun,
Which will be seven times brighter
Than it is now and will shine more.
The sun will not then be of use
- 1700 Since everyone will be so bright.
And then that one will be most beautiful
Who most will have deserved it.
And he will see so many mansions,
[So many] legions of angels
- 1705 Having diverse joys;
Many will have joy at the sight.
And then also he will see the most beautiful one,
The Queen and the Maiden,
The brightest and the purest
- 1710 Of all other creatures;
That is, the Virgin Mary.
Her beauty multiplies so much
Above all other beauties,
Since she has more dignity.
- 1715 She has so much dignity
That the Lord God is her child;
She has just as much beauty
As nobility and goodness.
To no one does she refuse her love,
- 1720 Her solace, and her help.
For this reason they will welcome her joyfully,
Everyone who will be in heaven.
Her kindness nor her rank,
Her nobility nor her simplicity
- 1725 No carnal being could imagine,
Nor her beauty describe.
Nor could it be otherwise
Since He deigned to be born of her,
Who predestines beauty to all
- 1730 And illuminates all beauty;
fol. 116r Whoever would think truly on Him
Would be in joy at all times.
But the joy and the sweetness
Of seeing his Creator
- 1735 Exceeds all joys,
And in relation to that there is nothing that matters.

Si tut le sen ke est al mund
De tuz les hommes ke i sunt
En un soul homme feust,
1740 E il tuz jours vivre peust,
Tant cum le monde porra durer,
Enquer ne purreit il penser,
Ne deviser apertement,
Une joie entierement
1745 Ke Domnedeu ad asis
A doner a ses esliz.
E coment dunc pust il penser
La beauté Deu, nay, ne deviser?
Mes kant glorifié serrum,
1750 Dunc apertement verrum
Cum il est treis en Trinité
E un soul Deu en unité,
De ki, par ki, en ki sunt
Tutes les joies ke en ciel sunt.
1755 Cil Prince de Pes les suens guiera,
En joie e en pes tut tens serra.
E Deu nus doint par sa merci
Nostre vie mener ici
E ses comandemenz si tenir
1760 Ke a cele pes pussums venir.
Amen.

1740 If all the wisdom that is in the world
 Of all the people that there are
 Were in a single man,
 And he might live forever,
 As long as the world can last,
 Still he could not imagine,
 Nor describe clearly,
 One joy in its entirety
1745 That the Lord God has appointed
 To give to His elect.
 And how then could he imagine
 The beauty of God, nay, nor describe it?
 But then we are glorified,
1750 Then we will see clearly
 How He is three in Trinity
 And one single God in unity,
 Of Whom, by Whom, and in Whom are
 All the joys that are in heaven.
1755 This Prince of Peace will guide His own,
 In joy and in peace will dwell forever.
 And may God grant us by His mercy
 To lead our lives here
 And so uphold His commandments
1760 That we might come into this peace.
 Amen.



TEXTUAL NOTES TO *LE CHASTEAU D'AMOUR*

All translations throughout the notes are mine, unless otherwise indicated.

rubric *Mestre Robert Le Grosseteste*. So B. In place of this, L has a three-line prose incipit in Anglo-Norman: *Ce est La uie de duz ihesu de sa humanite fet e ordine de seint Robert Grosseteste ke fu eueske de Nichole ke nus dit cete parole* [This is the life of sweet Jesus, of His humanity, created and arranged by holy Robert Grosseteste, who was bishop of Lincoln, who tells us this account] (*Nichole* was the AN translation for the name *Lincoln*). This is followed by a Latin prologue:

Tractatus in lingua romana secundum dominum Robertum Grosseteste episcopum lincolniensis

De principio creationis mundi

De medio et fine

De amissione mundi per peccatum

De restauratione eiusdem per misericordiam

De rege et filio suo unico patri suo equali

Et de quatuor filiabus suis silicet de misericordia et ueritate et de iusticia et pace

Item de aduentu ihesu christi quomodo intrauit in quoddam castellum quod fuit corpus uirginis intemerate Marie et de proprietate castelli Item de propheta ysaia dicente puer natus est nobis et filius datus est nobis et uocabitur nomen eius admirabilis consiliarius deus fortis pater futuri seculi princeps pacis Item

De fine seculi et de die iudicii Item

De penis inferni et de gaudiis celi

Et quamuis lingua romana coram clericis saporem suauitatis non habeat tamen pro laicis qui minus intelligunt opiculum istud aptum est Quia prudens lector qui norit suggere mel de petra oleumque de saxo durissimo scriptum inueniet plenum dulcedine in quo continentur omnes articuli fidei tam diuinitatis quam humanitatis

[A treatise in the Roman language (i.e., French), according to Master Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln. On the beginning of the world's creation. On the middle and end. On the loss of the world through sin. On the resurrection of the same through mercy. On the King and His only Son, equal to His Father. And on His four daughters, namely on Mercy and Truth and on Justice and Peace. Also, on the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ, how He entered a certain castle that was the body of the Virgin Mary

inviolable and on the property of the castle. Also on the prophet Isaiah, saying, "A Child is born unto us, and a Son is given unto us, and His name shall be called Wonderful, Counselor, God the Mighty, Father of the age to come, Prince of Peace." Also, on the end of the age and Judgment Day. Also, on the punishment of hell and the joys of heaven. And although the Roman language (i.e., French) does not have the flavor of sweetness before the clergy, yet for the laity who understand less, this little work is suitable. Because the prudent reader, who knows how to suck honey from a stone and oil from the hardest rock, will find the writing full of sweetness, in which are contained all the articles of faith, both of divinity and of humanity.]

Murray likewise includes the Latin prologue from a different manuscript (p. 87), presumably Oxford, Corpus Christi College Library, MS 232 (ca. 1250), which appears to be the base text of Murray's edition (the edition does not specify, but see Sajavaara, p. 37). For other versions of the Latin prologue and additional vernacular prologues, see Appendix I in Mackie-*Chasteu* (pp. 192–97).

- 1 Ky. B has a five-line decorated initial *K*.
put. So B. L: *deit*. Murray: *poet*.
- 3 *bien fet*. So B, Murray. L: *bon oure*.
- 5–6 *De ky . . . al mund sunt*. Beginning at this point, the scribe of L writes two verses (separated by a punctus) on each line.
- 6 *Trestuz*. So B, L. Murray: *Tuz*.
al mund sunt. So B. L, Murray: *sunt el mund*.
- 15 *Tuz*. B has a two-line decorated initial *T*.
de Deu. So B. L, Murray: *de*.
- 16 *E*. So B. L, Murray: *Mes*.
purrunt. So B (*t* added with caret), L. Murray: *poïm*.
- 17 *le*. So L, Murray. B: *la*.
- 18 *De ebreu, de greu, e de latin*. So B. L: *De ebreu ne de latin*. Murray: *D'ébreu, de griu ne de latin*.
- 19 *Pur*. So Murray. B: *E pur*. L: *Por*. Emended for sense.
- 20 *De bouche*. B: *De bouche e*. L: *Ne buche*. Murray: *Ke la buche*. Emended for sense.
- 21 *Ke ne*. So B. L, Murray: *Ne*.

- pur.* So B, L, Murray: *de*.
- 22 *E.* So B, L, Murray: *Ne*.
- pronuncier.* So B, L, Murray: *nuncier*.
- 23 *Ke.* So B, L, Murray: *E ke*.
- 24 *Le.* So B, L, Murray: *En li*.
- 30 *il doné est.* So B, L: *donez estait*. Murray: *donez est*.
- 31 *A Adam.* So B, Murray. L: *Adam*.
- 32 *E.* So Murray. B, L: *En*. Emended for sense.
- 33 *o taunt douçour.* So B, L: *e tant de atur*. Murray: *od tant d'onur*.
- 39 *ne voyl jeo pas.* So B, L: *nel uoil ge pas*. Murray: *ne le voil pas*.
- descrire.* So B, Murray. L: *descriuere*.
- 40 *a.* So B, L, Murray: *a ma*.
- 41 *Ke.* So B, Murray. L: *Car*.
- Deus tout.* B: *tout*. L: *deus tot*. Murray: *Deus tut*. Emended for sense.
- 42 *Al setime.* So B, Murray. L: *e al setime iur*.
- 43 Oyez. B has a two-line decorated initial O.
- 45–46 *Ceil e . . . tut bien veyt.* Line order as in B, L. Murray: lines transposed.
- 48 *en cel.* So B, L: *a icel*. Murray: *a iceu*.
- 49 *ke est.* So B, L: *kil nest*. Murray: *ke ne est*.
- 50 *esteit.* So B, L, Murray: *si cler*.
- 51 *ore.* So B, Murray. L: *ke ore*.
- 52 *de la.* So B, L, Murray: *de*.
- 55 *Tutes.* So B, Murray. L: *Ke tute*.
- 56 *e a.* So B, L, Murray: *a*.

- 57 *furent*. So B. L.: *estoient*. Murray: *esteient*.
- 58 *forfet*. So Murray. B: *forfeut*. L: *forfait*.
urent. So B. A variation of the third plural preterite of *aver*. L: *auoient*. Murray: *aveient*, the third plural indicative imperfect of *aver*. See AND, *aver*² (v.), pret.6 and ind.impf.6.
- 64 *la cheisun*. So B. L: *la chesun*. Murray: *l'encheson*.
- 66 *le plus doucement*. So B. L, Murray: *plus chierement*.
- 67 *Kant Deu*. So L, Murray. B: *Kant*. Emended for sense. B has a two-line decorated initial K.
- 68 *ne*. So B. L: *ni*. Murray: *n'i*.
- 69 *herbes, e*. So B. L, Murray: *erbe ne*.
- 71 *Pessuns*. So B. L: *Pessun*. Murray: *Peisson*.
oyseaus. So B. L, Murray: *oisel*.
- 72 *devums*. So B. L: *deuum nus*. Murray: *devum nus*.
- 76 *Le fist*. So L, Murray. B: *Ke fust*. Emended for sense.
- 79 *ne li pout plus*. So B. L: *plus nel pout*. Murray: *plus ne li pout*.
- 80 *former*. So B, Murray. L: *li former*.
- 81 *mené*. So B, Murray. L: *amene*.
- 83–84 *Une coste . . . a lui fist*. B: written on the same line.
- 83 *Une*. So B. L, Murray: *E une*.
- 84 *sa compaigne a lui fist*. So B. L: *il sa compaigne fist*. Murray: *il sa compaigne lui fist*.
- 86 *E en*. So B, Murray. L: *En*.
pus. So B, L. Murray: *la*.
- 88 *e franc*. So B, Murray. L: *franc*.
voler. So Murray. B: *valer*. L: *uoloir*. Emended for sense.
- 93 *E₁*. So B. L: *Tot*. Murray: *Tut*.

TEXTUAL NOTES TO *LE CHATEAU D'AMOUR*

- 94 *icel.* So L. B: *a icel.* Murray: *itel.* Emended for sense.
- 97 *Par.* So B, Murray. L: *De.*
- 98 *kaun.* So B. L: *kant.* Murray: *ceus ki.*
- 99 *E par orguil del ciel.* So L. B: *Du cel deske aval.* Murray: *E par orgoil del ciel.* Emended to clarify the allusion to the fall of Lucifer and the other fallen angels.
- 100 *E en.* So B. L, Murray: *E pus en.*
- 101 *Pus.* So B. L: *E apres.* Murray: *E pus.*
- 102 *ne le.* So B, Murray. L: *ne.*
- 103 *e sanz.* So B. L, Murray: *sanz.*
- 104 *lores.* So B, Murray. L: *donkes.*
- 106 *au ciel fussent.* B: *au cil fussen.* L: *fussent a ciel.* Murray: *el ciel fussent.* Emended for sense.
- 107 *ici.* So B. L: *si.* Murray: *ja.*
- 108 *Grant₁.* So B, Murray. L: *tant.*
- 109 *ciel en.* So B. L: *cel.* Murray: *itel.*
- 113 *queles.* So B. L: *quele.* Murray: *queus.*
- 114 *La une fu la natureles.* So B. L: *le une si fu naturele.* Murray: *La une fu la natureus.*
- 117 *out.* So B. L: *lout.* Murray: *le out.*
- 118 *fu nommé.* So B. L, Murray: *est apelé.*
- 119 *Ceo ke il defent al.* So B. L: *Cele ke defent a.* Murray: *Cele ki defent a le.*
- 121 *deveez.* So B, L (both as *deueez*). Murray: *veez.*
- 122 *sachez si la.* So B, L. Murray: *bien sachez si la.*
- 124 *Sanz.* So B, Murray. L: *tut sanz.*
- 125 *si vus le.* So B. L: *si le.* Murray: *se le.*
- comandement.* So B, L. Murray: *comand.*

- 129 *paradis*. So B. L, Murray: *paraïs*.
- 132 *ele decline*. So B. L: *decline*. Murray: *se decline*.
- 134 *en grant*. So B. L, Murray: *a grant*.
- 136 *trespassa*. Written around hole in L.
- 139 *A ki*. So B. L, Murray: *Ke*.
- 142 *paraïs*. So B, Murray. L: *parays e*.
- 145 *la*. So B, L. Murray: *sa*.
- 146 *querra*. So B, L. Murray: *guerra*.
- 152 *entuché*. So B. L, Murray: *enteché*. The word in B is “poisoned,” from *AND*, *entuscher*, “to poison,” whereas L and Murray have “tainted,” from *AND*, *entecher* (v.), “to affect, taint.”
- 153 *le ciel*. So B, Murray. L: *ciel*.
- 154 *de sa*. So B. L: *sa*. Murray: *part de sa*.
- 157 *Ke*. So B, L. Murray: *Ke ke*.
- 160 *breve*. So L (*breue*). B: *greue*. Murray: *brieve*. Emended for sense.
- 161 *Est*. So B. L: *Ce est*. Murray: *Ceo est*.
- 165 *a fine*. So B. L: *fine*. Murray: *e fine*.
- 166 *par dreit*. So B, Murray. L: *apres*.
- 167 *Encore en*. So B. L: *E vncore a*. Murray: *E encore a*.
- 168 *Use*. So Murray. B: *Vsen*. L: *Vse*. Emended for sense.
- 170 *de*. So B. L: *as*. Murray: *a le*.
- 171 *avant*. So B (*auant*), Murray. L: *devant*.
- 172 *en*. So B. L: *ken*. Murray: *k'en*.
- 173 *Ore est*. So B. L: *Nest il*. Murray: *N'est-il*.
- 176 *a en*. So B. L: *a*. Murray: *e*.

- 178 *Herité*. So B. L: *ne heritage*. Murray: *Heritez*.
- 179 *Pus ke*. So L, Murray. B: *Pus k*. Emended for sense.
- 181 *Ne il n'iert*. So B. L: *Ne il iert*. Murray: *Ne il ne iert*.
- 190 *E ke il*. So B. L: *e ke il*. Murray: *E k'il*. Emended for sense.
- 193 *Celes*. So B. L, Murray: *E celes*.
- 194 *al*. So B. L: *del*. Murray: *du*.
- 197 *De*. So B, Murray. L: *Pur*.
- 198 *E ki*. So B, Murray. L: *ki*.
- 200 *cel*. So B. L, Murray: *tel*.
- 201 *reposera*. So B, Murray. L: *reposerai*.
- 202 *dirrai*. So Murray. B: *durrai*. L: *dirai*. Emended for sense.
- 203 *acord*. So B. L: *tuche*. Murray: *toche*.
- 204 *le voil ici escrire*. So B. L: *le uoil ge en descrire*. Murray: *le voil ici descrire*.
- 205 *Uns*. B has a two-line decorated initial *U*.
- 206 *e de*. So B. L, Murray: *de*.
- 207 *cist*. So B, L. Murray: *icel*.
- 208 *ses sens*. So B. L, Murray: *son sen*.
- 210 *E si est*. So B. L: *si fu*. Murray: *Si est*.
- la*. So B, L. Murray: *sa*.
- 211 *e de une pussance*. So B. L: *de une pussance*. Murray: *d'une substance*.
- 212 *e de une sustance*. So B. L: *de une sustance*. Murray: *d'une puissance*.
- 214 *pendoit*. So B. L: *apendoit*. Murray: *apendeit*.
- 216 *chever*. So B. L: *acheuer*. Murray: *achever*.
- 217 *cel*. So B, L. Murray: *icest*.

- 218 *E chescune*. So B. L.: *e a checune*. Murray: *A chescune*.
- 219 *de*. So B. L, Murray: *de sa*.
- 220 *sun sen*. So B, Murray. L: *sun sens*. L's *sens* is a singular form and technically a different word (see AND, *sen*¹ [n.]; *sens*¹ [n.]).
- 221 *E a chescune*. B: *E chescune est*. L: *E a checune*. Murray: *A chescune*. Emended for sense.
- 222 *a lui*. So B. L: *li*. Murray: *a li*.
- 223 *ad*. So B. L: *a*. Murray: *out*.
- 225 *sun*. So B. L, Murray: *lur*.
- avenoit*. So B. L: *auoit*. Murray: *aveneit*.
- 228 *ové*. So B (*oue*). L: *en*. Murray: *od*. *Oue* “can be interpreted either as *ové* or as a variant of *od*¹” (AND, *ové* [prep.]).
- 229 *Bien*. So B, L. Murray: *Bon*.
- ke lor nuns*. So L. B: *lores ke nus*. Murray: *ke lur nons*. Emended for sense.
- 232 *La autre*. So B. L: *e lautre*. Murray: *E l'autre*.
- 233 *Justize la tierce*. So B, Murray. L: *la tierce iustise*.
- 234 *ad a*. So B, Murray. L: *si ad*.
- 235 *ces*. So B. L: *les*. Murray: *celes*.
- 237 *Icest*. So B. Murray: *Icel*. L: *Cist*.
- di*. So B, Murray. L: *di ci*.

In L the bottom half of the leaf comprising folios 96r and 96v contains four holes; thus, from this point to line 330, some portions of the text in L are written around the holes, affecting lines 237–38, 241, 243, 250, 252, 260, and 262 on 96r, and lines 302, 304, 308, 310, 315, 317, 325, and 327 on 96v. I only include a textual note in specific instances when this affects the arrangement of lines in the poem, as here, where the hole separating the words *rois* and *dunt* in this line disrupts the lineation beginning in the next line; see textual note to lines 238–40, below, for details.

- 238–40 *Un serf . . . out fet*. The usual lineation of two verses per line in L is disrupted because of a hole in the parchment. Line 237 and the first part of 238 are written on one line, but line 238 is

- continued onto the subsequent line: *vn serf out ke mult / fu mal bailli*, with *mal bailli* written around the hole in the parchment; line 239 follows on the same line, with line 240, uncharacteristically for L, by itself on the subsequent line.
- 238 *ert mauballi*. So B. L: *mult fu mal bailli*. Murray: *iert mal bailli*.
- 239 *graunt*. So B. L: *gref*. Murray: *grant*.
- 240 *fet*. So B. L: *mesfait*. Murray: *feit*.
- 241–42 *Par esgard . . . gref turment*. Beginning with these verses, the L scribe resumes writing two verses per line.
- 244 *prisun*. So B. L: *gref prisun*. Murray: *grief prison*.
- 245 *Kar*. So L, Murray. B: *Ka*. Emended for sense.
- 249 *Misericorde*. B has a two-line decorated initial M.
- 250 *Tantost*. So B, L. Murray: *Tant*.
- 251 *se put*. So B. L: *sen put*. Murray: *se en poet*.
- 254 *E pur*. So L, Murray. B: A. Emended for sense.
- 255 *fet*. So B, Murray. L: *dist*.
- 258 *De douçour*. So B. L: *e de merci*. Murray: *E de duçur*.
- 260 *Kar oyez dunke ma preere*. A hole in the parchment in L between *oiez* and *dunc* takes up enough space in this line that the scribe writes *priere* on the line above preceded by a pilcrow to distinguish it from the end of line 258.
- 262 *venir put*. So B. L: *il pust venir*. Murray: *venir peüst*.
- 263 *mi*. So B, Murray. L: *mi lu de*.
- 264 *Avez en greve prisun*. So B. L: *en gref prisun auez*. Murray: *Avez en grief prison*.
- 269–70 *E rendu lur seit fauseté, / E le prisun a moy bayllé*. So B. L: *E fauseté lur lor soit rendu e le prison a moi uendu*. Murray: *Et fauseté lur seit rendu / E le prison a mei rendu*.
- 272 *De₁*. So B. L, Murray: *E de*.
- 276 *lui*. So B. L: *li*. Murray: *celui*.

- 278 *merci*. B: *mercie*: *i* added above with caret to mark insertion point and final *-e* expunged.
- 283 *Iste vu Verité*. B: *Iste vus uerite* (emended for sense to singular form). L, Murray: *E Verité*. Without noting the variant in B, the textual note in Murray records a similar reading, *ceo veu*, in London, British Library, MS Egerton 846B, copied about 1325 (so dated in Thomson, *Writings of Robert Grosseteste*, p. 154). These variants could translate either as “This vow,” referring to lines 281–82 of Mercy’s speech or “This sight,” referring to lines 284–86, where Mercy bows down in her plea to free the prisoner. B has a two-line decorated initial *I*.
- 287 *ci est*. So B. L: *sest*. Murray: *s’est*.
- 289 *ay*. So B. L: *ai*. Murray: *si ai*.
- 290 *ne le*. So B, Murray. L: *ne la*.
- 291 *ma*. So B, Murray. L: *de ma*.
- 296 *De*. So B. L, Murray: *E*.
- 300 *queus*. So B, L. Murray: *ki*.
- 304 *De*. So B. L, Murray: *E de*.
- 305 *si*. So B. L, Murray: *fors*. B’s reading is not an error, as the word *si* can mean “except” after a negative clause; see *AND*, *si*¹ (conj.), sense 4.
- 311 *E*. B has a two-line decorated initial *E*.
amunt. So B. L, Murray: *tant*.
- 312 *idit*. So B. L: *dist*. Murray: *dit a*.
- 315 *Tut tes*. So B. L: *Tute*. Murray: *Tuz tes*.
- 316 *ta*. So B. L, Murray: *tes*.
- 317 *parler*. So B, Murray. L: *parle*.
- 322 *a*. So B, L. Murray: *a sa*.
- 323 *Pus*. So B. L, Murray: *E pus*.
a. So B, Murray. L: *de*.
- 324 *memes ad surté*. So B. L: *memes a sente*. Murray: *nus a sevré*.

- 325 *couplé est*. So B. L: *comples se nest*. Murray: *couplez se est*.
- 326 *deit*. So B, Murray. L: *doit il*.
- 327 *eynces*. So B. L: *tu enceis*. Murray: *tu einceis*.
- 330 *Verité le determine*. So B. L: *uerite le termine*. Murray: *vienge le termine*.
- 331 *voilles*. So B, Murray. L: *uoleies*.
- 336 *Kant ke*. So B. L: *quant qil*. Murray: *Kant ke il*.
- par*. So B, L. Murray: *part*. Boulton points out that *part* in Murray's edition is a mistake (see p. 67n29).
- 337 *Ore est*. So B. L, Murray: *E*. B has a two-line decorated initial O.
- atise*. So B. L: *atuse*. Murray: *l'atice*. See AND, *enticer* (v.).
- 338 *dampner le veut*. So B, Murray. L: *pus si la iuge*.
- 339 *Ne i ad nul*. So B. L: *Ni a nul*. Murray: *Ne i ad nus*.
- bien*. So B, Murray. L: *len*.
- 340 *Pus ke pité ne est oje*. L omits this line.
- 341 *A*. So B. L, Murray: *Ha*.
- 342 *en est grevez*. So B, Murray. L: *est esgares*.
- 343 *garir*. So B (with *greuer* expunged and *garir* written above the expunged word), L, Murray.
- 345 *Trestut*. So B, L. Murray: *E trestut*.
- 348 *si*. So L, Murray. B: *sił*, with *l* expunged.
- 349 *li*. So B, L. Murray: *les*.
- 351 *Tuz*. So B, L. Murray: *Ki tuz*.
- 352 *Saunz merci*. So B. L: *Sanz merci*. Murray: *Mes sanz merci*.
- 354 *torner*. So B (*tornir*, with *i* expunged and *e* written above it), L. Murray: *turner*.
- 358 *issilé*. So B. Murray: *exillé*. L: *exile*. *Issiller* is a variant of *exiler*; see AND, *exiler* (v.).

- 360 *ne seit.* So B. L: *nunt.* Murray: *ne unt.*
- 361 *les unt undes neez.* So B. L: *les unt nus enueies* (Murray's note records *mis enneies*). Murray: *unt les undes neiez.*
- 362 *uit.* B: *vth.* Murray: *viii.* L omits this line. Emended for sense, as Noah and his wife, together with their three sons and wives add up to eight, not five.
- 364 *Iceus.* So B, Murray. L: *ki.*
- 367 *ent.* So L, Murray. B: *yent.* Emended for sense.
- 368 *si.* So B. L, Murray: *si tres.*
- 371 *Adunke.* B has a two-line decorated initial A.
dit. So B. L, Murray: *ad dit.*
al Rei. So B. L: *an (au?) iri* (perhaps a scribal error for *rei*). Murray: *au rei.*
- 372 *ore a.* So B, Murray. L: *a.*
- 374 *Yssue.* So B. L: *issue.* Murray: *E issue.*
- 375–76 *Devaunt te . . . unt guerpie.* L inverts these lines.
- 375 *Devaunt te dei estre oÿe.* So B. L: *pus ke pite ne est oie.* Murray: *Devant tei dei estre oïe.*
- 376 *Mes deus.* So B, Murray. L: *Mes.*
seurs. So B, with *e* written above and insertion point marked. L: *sorors.* Murray: *sorurs.*
- 382 *d'eluc fuïe.* So B. L: *diluc finie.* Murray: *de illuc fuïe.*
- 384 *destance.* So B. L, Murray: *desestance.*
- 385 *hastie.* So B, Murray. L: *batye.*
- 386 *a.* So B. Murray, L: *en.*
- 389 *garder.* So B, Murray. L: *sauuer.*
- 391 *Mes.* So B, Murray. L: *Fors.*
sauvee. So B, L (both as *sauuee*), Murray. O: *gardee.*

- 394 *aver moy retrez.* So B. L: *moi auez retreit.* Murray: *mei aveir retret.*
- 398 *Prince de Pes.* So B. L: *roys e prince de pes.* Murray: *prince e reis de pès.*
- 403–04 *Ki pur Pes . . . defynaylle.* L omits these lines.
- 405 *E.* So B, Murray. L: *Ke.*
- 406 *merci crie.* So L, Murray. B: *merci te crie*, with *le* expunged.
- 410 *De.* So B. L, Murray: *Pur.*
- 411 *deivent tutes.* So B. L: *deiuent tut.* Murray: *deivent tut.*
- 412 *Fere.* So B. L: *faire.* Murray: *Fornir.*
- sul.* So B, Murray. L: *tut sul.*
- 413 *record.* So B, Murray. L: *recod.*
- 414 *il seent de un.* So B. L: *de une.* Murray: *ils seient d'un.*
- 415 *les.* So B, Murray. L: *leis.*
- 416 *formir.* So B, L. Murray: *fornir.*
- 418 *Kar sanz nus ne ert.* B: *Kar sanz mey ne ert.* L: *sans nus niert il.* Murray: *Sanz nus ne iert.* Emended for sense, as *Pes* [Peace] is referring to both *Misericorde* [Mercy] and herself.
- 419 *nus est.* So B. L, Murray: *nus est il.*
- 421 *voil.* So B. L: *uoil.* Murray: *voler.*
- 422 *nostre.* So L, Murray. B: *vostre.* Emended for sense.
- 423 *Ke.* So B, L. Murray: *Kar.*
- 425 *le país fuir.* So Murray. B: *ne le pas fuir.* L: *la pes finir.* Emended for sense.
- 426 *de un aquoyl.* So B. L: *de une atoil.* Murray: *d'un acoil.*
- 427 *Le.* B has a two-line decorated initial L.
- al.* So B. L, Murray: *le.*
- 429 *Ke ne ert sanz lui.* So B. L: *Kil niert sanz lui.* Murray: *Ki ne iert sanz li.*

- 432 *sen e.* So B. L: *sen.* Murray: *sanc e.*
- 434 *sui taunt.* So B. L: *sui tant.* Murray: *tant su.*
- 435 *Ke.* So B, Murray. L: *Kar.*
feistis. So B. L: *feistes.* Murray: *fesis.*
- 436 *tes fez tutes mes.* B: *tutes.* L: *tutes mes.* Murray: *tes fez tus mes.* Emended for sense.
- 437 *Un sumes nus.* So B, Murray. L: *Nus sumes vn.*
- 441 *Del contec, ke.* So B. L: *De ce ke.* Murray: *De ce contek ke.*
- 442 *me ad es mu.* So B. L: *me ad en meu.* Murray: *m'ad meü.*
- 444 *Ke.* So B. L: *Ki.* Murray: *Kar.*
- 447 *ore en fray.* So B. L, Murray: *ferai.*
- 452 *Kaunt ke.* So B. L: *quanke.* Murray: *E kant ke.*
- 454 *e Pes entre bayser.* So B. L: *e pes beiser.* Murray: *e Pès baiser.*
- 455 *issint.* So B. L: *issi.* Murray: *ensi.*
guere. B: *geuere*, with *e₁* expunged. L: *gerre.* Murray: *guerre.*
- 456 *ta.* So L, Murray. B: *la.* Emended for sense.
- 457 *Cil.* B has a two-line decorated initial C.
- 458 *Put bien.* So B. L: *bien put.* Murray: *Poet bien.*
- 461 *De.* So L, Murray. B: *E.* Emended for sense.
est tute. So Murray. B, L: *tute.* Emended for sense.
- 463 *En.* So B. L, Murray: *E en.*
- 464 *escompliz.* So B. L, Murray: *acompliz.* The verbs are synonymous (not listed in *AND*, but see Godefroy, *escomplir*).
- 467–68 *Sa beneiscun . . . entendrunt.* Contrary to the usual practice in L, the L scribe puts these verses on separate lines.

- 467 *Sa.* So B, L, Murray: *La*.
- 469 *Seignurs.* B has a two-line decorated initial S.
- 472 *coment.* So B, L: *que*. Murray: *cum*.
le ad. So B, L: *leout*. Murray: *le out*.
- 473 *Coment.* So B, L, Murray: *E coment*.
- 474 *De sei ne avereit.* B: *Del serf ne avereit*. L: *de sei ne auoit*. Murray: *De sei n'aveit*. Emended for sense.
- 475 *nel.* So L, B, Murray: *ne*. Emended for sense.
- 477 *En.* So B, Murray. L: *E en*.
- 480 *de.* So B, L, Murray: *pur de*.
- 482 *Tut kant ke al.* So B, O: *Tot quantque al*. L: *trestut ke al*. Murray: *Tut kant ke en le*.
- 483 *Oyez ici.* So B, L: *Oies*. Murray: *Ore oiez*.
amur. So B, L: *ducur*. Murray: *duçur*.
- 484 *dousçur.* So B, L, Murray: *amur*.
- 485 *de ciel.* So B, L: *del ciel*. Murray: *de le ciel*.
- 486 *sa.* So B, Murray. L: *un*.
- 487 *Nonaunte.* So B, L, Murray: *Nonante e*.
il lessa. So B, L, Murray: *il i leissa*.
- 489 *ni ad ci.* B: *ni ad ici*. L: *na ci mut*. Murray: *ni ad si*. Emended for sense.
- 490 *merciabile.* So B, L, Murray: *mult merciabile*.
- 491 *du cel.* So B, L: *de tel*. Murray: *de cel*.
- 492 *Ki tant amur li demustrast.* B: *Cum grant amur demustrast*. L: *ki tant damur li mustrast*. Murray: *Ke tant de amur li mustrast*. Emended for sense.
- 496 *comand trespasser.* So B, L: *comandement passer*. Murray: *comant trespasser*.

- 497 Ore. B has a two-line decorated initial O.
haute. So B, Murray. L: *autre*.
- 498 *venue al Creatur*. So B, Murray. L: *reine au sauueur*.
- 499 *le*. So B, L. Murray: *li*.
- 500 *le unt*. So B, Murray. L: *si lunt*.
- 502 *Abacuc*. So B, L. Murray: *E Abacuc*.
- 503 *Jeremie*. So B. L: *E ieremie*. Murray: *E Jeremie*.
- 504 *Ysaïe*. So B. L, Murray: *E Ysaïe*.
- 506 *de la*. So B. L, Murray: *la*.
venue. So B, Murray. B: final -e added above line with insertion point marked. L: *uenue*.
- 507 *pus*. So B, L. Murray: *puis je*.
- 509 Un. B has a two-line decorated initial U.
Enfant. So B. L: *enfancunet*. Murray: *enfantunet*. See AND, *enfançunet* (n.), "little child."
- 510 Un. So B, L. Murray: *E un*.
- 514 *Deu le Fort e Deu*. So B. L, Murray: *E Deu e Fort e*.
- 516 *Sun dreit nun est*. So B, L. Murray: *Li derrain non*.
- 518 *les prophetes l'unt*. B, L: *les prophetes unt*. Murray: *li prophetes l'ad*. Emended for sense. Murray's reading *li prophetes* is a nominative masculine singular to go with the singular verb *ad*. The plural readings in B and L correspond with the ME (line 614).
- 519 Ore. B has a two-line decorated initial O.
- 521 *ne est taunt*. So B. L: *nest tant*. Murray: *tant ne est*.
- 523 *tens*. So L, Murray. B: *riens*. Emended for sense.
- 525 *ki ke veit*. So B. L: *ki ueit*. Murray: *ki veïst ci*.
- 526 *sorfet*. B: *forfet*. L: *surfait*. Murray: *surfet en*. Emended for sense.

- taunt.* So B. L: *itant.* Murray: *tant.*
- 529 *poyn.* So B. L: *poin.* Murray: *e poin.*
- ou.* So B. L, Murray: *e.*
- 530 *E ke il fussent issi.* B: *Ke il fu issi.* L: *e ki il fussent issi.* Murray: *E ke il fussent ensi.* Emended for sense.
- 531 *Fussent.* So L, Murray. B: *Fusse.* Emended for sense.
- 532 *Mes ke.* So B. L: *mes ge di.* Murray: *Bien le di.*
- 533 *Le un.* B: *Ke un.* L: *Lun.* Murray: *L'uns.*
- 534 *E le autre.* So B. L: *E lautre.* Murray: *L'autre.*
- 535 *n'iert.* So B. L: *niert ce ia.* Murray: *n'ierent ja.*
- 536 *sunt.* So B, L. Murray: *seient.* Both readings are from the verb *AND*, *estre*³ [to be]; the differences are in mood: *sunt* is third person plural present indicative, whereas *seient* is third person plural present subjunctive.
- 537 *cil.* So B, L. Murray: *cil cum.*
- 538–39 *Si un homme . . . eüst tute la nature.* L combines the first half of line 538 with the second half of line 539 as one line: *si un home eust tute la nature* [if a man had all the nature].
- 538 *issi.* So B. Murray: *iceo.* For L, see textual note to lines 538–39, above.
- 541 *Si.* So B, L. Murray: *Issi.*
- 542 *Ke.* So B, Murray. L: *Si ke.*
- defaute en se.* So B. L, Murray: *defaute.*
- 543 *pus.* So B, Murray. L: *pus si.*
- 544 *tel.* So B. L: *tessil.* Murray: *tal.*
- 545 *teus.* So B, L. Murray: *tel.*
- 547 *e mil.* So B. L, Murray: *mil.*
- 550–52 *Ke est . . . ceo veum ben.* In L, as is usual practice for the scribe, lines 550–51 are written on one line, but the length of the lines caused the scribe to write the final word of line 551, *rien*, at the

beginning of the next line, which is indented to indicate the continuation of the verse; line 552 then follows, after a punctus.

- 552 *E ke il.* So B. L: *E kil.* Murray: *K'il.*
- 553 *Par.* So B, L. Murray: *Kar par li tute rien est.*
- 555 *Kar.* So B. L: *Car.* Murray: *Kar en.*
- 557 *ne ad for li.* So B. L: *nest for celi.* Murray: *n'est nul fors celi.*
- 558 *Ke.* So B. L: *ki ius.* Murray: *Ki jus.*
- 559 *Ki.* So B. L: *E ki.* Murray: *E*
autre. So B, L. Murray: *nostre.*
- 564 *femme le.* So L. B: *feminele.* Murray: *femme li.* The B reading is likely a variant of *feminal* / *femineau*, meaning “female”; see AND, [*feminal*] (n.). Emended for sense.
covient. So B. L: *conuint.* Murray: *convenist.*
- 565–66 *Pur recevre . . . humeine creature.* L omits these lines.
- 567 *pust.* So B. L: *uout.* Murray: *voleit.*
- 569 *il.* So B, Murray. L: *ce.*
- 570 *il.* So B. L, Murray: *Deu.*
- 571 *En.* B has a two-line decorated initial E.
- 573 *Kar ceo est.* So B. L: *Ce est.* Murray: *Kar c'est.*
- 574 *De solaz.* So B. L: *e de solas.* Murray: *De tuz solaz.*
e de dousçur. So B. L: *e de ducur.* Murray: *de tuz sucur.*
- 576 *des.* So B, L. Murray: *de ses.*
- 580 *nul.* So B. L: *de nule.* Murray: *de nul.*
- 582 *Sur.* So B, Murray. L: *sus.*
- 585 *put.* So B, L. Murray: *i poet.*

- 586 *Ke rien le pusse.* So B. L: *ke riens la pusse.* Murray: *Rien ki li peüst.*
- 587 *Envirun.* B has a two-line decorated initial *E*.
- 588 *En.* So L, Murray. B: *E.* Emended for sense.
plus. So B. L, Murray: *si.*
- 591 *le orrez.* So B, Murray. L: *le me orrez.*
- 592 *i ad.* B: *ad.* L: *i a.* Murray: *i ad.* Emended for sense.
- 596 *parfund.* So B, L. Murray: *mult profond.*
- 597 *aurné de.* So B (*avrne de*), L (*aurne de*). Murray: *atornez de.* See *AND*, *aurner*¹ (v.trans.), sense 1, “to adorn” and *aturner*, (v.trans.), sense 2, “to make, fashion.”
- 601 *ad porte e tour.* B: *ad porte en tour.* L, Murray: *ad e porte e tur.* Emended for sense.
- 602 *ne.* So B, L. Murray: *ne i.*
- 605 *Li.* B has a two-line decorated initial *L*.
est bel. So B, Murray. L: *est e bel.*
- 606 *e envirun.* B. L: *e en uirun.* Murray: *environ.*
- 607 *colours.* B: *coloures*, with *e* expunged. L: *culurs.* Murray: *colurs.*
- 608 *E si.* So B, Murray. L: *si.*
- 610 *ne faut.* So B. L: *ni faut.* Murray: *ne i faut.*
- 615 *meine.* So L, Murray. B: *meime*, with the first minim of *m* expunged.
- 619–22 *Ke tut . . . une ardonte chose.* These lines are ordered 621, 622, 620, 619 in Murray.
- 619–20 *Ke tut . . . envirun.* These lines are missing in L. If the scribe’s exemplar followed the same line order as in B, the omission could have been caused by an eye-skip, since lines 618 and 620 both end with *envirun*. See also textual note to lines 619–22, above.
- 619 *tut.* So Murray (line 622). B: *tu.* L omits the line. Emended for sense.
- 621 *E plus.* So B. L, Murray (line 619): *Plus.*
- 623 *ne vient male horee.* So B. L: *ni uient malure.* Murray: *ne i vient male oree.*

- 626 *seit*. So B, Murray. L: *est*.
- 632 *graveles*. So B. L: *graver*. Murray: *gravel*. See AND, *gravele* (n.) and *graver*¹ (n.), which are synonyms.
- 636 *Ki en*. So B. L: *Ki a*. Murray: *K'a*.
- plunger*. So B. L: *puisser*. Murray: *puiser*. The manuscripts differ significantly in recording this word; in addition to the variants already listed here, Mackie-Chasteu, which has *poser*, also notes the following variations in the textual note: *ateindre*, *penser*, *reposere*, *venir*, *laiver*, *pounter*, *apreoser*, and *passier* (line 642).
- Murray includes two additional lines after line 636: *Ja de mal ne le estuet pleindre / Ki a cel ewe puet ateindre* [Never does one have to complain of evil / Who can reach this water] (lines 637–38 in Murray; italics in original). Subsequent lineation in this text does not match Murray's until line 665, where additional lines in B (lines 663–64 in this text) make up the two-line difference.
- 638 *I ad*. So B, Murray (line 640). L: *a*.
- 639 *ad en se*. So B. L: *a eissi*. Murray: *ad en sei* (line 641).
- 640 *mi le*. So B. L, Murray (line 642): *mi*.
- 644 *ryen*. So B. L: *rien*. Murray: *chose* (line 646).
- 645–46 *Le arc . . . que li apend*. These lines missing from B and supplied by L (lines 647–48 in Murray). Murray's table does not note the missing lines in B (see p. 139).
- 646 *O ses colurs que*. So L. Murray: *Od la colur k'a* (line 648).
- 647 *Unkes si bele*. So B, L (both as *Vnkes si bele*). Murray: *Onkes si tres bele* (line 649).
- 649 *aveyt*. So B. L: *i auoit*. Murray: *i aveit* (line 651).
- 650 *voley*. So B. L: *se uoloit*. Murray: *se voleit* (line 652).
- 651 *si*. So L, Murray (line 653). B: *ici*. Emended for sense.
- 653 *tel ne*. So B. L, Murray (line 655): *ne*.
- 656 *e le*. So B. L, Murray (line 658): *e*.
- 658 *De₁*. So B. L, Murray (line 660): *E de*.
- 660 *De₁*. So B. L, Murray (line 662): *E de*.

- 663–64 *Ne jamés . . . le monde durra.* These lines not included in L or Murray; the textual note to line 668 in Mackie-*Chasteu* indicates the addition is unique to B. The ME likewise omits these lines, which would come between lines 762–63.
- 666 *la douce Virgine Marie.* So B, L: *la uirgne seinte marie.* Murray: *la duce Virgine Marie.*
- 667–68 *Assise est . . . e tarche.* The L scribe writes these final two verses of folio 99r on separate lines, temporarily breaking the pattern of two verses per line.
- 667 *est.* So B, L, Murray: *nus est.*
- 668 *nus.* So B, L, Murray: *ele nus.*
- 669 *nos.* So B, L, Murray: *tuz nos.*
- 671 *bien polie.* So L, B: *bie.* Murray: *si bien polie.* Emended for sense.
- 672 *Marie.* So B, L: *de la marie.* Murray: *la duce Marie.*
- 674 *servier.* So B, with *i* written above line. L: *seruir.* Murray: *servir.*
- 675 *E.* So L, Murray. B: *En.* Emended for sense.
- 680 *De si tres bele.* So B, L: *e de si bone.* Murray: *E de si tres bele.*
- 688 *De₁.* So B, L, Murray: *E de.*
- 690 *Ke en.* So B, L, Murray: *Ke od.*
- e en.* So B, L, Murray: *en.*
- 692 *humilité.* So B, L, Murray: *humbleté.*
- 694 *tut kevre par.* So B, L: *tut coure.* Murray: *covere tut.*
- 695 *est₂.* So B, L, Murray: *tant est.*
- 697 *Ceo est.* So B, L, Murray: *E c'est.*
- 698 *tute enluminé.* So B, L: *en lumine.* Murray: *enluminee.*
- 699 *esprise.* So L, Murray. B: *est prise.* Emended for sense.
- 700 *sun Creatur.* So B, L, Murray: *Deu sun creatur.*
- 703 *Dunt.* So B, L, Murray: *Ou.*

- pount*. So B. L: *puet*. Murray: *poet*.
- 706 *E₁*. So B, L. Murray: *E si rest*.
- 708 *Ne put rien si bien nun*. So B. L: *ni put riens si bien nun*. Murray: *Ke rien ne puet fors bien*.
- 710 *overz sunt a kernel*. So B (*ouerz*). L: *sunt ouert au kernel*. Murray: *ovrees sunt au karnel*. *Overz* is the plural past participle of *AND*, *overer*¹ (v.intrans.), sense 4, “to construct.”
- 711 *En compas sunt*. B: *Ke en compas sunt*. L: *Qui a compas sunt*. Murray: *E k'acompassent*. Emended for sense.
- 712 *E*. So B, L. Murray: *E si*.
- 714 *Signefie*. So B (with *g* written above the line with placement indicated), L, Murray.
- 715 *blemie*. So L. B: *blamie*. Murray: *blesmie*. Emended for sense.
- 716 *esteit*. So B. L, Murray: *fu*.
- 717–24 *Le bail . . . Espuse e Mere*. B: these lines written around two narrow sections sliced out of folio 109r–v.
- 717 *Le bail*. So B. L: *Le vail*. Murray: *La baille*.
- 719 *Pus*. So B. L: *E pus*. Murray: *E puis*.
- baille*. So B, Murray. L: *vaille*.
- 720 *seinte*. So B, L. Murray: *seintime*.
- 722 *en baillie la Dame*. So B. L, Murray: *la dame en baillie*.
- 724 *Virge*. B has a one-line decorated initial *V*.
- Mere*. So B (with the word written below the line with a pilcrow indicating enjambment), L, Murray.
- 725 *Par un de eus estut*. So B. L: *Par mi de sus estut*. Murray: *Par un des us l'estuet*.
- 726 *en le*. So B, Murray. L: *en cest*.
- 727 *Les*. So B. L, Murray: *E les*. B has a two-line decorated initial *L*.
- 728 *hors des bailles*. So B, L. Murray: *de hors les bailles*.

TEXTUAL NOTES TO *LE CHATEAU D'AMOUR*

- 731–32 *Ceo sunt . . . sunt confus*. The L scribe writes these final two verses of folio 99v on separate lines, temporarily breaking the pattern of two verses per line.
- 732 *seth*. So B. L: *seet*. Murray: *les set*.
- 739–40 *E par . . . est maté*. So B; order transposed in L and Murray.
- 739 *E par*. So B. L, Murray (line 740): *Par*.
- 740 *Lecherie*. So B. L, Murray (line 739): *E lecherie*.
- 744 *Cele ke*. So B. L: *cele ki*. Murray: *Ki*.

decyre. So B, L. Murray: *tut decire*.
- 747 *funtaine*. So Murray. L: *fontaigne*. B: *finitiuie*; the B scribe seems to have misunderstood the word and marked specific minims with acute accents to signify *i*. Emended for sense.
- 749 *sa grace ad*. So B, L. Murray: *ad sa grace*.
- 751–52 *Mes tant . . . li dona*. These lines missing from B and supplied by L.
- 751 *tant la Pucele*. So L. Murray: *la Pucele tant*.
- 753 *Dunt*. B: small hole before this word.
- 757–64 *E queles . . . nul homme vivaunt*. B: these lines written around two narrow sections sliced out of folio 109r–v.
- 757 *queles*. So B, L. Murray: *ke*.

les. So B, L. Murray: *donc li*.
- 760 *Ke*. So B, L. Murray: *Rien ki*.

pusse. So B, L. This is a subjunctive form; see *AND*, *poer*¹ (v.). Murray: *poet*.
- 762 *perdu*. So B, L. Murray: *tut perdu*.
- 763 *out*. So B, L. Murray: *aveit*.
- 765 *en contre*. So B, L. Murray: *contre*.
- 770 *tut*. So B. L, Murray: *tut sun*.

quassereit. So B. L: *quasseroit*. Murray: *esquassereit*.

- 771 Beneite. B has a two-line decorated initial B.
- 773 est. So B. L: *tant est e*. Murray: *tant par est e*.
- 774 De ki. So B. L: *kar de sa*. Murray: *Ke de sa*.
- 778 Ce est. So Murray. B: *Ou est*. L: *Cest*. Emended for sense.
- 780 ad tant. So B. L: *a tant*. Murray: *tant ad*.
- buntez. So B. L: *bon uertuz*. Murray: *bontez*.
- 781 autre. So B, L. Murray: *nule autre*.
- 783 Denz. So B (Murray records the reading as *Deus* in note to this line). L: *En*. Murray: *Dedenz*.
- enumbra. So B. L: *senumbra*. Murray: *enumbrat*. The verb can be transitive, intransitive, or, as in L, reflexive; see AND, *enumber* (v.).
- 784 itaunt. So B. L: *tant*. Murray: *itant*.
- la ha. So B. L: *la*. Murray: *le ad*.
- 787 ni est. So B. L: *nest*. Murray: *n'iert nul*.
- 788 si est fait. So L. B: *fait*. Murray: *si est fet*. Emended for sense.
- 789 Franche. B has a four-line decorated initial F.
- 793 Huche e hue, huche. So B, L. Murray: *Hue e huche, e hue*.
- 796 poy poser. So B. L: *pusser*. Murray: *peu puiser*. The verb is AND, *puisier* (v.trans.).
- 799 tun. So L, Murray. B: *cum*. Emended for sense.
- 803 Tut. So B. L, Murray: *Trestut*.
- mesfere. So B. L: *mesfaire*. Murray: *mal fere*.
- 807 Ke. So B, L. Murray: *Ki a*.
- oyz. So B. L: *oilz*. Murray: *oz*. I take B's reading to be a variant spelling of AND, *ost*¹ (n.).
- se dresce. So B, Murray. L: *adresce*.
- 809 oiz. So B. O: *euz*. L: *oilz*. Murray: *oz*.

- 813 *De damage.* So B. L, Murray: *Damage*.
- 814 *su.* So B, L. Murray: *su ja*.
- 818 *poser a fossez.* So B (the context indicates that *poser* should be understood as a variant of *AND*, *puisier* [v.]). L: *puisser asfossez*. Murray: *puiser a le fossez*.
- 821 *Del.* B has a two-line decorated initial *D*.
- 822 *en ay.* So B. L: *aueraï*. Murray: *averaï*.
- 824 *Del.* So B. L: *del cel*. Murray: *De icel*.
- 825 *bien le.* So L. B: *bie le*. Murray: *bien vus*. Emended for sense.
- 826 *Ou.* So B, Murray. L: *Dunt*.
- 828 *covri.* So B, L (both as *couri*). Murray: *il covri*.
- 829 *La verge porta.* So B. L: *La uerge porta*. Murray: *La verge Aaron porta*. The textual note to line 833 in *Mackie-Chasteu* identifies just two MSS that include the name *Aaron*: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 132 and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS fr. 902. The comparison with line 830 makes sense even without the name, but the allusion is more difficult to identify: “The rod bore the flower, / The Virgin her Creator.”
- 830 *La Virge.* So B. L: *la uerge*. Murray: *E la Virgine*.
Creatur. So B, Murray. L: *saueor*.
- 831 *si.* So B. L: *issi*. Murray: *ensi*.
- 834 *Ke issi est.* So B, L. Murray: *Ki est ensi*.
- 835 *n'est tant.* So B. L: *tant nest*. Murray: *tant n'est*.
- 836 *ensemble.* The L scribe ran out of room and wrote *ensemble* after the end of the previous line.
- 837 *E.* So B, L. Murray: *Si*.
- 838 *ceo ke a.* So B. L: *kanke*. Murray: *ce ke a*.
- 839 *nul.* So B. L: *nule*. Murray: *rien*.
- 840 *eit sun dreit.* So B, Murray. L: *sun droit eit*.
- 841 *Ceo est.* So B, L. Murray: *C'est li duz*.

- le beneit.* So B, L, Murray: *beneit.*
- 842 *Ke de ciel.* So B, L: *ki del ciel ius.* Murray: *Ki de le ciel jus.*
- 844 *E sun.* So B, L: *e pur sun.* Murray: *Et pur sun.*
- 845 *i ad, ceo est.* So B, L, Murray: *a cest.*
- 846 *Verrey.* So B, L: *e uerrai.* Murray: *De verrai.*
- est, e.* So B, L, Murray: *e.*
- 847 *Beneyt.* B has a two-line decorated initial B.
- 853 *est.* So B, Murray. L: *seit.*
- 855 *pes.* So B, L, Murray: *teu peis.*
- 856 *ni out.* So B, L, Murray: *ne i out.*
- 857–62 *Ni out contec . . . par tut ala.* B: what appears to be water damage obscures portions of these lines, as noted in the textual note to each line.
- 857 *Ni out.* So B, Murray. L: *Ne i out.* In B the *t* is partially obscured by water damage but still legible.
- 858 *tuz.* So L, Murray. B: only *z* is clearly legible.
- de un.* So B, Murray. L: *de une.*
- 859 *sous.* B: only *s* and part of *o* are clear. L: *sanz.* Murray: *suz.*
- 860 *Kaunt.* B: *K* and the end of the cross stroke on *t* are clear. L, Murray: *Kant.* Both spellings *kaunt* and *kant* are used in B; I conjecture based on the available space.
- nostre Sire fu.* So B, Murray. L: *jhesu crist estoit.*
- 861 *Augustus.* So L, Murray. B: only *A* and *tus* are clear.
- 862 *Ki.* So L, Murray. B: Only *K* is legible.
- 863 *deit.* So B, L: *doit.* Murray: *deveit.*
- 864 *A cuntre sa.* So B, L: *en contre si.* Murray: *Encontre si.*
- 865 *e.* So B, Murray. L: *a.*

- 866 *Mout.* So B. L: *lores*. Murray: *Mult*.
- 867 *Nature naturaunce.* So B. L, Murray: *nature naturante*. The phrase is a “technical philosophical term translating the Latin *natura naturans* indicating Nature as the First Cause of the universe, i.e., God the Creator” (Boulton, p. 76n88). See also *nature naturante* (pr.p. as adj.) listed in *AND*, *naturer* (v.). See explanatory note to line 938 of the ME edition.
- 868 *ignoraunce.* So B. L, Murray: *ignorante*. Notwithstanding the ending in *-nce*, reading in B should be understood as a variant of the adjective. Mackie-*Chasteu* emends to *joygnante* (line 872), presumably based on Southern’s substitution of *ioygnante* for *ignorante* (from Murray’s edition) in his treatment of the passage (*Robert Grosseteste*, p. 227n35). No MSS include the reading, however, according to textual notes to this line by both Murray and Mackie-*Chasteu* (line 872); rather, London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 522 has *ioygnante* in place of *naturaunce* in line 867 (see textual notes in both Murray and Mackie-*Chasteu* [line 871]). See also *AND*, *ignorant* (adj.), which quotes this line under (*estre*) *ignorant a*.
- 869 *Kaunt.* So B. L: *Qui*. Murray: *Ke*.
- nature est naturee.* So B, L. Murray: *nature naturee*. Boulton notes that *nature naturee* “is a technical philosophical term (*natura naturata*), indicating nature as the created universe” (p. 76n90). See also *nature naturee* (p.p. as adj.) listed in *AND*, *naturer* (v.). See explanatory note to line 938 of the ME edition.
- 874 *Si.* So B. L, Murray: *E si*.
- 876 *dereynner.* So B. L: *challenger*. Murray: *dereigner*.
- 879 *E veez.* So B. L, Murray: *Ore oez*.
- 881 *Ki.* So B. L: *Qvi*. Murray: *Ki ke*. B has a two-line decorated initial *K*.
- ici.* So B, Murray. L: *ore ci*.
- 882 *emperour fust.* So B. Murray: *Emperere fust*. L: *feust emperer*.
- 884 *E desça.* So B. L, Murray: *De ça*.
- 886 *ensaut.* So B. L: *assauz*; the L scribe ran out of room and wrote *assauz* after the end of the previous line. Murray: *assaut*.
- 889 *Ke a.* So B. L: *Ki a*. Murray: *Ki k’a*.
- le veïst.* So Murray. B: *lui ne meist*. L: *le ueist*. Emended for sense.
- 890 *a.* So B, L. Murray: *en*.

- 891 *vas tu.* So B, Murray. L: *bas tu.*
- 893–94 *Va par tut . . . vostre terre.* These lines missing from B and supplied by L.
- 895 *Icest consail bon.* So B. L: *Icest conseil mult bien.* Murray: *Icestui bon conseil.*
- 896 *Si.* So B, Murray. L: *se il.*
- le.* So B, L. Murray: *il le.*
- 898 *prou.* So B. L: *pru.* Murray: *ne preu.*
- 901 *vient.* So B. L: *uint.* Murray: *avint.*
- 902 *Homme il trova.* So B. L: *homme troua.* Murray: *Cum home trovad.*
- 904 *jamés n'üst.* So B. L: *iames neust.* Murray: *ja mès ne fust.*
- 905 *lui.* So B. L, Murray: *sei.*
- 906 *redressaunce.* So B. O: *redressance.* L: *dressance.* Murray: *redresçance.*
- 908 *En le.* So B, Murray. L: *El.*
- 910 *voie al.* B: *joye du.* L: *uoie al.* Murray: *veie a le.* Emended for sense.
- 915 *Regardez.* B has a two-line decorated initial R.
- en sa.* So B. L: *e sa.* Murray: *sa.*
- 916 *au.* So B, L. Murray: *sa.*
- de sa.* So B, L. Murray: *sanz.*
- 917 *Ou circumscription.* So Murray. B: *Ou circumspection.* L: *En circumspectiun.* Emended for sense.
- 925 *issi.* So B. Murray: *ici.* L: *ci.*
- 929 *en desperaunce.* So B. L: *en desperance.* Murray: *ja en desperance.*
- 931 *Ke.* So B. L, Murray: *Kar.*
- 935 *sentir.* So B, Murray. L: *sustenir.*
- 936 *sustenir.* So B, Murray. L: *sentir.*
- 938 *sui ici.* So B. L: *sui ge ci.* Murray: *je su ici.*

- 939 *suez*. So B. L: *suef*. Murray: *ke siwez*.
- 940 *ta*. So Murray. B: *te*. L: *la*. Emended for sense.
- 941 *Primes*. So Murray. B, L: *Princes*. Emended for sense.
- 947 *prenderay*. So B. L: *prendrai*. Murray: *enprendrai*.
- 949 *Kar*. So Murray. B: *Ka*. L: *Car*. Emended for sense.
- le venkeray*. So B. L: *le uienterai*. Murray: *la veinterai*. The spelling *venkeray* is a variant of the verb in L and Murray; see *AND*, *veintre* (v.trans.), sense 1, “to defeat, vanquish.”
- 950 *recoveray*. So B. L: *desraignera*. Murray: *dereignera*. In this context, the verbs are essentially synonymous. See *AND*, *recoverer*¹ (v.trans.), sense 1, “to recover, regain; to obtain (again), get (back); to recover, regain by legal process; to receive, obtain repayment of; to recover, conquer back”; *AND*, *dereiner*² (v. trans.), sense 6, “to recover by proving one’s legal right.”
- 953 *Deu*. B has a two-line decorated initial *D*.
- 955 *amisté*. So B, Murray. L: *de amiste*.
- 957 *cel*. So B. L: *le*. Murray: *cest*.
- 958 *relement en*. So B. L: *relemente al*. Murray: *trop reument el*.
- 959 *tut dis*. So B. L: *tut ades*. Murray: *tut adès*. *Tut dis* is an idiomatic expression meaning “always, continually”; see *AND*, *tuzdis* (adv.), sense 1 (second meaning), essentially synonymous with *AND*, *adés* (adv.), sense 1, “all the time, continuously.”
- 965 *fors de*. So B. L: *a riens fors*. Murray: *rien fors*.
- 966 *E plus aver ensemble aver*. So B. L: *e pus amasser grant auer*. Murray: *E plus ensemble aver cuiller*.
- 967 *Kant*. So B. L: *E quant*. Murray: *E Kant*.
- 968 *se laz*. So B. Murray: *ses laz*. L: *ses las*. The form *laz* can be singular or plural; see *AND*, *lace*¹ (n.).
- le*. So L, Murray. B: *se*. Emended for sense.
- 970 *A tuz ses*. So B. L: *e a tuz*. Murray: *E a ses*.
- 972 *Mes*. So B, Murray. L: *fors*.
- 973 *ad*. So B. L: *a tut*. Murray: *ad tut*.

- 974 *de*. So B (~~de~~ *de*, with *de*₁ apparently originally written as another word and then expunged after a messy attempt to correct it to *de*), L, Murray.
- 977 *Sun*. So B. L: *Son*. Murray: *Kar sun*.
- 978 *E coment*. So B, Murray. L: *coment*.
e par. So B. L, Murray: *par*.
- 979 *il*. So B. L, Murray: *cil*.
- 982 *de ceo*. So B. O: *de ce*. L: *ceo*. Murray: *ce*.
- 983 *Kar il querent*. So B. L: *Mes il querent*. Murray: *Mes querent adès*.
- 985 *iceo*. So B, Murray. O: *ce*. L: *ceo*.
- 987 *ke cil*. So B, Murray. O: *que*. L: *que ausi*.
- 988 *teus*. So L, Murray: *teus*. B: *ces*. Emended for sense.
- 990 *grant manancie*. So B. L, Murray: *manantie*.
- 991–92 *Grant seignorie . . . de grant largesce*. These lines missing from B and supplied by L.
- 992 *boys*. So L. Murray: *bois*. L and Murray both have “woodlands” (see *AND*, *bois*¹, sense 1), whereas some MSS have “towns” (see *AND*, *burg* [n.]). Sajavaara claims the latter reading is more common (p. 389n1018), but Mackie-*Chasteu*’s textual note to line 996 lists just six MSS with “towns” out of eighteen collated.
- 993 *E si*. So B, Murray. L: *Si*.
put Deu bien. So B. L: *put om mult deu*. Murray: *poet Deu mult bien*.
- 999 *Ore*. B has a two-line decorated initial *O*.
- 1000 *vient il*. So B. L: *ueut si*. Murray: *vout il*.
- 1003 *Oyez*. So B. L: *Oies*. Murray: *Ore oiez*.
- 1005 *mund*. So L, Murray. B: *mun*. Emended for sense.
- 1006 *taunt*. So B, with *t*₂ written above line with caret to mark insertion. L, Murray: *tant*.
- 1009 *einz*. So B. L: *enceis*. Murray: *einzeis*.

TEXTUAL NOTES TO *LE CHATEAU D'AMOUR*

- 1010 *est.* So B, Murray. L: *iert.*
- 1011 *Mut bien le vit home.* B: *Mut bien le vit.* L: *Il le uit mult bien.* Murray: *Mult bien le vit home.* Emended for sense.
- 1012 *saveit par.* So B, L, Murray: *sout de.*
- 1013 *vint.* So Murray. B: *vit.* L: *uint.* Emended for sense.
- 1015 *E.* So B, L, Murray: *En.*
- 1017 *cest.* So B, L: *ce.* Murray: *icest.*
- 1020 *Seignur.* So B, L. Murray: *Seignur Deu.*
- 1023 *Lunge tens ay eü la seisine.* This line should be 1028 in Murray, where it is incorrectly lineated as line 1023.
- 1024 *du.* So B, L: *al.* Murray: *a le.*
- 1026 *Ne ne.* So B, L. Murray: *Ne jo ne.*
- 1027 *a.* So B, L. Murray: *ore a.*
- 1028 *veus.* So B, L: *ueus.* Murray: *volez.*
- 1030 *Quides tu.* So B, L. Murray: *Me quidez vus.*
- 1031 *Nay.* So B, L: *Nains.* Murray: *Nai.*
- 1033 *si il le comaund.* So B, L: *si le comand.* Murray: *s'il le comand.*
- 1037 *tendra.* So B, L: *il tendra.* Murray: *bien tiendra.*
- 1038 *avaunt.* So B, L: *deuant.* Murray: *avant.*
- 1039 *A ceo.* So B, L. Murray: *Dont.* B has a two-line decorated initial A.
respundi. So B, L: *respunt le duz.* Murray: *respundi li duz.*
- 1041 *frensistes.* So B, L: *freinsistes.* Murray: *enfreinsistes.*
- 1042 *diseïstes.* So B, L: *deistes.* Murray: *li desistes.*
- 1046 *raysun.* B: *traysun.* L: *resun.* Murray: *reson.* Emended for sense.

- 1047 *de*. So B, L, Murray: *del*.
- 1049 “O!” *dist*. So B, Murray. L: *Dunc*.
- 1051 *Dunt*. So B. L: *Mes dunt*. Murray: *E dist, dunt*.
- 1053 *od*. So B. L, Murray: *a*.
- 1054 *De*. So B. L, Murray: *a*.
- desputer*. So Murray. B: *despiter*. L: *desputier*. Emended for sense.
- 1055–56 *Tut ay perdu . . . mie entant*. The scribe of L writes these final two verses of folio 102r on separate lines, temporarily breaking the pattern of two verses per line. The scribe also leaves gaps between *perdu* and *enpleidant* on line 1055 and between *a* and *tant* on line 1056; if there is a defect in the parchment, it is not visible on the microfilm.
- 1056 *demurra*. So B. L: *demorra*. Murray: *demurrai*.
- entant*. So B. L, Murray: *atant*.
- 1057 *vers il ad*. So B. L: *uois a il*. Murray: *feiz a il*.
- 1060 *voil a tort estre*. So B. L: *serrai a tort*. Murray: *serai a tort*. See explanatory note to line 1090 of the ME poem for discussion.
- 1061 *E*. So B. L: *Dvnc*. Murray: *Dunc*.
- 1062 *la redempcion*. So B. L: *redemptiun*. Murray: *redemption*.
- Murray includes two additional lines after line 1062: *E dist li diables: “Quel reson / Frez vus pur raindre cel prison?”* [And the Devil said: “What reason / Will you give to ransom this prisoner?”] (lines 1063–64; italics in original). The additional lines only occur in two manuscripts (Boulton, p. 79n109) and are not reflected in the ME translation (lines 1091–94 of the ME edition correspond to lines 1061–64 in this AN text). Subsequent lineation in this text does not match that in Murray.
- 1065 *Cum₁*. So B, L, Murray: *E cum* (line 1067).
- 1067 *E*. So B. L: *Dunc*. Murray: *Donc* (line 1069).
- li duz Jhesu beneit*. So B, Murray (line 1069). L: *ihesu le beneit*.
- 1068 *Ceo est*. So B, L, Murray: *Kar iceo est* (line 1070).
- 1069 *dreit*. So B, Murray (line 1071). L: *resun*.

- 1070 *Toler tei rien.* So B. L: *toi riens tolir.* Murray: *Tolir tei rien* (line 1072).
- 1072 *ceo.* So B. L: *ice.* Murray: *iceo* (line 1074).

dist ke. So B. L: *que.* Murray: *donc ke* (line 1074). The line as rendered in B might translate as “What is this judgment that you seek?” (see AND, *dit* [n.], sense 4 [law]: “legal opinion, judgement”). Compare the translations in Boulton, “What is it then that you ask?” (p. 79), and Mackie, “What is it that you want?” (p. 172).
- 1073 *dirray.* So B. L: *dirai.* Murray: *le dirrai* (line 1075).
- 1078 *dey.* So B. L: *delai.* Murray: *dei* (line 1080).
- 1079 *ne funt.* So B, Murray (line 1081). L: *funt.*
- 1081 *respund.* So B. L, Murray (line 1083): *dist.*
- 1082 *say.* So B. L: *sai.* Murray: *vei* (line 1084).

ceo est. So B. L: *cest.* Murray: *cest est* (line 1084).
- 1083 *le.* So B, L. Murray: *tut le* (line 1085).
- 1084 *Mes tey.* So B. Murray: *Mes tei* (line 1086). L: *E toz.*

aprucher. So B. L: *ge procher.* Murray: *rien aprismer* (line 1086). The verbs are synonyms; see AND, *aprocher* (v.), *procher* (v.), and *aprismer* (v.).
- 1085 *tu.* So B (*tei*, with *ei* expunged and *u* written above), L, Murray (line 1087).

tun. So B. L: *donc ton.* Murray: *donc tun* (line 1087).
- 1086 *merz.* So B, Murray (line 1088). L: *mes.*
- 1087 “Nay,” *fet il*, “mes.” So B. O: L: *Oil dist deu e.* Murray: “Nai, *fet il, mes*” (line 1089).

mun. So B, Murray (line 1089). L: *ceo.*
- 1088 *eyes cel.* B: *eye cel.* L: *neie le.* Murray: *eies le* (line 1090). Emended for sense.
- 1089 *covient.* So B. L: *couient.* Murray: *coviendra* (line 1091).
- 1090 *tant de.* So B, Murray (line 1092). L: *tant.*
- 1093 *Ou.* So B, L. Murray: *Od* (line 1095).

- de peine, o tant.* So B. L.: *de peines e.* Murray: *de peine e tant* (line 1095).
- 1094 *tuz.* So B. L.: *tous.* Murray: *a tuz* (line 1096).
- 1096 *en enfern demoraunt.* So B. L.: *en enfer just demorant.* Murray: *en enfern demurant* (line 1098).
- 1097 *A donc respondi li duz.* So B. L.: *Dvnc respondi le duz.* Murray: *A donc respont li duz* (line 1099).
- 1098 *iert bien.* So B. L., Murray (line 1100): *tut iert.*
- 1100 *E pus le ad.* So B., Murray (line 1102). L.: *E pus si la.*
- 1108 *Par.* So B. L., Murray (line 1110): *E par.*
- 1109 *Ore.* B has a two-line decorated initial O.
- 1111 *est.* So B., L. Murray: *tant est* (line 1113).
- 1114 *est treité.* So B., Murray (line 1116). L.: *traite.*
- 1119 *les.* So B., L. Murray: *il les* (line 1121).
- 1122 *Sun chef des espines.* B: *Sun cel chef des espines*, with *cel* expunged. L.: *despines estoit.* Murray: *D'espines esteit* (line 1124).
- 1125 *la.* So B., L. Murray: *sa* (line 1127).
- 1126 *des.* So B., L. Murray: *de lur* (line 1128).
- 1127 *pur.* So B., L. Murray: *pur le* (line 1129).

Murray includes two lines after line 1127 (line 1129 in Murray) that are not included in B or L: *Oi maudire e leidenger; / Pur nos surfez de manger* [He heard slander and insults; / For our gluttony in eating] (lines 1130–31 in Murray). In the textual note to lines 1134–35, Mackie-*Chasteu* records only three MSS that include these lines: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS fr. 902; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 132; and London, British Library, MS Egerton 846B. The ME translation does not include the missing lines (see lines 1151–52 of the ME edition, which correspond to lines 1127–28 in the AN poem).

- 1128 *vin.* So B. L.: *uin.* Murray: *fel* (line 1132).
- 1130 *peiz.* So B. L.: *e piez.* Murray: *e pez* (line 1134).

Murray includes two additional lines after 1130 (1134 in Murray) that neither B nor L include: *E pur nostre mauveis penser / Se fist deskes au cuer percer* [And for our wicked thoughts / Had his heart pierced] (lines 1135–36 in Murray). The textual note to lines 1139–40 in

Mackie-*Chasteu* indicates that five MSS omit the lines. The missing lines correspond to lines 1155–56 in the ME translation.

- 1134 *pur nus se fist*. So B. L, Murray (line 1140): *se fist pur nus*.
- 1135 *cil ke*. So B. L: *ceo ki*. Murray: *ceo donc ki* (line 1141).
- 1137 *de*. So B. L, Murray (line 1143): *de la*.
- 1139 *a la*. So B. L, Murray (line 1145): *a*.
- 1143 *diabls*. So B, L, Murray: *les diabls* (line 1149).
- eürent*. So B. L: *neurent*. Murray: *n'eurent* (line 1149).
- 1144 *De humeine nature*. So B. L: *humaine nature*. Murray: *A nature humaine* (line 1150).
- 1146 *ne istrait fors*. So B.L: *nen istera hors*. Murray: *ne en istra fors* (line 1152). The variants *istrait*, *istera*, and *istra* are forms of *issir*, although not included in the headword and forms in the AND entry for *issir* (v.), which lists only infinitive forms.
- 1148 *le*. So L, Murray (line 1154). B: *ne*. Emended for sense.
- 1150 *cink*. So B. L: *les cinc*. Murray: *cinc* (line 1156).
- 1151 *le oje*. So B. L: *le oir*. Murray: *le oïr* (line 1157). In the context both *oje* and *oir* mean the “sense of hearing”; *oir* is an example of the substantive use of the infinitive; see AND, *oir* (sbst. inf.), sense 2.
- ver*. So B. L: *taster*. Murray: *veër* (line 1157).
- 1152 *E le odur*. So B. L: *le odoror*. Murray: *Li odoror* (line 1158).
- 1153 *le taster*. So B, Murray (line 1159). L: *la ueue*.
- perdera*. So B, L, Murray: *tut perdera* (line 1159).
- 1154 *le alme del*. So B. L: *del*. Murray: *de le* (line 1160).
- 1155 *Nature*. So B, L, Murray: *Kar Nature* (line 1161).
- 1156 *einzel cors*. So B, L, Murray: *de le cors einz* (line 1162).
- 1160 *Od*. So B. L, Murray (line 1166): *A*.
- 1161 *La*. So B, L, Murray: *Lors* (line 1167).

- ke il*. So B, Murray (line 1167). L: *il kil*.
- 1164 *E issint*. So B. L: *issi*. Murray: *E ensi* (line 1170).
venqui. So B, Murray (line 1170). L: *uenqui il*.
- 1165 *le Diable*. So B, Murray (line 1171). L: *diable*.
- 1166 *endurer*. So B. L, Murray (line 1172): *tant endurer*.
- 1167 A. So B, L. Murray: *Ha* (line 1173).
- 1170 *Tes*. So L, Murray (line 1176). B: *Ne ces*. Emended for sense.
rementiver. So B, Murray (line 1176). L: *resembler*.
- 1171 *fu*. So B. L, Murray (line 1177): *est*.
- 1173 *plus*. So L, Murray (line 1179). B: *pus*. Emended for sense.
fus naufree. B: *fu naufree*. L: *su naueree*. Murray: *fu naffree* (line 1179). Emended for sense to second person because the passage is a direct address to Mary. (London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 522 has *fustes*; see Mackie-Chasteu's line 1183.)
- 1174 *l'alme*. So Murray (line 1180). B: *le cors*. L: *lalme*. Emended for sense.
- 1175 *ta*. So Murray (line 1181). B: *sa*. L: *la*. Emended for sense; the entire passage is a direct address to the Virgin Mary.
- 1176 *il de*. So L, Murray (line 1182). B: *de*. Emended for sense.
- 1177–78 *Rienz n'eüst . . . la Resurrection*. These lines are omitted from eight MSS (see textual note in Mackie-Chasteu, lines 1187–88), including Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 232, the presumed basis for Murray (Sajavaara, p. 37), who nevertheless includes them (lines 1183–84).
- 1177 *valu*. So B, Murray (line 1183). L: *uain*.
- 1180 *la*. So B, L. Murray: *sa* (line 1186).
l'echevement. So B. L: *acheuement*. Murray: *achevement* (line 1186).
- 1182 *sucuruz*. So B, Murray (line 1188). L: *est sucuruz*.
- 1184 *demurra, Dame*. So B. L: *demora*. Murray: *demurat* (line 1190).

- 1186 *Mes vus en ferme creaunce.* So B. L: *sans nule esperance.* Murray: *Mes vus en ferme creance* (line 1192).
- 1188 *ne pout rien.* B: *ne rien.* L: *ne pout nuls.* Murray: *ne poeit rien* (line 1194). Emended for sense.
- 1191 *dunc fu.* So B. L: *fu donc.* Murray: *fu donk* (line 1197).
- 1193 *depriez.* So B, Murray (line 1199). L: *priez.*
- 1194 *ki.* So L, Murray (line 1200). B: *lui.* Emended for sense.
- 1195 *Oyez.* So B. L: *Oi auez.* Murray: *Oï avez* (line 1201). B has a two-line decorated initial *O*.
- 1198 *ad.* So B. Murray: *ad bien* (line 1204). L omits this line, perhaps an eye-skip due to the similarity of the subsequent line.
- 1200 *coment sa.* So B. L: *cum la.* Murray: *cum sa* (line 1206).
bataille. B: *a₂* written above the *t*.
- 1202 *issi.* So B, Murray (line 1208). L: *si.*
achata. So B, L. Murray: *rachata* (line 1208).
- 1203 *ke.* So B. L: *la.* Murray: *ki* (line 1209).
- 1204 *purruns.* So B. L: *porrum.* Murray: *poüm* (line 1210).
- 1206 *enclose.* So B. L, Murray (line 1212): *close.* Presumably because of the earlier skipped verse (line 1198), the scribe of L writes a single verse on this line.
- 1207 *Ore.* B has a two-line decorated initial *O*.
agardez. So B. L: *esgardez.* Murray: *regardez* (line 1213). The words are more or less synonymous; see *AND*, *agarder* (v.) and *regarder* (v.).
- 1209 *Si.* So B, L. Murray: *Ici* (line 1215).
- 1212 *Icel.* So B. L: *i celui.* Murray: *Icelui* (line 1218).
- 1213 *ni ad for li.* So B. L: *nest for li.* Murray: *ni ad nul fors li* (line 1219).
- 1215 *sunt.* So B. L, Murray (line 1221): *i sunt.*
- 1216 *en.* So B, L. Murray: *un* (line 1222).

- 1218 *la*. So L, Murray (line 1224). B: *en sa*. Emended for sense.
- 1219 *Kar*. So B, Murray (line 1225). L: *Ke*.
- 1220 *divinité*. So B. L: *deuinitez*. Murray: *deïté* (line 1226).
- 1223 *eüst ici*. B: *veist ici*. L: *eust ore ci*. Murray: *eüst ore ci* (line 1229). Emended for sense.
- 1225 *homme en le fu le*. So B. L: *pus en le feu la*. Murray: *en le feu hom la* (line 1231).
- 1226 *le*. So B. L, Murray: *la* (line 1232).
- 1227 *ardante fust*. So B. L: *ele ardante feus*. Murray: *ardant elle fust* (line 1233).
- 1229 *partier*. So B. L: *de partir*. Murray: *partir* (line 1235).
- 1230 *severer*. So B. L: *deseuerer*. Murray: *sevrer* (line 1236).
- 1231 *de la*. So B. L: *del*. Murray: *de l'* (line 1237).
- 1234 *ceo est*. So B. L: *e cest*. Murray: *e c'est* (line 1240).
- 1236 *Ausi est*. So B. L: *Issi est il*. Murray: *Ensi est il* (line 1242).
- 1237 *Deus natures*. So B, L. Murray: *Natures deus* (line 1243).
- 1239 As. B has a two-line decorated initial A.
- 1240 *En la Kane de*. So B, Murray (line 1246). L: *droit i chane*.
- 1241 *convivie*. So B. L: *feste* (written above the line, possibly in another hand, with a caret to mark insertion point). Murray: *convi* (line 1247).
- 1242 *chaungea*. B: *chaunge*. L, Murray (line 1248): *changa*. Emended for sense.
- 1244 *Empler les de ewe ad comaundé*. After line 1244 (line 1250 in Murray), Murray includes two lines not present in B or L: *Kant Architriclin en gusta / De l'ewe, bon vin i trova* [When Architriclin tasted / Of the water, good wine he found there] (lines 1251–52 in Murray). The addition alludes to the biblical story, where the steward tastes the wine Jesus made from water and praises its quality (see John 2:9–10); there are no equivalent lines in the ME poem (see lines 1265 ff. in the ME edition).
- 1245 *noma*. So B. L: *porra*. Murray: *commanda* (line 1253).
- 1246 *Cum*. So B, Murray (line 1254). L: *e cum*.

TEXTUAL NOTES TO *LE CHATEAU D'AMOUR*

- 1247 *iceo une hovre*. B: *iceo une hore*. L: *ice un ouere*. Murray: *icest un ovre* (line 1255). The emendation is to clarify that *AND*, *ovre*¹ [deed] is meant, not *ure*¹ [hour].
- 1248 *De hommesce*. So B, meaning “humanity, human form” (see *AND*, *homesce* [n.], sense 1). L: *De home*. Murray: *E de home* (line 1256).
- 1249 *E*. So B, L. Murray: *Ensi* (line 1257).
- 1253 *E de relef ke est remis*. L omits this line. The ME translation follows the AN closely in this passage, and the missing line corresponds to line 1279 in the ME edition.
- 1256 *Cum*. So B, L, Murray (line 1264): *E cum*.

L adds a line after 1256: *e de sa grace repleni* [and filled with His grace]. The line is not reflected in the ME translation (compare lines 1282–83 in the ME edition).
- 1258 *Kaunt il le ad*. So B, L: *kant il la*. Murray: *Kant il le ad* (line 1266).
- 1260 *tut*. So B, Murray (line 1268). L: *trestut*.
- 1261 *est*. So B, L: *sest*. Murray: *s'est* (line 1269).
- 1263 *Cum*. So B, Murray (line 1271). L: *Si cum*.
- 1264 *Cum*. So B, L, Murray (line 1272): *E cum*.
- 1266 *saunz*. So B, L: *sanz*. Murray: *tut sanz* (line 1274).
- 1268 *se enumbra*. So B, L: *sen omlea*. Murray: *s'enumbra* (line 1276). L's variant means “humbled himself” or “lowered himself,” as opposed to “was engendered.” See *AND*, *humilier* (v.refl.), *enhumilier* (v.refl.), and *enumber* (v.refl.).
- 1270 *e nostre*. So B, Murray (line 1278). L: *nostre*.
- 1271 *Trinité*. So L, Murray (line 1279). B: *vnite*. Emended for sense.
- 1272 *unité*. So Murray (line 1280). B: *trinite*. L: *vnite*. Emended for sense.
- 1273 *Oï*. B has a two-line decorated initial O.
- 1276 *clerc escrire*. So B, L. Murray: *lange descrire* (line 1284).
- 1279 *en cel*. So B, L, Murray (line 1287): *el ciel*.
- 1280 *Ou en tere, ou*. So B, L: *en enfer e*. Murray: *E en terre e* (line 1288).

- 1281 *Se enclinent*. So Murray (line 1289). B: *Se deriuent*. L: *Enclinent*. Emended for sense.
- 1284 *Mes*. So B. L: *fors*. Murray: *Fors si* (line 1292). For discussion of the translation of this line, see explanatory note to line 1310 of the ME poem.
- 1285 *Tucher*. So B. L: *Sother*. Murray: *Tochier* (line 1293).
- 1288 *primes out*. So B. L, Murray (line 1296): *out primes*.
- 1289 *Dunc out le Maufé tant*. So B. L: *Le maufe out tant de*. Murray: *Donc out le Malfé tant de* (line 1297).
- 1291 *lui pur*. So L, Murray (line 1299). B: *le iour*. Emended for sense.
- 1292 *En*. So B, Murray (line 1300). L: *a*.
- 1295 *Ne*. So B, Murray (line 1303). L: *Car*.
- 1298 *vener*. So B. L, Murray (line 1306): *geter*.
- 1299 *Mes*. B has a two-line decorated initial M.
- 1302 *Kant*. So B, L, Murray: *Kar* (line 1310).
- 1305 *le*. So B. L, Murray (line 1313): *il le*.
- 1307 *menti, li traitur*. So B. L: *menti le traitur*. Murray: *ad menti li traitur* (line 1315). I translate *menti* as “failed” here, rather than “lied”; the ME has *fyaylede* (line 1335), and in OF *mentir* (v.) can mean Modern French *faillir* [to fail] (see Godefroy). Although AND, *mentir* (v.) only gives the meaning “to lie,” Boulton’s note indicates that the meaning “to fail” was at one time included in the AND entry (p. 83n125).
- 1308 *a*. So B. L, Murray (line 1316): *de*.
- 1309 *la*. So B, L, Murray: *sa* (line 1317).
- 1313 *brusa*. So B. L, Murray (line 1321): *debrusa*.
- 1314 *esquassa*. So B, Murray (line 1322). L: *quassa*.
- 1316 *Kant*. So B, L, Murray (line 1324): *E*.

estret hors. So B. L: *estrait hors*. Murray: *en treit hors* (line 1324).
- 1318 *E*. So B, Murray (line 1326). L: *qui*.

TEXTUAL NOTES TO *LE CHATEAU D'AMOUR*

- 1319 *ne fu oï*. So B. L.: *ne fu oi*. Murray: *ne fu oncs oï* (line 1327).
- 1322 *quasser*. So B, L. Murray: *esquasser* (line 1330).
- 1324 *bien*. So B, L. Murray: *si bien* (line 1332).
- 1325 *plus*. So B. L.: *le plus*. Murray: *li plus* (line 1333).
- 1328 *En*. So B. L., Murray (line 1336): *E en*.
- 1330 *Ke dist en sa*. So B. L.: *ki dist en sa*. Murray: *En sa seinte* (line 1338).
- 1334 *Ne quer*. So L. B.: *Quer*. Murray: *Ne cuer* (line 1342). Emended for sense.
ne₂. So B, L. Murray: *ne sen* (line 1342).
- 1336 *a*. So B. L.: *est a*. Murray: *de cuer* (line 1344).
- 1338 *creance, e*. So B. L., Murray (line 1346): *force*.
- 1339 *nostre*. So B. L., Murray (line 1347): *e nostre*.
- 1342 *sauver*. So Murray (line 1350). B: *auer*. L: *sauuer*. Emended for sense.
- 1343 *soul Deu*. B: *soul*. L, Murray (line 1351): *sul Deu*. Emended for sense.
- 1345 *Cum*. B has a two-line decorated initial C.
- 1347 *Entendez*. So B. L., Murray (line 1355): *E entendez*.
- 1352 *voleit*. So B, Murray (line 1360). L: *uout*.
- 1354 *En lui fussent*. So B. L.: *fussent en lui*. Murray: *En li fussent* (line 1362).
- 1355 *Pere*. So Murray (line 1363). B: *mut*. L: *mout*. Emended for sense.
- 1358 *od lui la pome*. So B. L.: *la pome od li*. Murray: *la pome en li* (line 1366).
- 1359 *E tuz*. So B, L. Murray: *Tuz* (line 1367).
- 1361 *il urent*. So B. L.: *il leurent*. Murray: *le eurent* (line 1369).
- 1362 *purreit*. So B, Murray (line 1370). L: *pout*.
- 1363 *Adam*. So B, L. Murray: *Kar Adam* (line 1371).

- 1364 *Charnelement*. B: *Cahanelement*, with a_1 expunged. L: *charneument*. Murray: *E charneument* (line 1372). Emended for sense.
- 1366 *pesant*. So B. L: *pesante*. Murray: *e grant peine* (line 1374).
- 1369 *Pur*. So B. L, Murray (line 1375): *Par*.
- 1372 *la manere*. So B, L. Murray: *manere* (line 1380).
- 1374 *E nostre*. So B, Murray (line 1382). L: *nostre*.
- 1375 *pur enfaunt*. So B. L: *a enfant*. Murray: *pur nul enfant* (line 1383).
- 1377 *out*. So L, Murray (line 1385). B: *tuz*. Emended for sense.
- rechaté*. So B (*rechatae*, with a_2 expunged), L. Murray: *rechatez* (line 1385).
- 1380 *Treis jors*. So B. L: *quarante hures*. Murray: *Quarante ures* (line 1388).
- 1381 *Ceo*. So B, L. Murray: *Icest* (line 1389).
- 1383 *Un*. So B, L. Murray: *Par un* (line 1391).
- 1384 *escreva*. So B. L: *creua*. Murray: *se creva* (line 1392).
- 1387 *Pus*. So B. L: *Des lure*. Murray: *De l'ure* (line 1395).
- 1388 *il*. So B, L. Murray: *Jhesu* (line 1396).
- 1390 *Od*. So B, Murray (line 1398). L: *e od*.
- but*. So B, L. Murray: *e but* (line 1398).
- 1393 *al*. So B. L, Murray (line 1401): *a la*.
- 1394 *a*. So B. L, Murray (line 1402): *en*.
- 1395 *Tuz*. So B, Murray (line 1403). L: *Trestuz*.
- 1399 *Ke resuscité le virent*. So B. L: *Quant resusciter le uirent*. Murray: *Ki resuscité veü l'eürent* (line 1407).
- 1401 *lur*. So B. L: *ke lor*. Murray: *ke lur* (line 1409).
- 1407 *ses₁*. So B, L. Murray: *les* (line 1415).

- ses mains*. So B. L.: *sa mein*. Murray: *sa main* (line 1415).
- 1411 *creis*. So B, Murray (line 1419). L: *creis bien*.
- 1412 *E ki*. So B, Murray (line 1420). L: *ki*.
- 1413 *tuz*. So B. L, Murray (line 1421): *il*.
- 1414 *te*. So L, Murray (line 1422). B: *lur*. Emended for sense.
- 1415 *cel*. So B, Murray (line 1423). L: *tel*.
- 1416 *a*. So B. L, Murray (line 1424): *de*.
- 1419 *E*. So B, L. Murray: *E lors* (line 1427).
- 1420 *al*. So B. L: *el*. Murray: *en le* (line 1428).
- 1423 *ke il*. So B. L: *ke*. Murray: *k'il* (line 1431).
- 1424 *E*. So B. L, Murray (line 1432): *E ke*.
- 1425 *En*. So B. L, Murray (line 1433): *En le*.
- 1427 *baptizé*. So B, Murray (line 1435). L: *rien*.
- 1428 *en*. So B, Murray (line 1436). L: *en le*.
- 1429 *li₁*. So B, Murray (line 1437). L: *les*.
- e li*. So B. L: *e*. Murray: *li* (line 1437).
- 1430 *en*. So B, Murray (line 1438). L: *a*.
- 1432 *Ke*. So B. L: *qui il*. Murray: *Ke il* (line 1440).
- kevendra*. So B (*keuendra*). L: *couient*. Murray: *covient* (line 1440). The same verb is being used (AND, *convenir* [v.impers.], sense 2); the difference is between future ("it will be necessary") and present ("it is necessary"), but both can work in the context.
- 1434 *Engendrure*. So B. L: *e engendrure*. Murray: *Engendreüre si* (line 1442).
- 1435 *le ewe*. So B. L: *le awe*. Murray: *del ewe e* (line 1443).
- 1441 *cel*. So B. L: *tel*. Murray: *teu* (line 1449).

- 1442 *mangea*. B: *mange*. L, Murray (line 1450). Emended for sense.
- 1443–44 *Par li poüm . . . pur aver*. B omits these lines, which are supplied from L.
- 1444 *en*. So L. Murray: *en le* (line 1452).
- 1446 *un*. So B, Murray (line 1454). L: *nul*.

ne ad. So B, L. Murray: *i out* (line 1454).
- 1448 *sa*. So L, Murray (line 1456). B: *la*. Emended for sense.
- 1450 *Par ki*. So B. L: *par qui*. Murray: *E par li* (line 1458).
- 1451 *du*. So B, L. Murray: *del* (line 1459).
- 1452 *Ke nus ad la pes rendu*. So B. Murray: *Ki la pes nus a renduz* (line 1460). L here gives the text of line 1460 of this edition: *De bas en haut nus leue sus* [He has lifted us up from low to high].
- 1453 *hom*. So B, Murray (line 1461). L: *pere*.
- 1454 *grant mal*. So B. L, Murray (line 1462): *tant mal*.
- 1455–58 *De paraïs . . . nus rend arere*. B: *Le autre du ciel descendi / E la bataille venqui* [The Other descended from heaven / And won the battle]. In place of these two verses, lines 1455–58 are supplied by L. The verses in B more or less restate the gist of lines 1451–52. Note that AN lines 1455–58 correspond to lines 1485–88 in the ME translation.
- 1457 *nostre*. So L. Murray: *li nostre* (line 1465).
- 1459 *de ciel est*. So B. L: *del ciel est ius*. Murray: *del ciel esteit jus* (line 1467).
- 1460 *De bas en haut nus leva sus*. L here has *ki la pes nus ad renduz*, the text of line 1452 but following the same word order as in Murray for that line.
- 1462 *Ki de ciel est, a*. So B. L: *ke del ciel fu al*. Murray: *Ki vint del ciel al* (line 1470).
- 1465 *ses seinz*. So B. L: *seins*. Murray: *ses suggetz* (line 1473). The word is “saints” in B and L and “subjects” in Murray. See *AND, seint*¹ (n.), sense 1, and *AND, sujet*¹ (n.), sense 1. Both can work in the context.
- 1467 *e verité*. So B, Murray (line 1475). L: *uerite*.
- 1468 *mena*. So B. L, Murray (line 1476): *meine*.

bele. So B (*blele*, with *l*₁ expunged), L, Murray (line 1476).

TEXTUAL NOTES TO *LE CHATEAU D'AMOUR*

- 1470 *de enfern*. So B. L: *de enfer*. Murray: *il d'enfern* (line 1478).
- 1471 *mena*. So B, L. Murray: *amena* (line 1479).
- 1472 *nul*. So B, L. Murray: *ja a nul* (line 1480).
- 1473 *meint*. The verb is *AND*, *maindre*¹ (v.intrans.), sense 3, “to live, dwell,” not *mener*¹ (v.intrans.), “to lead.”
- il avant*. So B, Murray (line 1481). L: *auant*.
- 1474 *Od le*. So B, Murray (line 1482). L: *e sun*.
- 1477–78 *Un Deu . . . Seint Esperit*. These lines missing in B and supplied by L.
- 1477 *tutes choses*. In L there is a gap between these words where it looks like additional writing has been scraped away.
- 1479 *si ad il*. So B. L: *sil i ad*. Murray: *s'il i a* (line 1487).
- 1481 *un*. So B, Murray (line 1489). L: *nul*.
- 1482 *de*. So L, Murray (line 1490). B: *e*. Emended for sense.
- 1485 *Cum*. B has a two-line decorated initial C.
- 1490 *a*. So B. L: *al*. Murray: *en le* (line 1498).
- 1491 *Tut*. So B, Murray (line 1499). L: *Dont*.
- 1492 *il le*. So B, Murray (line 1500). L: *le*.
- 1494 *vifs*. So B. L: *uifs*. Murray: *e vifs* (line 1502). The order of the ME translation differs at this point; see explanatory note to lines 1525–1620 of the ME poem.
- 1498 *pur nus fu*. So B, L. Murray: *il fu pur nus* (line 1506).
- 1499 *Des escurges*. So B. L: *Des curges*. Murray: *D'escurges* (line 1507).
- 1500 *Cum les Gius alerent ferir*. So B. L: *le sanc del cors fist issir*. Murray: *Le sanc del cors en fist issir* (line 1508). B is the only MS with this line (see textual note in Mackie-*Chasteu*, line 1512). The ME translation follows the reading in L and other MSS (see line 1626). See explanatory note to line 1152 of the ME poem for information about Grosseteste's attitude toward Jews.
- 1502 *Sun chief*. So B. L, Murray (line 1510): *E*.

- 1503 *il en.* So B. O: *el.* L, Murray (line 1511): *en.*
- 1508 *en ay.* So B. L: *ai ge.* Murray: *ai je* (line 1516).
- Murray includes two subsequent lines not included in B and L: "*Reproces e peines merveillus,*" / *En contre ceo ke dirrum nus?* ["Reproaches and great pains," / Against this, what shall we say?"] (lines 1517–18 in Murray). The ME has no corresponding lines (see line 1634).
- 1509 *playder.* So B. L, Murray (line 1519): *espleider.*
- 1510 *Le₁.* So B. L, Murray (line 1520): *Ne le.*
- ne le aposer.* So B. L, Murray (line 1520): *nel opposer.* There is some overlap in the meanings of these verbs; see *AND, apposer*¹ (v.trans.), sense 1, "to question," versus *AND, opposer* (v.trans.), sense 1, "to counter, oppose"; sense 2, "to use in opposition, present as a counter-argument; to argue in opposition"; and sense 3, "to probe, question; to question, interrogate."
- 1511 *chastel.* So B, L, Murray: *rien chastel* (line 1521).
- 1512 *ne bel.* So B. L: *ne riche.* Murray: *grant de bel* (line 1522).
- 1513 *Tutes.* So B, L, Murray: *Kar tutes* (line 1523).
- 1516 *Croulanz lur denz.* So B. O: *Croissanz lor denz.* L: *cruissans lur denz.* Murray: *Cruissanz lurs denz* (line 1526).
- Murray's textual note reads *denz* as *deuz* in B (p. 166n1526), possibly on the assumption that the intended verb is *crouler*, meaning "to crawl" (*AND, crouler*¹ [v.]). But *Croulanz lur denz de pohurs* makes sense as "Their teeth chattering from fear" if *croulanz* is from *croller* [to shake], attested in the twelfth century; see *AND, crouler*² (v.), which is a cross-reference to *croller* (v.). The word *cruissans* means "grinding" or "gnashing"; see *AND, croissir*¹ (v.trans.), sense 2.
- 1517 *purra.* So B. L *purroit.* Murray: *purreit* (line 1527).
- 1518 *sun martyre.* So B, L, Murray: *le suen matire* (line 1528). The reading in Murray would translate as "his own trial" (trans. Boulton, p. 85) or "his trial" (trans. Mackie, p. 176). Murray's textual note to line 1528 shows, however, that the majority of MSS agree with the reading in B and L, which also matches the Middle English translation: *here martyrdom* (line 1644). Although the AN word *martyre* and the ME word *martyrdom* can mean "martyrdom," the use here is "torment, (physical and/or mental) suffering"; see *AND, martire*¹ (n.), sense 2 and *MED, martirdom* (n.), sense 1c.
- 1520 *serra.* So B. L, Murray (line 1530): *serrunt.*
- 1523 *E le.* So B. L, Murray (line 1533): *El.*

TEXTUAL NOTES TO *LE CHATEAU D'AMOUR*

- 1524 *Orrunt cil.* So B. L.: *dirunt cil.* Murray: *Dirrunt iceus* (line 1534). *Orrunt* is from AND, *orer*¹ (v.), sense 2, “to entreat, beseech,” whereas *dirunt* comes from AND, *dire* (v.), sense 1, “to say.”
- 1525 *Montaines, sur.* So B. L.: *Montaines sus.* Murray: *Muntaines, sur* (line 1535).
- 1526 *A.* So B. L., Murray (line 1536): *Ha.*
- 1528 *Del yre al.* So B. L.: *del ire a nostre.* Murray: *De l'ire a le* (line 1538).
- 1530 *laqueles.* So B. L.: *quoi.* Murray: *queus* (line 1540).
- 1531 *Jhesu.* So B. L. *ihesum.* Murray: *Jhesum* (line 1541).
- 1533 *E ardera.* So B, L. Murray: *Ardera* (line 1543).
- 1534 *E les.* So B, Murray (line 1544). L: *Les.*

desrupes. So B. L.: *disrups.* Murray: *derubes* (line 1544). The word *desrupes* (*disrups*) is probably a variant of AND, *derube* (n.), “cliff.” In B, *rroches* [lit., rocks] is written above *desrupes* as a gloss, most likely AND, *roche*¹ (n.), sense 2, “(mass of) rock forming part of the landscape.”
- 1539 *Tut.* So B, L. Murray: *Trestut* (line 1549).
- 1540 *Ne.* So B, Murray (line 1550). L: *E.*
- 1541 *en le.* So B. L.: *al.* Murray: *el* (line 1551).
- 1542 *i serra.* So B. L.: *sera.* Murray: *serra* (line 1552).
- 1545 *Ne mie autres ke einz.* So B. L.: *Nun pas autre quauant.* Murray: *Non pas autre k'avant* (line 1555).
- 1546 *meillur.* So B, L. Murray: *meudre* (line 1556).

tendrat. So B. L., Murray (line 1556): *rendra.*
- 1548 *E.* So B. L.: *Que.* Murray: *Ki* (line 1558).

busines sonerunt. So B. L.: *bons synes seneront.* Murray: *buisines sonerunt* (line 1558). The word *busines* means “trumpet”; L's reading of *synes* is probably AND, *signe*¹ (n.), sense 8, “peal, ringing of bells; bell.”
- 1549 *Primes.* So B, L. Murray: *Lors* (line 1559).

e en. So B, L. Murray: *e* (line 1559).

- 1550 *Jhesu*. So B. L: *ihesu crist*. Murray: *Jhesu Crist* (line 1560).
- 1551 *Iceus*. So B, L. Murray: *E iceus* (line 1561).
- 1552 A. So B. L, Murray (line 1562): *Tut a*.
- 1555 *vus*. So B. L: *e uus*. Murray: *e vus* (line 1565).
- 1556 *A herberge vus*. So B. L: *e a herberger*. Murray: *A herbergier* (line 1566).
- 1557–59 *Nu fu . . . me enbeverastes*. These lines are ordered differently in Murray, with the order equivalent to lines 1559, 1557, 1558 in this edition (lines 1567–69 in Murray).
- 1557 *vus*. So B. L: *e uus*. Murray: *e vus* (line 1568).
- fublastes*. So B. L, Murray (line 1568): *affublastes*.
- 1558 *Malades, e vus*. So B, Murray (line 1569). L: *malades fu e uus*.
- 1559 *avoy, e*. So B. L: *avoi*. Murray: *avoie* (line 1567).
- 1560 *chartre*. So B. L, Murray (line 1570): *prison*. The words *chartre* and *prison* are synonyms; see *AND*, *chartre*² (n.).
- 1562 *de*. So B. L: *du*. Murray: *de le* (line 1572).
- 1564 *Del*₁. So B. L, Murray (line 1574): *Des le*.
- 1567 *Les*. B has a two-line decorated initial *L*.
- 1577 *mauves, oveke*. So B. L: *malueis ouec*. Murray: *maleürez, od* (line 1587).
- 1578 *Al feu*. So B. L, Murray (line 1588): *En le feu*.
- nient esteignable*. So B. L, Murray (line 1588): *pardurable*. The variant in B expresses a similar idea as the reading in L and Murray: See *AND*, *nientesteignable* (adj.), “inextinguishable,” and *pardurable* (adj.), “lasting, enduring.”
- 1580 *tuz les*. So B, Murray (line 1590). L: *les*.
- 1582 *diables*. So B, L. Murray: *le diable* (line 1592).
- Murray includes two subsequent lines that do not appear in B or L: *Plus neir ke mure ne charbon, / E ensi perira lur non* [Blacker than blackberry or coal, / And thus their name will perish] (lines 1593–94 in Murray). The ME poem has no corresponding lines.

- 1583 *Li*. B has a two-line decorated initial *L*.
- 1585 *Kar*. So B. L: *Ki*. Murray: *Si* (line 1597).
le solail. So B. L, Murray (line 1597): *solail*.
- 1586 *plus*. So L, Murray (line 1598). B: *pus*. Emended for sense.
- 1590 *od*. So B. O: *a*. L: *des*. Murray: *as* (line 1602).
- 1591 *Taunt*. So B. L: *Tant*. Murray: *E tant* (line 1603).
dunc. So B. L: *donc*. Murray: *a donc* (line 1603).
- 1593 *ne put*. So B. L: *puet*. Murray: *ne poet* (line 1605).
- 1594 *Ou oil veër, ou*. So B. L: *ou oil ueer ne*. Murray: *Oil veër, ne* (line 1606).
- 1598 *Adunc*. So B (*A dunc*). L: *A donc*. Murray: *E donc* (line 1610).
- 1599–1600 *Ore oyez . . . a mal baillez*. These two lines do not appear in L or Murray. The textual note to line 1612 in Mackie-*Chasteu* indicates the addition is unique to B. The lines do not appear in the ME translation, where they would come between lines 1694–95. Nevertheless, they serve a purpose as a transition from describing the joys of those who go to heaven to the torments of those who end up in hell.
- 1599 *Ore*. B has a two-line decorated initial *O*
- 1601 *Kar*. So B. L: *Car*. Murray: *E* (line 1611).
- 1602 *ne*. So B. L: *nen*. Murray: *n'en* (line 1612).
- 1605 *Ne i*. So B. L, Murray (line 1615): *Ni*.
- 1606 *est*. So B. L, Murray (line 1616): *iert*.
- 1607 *esterra*. So B. L: *sera*. Murray: *serra* (line 1617).
- 1608 *lur*. So L, Murray (line 1618). B: *sa*. Emended for sense.
- 1610 *La*. So B. L, Murray (line 1620): *E la*.
- 1613 *ke il*. So B. L: *quil*. Murray: *ke* (line 1623).
- 1614 *tuz jours*. So B. L: *tot tens*. Murray: *tut tens* (line 1624).

- 1615 *plaist*. L, Murray (line 1625). B: *esplaist*. Emended for sense.
- 1616 *Ne verrunt rien*. So B. L: *ne uerront rien*. Murray: *E rien ne verrunt* (line 1626).
- 1617 *Trestuz*. So B, L. Murray: *Kar trestuz* (line 1627).
- 1618 *de*. So B, Murray (line 1628). L: *des*.
- 1619–20 *Li un al . . . vus de cea?* These lines missing from B and supplied by L.
- 1620 *fetes vus*. So L. Murray: *feis tu* (line 1630). Boulton points out that Murray's edition should have *feis* (p. 87n152).
- 1621 *eit*. So L, Murray (line 1631). B: *ert*. Emended for sense.
- fustes*. So B. L: *feustes*. Murray: *tu fus* (line 1631).
- 1622 *Sur*. So B, L. Murray: *Kar sur* (line 1632).
- 1623–24 *Mun fait . . . dolor dubler*. These lines missing from B and supplied by L.
- 1623 *Mun fait*. L: *Mut fait*. Murray: *Mun peché* (line 1633). The word *fait* means “deed,” as opposed to *peché*, which means “sin”; see *AND, fait*¹ (n.), sense 1, and *pecché*¹ (n.), sense 1. Emended for sense.
- 1624 *Mes*. So L. Murray: *E* (line 1634).
- 1625 *mauves*. So B. L: *malueis*. Murray: *maleürez* (line 1635).
- 1626 *Mal eit l'oure*. So L. B: *Peise moy certes*. Murray: *Mal eit l'ure* (line 1636). B's reading, apparently unique among the MSS (see Murray's textual note, p. 169n1636), might translate as “It certainly pains (troubles) me” (see *AND, peiser*¹ [v. impers.]), but the repetition of the sentiment from line 1621, “Evil was the hour” helps convey the sense of two speakers arguing and trading similar insults. The ME poem reflects the emended reading: the conversation takes place in lines 1723–32.
- fus vifs*. So Murray (line 1636). B: *vifs*. L: *uifs*. Emended for sense.
- 1628 *de*. So B, L. Murray: *de les* (line 1638).
- 1629 *Issi*. So B, L. Murray: *Ensi* (line 1639).
- 1631 *La*. So B, L. Murray: *La i* (line 1641).
- 1632 *Joie, solaz*. So B. L: *ioie solaz*. Murray: *E joie e solaz* (line 1642).

- 1634 *ne*₂. So B, L: *nen*. Murray: *n'en* (line 1644).
- 1635–36 *Les deables . . . ne cesserunt*. So B, L, Murray omit.
- 1638 *fin*. So B, L, Murray: *pes* (line 1646).
- 1639 *Jhesu*. So B, L (both as *Ihesu*). Murray: *Mes Jhesu* (line 1647). B has a two-line decorated initial I.
- 1641 *solaz*. So B, L, Murray: *e solaz* (line 1649).
- 1644 *homme*. So B, L: *home*. Murray: *home illoec* (line 1652).
- 1647 *se enmirra*. So B, L: *ses mirera*. Murray: *se esmirra* (line 1655).
- 1648 *En*. So B, L, Murray: *E en* (line 1656).
- 1650 *avera kant ke lui*. B: *verra kant ke lui*. L: *auera quanke li*. Murray: *avera kant ke il* (line 1658). Emended for sense.
- 1651 *veut*. So B, L: *uoudra*. Murray: *vodra* (line 1659).
- 1653 *Del*. So B, L: *Al*. Murray: *De le* (line 1661).
- 1654 *La beauté*. So B, L, Murray: *E la beauté* (line 1662).
- 1655 *Si*. So B, L, Murray: *Puis si* (line 1663).
- 1658 *O*. So B (var. of *od*). L, Murray (line 1666): *E*.
- 1662 *menerunt*. So B, L, Murray: *demenerunt* (line 1670).
- fins*. So B, L, Murray: *finir* (line 1670).
- 1663 *Pus*. So B, L, Murray: *Puis si* (line 1671).
- 1664 *Les*. So B, L, Murray (line 1672): *E les*.
- 1665 *Si*. So B, L, Murray: *Illok* (line 1673).
- 1666 *Queus*. So B, L, Murray (line 1674): *Les queus*.
- 1667 *mener*. So B, L, Murray: *demener* (line 1675).
- 1668 *Ke*. So B, L, Murray (line 1676): *Plus ke*.

- pust.* So B, with *s* written above line and marked for insertion. L: *put.* Murray: *peüst* (line 1676).
- 1670 *fra.* So B, L. Murray: *si fera* (line 1678).
- 1671 *E.* So B, L. Murray: *E pus* (line 1679).
- 1674 *il voelunt passerunt.* B: *il voelunt penserunt.* L: *uelunt passerunt.* Murray: *volent passerunt* (line 1682). Emended for sense.
- 1675 *al autre.* So B, L. Murray: *al autre donc* (line 1683).
- 1676 *Beneit.* So B, Murray (line 1684). L: *Bene.*
- 1677 *fustes.* So B. L: *feustes.* Murray: *vus fustes* (line 1685).
- 1679 *En.* So B, L. Murray: *Kar en* (line 1687).
- 1681 *ataunt.* So B. L: *atant.* Murray: *a itant* (line 1689).
- 1683 *tele.* So B, L. Murray: *cele* (line 1691).
- 1684 *Dunt.* So B. L: *ke.* Murray: *Dont* (line 1692).
- ma joie est.* So B, L (both as *ma ioie est*). Murray: *est ma joie* (line 1692).
- 1685 *En tei vei.* So B. L: *De toy ai.* Murray: *De tei ai* (line 1693).
- 1686 *redresce.* So B, L. Murray: *se redresce* (line 1694).
- 1687 *joie e.* So B, L (both as *ioie e*). Murray: *grant joie* (line 1695).
- 1688 *De regarder mun Creatour.* After line 1688, L adds: *Trestutes ioies surmunte · en uers cele nest nul conte* [Surmounts all joys · in relation to that there is nothing that counts]. The additional lines are essentially duplicates of lines 1735–36 in the AN poem: *Tutes joies surmunte, / E vers cel n'ad nule acunte*; these later lines also appear in L (as well as other MSS). The additional lines may have been added at this point in L because line 1688 (*De regarder mun Creatour*) and line 1734 (*De regarder sun Creatur*) are nearly the same. The addition is not recorded in the textual notes of either Murray (p. 170) or Mackie-Chasteu (line 1698), and presumably does not appear in any other MSS.
- 1690 *resceter.* B: *rescester*, with *s*₁ written above and *s*₂ expunged. L, Murray (line 1698): *rechater*.
- 1693 *Tele.* So B, L. Murray: *Iteu* (line 1701). B has a two-line decorated initial *T*.
- menerunt.* So B, L. Murray: *demerrunt* (line 1701).

TEXTUAL NOTES TO *LE CHATEAU D'AMOUR*

- 1694 *En.* So B, L, Murray: *E en* (line 1702).
- 1701 *pus plus.* So B, L, Murray: *mult plus* (line 1709).
- 1702 *plus avera.* So B, L: *meins le auera.* Murray: *plus le aura* (line 1710).
- 1704 *Des.* So B, L, Murray: *E des* (line 1712).
- 1711 *Marie.* So B, L, Murray (line 1719): *Seinte Marie.*
- 1715 *Dignité.* So B, L: *Dignete.* Murray: *De digneté* (line 1723).
- 1717–18 *A tant . . . de bunté.* L supplies these lines missing from B.
- 1717 *A₁.* So L, Murray: *E* (line 1725).
a₂. So L, Murray: *ele ad* (line 1725).
- 1718 *A de.* So L, Murray: *Si en ad* (line 1726).
e de. So L, Murray: *e* (line 1726).
- 1719 *nul.* So B, Murray (line 1727). L: *nus.*
amurs. So B, Murray (line 1727). L: *amones.*
- 1720 *Ses₁.* So B, L, Murray (line 1728): *Ne ses.*
- 1721 *joie a lui.* So B, L (both as *ioie a lui*). Murray: *a li joie* (line 1729).
- 1722 *en.* So B, L, Murray (line 1730): *en le.*
- 1723 *bunté.* So L, B: *beaute.* Murray: *bonté* (line 1731). Emended for sense (*beauté* is listed in line 1726).
- 1726 *beauté.* So B, Murray (line 1734). L: *viance.*
- 1727 *autre.* So B, L, Murray: *autrement* (line 1735).
- 1728 *deigna de lui.* So B, L: *de li deigna.* Murray: *cil de li se deigna* (line 1736).
- 1729 *beautez.* So B, L, Murray: *lur beauté* (line 1737).
- 1731 *Ki.* So B, L, Murray (line 1739): *Mes ki.*
- 1732 *joie.* So B, L: *ioie.* Murray: *joie, en pès* (line 1740).

- 1735 *Tutes*. So B. L: *Trestutes*. Murray: *Trestutes les* (line 1743).
- 1736 *E vers*. So B. L: *Vers*. Murray: *Envers* (line 1744).
n'ad. So B, Murray (line 1744). L: *nenā*.
acunte. So B, Murray (line 1744). L: *conte*.
- 1739 *En*. So B, Murray (line 1747). L: *E*.
- 1741 *porra*. So B. L: *peust*. Murray omits this line; as Mackie explains, the line was “accidently deleted” (Mackie, “Scribal Intervention,” p. 73n19). Thus, the lineation in Murray’s textual notes and the remainder of the poem assume line 1749 is present; my textual notes consequently number Murray’s subsequent lines as if line 1749 had not been deleted.
- 1742 *purreit*. So B. L, Murray (line 1750): *peüst*.
penser. So B. L, Murray (line 1750): *tant penser*.
- 1743 *Ne*. So B, Murray (line 1751). L: *De*.
- 1747 *dunc pust il*. So B. L: *donc peut il*. Murray: *poet il donc* (line 1755).
- 1748 *nay, ne*. So B. L, Murray (line 1756): *ne*.
- 1754 *joies*. So Murray (line 1762). B: *choses*. L: *ioies*. Emended for sense.
en. So B, Murray (line 1762). L: *en le*.
- 1755 *Prince de Pes*. So B. L: *prince*. Murray: *Prince en pès* (line 1763).
- 1756 *En joie e en pes*. So B. L: *e ioie e pes*. Murray: *E joie e pès* (line 1764).
- 1758 *Nostre vie*. So B, Murray (line 1766). L: *nostre*.
- 1759–60 *E ses comandemenz . . . pussums venir*. The L scribe breaks the usual pattern for two verses on one line and writes these final two verses separately.
- 1759 *comandemenz si*. So B, L. Murray: *comanz issi* (line 1767).
- 1760 *cele*. So B. L: *la*. Murray: *sa* (line 1768).
- 1761 *Amen*. So B (stretched to fit the length of a whole line), Murray (line 1769). L appends to the end of line 1760.



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GLOSSARY

ABBREVIATIONS: **adj.:** adjective; **adv.:** adverb; **conj.:** conjunction; **indef.:** indefinite; **n.:** noun; **num.:** numeral; **pa.:** past; **pa. p.:** past participle; **pl.:** plural; **pr.:** present; **prep.:** preposition; **pron.:** pronoun; **refl.:** reflexive; **v.:** verb.

abouten *around the outside; around the perimeter of; on all sides, in every direction; throughout; in the vicinity of, next, near to*

ac *but*

agulten *to be guilty of sin; to sin*

ak *but*

al *all; completely*

alast *at last*

alihten *to descend, come down*

alle *all*

an ende *in [the] end, finally; continuously*

angeles *angels*

anon, anoon *right away, immediately, at once*

apliht *in faith, forsooth (for emphasis)*

ar *before*

areren *to raise*

ariht *correctly, in the right way, truly; well*

aryght *see ariht*

arysen *to arise; to rise up; to rise [from the dead]*

atte frome *first of all; first; above all*

awei *away, no longer in existence*

batayle *battle*

batten *to knock; to pound*

beeren *to bear, carry; to have*

befallen *to be fitting; to be suitable or appropriate; to happen*

beih *bowed*

beon *to be; beth, beoth are*

bi thon *by this*

beginninge, beginnyng(e) *source, origin; the process of coming into being*

biheve *benefit, profit, advantage, need*

bilay *belonged*

bileve, bileeve, beleve, beleeve *faith; faithfulness*

bilevede, beleved *dwelt, remained; left*

binimen (pa. **binom**; pa. p. **binome**) *to take away from; to destroy*

bisechen *to ask, beg; to beseech*

bitokenen, betokenen *to signify, mean*

bitokenyng, betokenyng *meaning, significance*

blis(se) *well-being, prosperity; bliss, joy, happiness, pleasure; rejoicing, merrymaking; heavenly bliss; spiritual exultation or ecstasy; divine glory; splendor of God or heaven*

blys *see blis(se)*

bo *both*

bot(e) *unless*

boxumnes(se) *mercy; humbleness, humility*

breme *fierce; violent*

brennen *to burn*

brihtore *brighter*

buggen *to purchase, buy; to redeem, save; to ransom*

but *except; unless*

byn *to be*

byttur *bitter; grievous, terrible, cruel, harmful; terrifying; dire; fierce*

carnels *battlements*

casten to cast, throw, fling, hurl; pour, sprinkle
[water]; scatter [seed]; emit [light], shine; make,
construct

catel possessions, goods; treasure; money; property

charité love; charity

chesen to choose

clechen to draw; to take; to clasp, hold tightly

clepen (pa. **clepede**; pa. p. **clept**, **yclept**, **cleped**)
to call; to call upon, appeal to; pray

cler clear; gleaming, giving light, shining; bright;
pure; beautiful; excellent, praiseworthy

con does; did

connen, **konnen** to have the ability, know how; to
know, understand

cors body

craven ask for, request; demand, claim

dede (pl. **deden**) deed

demen, **demyn** to condemn, damn; to judge; to
sentence [to death]; to pass judgment

deol sorrow, grief

deolful sorrowful

derne secret

derven to damage

derworthé, **dereworth** noble, worthy, honored

deth(e), **deeth** death

dihten (pa. p. **diht[e]**, **idiht**) to rule, govern; to
predestine; to condemn; to prepare; to arrange; to
create, make; to perform (deeds, miracles)

diliveren to release [from prison, bondage, captivity,
etc.]; ~ **out**, to let out

dom(e), **doom** sentence, judicial decision, judgment;
punishment; **Dome** Judgment Day

don(e) (pa. p. **ido[n]**) to make, create; to construct;
to place, put; to do, commit; to cause

douhter daughter

drede fear

dreden, **dredyn** to fear

dude did

dyen to die

eft a second time, again

ek(e) also

elles otherwise

eode went

er before

erthe earth

evene just, fair, impartial, equitable

evere forever; ~ **and o**, forever and ever

fader father

fast(e) firm; securely fastened or attached; closed;
safe; firmly; tightly; safely

feir strong, sound (MED, *fere* [adj.])

feir(e) (adj.) fair, beautiful; bright, shining;
appropriate, fitting; just; morally good; physically
pure; deceptively agreeable

feir(e) (adv.) splendidly, beautifully; fluently; fairly,
justly

feirschipe splendor, beauty, glory

Fend the Devil

fend fiend, devil

feyre see **feir(e)** (adj.)

feyrenes(se) courtesy, graciousness; splendor, glory;
beauty; brightness, brilliance; justice, fairness

feyreship, **feyreshepe** splendor, beauty, glory

fiht(e) fight

finden to find; to receive

fir fire

flemen to exile, banish; to drive away, drive out; to
go into exile

flen to flee

fleo to flee

fleschliche bodily, physically; of the body [i.e., rather
than the spirit]; carnally, sexually

flyn to flee

fo (pl. **fon**) foe, enemy

folfuld fulfilled

for (conj.) because; since, so that; in order that, so
that

folnesse completeness, totality; ?perfection

GLOSSARY

for (prep.) *because of; for the sake of; in order to*
forbisne, forbysne *model, example, pattern [of virtue]; parable*
forbouht(e) *redeemed, ransomed*
forbuggen *to redeem, ransom*
foreward *pledge, promise; agreement, contract, treaty*
forlesen (pa. p. **forloren**) *to lose, forfeit; to disregard [the law]; to give up [something]; to be damned*
forlore *lost, missing*
forme *first*
forsothe *in truth*
forte *to*
forthi *for this reason, therefore, consequently, accordingly*
forwhi *why*
fre(o) *free; noble in character or appearance; generous*
fuir, fuyr *fire*
ful(l) *very*
fullen *to fill*
fulnesse *completeness, totality; ?perfection*
furst(e) *first*
Fynde *the Devil; see Fend*
fynden *to find; to receive*
fyr(e) *fire*
fysshes *fish, fishes*

gaf *gave*
gat *gate*
geven, geeven *to give*
gin(ne) *skill, ingenuity; ingenious device; instrument; machine (for defending or attacking fortifications)*
godhed(e) *godly nature; divinity*
gon *to go*
goodschip(e), goodschupe *a good thing, benefit; virtue, goodness*
gost *spirit*
gostliche *spiritual; spiritually*
greden *cry out, shout; weep; implore*

gult *sin, transgression; culpability*

habben, hebben *to have*
heihnesse *excellence, exalted nature, nobility; honor; authority, rank; majesty, power; supernatural perfection (lit., highness)*
hem *them; themselves*
heo *she, he, it, they*
heor(e) *their*
her (adv.) *here*
her (pron.) *her; their*
heren, heryn, iheren *to hear*
heritage *spiritual inheritance; legal inheritance; allotted place in paradise, heaven, or hell respectively*
herken *to listen attentively, take heed, hearken*
herkenen *to listen carefully; to pay attention, take heed*
herte *heart*
heste *command, commandment, order; promise, vow*
hette *is called*
heuh *hue, color*
heven(e), hevyn *heaven*
hidur *hither, here*
hie *high; divine; exalted, great; blessed, heavenly; supreme; powerful*
hienesse *see heihnesse*
hir(e) *her*
hise *his own*
hit *it*
hok *hook, fishhook*
holden *to hold; to keep; to obey, follow; to endure; to look upon, regard as; believe*
hondredfelde, hondrutfolde *hundredfold*
hose, whose *whoever, whoso*
host *army, host*
hou *how*
hye, hyghe *see hie*
hyenesse *see heihnesse*

ibor(e), iboren *born*
ich *I*
ichabbe *I have*
icham *I am*
ichul(le) *I shall*
icoren *chosen*
idemen *to condemn, damn; to judge; to sentence [to death]*
idihten (pa. p. **idiht**) *to create; to make, construct; to prepare, build; to make ready, equip*
ido(n) see **don(e)**
idyghten see **idihten**
iflmed see **flemen**
iheren see **heren, heryn, iheren**
iliht see **lihten**
ilke *same, very, specified, aforementioned*
inimen (pa. p. **inome**) *to seize, capture; to take; to assemble; to overcome; ben inome to be subject*
inouh *very much; enough*
iplaned *planed, smoothed, made even, made level; polished*
ipyned see **pynen**
iseien (pa. **iseid**) *to say, state, declare*
isen, iseon (pa. **iseigh**) *to see*
ispeken (pa. p. **ispeke**) *to speak; to converse; to say, utter*
istreonen *to beget [offspring]; ben ~, to be descended [from]*
isyn (pa. **iseigh**) *to see*
itake see **taken**
iwis *indeed*
iwiten (pa. p. **iwust**) *to obey, observe, follow, keep [a law or commandment]; to defend, protect, guard*
iwrouht, iwrowght see **wrouhten, wrowghten**

juggen *to judge*

kindom, kynedom(e) *God's absolute sovereignty; those ruled by God (God's creation); kingdom; heaven*

konnen see **connen, konnen**
kuynde, kynde *nature; monnes ~, human nature*

lawen *laws*
leeven *to believe in; to have faith in; to believe; to give credence to; to trust, rely on; to think, realize*
lewed *unlearned, ignorant; lay (non-clerical)*
liht *light; brilliance*
lihten (pa. p. **iliht**) *to light; light up, illuminate*
lisse *joy, delight; ease, comfort; peace, contentment; relief [from suffering], respite*
lodliche, lodlyche (adv.) *harshly*
lodlyche (adj.) *pained*
londe *land, country*
lordschipe, lordschupe *honor; power, authority, rule; exalted status, high social position; power of God; excellence; kingdom*
loveliche *lovely, beautiful*
luitel *little*
lyven *to live*

maidenhod *virginity*
maken, imaken *to make, create*
martir *martyr*
mat, mated, imat *defeated*
Mayden Marie *Virgin Mary; Maydenes Virgin's*
me (indef. pron.) *one, someone; they; people, mankind*
me (pron.) *me*
Merci *the personification of Mercy*
merci *mercy, compassion, forgiveness*
mere *boundary, borderland*
meth *restraint, self-control; capacity; what is fitting or appropriate; withouten ~, excessively*
miht(e) *might, power; as modal auxiliary: might*
mihtful *mighty*
milce *mercy, forgiveness, pardon; pity, compassion; kindness*
milsful *merciful*
mon *human, person; man*

monhed(e) *human nature*
monkynne, monkunne, monkuynde *the human race, people in general (mankind)*
mony *many*
mot nede ben *must needs be*
moten (pr. **mote**; pa. **moste**) *may, might, be allowed, be permitted; must, have to*

mowe *may; might*
muchel *great*
murthe *eternal bliss, salvation; the joys of heaven, spiritual joy*
myche *much; great*
myght(e) *might, power; as modal auxiliary: might; see mihht(e)*

nabben *not to have (=ne + habben)*
nas *was not (=ne + was)*
ne *not; nor; ne . . . ne neither . . . nor*
nedde(n) *had not; did not have (= ne + hedde[n])*
neih(e) *near*
neode *need*
neore, nere *were not, weren't*
nimen (pa. **nom[e]**) *to take; to seize; ~ yeme, to take heed*
nis *is not (= ne + is)*
no *no; any*
noalde *would not*
nome (pl. **nomen**) *name*
non *none; no one*
notheles *nonetheless*
nou *now*
nouht, nout, nowght *not, not at all; nothing*
nymen *to take; to seize; ~ yeme, to take heed; see nimen*
ny *nor*

o (adv.) *ever*
o (num.) *one*
of *of; from, out of; about, concerning*
on *in; on; one*
onde *envy; a strong desire*
ore *mercy, pardon, forgiveness*
othat *until*
ouht(e) *ought; anything*
outriht *completely, entirely, to the fullest extent; directly; at once*
ovemast *uppermost, highest*

Pes *the personification of Peace*
pes *peace*
peyne (pl. **peynen**) *pain [resulting from punishment]; torment; punishment for sin; suffering*
peynen *to torment, torture; to cause pain; to trouble*
pité *mercy; pity*
ple *plea; suit, lawsuit; argument; battle, conflict; thorw ~, by argumentation*
pleden *to plead; to argue*
povere *meek, humble; poor*
prisoun *prison; prisoner*
pyn (pl. **pynen**) *pain [resulting from punishment]; torment; punishment for sin; suffering; see peyne*
pynen (pa. p. **ipyned**) *to torment, torture; to cause pain; to trouble; pyneden (they) tormented, tortured*

quath *said*

red(e) *advice, counsel; teaching*
reden *to read; to keep, save; to tell (a story), describe, recount; to advise, urge*
resun *the faculty of reason; explanation; defense*
reuthful *full of compassion (pity)*

Riht *the personification of Justice*

riht(e), ryght(e) (n.) *justice; claim, judgment, sentence, verdict; law, rightful nature; (moral) right; due reward or punishment; right (vs. left)*

riht(e), ryght(e) (adv.) *exactly; at once; rightly; correctly*

riht(e) (adj.) *just*

rihtwis, ryghtwyse *just; rightful; righteous, virtuous, holy*

rihtwysnes(se) *justice; righteousness; God's holiness*

roche *rock, cliff*

Rode, Roode *Cross*

sauhten *to make peace, be reconciled; to reconcile;*

sauht and some *reconciled and at peace*

schaft *creature; creation; the act of creating; nature, essence*

schulen *will, shall; should; must*

sechen *to seek, look for*

seggen *to say, speak; to affirm*

seih *saw*

seon (pa. **iseigh**) *to see*

serwe *sorrow, grief*

sethen, seththen *afterward, subsequently, after that; then; from that time on; after; ever since; next, second*

seuen *to follow; to be a disciple of Christ*

Shaper, Shapere *Creator*

shene *fair, beautiful; bright, shining*

shullen *will, shall; should; must*

siker *sure, certain; strong; safe; truly*

sikerness *safety, security; certainty; stability, faithfulness; surety, promise*

sithen, siththen *see sethen, seththen*

socour *aid, help, comfort; spiritual comfort, aid*

solas *consolation, comfort; relief from sorrow; joy, pleasure, happiness; spiritual joy; entertainment, merry-making*

sone *quickly; immediately*

sonne *sun*

sor(e) (adv.) *sorely, very much; sharply, severely, keenly*

sor(e) (n.) *physical pain or suffering; mental pain or suffering, sorrow; illness; wound*

soster *sister*

Soth *the personification of Truth*

soth (adj.) *true*

soth (n.) *truth*

speken (pa. p. **speke[n]**) *to speak; to converse; to persuade, argue; to preach, teach*

spellen *to talk, speak; to relate; to tell a story (oral or written); to write; to explain; to describe; to preach; to prophesy; to teach*

stede *spot, location, place; passage [in a text]*

stel *steel*

streon *lineage, offspring*

streonen *to beget*

strif, stryf *strife, conflict*

strong (adj.) *powerful; grievous, serious [of sin]; strong; secure [of prison, a fortress]; firm*

strong(e) (adv.) *heavily; fiercely; powerfully, strongly; solidly; firmly; greatly; intensely; painfully*

stude *spot, location, place; passage [in a text]*

stynken on *to be abhorrent to [someone]; to offend [someone]; to stink*

suggen *to say, speak; to affirm, declare*

sunne (n.) *sin*

sunne (v.) *to sin*

suster (pl. **sustren**) *sister*

suwen *to follow; to be a disciple of Christ*

swetnesse (spiritual) *sweetness; gentleness; benevolence, kindness; virtue, goodness*

swithe *very, greatly, very much*

syggen *see suggen*

syn *to see*

synfull (adj.) *sinful*

synfull (n.) *sinner*

synne *sin*

syster, systur *sister*

taken (pa. p. **itake**) to seize, take; to receive
[judgment]; to assume, take on [guilt]; refl. to
deliver oneself [to death]

tellen to talk, say, speak (of); to tell, recite, recount,
or relate (aloud or in writing); to describe, give a
description

thawgh although, though, in spite of the fact that;
even though; also; except that

theke that; those

thenchen, thenken to think about, understand; to
imagine; to remember; to meditate; to plan; to
intend

theos those

ther there; where

thet that

theuwe (adj.) in a state of slavery or servitude;
controlled by evil or sin

theuwe (n.) servant, serf; slave [e.g., to the devil, sin,
etc.]

thike see **thulk(e)**

tho (adv.) then; when; next

tho (pron.) those; that, which

tholien, tholyen to suffer

thorw, thorwgh through; by means of

thought thought; intention; mind

thral, thrall slave

threo three

thulk(e) this, that; these, those

thurlen to pierce

thylke see **thulk(e)**

toboren to quarrel, be in disagreement, differ, be at
odds

tobreken to shatter; to break into pieces; to
break into two; to destroy; to disobey [laws,
commandments]

togedur together

tornen to turn

treo tree

treuth faith

trone throne

uchon(e) each one

understonde understand; learn; interpret; pay
attention; hear; serve, obey

uprisen, uprysen to rise from the dead

ure our

uvel (adj.) sinful, wicked

uvel (n.) evil, wickedness

wanhope despair [of salvation]; hopelessness

waryed accursed, damned

wenden to go; to follow

wenen (pa. **wende**) often counterfactually: to
believe, suppose; to expect, anticipate

wenestou do you expect, anticipate; do you believe,
suppose (see also **wenen**)

weore(n), weere(n) were

werre war

wherser wherever

whider whither

whit white

whon when

whose, hose whoever, whoso

wiht(e) person; creature

wille (n.) will

wilnen to want, desire, wish; to yearn, long; to seek;
to take delight in; to be willing; to intend

winne joy; pleasure; honor

witen to know, understand; to observe, notice

witen, witien (pa. p. **wuste**) to defend, protect; to
guard; to follow [a law]

withalle wholly, completely, fully; thoroughly; also;
indeed

withouten outside, on the outside; on the outer walls
/ façade [of a structure]

witte wisdom

wo suffering [emotional or physical]; misery;
torment; wrongdoing, sin

wollen to desire, want, wish for; to be willing,
consent; to intend; to ordain, decree; as modal
auxiliary: will (**wol, wole**); would (**wolde**)

wone default (failure to meet a legal requirement);
fault, transgression; imperfection, lack

uche each

wonen *to dwell, live; decrease*

wonhope *despair [of salvation]; hopelessness*

worldlich(e) *worldly*

worship, worschipe *honor*

wouh *wrong, sin; injustice*

wrouhten, wrowghten *to make, create*

wyll *see wollen*

wylnen *to want, desire, wish; to yearn, long; to seek;
to take delight in; to be willing; to intend; see*

wilnen

wynne *joy; pleasure; honor; see winne*

wyuch(e) *which; what*

yef *if*

yeme *heed; nimen ~, to take heed*

yerne *eagerly, sincerely; diligently, carefully*

yif *if; see yef*

Ysaye *Isaias/Isaiah*